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ACHATES
OR
THE FUTURE OF CANADA

TO-DAY AND TO-MORROW

*For the Contents of the Series see the end of
the book*

ACHATES

OR

THE FUTURE OF CANADA

BY

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FOREWORD

This little book is written at the suggestion of the publishers of the To-day and To-morrow series of books, as a counterblast to Mr. George Godwin's *Columbia, or The Future of Canada*, recently appearing in that series, one of the objects of the series being to represent both sides of controversial subjects or topics.

At a time when the preservation of a good feeling between Britain and the Dominions is as of great importance in the development of the Empire as it is at present, it seemed unfortunate that, in a book belonging to a series which has won for itself such high standing all over the world, there should be upheld the conclusion that the future of Canada was to be found in its inevitable peaceful absorption by the United States. As a Canadian, I would

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not care to think that this is an opinion which would be widely accepted in Britain, or elsewhere. It seemed important that the contrary idea, that the future of Canada was in the field of co-operation with the other nations of the Empire and of the world, should be put forward as the more logical and probable destiny of this country.

The contention that the future of Canada is to be found in its absorption by the United States entails, so far as Canadians are concerned, either of two denials. Either it denies to Canadians the desire, or the ability, to develop a nation of their own which will have in the future some influence on the evolution of the political and economic world, or else it denies to Great Britain and the Empire any future of a character sufficiently attractive and influential as to create in Canada a desire to assist in the development of that future. It will not be found that Canadians will accept either of these tacit denials. On the other hand, they will realize that a drift towards absorption by the United States means nothing else than a refusal to

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accept their responsibilities and opportunities, and an acceptance of the easy and despicable path around the difficulties of their national and international life. It would mean defeat and surrender. That is said without suggesting anything derogatory to the United States, whose citizens would be the first to admit that the maintenance of an independence of spirit is the first essential of a national life. Their own nation is founded on that rock.

Much of the argument of *Columbia* revolves about the mistakes which have been made in Canada in the past, and are being made in the present. That mistakes have been made, and that there exist blots upon our record, cannot be denied. But surely, because of them, we are not to be damned eternally ! I could readily point to the rottenness of the old Pocket Borough system of England, or to the scandals relating to the sale of honours, and found upon points such as these a pessimistic and insulting conclusion as to the future of Britain ; and yet I would be following only the same type of argument as the author

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of *Columbia* when he resurrects such things as the scandals inherent in the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway, soon after Confederation, and forms, from this type of evidence, his opinion of the character of Canadians and of the future of the country. Surely sound conclusions concerning the Canada of the present, and of the future, must be founded upon a wider and a more generous field of evidence, and of argumentation, than is utilized in *Columbia*.

The prediction contained therein, that the influence of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company is so great, and that it promises to increase so rapidly, that it will be, ere long, the sole controlling factor in the destiny of Canada, is a prediction which observant Canadians will hasten to deny. Far from that being true, it is rather the case that the influence of that Company in Canadian affairs is slowly but surely waning. The existence, and increasing success, of such organizations as the Western Grain Growers' Pool, the Ontario Hydro-Electric Power Commission, and the Canadian National Railways,

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which latter Company has been able to turn an operating deficit of thirty millions into a surplus of forty-five millions, is having a strong and inevitable effect upon Canadian opinion. All these are organizations, co-operative or governmental, based upon the principle of providing services to the people at cost, and for the benefit of the people. Their success will force the gradual wider adoption of the principle involved, and effectually prevent the undue growth of the public influence of any private corporation, even of one so strongly entrenched as is the Canadian Pacific Company. In saying this, I have no desire to minimize the great services to Canada rendered by this Company in the past, nor to suggest that it will not make contributions of great value in the future. But it will not dominate, and it evidences no present desire to do so.

