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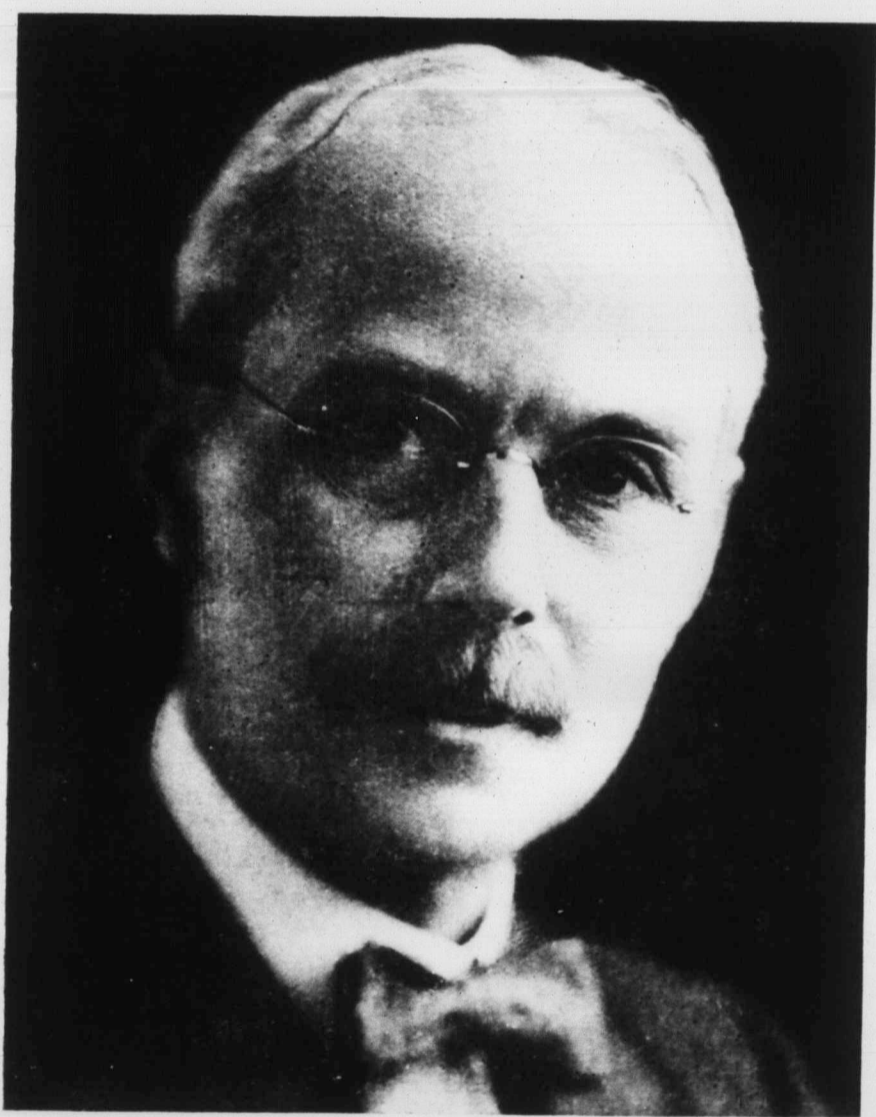
MONTHLY

The Magazine of The Canadian West

Volume XXI

October, 1923

No. 4



MR. W. H. MALKIN
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THE BRITISH COLUMBIA MONTHLY

The Magazine of The Canadian West
Devoted to COMMUNITY SERVICE FEARLESS FAIR & FREE

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In ENLARGING THE B.C.M. it is not possible for us to call for more than one or two LEADERS in any line of business; but we are confident that if you knew of the Community Service this Magazine is seeking to give, you would be with us.

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Yours sincerely,

For B.C. and the Canadian West,
THE BRITISH COLUMBIA MONTHLY,

DAC/SC

Per *D.A. Chalmers.*

Managing Editor.

NOTE: Those who have received such a letter,—some of them among the biggest and busiest of business men, are hereby respectfully reminded that we MEAN EXACTLY WHAT WE SAY.

Further: We ask you, when considering advertising, not to confuse the B.C.M. with ephemeral experiments in print on the one hand, or flattery-fed, "donation"-produced compilations on the other.

"Independent of Party, sect or faction," this Magazine is being built and developed for COMMUNITY INFLUENCE by publicity service affecting SOCIAL, EDUCATIONAL, LITERARY and RELIGIOUS life and work in Western Canada. Consistently with that aim, we wish Leaders in every line of business and community service to use it for messages to the Homes of the Canadian West, not for one day a week, but for every day in the month, and all the year round.

The Status of Canada in the Empire

An Address to The Native Sons of Canada, at Vancouver, B.C., August, 1923.

By DONALD DOWNIE, Barrister-at-Law
 (Official Historian to the Society)

There is not, and there never was, in the history of the world a more interesting subject of human polity than that association of Free States and Self-governing Communities commonly known as the British Empire. And in all the long and checkered history of the parent Kingdom and of our own country,—the Banner State of all these British Dominions beyond the seas,—there never was a time more important than the present for the serious consideration of the future relations of the constituent States of the Empire by the people of this Empire themselves.

It is above all a peculiarly appropriate and timely subject of discussion for Canadians—notwithstanding what ardent or intemperate extremists on one side or the other may say to the contrary. For the Imperial Conference of the coming autumn serves to bring this whole question of Empire relations on the tapis, not only for the members of that conference but for every son of Canada, and for every right-thinking man, and good citizen of his country.

We are now, in this young Canada of ours, at one of the turning points or crossroads of history. Our present measure of political autonomy and responsible government is truly said to be the evolution of a hundred years. The change in that time has been steady and continuous, and the movement has been always in the right direction. And the end is not yet.

THE ROMANCE OF OUR HISTORY.

For there never was in all history a short story, more fascinating than our own; nor one more marvellous, or more romantic. Nor is there any national epic more replete with human interest than this evolution of our native country from the trackless forest to the shining city, from the tepee to the mansion, from foreign domination, under which we began, up to our present proud position of perfect self-government and pure political autonomy. Nor was there ever, as we repeat in the course of that whole national career, a moment more appropriate or more interesting for the study of their history by the people of this country themselves.

Now when the advance notice of these remarks of mine first appeared on your agenda I had a friendly and anxious visit, quite privately, from a very active and excellent member of this body. He had been warned, it seemed, by some well-meaning Native Son that I was an "Imperialist"—whatever that is—and that my sentiments might not please every one. Well, that is quite possible; and may be regrettable. I would not be so rude as to say that it is a matter of indifference. You cannot please every one. No one who thinks for himself can hope for unanimous approbation. In the economy of nature, we are told that there is only the jellyfish or the oyster that never comes into violent contact with his fellows. Well, I do not belong to that species. No more does my learned friend, Mr. McCrossan, evidently, from whom we have heard with much interest, and who has not pleased every one, and from whom, at some points, no doubt, I may even have the honour to differ.

The early Christian injunction would be sound advice and sound philosophy for Canadians in all these constitutional polemics:—"In essentials, Unity;—in non-essentials, liberty; in all things, Charity." For, to me at least, it is always a matter of astonishment how much bitterness may be engendered between honest men having the same end in view, and how ardently good men may dispute merely over different methods of doing a good action. For when we all desire to reach the same great object,—the greatness of our country, it does not matter much which route we take nor which ship we would travel by to arrive at a common destination.