The remaining type of argument utilized in *Columbia* consists in the discussion of the influences in Canadian life of an Americanizing character, but here, as elsewhere when this matter is discussed, there is a tendency towards exaggeration of the

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effect of these influences. Observers of our national life tend to become confused in this connection. Traits which exist here in Canada different from those which are usual in Britain and in Europe are supposed to be the result of contiguity to the United States, when they are in reality due to the fact that conditions of life are different in any new and pioneer country. There is a certain romantical sense of adventure, of the power of individual choice ; there is a greater variety in the chosen field of employment ; there is less sense of the continuity and permanence of things and a consequent wider margin of political and economic movement, than is exhibited in the older civilizations of Europe. Because Canadian life exhibits such traits as these in common with the life of the United States, the superficial conclusion often is that we are becoming Americanized. But similar conditions are to be found in Australia, and in other of the newer countries, and this ought to be sufficient indication that the cause is not necessarily that we have the United States as our southern neighbour.

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It is nevertheless true that our Canadian life is influenced in numberless ways by the life of the United States. Through their journalism, their sports, their radio broad-casting, their advertising, their films, etc., they assist in the creation of the habits and outlook of our people. But to conclude that these influences are sufficiently strong to have prevented, and to be preventing, the growth of a Canadian national consciousness is to mistake their importance and to misread the real situation. That there has been a substantial and continuing growth of the sense of national unity in Canada is evident on every hand. It was evident particularly in the life of the Canadian Corps in France, where men from every part of Canada intermingled and wore the metal maple-leaf with equal pride and ardour regardless of the part of the country which they called home. It is evident everywhere to the careful observer wherever he may travel at present in Canada. The Americanizing influences of which so much is heard no doubt hinder a quicker growth of the Canadian national consciousness, and

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because of that they well might be fought as much as it is possible to fight them, but their effect is superficial, and certainly not so all-important as to be credited with being the controlling factor in the future destiny of Canada.

The destiny of Canada will depend upon the character of its people, and, upon the whole, the Canadian people have in the past demonstrated a great measure of adaptability to the problems of life in a new country, and a willingness to shoulder their responsibilities, which augurs well for the future. A weak acceptance of Americanizing influences, an open avowal of the materialistic ideals of American life, and a dallying with the idea of eventual absorption of Canada by the United States, would mean nothing less than the sacrifice of the work of our forefathers, a denial of ourselves and of our possibilities, and a refusal to accept the opportunities and privileges of service to humanity which may be ours if we will but grasp them. Canadians will not choose the lesser road. They will press on along the way of the world-progress, glad to be fighting volun-

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tarily and independently alongside of their comrades in the Empire.

W. E. H.

Sarnia, Canada.

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INTRODUCTION

Most speculation in regard to the future is futile since, of its very nature, it must be based upon the existing conditions of the day, and, for the most part, must ignore those influences of great potential power which the future is bound to bring, and which will affect radically the characters of people and the characteristics of a nation. What Canada will be at the end of this century can be foretold with no more accuracy than could the soldiers of 1812 foresee the Canada of to-day.

But, fortunately, it is a more definite matter which is here to be discussed, and that is the general question as to whether the Canada of the future is likely to be found trodden under by the growing

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material power of the United States, or whether it will be seen standing by itself, strong in action and achievement, an independent nation within the Empire, co-operating with the nations of the Empire and the world.

There are many trends and tendencies of present day Canadian life which give some indication of which of these paths Canada is to take. Some of these seem to bear little relation one to another, and the chapters which follow discussing these tendencies therefore may appear somewhat disjointed and disconnected.

But through them all will appear this thread of union, that in each there are indicated reasons for the belief that Canada's road will run closely parallel to Britain's, and also, it is to be hoped, to that of the United States, but at a greater distance.

The factors which mark the road which Canada is to take are intangible things of the mind and heart, and not so much those tangible facts and statistics which, too often, are quoted as the correct indices of the future.

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This little book, then, is designed, not to attempt to prove by exact process what the future of Canada must be, but rather to indicate what is in the minds of Canadians, and what is that somewhat vague goal to which they are determined to direct their energies.

II

THE INTERNATIONAL OUTLOOK

Up in the Canadian woods, during the course of a year from winter until another winter, I watched and wondered at a colony of beavers. In the spring a pair of them came to a little stream not far from the camp, and seemingly decided to make it their home. The stream ran through an entrancing grove of beautiful white birch, the bank was just the necessary height, and altogether it must have seemed to the beavers to be a rich and promising country indeed. As beavers do, they got to work at once, chose the site of the essential dam, and proceeded to its erection. The work went slowly but steadily ahead. Seemingly the beavers thought it slow too, for one morning, when I went there, I found four of them. It occurred to me that the

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first two had realized, perhaps, the necessities of the population question and had tried a little experiment in immigration. Later in the spring more and more beavers arrived, and the dam was soon completed, as well as the necessary houses for the population.

All summer and fall the beavers worked gathering together their harvest of food for the winter which was coming. Sometimes they played, but not often. But they never became sufficiently used to my presence as to ignore it if I showed myself. In me they seemed to sense an unknown danger and down they would dive to seek shelter in the under-water part of the houses they had built. They only desired to be left alone to carry on their work and to promote the development of their colony.

But tragedy came with the winter. Over the ice a trapper appeared one day and, with his axe, he chopped through those houses which the beavers had so carefully reared, killed the beavers, and provided himself with their skins for later profitable exploitation for his own benefit.

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The beavers, in their plans and in the development of their colony had ignored an outside danger, and had failed to provide a sufficient measure of protection against it.

This, of course, is loosely allegorical. Yet it is not unfitting, perhaps, that a story of the beaver, the national emblem, should be utilized to indicate something of the attitude which Canadians have had towards their own problems. For years, and particularly in the period before the war, Canadians were absorbed altogether in the working out of their own internal development. They were occupied with the development of their natural resources, with the necessary steps to increase their population, with the building of railroads, with the promotion of their industrial life, and with the hundred and one other matters which claimed their attention.

Then came the Great War, and they found themselves in the midst of it, fighting with all the resources of men and material that could be mustered. From the war there came to them the realization that they had been so occupied with their

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own affairs that they had overlooked the fact that there existed questions outside their own immediate scope which could affect them mightily. Unlike the beaver, which could not formulate the idea of possible danger from the unknown, Canadians are beginning to see that they cannot live to themselves alone, but that they must take into their scheme of things the fact that they have been forming world contacts, the possible results of which might react very solidly on the national structure they are attempting to erect. And so there is being created in them, by force of circumstances more than from choice, a very decided interest in world affairs, and in the possible path of international progress.

Now, Canadians are beginning to look out upon the world, and to stir uneasily as they see indications of future trouble which may not only divert their attention from their work of national development, but might even threaten the very safety of the structure they have already so arduously builded. They are becoming concerned with world problems, and they play with

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the idea that, perhaps, even a very small and comparatively weak country such as they know Canada yet to be, may, nevertheless, be able to be of some small assistance in the solution of those problems.

Many influences are playing on the Canadian mind to force this new interest in world affairs. A striking example is the record of the purchasing power of No. 1 Manitoba Northern Wheat which shows that, during the years 1922 and 1923, the purchasing power of a bushel of such wheat almost continuously sagged downwards. This period coincided with the period of increasing demoralization of Germany and consequent uneasiness in Europe. But when the Dawes' plan began to function in 1924, creating as it did a remarkably rapid restoration of confidence throughout Europe, the purchasing power of the bushel of Canadian wheat almost doubled within a few months, and has not fallen since to the low level from which the recovery began. Economic factors such as this are forcing Canadians to face world problems in their own interest.

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It is now ten years since the close of the Great War, and the 'war to end war' obviously did not achieve that much-to-be-desired purpose. In every continent there exist friction spots which at any time might put the nations of the world flying at each other once again. Locarno treaties, Kellogg pacts, Leagues of Nations are praiseworthy affairs but not, in the long run, effective, unless accompanied by adjustments of the *status quo* designed to remove all possible causes of future wars.