FREEDOM OF SPEECH

Now philosophy, you know, speaks freely of all things. So

does patriotism. Hence every man who sincerely loves his country may speak freely of her destiny. He may hold opinions, even wrong ones; and express them openly and without offence, with regard to "the status of that country in the Empire," and the status of that Empire in the World.

And no man certainly is compromised by these remarks of mine, nor by any that have gone before. No order, or body, of Society is bound by these individual opinions. And however profoundly I may be convinced of their correctness, I am always free to admit that other honest men may entertain with equal sincerity opinions and convictions absolutely contrary to my own.

THE NEED OF A NATIONAL SPIRIT.

The need of a National spirit is the *raison d'être* of this Society, the excuse for its existence. For I think I have never seen a country on my way round the world with so little of that national spirit as this country of our own. Certain it is that in no other Dominion of the Empire would the propagation of such a national spirit meet with the hostility or opposition we have lately observed here. Not in Australia; not in New Zealand or South Africa; not in India nor Ireland; in Scotland or in Wales. For there, in those lands, the National sentiment is almost universal. So much so that it goes without saying; and every one there would encourage such a movement and hasten to join it if he could. That national spirit we stand for is not based on antagonism to anything or to any one, or to any race or class. And above all it is not



HOLIDAYS ARE OVER

NOTE

The November B. C. M. will contain three articles of outstanding interest entitled respectively:

- (1) "PACIFIC PROBLEMS";
- (2) "THE TIME AND THE TEACHER";
- (3) "THE CITY BEAUTIFUL MOVEMENT".

We seldom get into any one issue all we would like, and, in any case, have hitherto usually preferred to let contributions speak for themselves. But we have no hesitation in recording that each of the articles noted is likely to have a special appeal. The first is by one of our ablest public men—in our opinion the article itself proves that; the second is by a leading educationalist; and the third is by a public servant whose work is related practically to the subject with which he deals.

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antipathetic, as some critics pretend, to the people of those little Parent Islands whence so many of us by ancestry are proud to spring, and to trace there perhaps some of our rude virtues and our human imperfections, together with our language and our laws and the spirit of our free institutions.

The purpose of the "Native Sons" is the cultivation of that Canadian spirit. No good Canadian can object to that, and no good Briton ever will. For it goes to our dignity and self-respect. And these are as important in a country as in an individual.

"Native Sons," therefore, have a great work to do. A recent writer has remarked on this lack of national spirit in Canada today. I am inclined to agree with him. But why? Is it because we are not yet a homogeneous people? And the same writer has added still more severely, that petty jealousy, and sectionalism are rampant. In fact, that they are the prevailing traits of this country of scattered and heterogeneous communities. Man opposed man. The East opposed the West. Capital opposed expansion. And that nowhere does he find these traits exhibited to so great an extent as on this side of the Rocky Mountains, and among a certain type of public men and miscalled politicians. The one dominant thought with many of these heaven-born leaders seemed to be merely how long to prolong the life of their job. That job satisfied them. For anything higher than that they lacked foresight, imagination, patriotism and the courage to push back their horizons; to take the large and the long view.

DISHONEST EXPLOITATION

One statement that we hear too often these days is very serious and very true and very clear. It is that Canada has been sacrificed for some years past to the exploiter and the grafter. In no way is this demonstrated to such an extent as in the exploitation of our natural resources. Take for example our timber, asbestos and nickel, our pulpwood and other natural products, exported daily by ship-loads in the raw state, depleting our heritage, while our people are departing or unemployed, and our banks are gorged with idle capital. Why should this be, when by a stroke of the pen—call it embargo or what you will—we could compel foreign capital to come here, and could employ all our own, to build, and to invest and to do its work in Canada and give employment to hundreds of thousands more of good Canadians? These are questions and issues worthy of "Native Sons," and far more useful and urgent than doctrinaire discussions on the reform of the constitution.

DISCUSSING OUR STATUS

Now our status within the Empire has its own importance—academic and practical. It has been the subject recently of most interesting remarks within this Club—and without. And the end is not yet. Such discussion cannot be and should not be suppressed in the rising generation, Mr. Sawers, or even Sir Charles Tupper to the contrary notwithstanding. There is nothing more dangerous in the body politic than ingrowing speech, suppressed expression or silent discontent.

For nothing in public life could be more patriotic, more honourable and more appropriate than these discussions. But my learned friend Mr. McCrossan, with all of whose conclusions and much of whose tone, many of us here may not fully agree, is an able special pleader; quite able to take care of himself, if need be. And I pay him, en passant, my compliments personally, as I have done already, for the intelligent, the laboured and the finished character of those special pleas of his. But it should in fairness be remarked that he spoke for himself, as I do, and always, as I understood him, he spoke of Canada—"within the Empire." True, he has made some mention of our sovereignty, as desirable, and of our independence. As other and older and distinguished men in this country have done before.

Well, that was his right. This is a country of free discussion. Every man is entitled to his own opinion, and in

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proper terms, to express it. We are entitled to express our opinion of our own rulers, and, a fortiori, of the government of the United Kingdom. There is nothing sacred, nothing forbidden or unmentionable about the doings of Ministers, Imperial, Dominion, or Provincial. Now he has a right to entertain these opinions. Let every man have some sincere beliefs—even wrong ones. Let him have some principles—even bad ones. For my own part, my credo is simple. I believe in Canada. I believe in the British Empire—the communion of its members, the forgiveness of its sins and its life everlasting.

Mr. McCrossan did not once clearly regard our destiny as inevitably "without" the Empire; nor envisage our future as distinct from that association. Perhaps the nearest he came to that was when he said on one occasion that the Imperial Federation that he stood for was a Federation some day of all the English speaking peoples with the capital transferred from the old world to the new. Although I do not share that pious aspiration, it was scarcely a justification for so much abuse, and for a charge of sedition and a demand for ostracism. I suppose he would reply to such a charge as a certain loyal subject of George III in America, once did when clamouring for greater colonial liberty—"If that be treason, make the most of it."

Mr. McCrossan correctly enough reminds us that the B. N. A. Act, in which is to be found our entire legislative authority, is itself an Imperial Statute; and any change in that act must be approved there. Well, I need not remind him also that we ourselves prepared it. That it passed in great part as we desired. That we ourselves have in some sort the blame or the praise for enacting it and preserving it, and the power to express our desire for its amendment.

True, there are certain things enumerated there that our Federal Legislature may not do without the delay and the safeguard or formality of Imperial approval. And there are many good Canadians and Native Sons and Provincial interests who say—thank heaven for that! But these limitations are mostly in the interest of provincial rights, for the protections of minorities, and of local autonomy. Whenever the people of this country desire those restrictions removed, they have only to so expressly declare, and it shall be done.

THE TEMPEST IN THE PRESS

As to that Federation Mr. McCrossan speaks of, a great Englishman has already prophesied in the same sense, that the centre of Empire and of population, sometime in this century might change its base. And it seems that our friend was wrongly reported to have declared in Victoria that he would prefer the protection of the Monroe Doctrine to the diplomatic guardianship of Downing Street or the friendly preponderance of the British Navy. That erroneous report may perhaps have done the learned counsel much wrong. For we know that the first of these—the Monroe Doctrine, from its very inception or promulgation, in so far as its acceptance by Europe was concerned, depended on the friendly support and endorsement of Britain and on the moral influence and cooperation of the British Navy.

So I assume that my learned friend, Mr. McCrossan, is not then a frank separationist. Though for all I know there may be some such among "Native Sons," as I know there are some elsewhere. And they have a right to air their views. But we are not here to enumerate and reproach all the sins of Old England, which are neither few nor small. Their exaggeration and their castigation are not the *raison d'être* of the "Native Sons of Canada." We come here to bring harmony and prosperity—and not a sword. I, for one, certainly do not agree with the Separationist theory; and I enter my deliberate, solemn and earnest protest against it. Because I do not hesitate to say we would lose thereby that most powerful alliance which the whole world envies us.

So let us look at these problems with a large perspective.

Let us push back our horizons. This century of ours has been called by our far-seeing Native Son, Sir Wilfred—"The Century of Canada." But I would add to that—"It is also the Century of this Empire." And among the possibilities I can foresee is that of Canada closer to the other British States—not farther away—and becoming the Banner Kingdom, the pivotal force in a still greater Empire.

Therefore let us be jealous of that right of free speech on that subject. That right is British and Canadian. Let us give it, and demand it. And let us not allow false impressions to go abroad detrimental to the liberality and toleration of our excellent order or discourteous to any of our fellow workers in the building up of Canada. For there are others, besides ourselves.

"COLONISTS"—and "CANADIANS BY CHOICE."

Now those who were sometimes called colonists are not necessarily an inferior race. It is not a term of reproach. Quite the contrary. It is honourable to colonize, but not necessarily to remain colonists. Your colonist does not cease to be a subject of the King and a citizen of the Empire.

Our fathers, when they founded their homes and planted the flag in this outpost of Empire were surely colonizing. Ergo, they were colonists. And not disgraceful ones nor timid ones. They were the bold, the adventurous spirits from the Old World who first peopled the New. The courageous ones came. The timid ones remained at home. Those who before steam navigation existed came as Columbus came, were also sailing, like discoverers, into the unknown, and uncharted lands. But we, their Native Sons, are not taking such chances colonizing. We have not that merit. We are now free, self-governing children of the soil. We are Canadians by the accident of birth; but our fathers were Canadians by choice. We merely made a good selection of our parents.

MAKERS OF CANADA; NATIVE AND ADOPTIVE

Now the greatness and the destiny of Canada are dear, no doubt, to every son of the soil, native or adoptive, no matter what his individual views may be as to the status of Canada in the Empire. But they were also matters of pre-occupation to our fathers, to those brave pioneers in this virgin field, the bearers of an ancient culture; the product of an old-world civilization. Some other good men, other than Native Sons, we must remember, have had a hand, an important hand, as founders and makers of Canada. General Wolfe, Captain George Vancouver, Champlain, Sir James Douglas, and all their adventurous tribe—these, as well as our early statesmen, and many of the Fathers of Confederation—these were among the makers of Canada; and they were not Native Sons. It was not their fault that they were Englishmen and Scotsmen and Irishmen and Frenchmen. And notwithstanding that drawback otherwise they are all right. Frenchmen, indeed, were the first pioneers, and these adventurers of our own race merely followed in the wake of France into Canada,

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as they did into India, and Egypt and elsewhere. For this is not the only field in which France has blazed the way; in which she has sowed the seed while practical Old England followed after her and harvested the increase.

This rich, luxuriant and unpeopled land of ours was bound to be the prey and property of the first-comer. And that first comer was France. The King of France aimed to do in North America by Champlain and his successors, what the King of Spain did in the South half of the New World, where the Spaniard had discovered and conquered and looted and lost the most magnificent Colonial Empire the world had ever seen.

But New England and Old England blocked the way of France to extend her dominion from Atlantic to Pacific, from the Gulf of Mexico to the Arctic Circle, from her plantations in the Valley of the Mississippi to her New France in the valley of the St. Lawrence.

THE PECULIAR ATTACHMENT OF FRENCH CANADA

We must remember that all North America was at one time nearly becoming as completely French as North Africa is French today. It was not merely by the surrender at Yorktown that the Americans acquired their great imperial domain. It was really by the French surrender of Quebec a few years earlier that this continent for the first time was opened to the safe expansion of the New England colonists as far as the Pacific Ocean and the Gulf of Mexico. While the French menace remained they clung closely to the Motherland. But no sooner was the foreign pressure removed, than the demands of the Colonists became insistent, and all their grievances insupportable. It was only about eighteen years from Quebec to Yorktown.

France had kept those same English Colonies cooped up, for their own safety, along a narrow sea-board of the Atlantic while she was extending her New France on two sides of them. But Wolfe's victory relieved the pressure. There is one case where Britain did not "blunder" into Empire. She deliberately set out to capture it from her enemy in the seven years war. It cost her much. But it was a prize worth the struggle. And the chief gainers by Wolfe's victory were our friends the Americans. That victory decided the future of the Continent. But before two decades, it led directly to the loss of those English colonies in the War of Independence.

Is it not strange that the violent critics of the present discussion of our destiny accuse the Native Sons of having their origin in Quebec; when the fact is that nowhere in Canada will people be found so opposed to any constitutional change as in French Canada. There is probably not a single lodge there of this excellent society. But yet it was one of these French Fathers of Confederation who boldly declared that the last gun to be fired in defence of the British flag in North America would be fired by a French Canadian.

BRITISH GENIUS FOR GOVERNMENT—THE DEPENDENCIES

Other possessions, dominions or outposts fall to the empire very frequently as the result of the spoils of war—most frequently unprovoked or aggressive war on the part of an enemy. And it is one of the outstanding proofs of the governing genius of the British race that in nearly every case we have known how to conciliate and retain them.

There is another side or aspect of the Empire. The great growing dependencies which have not yet acquired self-government are kept together, kept within the Empire, by that confidence, not only in our fairness, but in our force; a confidence inspired by the governing capacity of the United Kingdom and that capacity for the good government and fair administration of weaker races. If that power or that capacity should fail our race, then our dominion over those outlying dependencies would be at an end. And if the cordial entente between the Centre of Empire and the great overseas part-

ners should by any misunderstanding be dissolved—an event more fraught with disaster to us than to the Parent Kingdom—then and there that Empire should go the way of the Roman and of the Colonial dominion of Spain. There the outlying pro-consulates, left unprotected, became, like Rome herself, the prey of the barbarians. The light of Art and learning was extinguished in Europe and the world was plunged into the obscurity called the dark ages. Therefore, I say, Britain cannot abandon her Dominions, and we will not abandon her. In any event, or in either case, devoted allies should have become bitter foes. And the dark ages of the world might recur, and the hand should be turned back again for some centuries upon the dial plate of our civilization.

OUR SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT

Men and nations are to be governed by the heart as well as the head. Not by self interest alone but by sentiments and the affections. Was the world conquered by German scientific efficiency, which was certainly pre-eminent? If cold reason, and scientific knowledge and efficiency alone guided statecraft and decided the fate of nations and the destiny of mankind, then the Germans, by all the rules of superior efficiency should today be masters of the world. For by all the rules of war, by all the rules of the game, we were more than once defeated. And they could prove to us today, I am sure—to all the sophisters, calculators and economists—that we lost much more in blood and treasure by our obstinate resistance to their onslaught, than we could have lost by submission.

Now these great Self-governing Overseas Communities, of which we are the Banner State, being altogether of European blood, and for the most part, British, are kept within the Empire only by their own interest, and the general desire and interest to remain a united people. We are not held together by any central force or constraint. That sentiment or desire for union is stronger than any written contract, and has come down to us as the traditional and connecting link preservative of the whole chain. That chain, according to the poor mistaken psychology of the Germans, was to fall to pieces at the very first strain. It would not stand the rude test of war. They were sure of that. But it did. Bismarck, in most respects, the ablest statesman of his day, made that mistake. His empire, as he said, was built not on variable parliamentary majorities, nor on popular good will, but on "blood and iron." Well, his foundation of "blud und eisen" did not stand the strain of war. And if ours did, it was because the war was a just one. The people of this country stood then, and must always stand, for right against wrong. And in that case it had public opinion unanimously on its side, and the universal conscience of humanity.