Canadians now know themselves to be vitally interested in these matters for two supreme reasons, the first, that they are part and parcel of the British Empire, the senior partner of which is located in Europe and is involved in all major world matters, and the second, that they have as their southern neighbour, a nation which has become the most powerful single nation of the world, and which has acquired, politically and economically, the supreme power of initiative in world affairs. Both are reasons by virtue of which Canada might find itself involved in international difficulties at any time.

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It is not difficult to find friction spots throughout the world. Even within the Empire there is the weakness of the British position in Mesopotamia, and the difficulties created by the growing demands of nationalism in Egypt and India. In Europe there is a heavy crop of potential trouble, the roots of which must be looked to if the agreements of Locarno are to be resultant of the good it was expected of them. The Balkans are still the cockpit of national hatreds. There, Bulgaria and Serbia have to be continually restrained from being at each other, and Greece would like to be at Bulgaria once again. Russia will never be content nationally so long as Roumania holds Bessarabia, and is guaranteed in that holding by England, France, and Italy. Italians and Serbians glower at each other over Albania and Fiume. Poland's boundaries have been placed far outside her ethnographical frontiers, and will yet cause serious trouble, if the cause is not removed. Hungary is humiliated at the loss of Transylvania to Roumania. Italy, with its newer fervent nationalism, demands territory in which

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to expand, and would attempt to take it in Northern Africa from a weakened France, if it thought it would be successful in the attempt. If trouble ensued from any of these causes, England could hardly keep from being involved by reason of Locarno, and her leadership on the League of Nations. And if England were involved, who can say what the results would be to Canada ?

Yet there are possible troubles in the world which are drawing the thoughts of Canadians even more than these which are centred in Europe.

There is the question of Japan, for instance. Canada looks out upon the Pacific, and watches the problems brewing there with misgivings for the future. Across the water is Japan, with its large population crowded into an island not large enough for its necessities, with no raw materials to satisfy its growing demands, and with an ancient aristocracy being challenged by the rising tide of democracy. Japan has been prevented from obtaining room for expansion on the North American continent, or in Australia.

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It cannot force its way to either place, since it knows that it would find the United States and the British Empire united against it. (Any hesitancy which Britain might exhibit in standing in Japan's way of expansion would speedily be overcome by demands from Australia, New Zealand, and Canada.) The rising tide of nationalism in China will prevent, in the long run, Japan from pushing forward its dreams of colonizing in Manchuria, and Russia will stand in its way in Siberia. For the moment, Japan is blocked.

In the decades to come, if conditions remain as they are, the only solution Japan will be able to find to its problems is to lead a united Asia, with the support of an awakened China, and of the half-Asiatic Russians, in a protest against the monopoly of territory and materials of the nations of the Western civilization. Unless the world can evolve some means by which the national needs of countries situated as is Japan can be met, then there can be no permanent world peace. To Canadians that means that the future is not assured and that the fact that Canada

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looks out upon the Pacific may yet bring untold trouble.

Then there is a question which is still closer home, and that is the probable future course of the United States in international affairs. Whatever that course may be, inevitably it will affect Canada. In Europe, the United States is thought of as the greatest Imperialistic power left in the world. The American policy in Nicaragua seems to give colour to that idea, and the attitude of the States towards the building of an extremely powerful navy does little to dissipate it. It is realized, too, that the United States, in the naval and militaristic as well as in the economic sense, has tremendous potential power, and it is liked and trusted none the more for that reason. European nations, in the past, as they have come to the point of power which the United States has now reached, always have had dreams of the possible extension of that power in the world. It is hard for them to credit the idea that the people of the United States might be able to withstand the temptation to use the power which is now

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theirs to further extend their sway over the world. The possession of power has always gone to the head of nations in the past, and it is not at all assured that it will not have its effect upon our neighbours to the south. Why should the States hold itself in check just when it has reached its prime? Will their possible exercise of the power they undoubtedly have developed cause them to become embroiled with other nations? And, if so, what will be the effect on Canada?