OUR COMPLAINTS

Now one of the strong points made by my esteemed friend in the course of his interesting articles and still more interesting addresses which brought him so much censure, was the facility with which the Americans have always got the best of us Canadians in every diplomatic controversy with England, resulting in the sacrifice of our rights, or the abandonment of our just indemnities, or the loss of some islands, or coast line or strip of frontier at our expense. That diplomatic facility may be easily explained.

Let us look into these grievances. Great nations regulate their differences generally on a large scale. They take a wide view. In their negotiations, they off-set a claim in one part of the world by a disputed claim in another. Everything that is done does not appear on the green table. Nations, it must be remembered, are seldom generous, and they are never altruistic. It is contrary to all principles of international politics. Selfishness which is a vice in individuals, is a virtue in governments. Every one for himself is their motto. And so the larger interests of the whole nation, American, British

or others is always preferred to the interests of constituent states, or outlying provinces.

Another explanation of British generosity, where our interests alone are concerned may be found in that cynical maxim of de la Rochefoucauld—that Providence has given every one sufficient magnanimity to enable him to be liberal with the goods of others.

But recrimination is useless—or even worse—so long after the event. The things done in the past must not be judged by present rules, and could not recur under our present status—without our consent. That is enough.

There have been many instances, no doubt, if we look for them when the material interests of this great domain of ours could have been better served than they were by the Home Government having them in charge. It is easy to see that now. It is so easy to be wise after the fact.

The alleged neglect of the rights of our Seal Fishers by our dominant partner still rankles here against England, pardonably enough, in some quarters, though strangely enough, while the guardians are blamed, the real oppressors seem to have been readily forgiven.

THE ALASKA BOUNDARY AWARD

The strain of the Alaska boundary award was a little stronger, and is perhaps the last straw of the kind that the "camel's back" would bear; or the last frontier sacrifice that our relations with London would patiently sustain.

Lord Alverstone in that case may have been guilty, as alleged, of grave discourtesy to his two distinguished Canadian colleagues by changing front in the face of the enemy; by moving his gun overnight from one shoulder to the other, in order to placate the adversary, without first consulting with his friends. But never in such case would Canada consent, nor be asked, to arbitrate a territorial claim when half of that Board of Arbitrators she had amiably accepted, were men who had already declared themselves openly on the very first question in dispute. The refusal of our signature to that document may be our permanent protest. But it came too late.

WHO IS TO BLAME?

Now we may all exclaim against the Foreign Office for not protecting us sufficiently in these past diplomatic negotiations, and on international commissions. And this is what this polemist has done. But protecting us from whom? Let us ask? For if we have called in the protector it was because our liberties were invaded. Who is it that has intrigued against us, and taken our frontiers and our fisheries, our outlets, our resources and our rights in the defence of which Britain is accused of not having taken sufficient interest nor acted with sufficient zeal?

And in all this fault-finding with our parents, or our partners, or our Imperial guardians—who do not much care what names you call them—how comes it that they alone are reproached? And that we do not hear one word of reproach against our amiable neighbors whose aggressions have been the cause of all our appeals for imperial protection, and our complaints of imperial neglect?

YET CONSIDER—"WHAT MIGHT HAVE BEEN"

The Behring Sea matter, the Alaska boundary award, our Atlantic fisheries dispute and our Fenian Raid Claims constitute the gravamen of the charges laid by our learned friend. But if these amiable enterprising and purely commercial neighbors of ours—of whom we might say, not unkindly, but more correctly, that blood is much thinner than water—have always put it over us, or imposed upon us, as it is claimed, in all these cases, despite the diplomatic ability of Ottawa and of Downing Street combined, then let me ask, what would those past masters of bargaining not have done to us poor defenceless Canadians, outnumbered ten to one, if we had been left to deal with them absolutely alone and unprotected? What they would not have done to us might fairly be left to

the imagination. And fancy could be stimulated by reference to the steady absorption of adjacent or contiguous territory such as the Mexican, the Maine, and the Oregon boundaries; violation of the sacredness of our sealed ships stores, in their harbours, and barring our free access with supplies to our own people in the Yukon today.

BRITISH BLUNDERS

Now, first of all, I am not about to deny any of the charges laid by my learned friend against Downing Street for British bungling, British diplomatic ineptitude, in the sacrifice of Dominion frontiers, rights and interests—sacrificed to satisfy the insatiable and to placate the implacable.

And I may be allowed to digress here to regard our foreign policy for a moment. For it concerns us and the subject in hand. Mr. McCrossan nor I need not be looking backward in order to find fault with the Imperial policy. I do not believe it was ever more tortuous or more inconsistent than at this moment.

FOREIGN POLICY

The Duke of Northumberland, a great Englishman and a good honest Tory—for you will admit that there are some such—remarked the other day in a notable speech in London that the neglected opportunities and the political blunders of Britain constitute the greatest tragedy of modern history. And I am certain of one thing, that if he were making that same address today after reading the illogical offensive bombastic bluff of our restless Foreign Minister, then his reflections on the foreign policy of his country would be still more severe. His Grace of Northumberland reminds us, how for four years we have steadily estranged our best friends and encouraged the dishonesty of our bitterest and most dangerous enemy. And that policy is another tragedy of history. Until at last, after doing his best to embroil the Empire, and to draw Canada and her sister dominions into a senseless war

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with Turkey, for the benefit of the perfidious Germans, he ends by the offensive tirade which we all know against our unpaid, unreturned, and one loyal and unfailing partner in the late war for the liberty of Europe for the safety of our country, of our Empire and of mankind.

Happily, however, there have been great Foreign Ministers, and First Ministers now and then in nearly every age in the past. But unhappily we are far removed today from that race of statesmen, the Cannings, the Peels, the Palmerstones, the Gladstones, the Salisburys and Sir Edward Grey. The friendships they built up and the Empire they consolidated have lately been used and abused for the furtherance of petty ambitions and international financial interests. How that Empire has survived under such auspices and held together under such variable policy and such tortuous misgovernment is the miracle of miracles of modern times!

Now the French, on the other hand, says Northumberland, being a logical, an honest and a straight-forward people, have a foreign policy which is perfectly clear, intelligent, open and avowable. They tell the world, as they tell the enemy, and as they tell us exactly in their printed reply at this date, that what they desire is the enforcement of a solemn treaty. There is no repudiation with them, though Curzon uses the offensive word. But our policy has all the wavering vagueness of opportunism. No sooner do we subdue an enemy than we abandon our comrades in arms—abandon even the just claims of the Dominions—in order to lend a hand to the unpunished foe so that he may rise and prepare himself again for another onslaught upon all of us.

For it has been rather well said of us complacent Anglo-Saxons, that we are always prompt to forget an injury, no matter whether we suffer it or inflict it.

OUR OWN BLUNDERS

Now leaving aside those old scores which interested Mr. Ewart and his school of thought more than they do me—let us speak of actualities. In recent years have not our own Canadian leaders been much to blame for their subserviency. They have not protested or insisted enough. Have we not suffered, far more from the blunders of Federal, Provincial and Municipal policy than we ever did from Imperial policy?

Now I admit that in Foreign policy an Empire must speak as a unit. And it may be that we are not close enough to the centre of the world's affairs here nor yet sufficiently well informed to add anything more than our advice in that delicate field called Foreign Affairs.

As in the case of the Great War, and the Peace Treaty, it is to be feared, however, our own rulers here took too much for granted, both during hostilities and after. When we had once furnished that splendid and spontaneous offering of more than 640,000 men—one twelfth of our whole population, we had certainly done our part. It is quite certain that the Allies never expected, nor did they ever ask, this poor volunteer struggling Frontier State to contribute in excess of "its ability to pay" that self-imposed burden of nearly 5,000 million dollars, a drawback upon our progress and a millstone around the neck of the country, retarding its development for generations to come. But these blunders are our own. They are not those of London or of any other government. And yet they are more serious than any burden we ever suffered at other hands.

LOYALTY, NOT SUBSERVIENCY

Premier Hughes of Australia, was assuredly a very loyal Imperialist. But was he not somewhat justified in his bitter reproach, made recently before the Australian Club in London, to the effect that the outlying Dominions were launched into the war without consultation, and were involved in a signed peace which was not previously communicated by Lloyd George to the other premiers or their representatives at the Conference? When everything was settled, it is true, they

were called in. But it was simply to sign on the dotted line. And when a military member at Ottawa asked across the House what would have happened even if we had refused to sign, Sam Hughes, who sometimes had humour when he forgot his own importance, interjected—"Well, as the gallant member seems so fit, I suppose we should have to fight the war all over again."

The attitude of Premier Hughes is certainly more dignified and more loyal to the whole Empire than the rubber stamp attitude of tame submission adopted by our Newton Wesley Rowell and Sir Robert Borden. The former of these, Mr. Rowell, follows up his previous subservient and Franco-phobe policy in his paternal advice delivered in the Okanagan a few days ago. He tells us that, in his aggressive policy to France and his forgiving policy to Germany, we are all to stand solidly behind Lord Curzon and the Foreign Office. And if it should lead to war with France, our one true friend, then Newton Wesley and loyal Arthur would be all the better pleased. Just as they would have launched us gaily at the bidding of the same Curzon and Lloyd George against France and Turkey in the Near East. But the people of England were not so jingoistic nor so Franco-phobe as some of ours were. And so they promptly threw these war-makers out of office. Curzon alone has scrambled back. They will do the same to him a second time if he persists in his pro-Germanism in the interest of his international financiers.

THE USES OF ENGLAND

Let us consider here for a moment these impatient reproaches of my younger friends and Native Sons, and captious critics against England and the Empire.

Britain with all her faults has her uses in the world. Nations, like men, have their virtues and their vices. Being made up of men they could not be otherwise. With regard to the recent errors of British Foreign Policy in so far as they affect Canada, or her other faithful ally, which is France, there is one consolation to be derived from these blunders of her leaders. And that is that they have probably no more mistakes now left to commit.

It has been well said by a studious British statesman and admirer of the French that if France did not exist Europe would have to create her. And so, if she had been destroyed

(Continued on Page 15)

XX

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XX

XX

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XX

THE STATUS OF CANADA IN THE EMPIRE.

(Continued from page 6)

no doubt we should all have been forced, in the general interest, to try and re-create her. And if such be the necessity of a France in the intellectual life and the political economy of Europe, such also is the position of Britain in that larger field, the international life of the world.

The exact nature and the uses of these two forces, and their benefit to mankind, are as dissimilar as their individual characters and their national idiosyncracies; as different in their activities as the Grand Fleet and the Army on the Rhine. Their efforts combined, by land and sea, were essential to save our modern civilization from an onslaught—the most dangerous it had ever faced. While the fleet bottled him up from sweeping over the world, the land forces merely blocked him for the time from sweeping over Europe.

THE PARLIAMENTARY SYSTEM

The British has been properly called "the Mother of Parliaments." Other nations, the French, the American, the Italian have done their best to follow and to copy or imitate that system. But with indifferent success. The Dominions alone have the secret, because they have the character and the necessary temperament.

What is it they chiefly admire there? It is not the rapidity with which the British broach abstract theories, nor the readiness with which they form or reform constitutions. No; on the contrary they know that we resist innovations until assured of their beneficial tendency. What other countries admire is our stability. Their statesmen often come and study at our Empire school of political liberty. They find our race slow to make reforms. But they know that when we make a step forward we keep it. They see that there is some reality and strength about our proceedings. They see that on mere popular clamour, excitement or emotion, we do not proceed to enact new measures to interfere with personal liberty; such as the sumptuary laws which faddists import into some of our provinces, along with stock swindles of the L. R. Steele type. Why can we not produce our own swindlers in this country?

ACQUISITION OF EMPIRE: CANADA'S EXPANSION

Do not let us be afraid of the term Empire, or Imperial. The word now only connotes territorial dominion or political sovereignty. But not military despotism as it formerly did. The word Emperor in the King's title does not change his limitations as a constitutional ruler. His realm is an Empire. So is that of France. So is the United States. And although these are republics in name, as Des Moulins says Britain is a republic in fact.

Now let us inquire how has this Empire grown, of which we form such an important part? This Empire has grown, not from settled public policy, but almost in spite of ourselves—or, as some one has said, it fell to us in moments of absent-mindedness—until spreading itself out over both hemispheres it has become the parent and protector of new nations. Just so has this old Canada of our own on the banks of the St. Lawrence, spread itself out into nine provinces and covered a continent, finding in unoccupied lands an outlet for the natural overflow of an energetic population. So the British people, being restless and adventurous, have stumbled, one may say, on the best parts of the world, and blundered into their imperial inheritance.

THE GROWTH OF EMPIRE

Then again the wars, by the spoils of which the Empire has been largely created, were for the most part forced upon us by unprovoked aggression—as in the case of the spoils of the late World War. Philip of Spain, Louis the Grand, Napoleon, the Dutch Republic, the Mad Mullah, President Kruger, and the Khedive—all were aggressors. India, also, was largely forced upon us. We are guardians there over a num-

ber of mutually hostile races, who had to be protected and dominated by France or England, by Clive or Duplex; who always had alien masters while we are simply the best masters they ever had. And there the weaker would again be trampled under foot by the stronger if we vacated India tomorrow.

So it is well to remember that England, as a general rule, did not deliberately set about the territorial acquisition of a Colonial Empire; nor make wars to obtain it. The Colonies fell to her in two or three ways. For the most part by colonization of unoccupied lands, or the need of expansion. For Anglo-Saxons are a composite and a roving race. We are not sedentary but nomadic, and cannot easily be held down to any fixed territorial allocation.

Because the British learned by their own political blunders and colonial losses, and profited by that experience, that is the reason why, today, when all the other great colonial Empires of the world have gone, the British Empire remains. Why have Rome, Spain, Portugal, Holland and Germany—great ambitious overseas Empires—gone glimmering through the mists of things that were? Their Empires they lost, because they deserved to lose them, as we did part of ours, because we did not sufficiently appreciate the value of it. And because the rulers of that day were not good psychologists. They did not take the human element sufficiently into account nor remember the breed of men that these colonists had sprung from. For men must be governed in one of three ways:—By Force or by Fraud or by Good-will. The latter is now our imperial method. And it is the only durable and permanent, the only true and correct one.

There is no reason now for apathy in Britain, nor for discontent overseas today. There are no revolutionists here; no little Englanders there; no serious separationists, I believe, anywhere. No one now talks as a certain political school did once, both there and here, of "cutting the painter." The Manchester school idea was that the best way of governing an empire was to begin by the principle that you had no interest in keeping it. That is the school which would give more preference to Germany than to Canada. But happily it is not the school that governs.

ATTACHMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION.

One of the most convincing proofs of the governing power of the British people is the confidence they inspire in those races they have assimilated or subdued. For the British assimilate easily but are not easily assimilated; and the peculiar attachment they inspire in those they have supplanted, or those they have subdued is unique.

Rome acquired her Empire by the sword and held it by the sword. To her modern successor has been left the glory of reconciling what most of Roman subjects found incompatible—liberty and Empire. For never before has such an empire been held together by the slender basis of mutual consent. A constitution which secures liberty for all under the folds of one flag is unique, and has given a new meaning and a true one to the old motto "Imperium et Libertas."

And if we act on the principle of—"What we have we hold," it is because we hold it not for the purpose of being formidable but from the necessity of being free.

THE TIE THAT BINDS

British blood is often referred to, here and elsewhere, as the essential binding tie of a powerful and prosperous empire. But is it? It was British blood that rebelled and broke away from the Parent State in North America, and lost thereby to all of us the most magnificent potential Empire the world had ever seen.

In South Africa it is not British blood that dominates and holds the balance of power and maintains the great imperial domain from the Cape to the Zambesi. In Canada the connection depends more perhaps on the French Province than on the others.

That tie is maintained by a peculiar confidence—not in any superior ability of the British race, but by faith in the fairness of British character and in the whole human spirit of our free institutions.

The charter of liberty that all those Dominions asked for, was freely granted. So was ours. We have really retained the Home Government more than the Home Government has retained us. We retain it more as arbitrator than as master; more as a benevolent guardian, who controls imperceptibly, spends liberally and bleeds freely.

THE JUDICIAL COMMITTEE

For we know, as there must be somewhere a Court of Last Resort, that in any racial or religious controversy, any territorial or constitutional dispute between the Transvaal and the Cape, or between Quebec and Ontario, or between Ottawa and Vancouver, all parties may appeal with sublime confidence to that Court of Last Resort—to the foot of the Throne.

But constitutions, written or unwritten, must have some permanence and stability. Our written ones are subject to Court Interpretation. Our own is far more easily amended than that of the United States. For the Imperial authorities have never yet advised the Crown to veto a constitutional provision deliberately demanded by public opinion or by the citizens of a Dominion. And they never will.

INTEPRETING CONSTITUTIONS

There must be of course a Court of Last Resort and of Final Appeal somewhere. Seven jurists in Washington, generally well selected, but purely by political party appointment, and trained in party schools, are the umpires in the last resort there on all disputed questions of Constitutional interpretation. And that in a country where party spirit runs higher and stronger perhaps than in any other. And although no man without at least respectable character and attainments ever finds a place there and no President has ever stultified himself by a disgraceful appointment, it is well known that men not quite impartial but with fixed views and sectional bias on state rights and other controversial issues have been designedly selected as Umpires of the great National Constitutional game. And the result has been party bitterness, and on one occasion even it has been civil war.

Now, our judicial umpires, sitting in the calm detachment of the Privy Council, on our constitutional issues, are, to say the least, no less eminent lawyers, though they may not have always pleased some of my legal friends by their decisions. They are jurists, par excellence, learned in the law; and perfectly detached from our affairs. No political party, class, bias, race or religion in our own Dominion has anything to do with their selection. Our local issues and our party prejudices are absolutely foreign to them. Now, with all due respect to our very highest Bench of Federal Judges, can this be fairly and equally said of them. Like the Supreme Court of the United States, they are political appointments of the very jurisdiction they sit in. They have not always behind them, as we can see, even the guarantee of first rate legal attainments and high position at the Bar.

To fulfil the functions of such a Court calls for great detachment, and for talent and training of the very first order. To solve the problems which confront the Empire, no less than the minor problems of our own here, requires also high qualities of insight and of foresight; qualities not so common as some of us seem to think.

My learned predecessor in this interesting discussion held this right of appeal to the Privy Council as a serious reflection on Canada and on our profession here. And he very correctly assumed that a country which produced such lawyers as Blake, McCarthy, Robinson and Eugene Lafleur, could also constitute a Supreme Court of the first order. No doubt. But these men have not accepted and would not accept judicial positions. And it is no serious reflection to say that our highest court are not lawyers of that calibre.

On the other hand, those of us who have listened with pleasure here to such of the Law Lords of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council as Lord Haldane and Lord Shaw, can form some idea of the intellectual talents of that dignified class of men of whom even these are not the foremost.

STATUS CHANGING

Now there has been much exaggeration, a lot of loose thinking, and still more confused writing in Canada and elsewhere in recent years about the status of the Dominion. And it is no wonder that outsiders, and especially Our Nearest Neighbors, are not quite clear regarding our relations to the Empire; since we do not all seem to be quite clear ourselves.

New arrivals in Canada, even from within or from the very centre of that Empire itself, are perhaps the most ignorant of all in that regard. Our status is still a matter for study and discussion. Has that status changed, and how? Are we now, as formerly, at war automatically, when Britain is at war: and are we bound by Foreign Relations arrived at in London without our consent or control? These are fine constitutional points; points of such far-reaching importance that they are not settled by the excitable rhetorical deliverances of retired ministers of the Crown, even such Respectabilities as Sir Robert Borden, Sir Charles Tupper and Mr. Newton Wesley Rowell.

The wish may in some cases be the parent of the opinion. However, we are not dealing with matters of opinion but with matters of fact. It is easy to establish, by reference to the foreign office, that no such definite change in our status, no such augmentation of our importance has yet taken place.

There is no use in Mr. Rowell or Sir Robert claiming that we are a Sovereign State. There is one clear evidence to the contrary. Our Federal legislation has no extra-territorial effect. That is proof enough. The crown alone possesses extra-territorial jurisdiction. The Dominion is cabined, cribbed, confined. Therefore any Canadian Legislation, declaring independence of the Crown, or changing the distribution of authority, would be invalid, because it would be of extra-territorial effect. An Imperial Act would be necessary to abrogate the dependence of Canada on the Crown.

CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

The other dominions enjoy wide privileges of changing their constitutions. Canada, being the earliest, did not incorporate those rights to vary the form or the distribution of powers without Imperial legislation. This variance might not be granted if there was Provincial opposition.

But so far as the British parliament is concerned with us, my humble conclusion is that in the future no imperial legislation will be held to bind Canada, unless concurred in by the Federal Legislature. We are masters of the situation. For the Provinces, and especially one of them, would be very jealous of any interference with constitutional rights or authority.

There are theoretical difficulties, and certain anomalies, I admit, in our present position and our national aspirations. But I will not admit my learned friend's legal proposition, that the logic of the situation leaves Canada only with the alternatives of complete independence or permanent inferiority of status.

The whole doctrine of political development rejects that absolutism. Necessity frequently modifies the rigidity of simple theories. But modern political thought, working on such new material as we have in this empire, will find a way to reconcile the unity of Imperial sovereignty with as complete an expression of autonomy, and political sovereignty of its own as Canada may desire.

What is best and safest for all of us in this structure, is to strengthen the foundations of the house we live in, to cultivate that part of the great vineyard in which our lot is cast.

and to enhance the sense of unity founded on a great history and a common tradition.

No doubt there is an undercurrent of change in the air. It is not our interest to oppose it, nor in our temperament to unduly hasten it. And it would be a pity if this association should be misinterpreted or misjudged by any individual expression, however legitimate and however Canadian they may be.