There are many indications, even now, of friction developing between Britain and the United States, and the uncontrolled development of friction and ill-feeling is always the forerunner of war. Such a war, if it ever came, would be a calamity from which western civilization could not recover, but it cannot be ruled out as altogether impossible. The parrot-like repetition that war between these two nations is "unthinkable" will never do anything to remove the causes of friction between them which must be removed, and prevented from recurring, in the very interests of humanity itself. If such a war should

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occur, Canada would come to the end of its course. Either it would be wiped out like the Spartans at Thermopylae, or it would be forced into an ignominious surrender to United States' domination.

Seeing in the world, therefore, so many possible causes of war, the effects of which Canada could not hope to escape, Canadians are being forced gradually to develop an interest in the course of international affairs. For a hundred reasons they are beginning to see that the only safety for Canada lies in the existence of world peace.

Given peace in the world, or at least freedom from wars on the scale of the last Great War, for the next few decades, and the brightness of Canada's future can be hardly exaggerated. It is becoming more and more evident to the people of Canada that, by devoting themselves to the cause of world-peace, they would be helping themselves to obtain a sure and necessary form of insurance designed to guard the future of the nation, and an assurance that their children would enter, in due time, into their inheritance.

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Canadians, then, are feeling the necessity of playing a greater part in the future in world affairs than they have in the past. Their own material interest, if nothing more than that, will lead them to co-operate in every sound movement towards world-peace. It is becoming an urgent practical necessity for them.

Because Britain, of all the nations in the world, is pre-eminent in this field of the promotion of mutual understanding between nations, Canadians feel that their future can best be tied up with that of Britain. The very necessity for world peace, both for Canada and for Britain, will operate to strengthen the ties which already bind the countries together. Only within the Empire can Canadians find their maximum opportunity for making any worth while world contribution to this end.

War on any great scale, in almost any part of the world, must react disastrously upon the development of Canada. World peace would assure that development. Canada's greatest chance to help in the maintenance of world peace, and so to

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help itself in the widest sense, lies in co-operation, from within the Empire, with the other nations. That is the road Canada is bound to take in the future. Material interest, as well as national sentiment, will direct it.

III

THE POPULAR ATTITUDE

It is difficult to back with overwhelming evidence a dogmatic statement that the people of Canada are strongly Imperialistic in sentiment, however true it is known to be, and that they are determined to allow nothing to sway them away from a warm friendship to the Empire, and to Britain.

Yet there are ways and means of coming to an understanding of what the people feel, and perhaps no class is more adept at this practice than are the politicians. From the politicians, therefore, might be expected some indication of their reading of the minds of Canadians upon this question of Imperialism.

We have not to look far afield for such indications, and invariably it is to be

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found that the politicians think it good politics to back the Imperialistic sentiment of the country, and that they find also that a vigorous waving of the Union Jack obtains the favour of the people which, in due course, is expressed and registered in the ballot box.

Not long ago, for example, the present Government of Canada proposed to appoint a non-political committee to suggest designs for a distinctive Canadian flag, thinking thereby to end the anomaly which is existent in the current use of the merchant marine flag as a national emblem. But there was such a burst of protest, nurtured carefully by the political party in opposition, that the proposal had to be withdrawn. Whatever the merits, or demerits, of the proposal, it is evident that it created an opportunity for the people of the country to express the strong Imperialistic sentiment which is inherent in them.

There was another similar indication in the 1911 Dominion Election campaign. When Laurier announced that he had been able to arrange a Treaty of Reciprocity

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with the United States, there was a short period in the House when all parties were considered to be in favour of it. But the Opposition soon came to see the political wisdom of opposing it, and they did so successfully in the campaign which followed, by raising the Imperial issue and denouncing the treaty as one which would lead the country away from the Empire. Here again there is no need to decide the advantage, or otherwise, of the proposal, but only to notice the undoubted fact that the people of the country were influenced by their Imperialistic sentiment to the extent of voting Laurier out of office, for accomplishing nothing more than that which all the statesmen of the Dominion, regardless of party, had been trying to do since before Confederation.