NOT REVOLUTION BUT EVOLUTION

It is no wonder that there should be discussion and difference of opinion in regard to our status. Because that constitutional situation is unparalleled in history. History and historians have to leave specious theories and rhetorical phrases to one side and look at facts as they are. The preamble of the British North America Act is that "Canada is a Dominion under the Crown of the United Kingdom." But the peace, order and good government of Canada is left and confided to ourselves. It is our affair.

Our evolution may be divided from that time into two or three parts; First, let us say, from 1867 till 1896, when Canadian legislation was really liable to imperial disallowance. But these many curtailments on self-government were gradually growing less. At the advent of the Laurier regime the shackles on the management of our domestic affairs, whatever they were intended to be, had been removed. We began to speak with more assurance. Imperial officers, who were still in command of the armed forces, were now called down boldly by Federal Ministers, and even displaced.

The next period of our evolution, I would say, was that from 1914 till today. The Governor General had been given at Confederation a long list of enumerated subjects which he might reserve for Home advice, although these were of purely Canadian interest. That was irksome and dangerous.

Today he has no such initiative. Like the King whom he represents, he must act on the advice of his responsible Cabinet Ministers. And such are his instructions.

Gradually we claimed, and have obtained, the right to negotiate our own commercial treaties. The plan was also adopted of inserting a clause in British treaties giving Canada the right to adhere to them or to refuse adhesion.

So to avoid confusion, Imperial and Dominion representatives in treaties affecting Canada, now negotiate these treaties together and so sign.

The recent Treaty made by Mr. Lapointe without the British Ambassador is the first of its kind. It raised some controversy. And in the Imperial House the attitude of some members seemed to be that since we had preferred to make it alone we might be left alone in the case of its infractions or in the matter of its enforcement.

A GREAT ADVANCE

The position now is contrary to what obtained in the Victorian era. It is that Canada is not bound by any commercial treaty to which its consent has not been given. It is also provided that the interests of the Empire at large must not be sacrificed, and that Canada must extend to the rest of the Empire any favours or concessions granted to any Foreign Power. In practice, as we all know, Canada by the preference does more than that, and does it of her own free will.

Although all the secrets of imperial defence are said to be disclosed to our ministers, there is no demand ever made on us for men or money. Our autonomy is carefully respected. True, we are at war when Britain is at war. But only because we are then open to attack by the enemy. We are at war for our own defence.

A DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE: THE "EMPIRE"

It was the Imperial War Conference of 1917 that first laid it down clearly that the great Dominions were self-governing nations entitled to continuous consultation in foreign affairs. The English premier was only to be *primus inter pares*; and

we are declared to be Britain's constitutional equal, with full autonomy and complete self-government. We are no longer to carry on our diplomatic correspondence through the Colonial Office, but to deal directly on equal terms, with the Prime Minister of Britain, as another nation might. That was so decided. But that is merely a decision that regards ourselves, and has only the force of an inter-Empire precedent. Foreign powers would be free to recognize us or not, as they might see fit.

In fact it was at the Peace Conference that the "British Empire" appeared for the first time under that name. The Imperial Government consulted with Canada in its proposals there though probably not in all conclusions. We had no separate vote from the Empire there at that conference.

It is true, however, that we are a full member of that vague and expensive thing called the League of Nations, to which each of us may attribute whatever insignificance we wish without any liability to a charge of high treason.

Its usefulness is exaggerated. Its uselessness will only be apparent, like that of some other Wilsonian vagaries, the moment it attempts to intervene in the world's affairs or to enforce one of its own decisions.

BONDS OF EMPIRE—SOVEREIGNTY

Now what are really the bonds of an Empire like ours? Moral values, emotion and sentiments play as large a part as hard legal and constitutional bonds in our union with the Empire. But our own national status or distinct national life is now undoubtedly recognized.

Canadian opinion is valued and considered. If our voice is not yet very effective in foreign affairs or in the life of the Empire, that abstention is not altogether the fault of the Mother Country. The coming conference may develop methods by which the responsibility for that abstention may hereafter be our own. However, there is no use disguising the fact:—at present there is only one Sovereign State. There is only one Empire.

There is no use, by specious phraseology, trying to escape the implication of fact. As the law of nations now stands, Canada is not a Sovereign State. We have no recognized international status. No matter how very slight the tie that limits her freedom within the Empire, the tie, or the limit, is there.

Canada has governmental autonomy. But the Imperial tie limits her power to certain boundaries, so far as third parties or powers are concerned. But the gates are not closed to further developments. And our aspirations for greater powers, the discussion of which arouses so much resentment among some Canadians, gives no shock, no surprise, no offence whatever to public men or public opinion in Britain itself. They are broader minds there, and better "sports" in that respect, than some native sons of our own—of course, outside of this society.

THE REMEDY:—OUR DESTINY AND OUR DUTY

Now what should be done to equalise and regularise the situation? I have not time here to submit my theory, even if that was important or useful. For the present, I reserve my rights, and leave every man to his opinion.

In the steady evolution of Imperial and Canadian relations, we may rest assured that a way will be found, a *modus vivendi*, by which joint interests shall always be conserved by joint action, and joint signatures required always hereafter to bind the whole; where the whole is concerned, unless in cases where the Dominions delegate their powers.

What have we to do? We do not look nor wish for Canada nor the Empire any greater extension of this vast Dominion. The time has passed for that. The problem of the future is development and organisation—not violent or radical changes in constitutional forms, which are fairly satisfactory, and are not the causes of our present discontent. What

we need is not more government but greater efficiency in the administration.

For forms of government let fools contest,
Whatever's best administered is best.
For modes of faith let graceless bigots fight;
His can't be wrong whose life is in the right.

For the moment, the question of our State sovereignty is involved with the necessity that Foreign powers may feel to have one unit of Empire to speak to, and one Foreign office only to deal with. These are splendid questions for consideration, but far too many-sided and complex for this brief discussion of mine. I should not object to treat them as they deserve on another occasion. They are matters that concern foreign Ministers and plenipotentiaries perhaps more than they concern us. Those envoys are accredited to the King. They treat with our Imperial Foreign Office. They could not without confusion do otherwise. But what our family arrangements shall be between ourselves as component units of that Empire, in order to have our influence felt and our interests served in all the intricacies of diplomacy and of international politics,—that, and the preservation of the sovereignty of our own parliament within its sphere, that is the question which concerns Britons and Canadians alone. They alone must study it out around the green table of the coming Imperial Conference, without pressure, force or constraint. For ours is and must always remain a Voluntary Union of Free and Equal People Under a Common Crown—of which all are equally proud and to which all are equally devoted. The desire for Union, the need of each other, that is the basis of the Empire. The Crown is the sole and visible link today. The problem for us and for our great Imperial Conference, is how to remain a more and more united people in the absence of some permanent means for consulting and acting together in matters of common concern. In working out that problem which is now under way, in which many of us, *con amore*, have done our little part to help with voice and pen, but may not all live to see completed—in solving that problem, we Native Sons of Canada shall no doubt do our duty. Men still young may see that structure raised, as others still living saw the broad foundations laid of this Confederation. That is our problem. It is not one upon which any honest man will dogmatise.

SIR WILFRED'S VIEWS

Sir Wilfred Laurier, the father of Empire preference, and of what he called "Commercial treaties with the Motherland," said he was prepared to contemplate an evolution in which the Federal idea would present itself quite naturally when, as he says, "a parliament will be created perhaps in which both the Dominions and the Mother Country will be represented, proportionately and equitably, and matters discussed with full respect for the interest of each. This, he said, might be difficult, but not impossible.