Even to-day there are indications that one political party sees in an appeal to the Imperialistic sentiment of the people, an opportunity to acquire political influence. The cry is being heralded throughout the land that, for the first year, there has been a less number of British immigrants arrive in Canada than of immigrants from the

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Continental nations of Europe. The condition may be as serious as is claimed, but it can hardly be doubted that the Opposition see in it an opportunity to sway the country against the Government by an appeal, once more, to the Imperialistic feelings of the country. If the Imperialistic stand that is being taken was thought to be an unpopular stand in the country, it would not be considered good politics and there would be more hesitation in taking it.

Apart from the political world, however, there has been, not so long ago, an outstanding, and never-to-be-forgotten indication of the feelings of Canadians in regard to the Empire, and to Britain. Britain found itself at war, and Canadians were suddenly faced with the situation. The unanimity of opinion at that time, the pressure brought upon the Government to take immediate action to help, the offers of service with which Ottawa was flooded, and the subsequent war record of Canada, surely is a sufficient and sure indication of the existence in the country of a constant and virile Imperialism. How can it be

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doubted for a moment, having in memory
that army of Canadian dead which lie in
the fields of Flanders and of France !

IV

POPULATION AND IMMIGRATION

Everyone in Canada understands that most of the national difficulties have their source in the nature of the country, where a small population of some nine and a half million people is stretched across the immense distance between the Atlantic and Pacific shores. It is natural, therefore, for Canadians readily to realize that increased population, to a great extent would counteract the difficulties created by the geography of the country, by breaking down the present isolation of families and communities, by creating greater opportunities for group action and for the development of a national unity, by making a larger home market both for farm and industrial products, and by obtaining the many other advantages which accrue to a densely populated country.

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This desire for a greater population is rendered the more keen by the fact that there has been developed a national organization, politically and economically, which, without important extensions, could look after twice the population now in the country. There are nine Provincial Governments, with all their essential administrative machinery, as well as the National Government at Ottawa. All these administrations have developed roads, built public buildings, schools, and spent money on many other useful things, which are not used as intensively as they could be, because of the paucity of population. The cost of these services, as also the cost to Canada of the Great War, would be less burdensome if spread over the twenty million people it would be desirable to have in Canada in the near future.

There is also the burden of a somewhat over-developed transportation system. In the United States there is a mile of railway for every 400 people, while here in Canada there is a mile for every 178 people. It may be assumed that in the United States the railway mileage existing is approxi-

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mately that which bears the most economic relation to the traffic which offers. On the basis of this mileage, Canada has sufficient railways to look after the traffic needs generated by a population of some twenty million people. The railways, if such a population were in the country, could make a better use of their plant, and many benefits would accrue thereby to the public.

Fortunately, to back up the desire for a greater population, Canada has natural resources to provide for the establishment and growth of a sufficient degree of primary industry to justify the increased population, as and when it arrives. Agriculture forms the backbone of the economic life of the country, and its productivity can be increased greatly both by bringing virgin land into cultivation, and by a more intensive system of farming than is now practised. The resources of the forests can be developed further, although Canada has already built one of the largest pulp and paper industries of the world. The mines, also, are little more than in their initial stage of development,

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although they are producing a substantial portion of the world's metals. On these bases, but chiefly on the agricultural base, can be built a nation capable of economically sustaining a population of at least seventy million people. That is for the far future. Canadians are more concerned with the problems immediately ahead, of building the country up to a sound population of about twenty million people.

Such a desired addition to the population will not be obtained by virtue of the natural increase alone. Immigrants must come. Where and how to obtain them has become a question of great national importance. Any policy decided upon in this matter, as in any other national matter, must take into consideration the fact that the agricultural interest in the country, in relation to its power of production of national wealth, is as of much importance as is the industrial interest. The converse also holds true, and the importance of the industrial interest also must be recognized. No policy in Canada can be a true national policy which is dictated only in the interests of either

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agriculture or industry. The spirit of compromise must rule for the good of the country.