The school of French Nationalists might be alarmed at it as "imperial." But France has found a way to have all her dominions represented by seats in the Chamber of Deputies. They are all French citizens in Algiers, Tunis, Martinique, etc. And those are not dominions but departments, and part of the soil of the republic.

OUR CONSTITUTION COMPARED

In conclusion let me speak of our changing status and of our manifest destiny. We need not quarrel with our constitution makers. If we do not like that charter we can change it.

In every free country and tolerant community—in England, in France and in the United States—differences of opinion exist, side by side, and different political schools of thought are developed as to the merits of different systems of government, and even with regard to the meaning and the scope of their own constitutions. Are not such differences permissible among Canadians?

The American colonists, when left to themselves in the century before last, proceeded to make a system of government. They selected the Federal form as the one which, in their opinion, was the least centralised, the most conservative of local autonomy or state rights, and the most sparing of provincial susceptibilities. Interests were conflicting. The States reserved to themselves, or intended to reserve, their sovereign rights, and left to the Federal government whatever was not so specifically reserved. In that way only was the consent of all the states obtained.

We did, by our constitution-makers, exactly the contrary. If we had no Free-soil state and Slave-state problem, we had some problems of race and law and language equally difficult to solve, and some susceptibilities equally delicate to conciliate. Our statesmen of that day did the best they could and built with the materials they had on hand, under the conditions that confronted them. It is for us to carry on.

OUR TASK

For every people, every nation or community has the form of government it deserves. Our Dominion status is not permanently and irrevocably fixed. Like the constitution of the parent state itself, ours also is elastic. The means of its development are provided. It is being gradually, slowly modified, defined and enlarged already in various ways:—by constitutional decisions; by appeals, and by amendments. Its perfection now depends on ourselves.

Our forefathers, of whatever race they were, and from whatever land they came, they and not we, made for this Canada of ours the proud position it occupies in the Empire and in the World today. We have only to continue. Our duty is to defend it, not only against aggression external, for which we are all ready to rise like one man, but against the greater dangers of internal weakness, disorganisation, intrigue, disintegration, disorder and decay. While we stand united we can never be overwhelmed by the barbarian from without; though we might be overwhelmed by the barbarian from within. And in that duty, if we do not all hang together, then as Franklin said, "we may all hang separately."

These problems and considerations as to our future need not be discussed with bated breath. They are not disgraceful *per se*. Their discussion should not draw down resentful re-erimination. They may be debated between all good Canadians in a spirit of sweet reasonableness and calm expostulation.

These are the great problems I have the honour not to solve, but to study freely with you here. They are not simple. They are complex. They are not petty. They are grandiose. But their consideration is not beyond the province of good Canadians. And their solution, I am convinced, is not beyond the ability of our public men. It is not beyond the capacity of statesmanship.

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JUST BETWEEN OURSELVES

A Corner for Mother and the Girls.

(By WINNOGENE)

On a shelf in my mother's kitchen, almost lost between efficient modern cook-books, is a little note-book, long since coverless. Here in a delicate, flowing hand are written old-fashioned recipes for delicious eatables and I have chosen a few of them for you.

* * * * *

The first is called

CHEESE PIE

Make some good pie-paste. Line a pie-plate with the paste rolled thin. Prick it well, cover with buttered paper and cook in a hot oven. While it is cooking, beat from 4 to 6 eggs (depending on the size of your pie-plate) with a very little milk, add a cupful of grated cheese, salt and pepper. When the pastry is cooked pour in the egg and cheese mixture and return to the oven at once. As soon as the pie is brown and puffed up take it out and serve it at once.

* * * * *

Here is the recipe for the very best ginger-bread I ever tasted.

SPONGE GINGERBREAD

3 cups flour; 1 cup brown sugar; 1 cup molasses; 1 cup sour milk; 1 heaping tablespoon butter; 1 teaspoonful ground ginger; 1 teaspoon cinnamon; 2 teaspoons Baking Soda.

Method—Mix the butter, sugar, molasses and spices together. Warm them slightly and beat for about 15 minutes. Add the sour milk and the flour (which you have sifted with the soda). Beat very hard for about 5 minutes and bake in a broad shallow pan in a moderate oven.

For a pleasant change add little bits of preserved ginger, bake in gem tins with a little piece of ginger on top of each small cake.

* * * * *

And Ginger Snaps! Yum, Yum!

1 pint molasses; 1 cup butter; 1 teaspoonful each ginger, cloves, baking soda; flour.

Method—Put all ingredients (except the flour) over the fire and let it come to a boil, using a large vessel as it is likely to foam over. As soon as it comes to a boil take it off the fire and cool it. When it is nearly cold add flour enough to make a stiff dough. Roll out and cut with a cookie-cutter. Bake in a hot oven about 5 minutes. Be careful of the baking as they are very apt to burn.

* * * * *

QUEEN MAB PUDDING

Boil $\frac{1}{4}$ pint of milk with sugar to taste. Add 1 tsp. vanilla. Beat up 4 eggs and pour the flavored milk upon them. Put the mixture in a double boiler and stir gently over the fire until it thickens. Dissolve 1 oz. of gelatine in a little milk, add this to the above. Take off the fire and stir until it is nearly cold. Then add 2 oz. of preserved cherries, or finely sliced angelica and citron peel, or preserved ginger cut very fine. Pour the mixture into an oiled mould and when cold and quite set turn the pudding out.

* * * * *

The following rich and delicious preserve we children always called

GOLD

Peel a vegetable marrow. Cut it in small cubes. Weigh it, and to every lb. of marrow allow 1 lb of sugar, and lemon juice at the rate of about two lemons to a medium sized marrow. Let the marrow, sugar and lemon juice remain in a deep pan for two days. Then boil until tender, adding water at the rate of $\frac{1}{2}$ pint to every 3 lb of marrow. Now let it stand another two days. Then drain off the syrup and boil it till it is quite thick adding a little green ginger. Put the marrow in sterile sealers, pour on the boiling syrup and seal.

This makes a very beautiful, as well as delicious preserve. The little cubes of marrow are transparent and golden, and the syrup is like liquid sunshine. As it is very rich it is advisable to put it up in pint or half-pint jars.

The Tampa Model, Knit from Corticelli Fingering Yarns.



MATERIALS REQUIRED

Nine 1 oz. balls of L 90 Corticelli Sylverflos. 1 pair L S 38 ivory knitting pins, size 7.

Pattern:—Knit 3 * wool over needle. Knit 2 together, K 1. Purl 1, K 1 * ending with K 2 together, K 1. Every row the same.

Cast on 90 sts. Knit 6 ridges (2 rows plain knitting equal 1 ridge).

Next row:—Knit 18 * wool over needle K 2 together, K 1, P 1, K 1 * repeat twice.

Then wool over K 2 together, K 23.

Then * wool over K 2 together, K 1, P 1, K 1 * repeat twice.

Then wool over K 2 together, K 16.

Next row:—Purl 15, K 2 * wool over K 2 together, K 1, P 1, K 1, * repeat twice.

Then wool over, K 2 together, Purl 20, K 3.

Then * wool over K 2 together, K 1, P 1, K 1 * repeat twice.

Then wool over K 2 together, K 1, P 15.

Repeat these two rows alternately till model measures 17 ins. from beginning, then increase 1 st. at end of every row 8 times.

Cast on 54 sts. each side for sleeves. Knit 5 sts. plain at edge of cuff (each row). Then knit pattern in twice the rest of sleeve knit in stocking st. to side front stripe. Knit till cuff measures 5 in. then knit plain until there are 3

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