Anyone familiar with the real feeling of the country cannot doubt but that Canadians want to see their country filled up with people of British stock. Regardless of the uninformed and casual opinions so often expressed in the Motherland that Canada does not welcome emigrants from Britain, (even an English bishop, after a hurried trip across the country, published that as his opinion), it is nevertheless the fact that Canadians are urging and demanding the adoption of some policy which will produce the result they desire to see, and that is nothing less than a movement of Britons into Canada on a scale even greater than before the war.

Canada wants these British people, and needs them, if the future development of the country within the Empire is to remain unquestioned. The present policy of a tacit restriction of assisted immigration to farm labourers and domestic servants will never produce the results desired. The fact that Canada at present receives

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as high a percentage of the total emigrants which leave Britain's shores as it did before the war is a fact indicative of the willingness of the people of Britain still to choose Canada as their destination, once they decide to emigrate. But they are not emigrating now in as great numbers as before the war, and Canada, accordingly, is not receiving as great an infiltration of British stock as is desirable.

The only factor which once more will start a great flow of Britons to Canada is the development in Canada of marked prosperity, and marked opportunity, for them. Canada is at present prosperous, but not to that peak where people of other lands are needed to share and maintain that prosperity, except in so far as the demands of agriculture are concerned. But the peak is being approached, and the climb to it may be hastened. Once it could be attained, then there would be a condition where British immigrants could be assimilated readily into all the occupations of the country, with profit to themselves, and to Canada. The flow would start once more across the Atlantic.

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The highest peak of national prosperity will only be attained in one way, and that is by the widening of the agricultural base upon which depends all the commercial and industrial life of the country. More people must be placed on the land. It is an old cry, but still a true one.

Now the pioneer life of the virgin farm is a hard life, and immigrants must be of the type which will undertake it. Much of the new land demands much labour in clearing, and success can only come from hard work, long hours, and a state of content with temporary low returns. Native Canadians do not seem willing to undertake it in large numbers, chiefly because there are other more attractive opportunities usually open to anyone who knows the country well. Nor has it proven attractive to large numbers of Britons in spite of the amazing successes recorded by thousands of them. Investigation seems to make it evident that the only types which can be recruited, in the numbers required, to do this essential type of pioneer work are the peasant peoples of Central and South-eastern Europe. As

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before, the first economic need of the country is for the man "with the sheep-skin coat and the big broad wife."

Canadians are coming to realize that it will be good national policy to welcome some few millions of these peasants. By placing them upon new land made available for them, under Government supervision and assistance, there would be created a widening of the agricultural base of the country which, in its ultimate results, would permit the further assimilation, in a variety of occupations, of hundreds of thousands of immigrants from the British Isles.

Nor should Canada be too fearful of the racial problems involved in such an influx of Central Europeans. The people of the country at present have developed a strong national consciousness, and are proof against the influence of many million foreigners. It is found, indeed, that the second generation of foreign immigrants become good Canadians and that these races have a substantial contribution to make to the culture of the country. The fact that nine-tenths of

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the Canadian people were born within the Empire means that they command an overwhelming influence throughout the country, and that they must have developed a power of assimilation sufficient for the purpose in mind. Particularly should there be no need for fearing the result, if the placing of these people on the land would result, as it must, in the creation of a condition whereby the country would be strengthened, later, by a substantial addition of people of British stock.

In the meantime, much could be accomplished also, in the attraction of British immigration by the application of an efficient type of community settlement. With the use of Governmental credit, whole communities could be established in Canada of people from chosen sections of Britain ; communities which would include not only farmers for the land contiguous to the chosen site, but artisans, professional men, shopkeepers, and all the people necessary for a community life. Such communities, based upon far-seeing and definite plans, could be made particularly attractive to the people of the Motherland

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by giving an assurance of a definite opportunity of work and reward, as well as by banishing that bugbear of possible loneliness, and lack of known companionship, which now prevents so much emigration.

Canadians are determined to solve this vital problem of how to induce the people of Britain to come to live in Canada in the numbers in which they are needed. The demand is daily becoming more insistent, and more vocal, that the agencies which control the policies of immigration find the right solution. Sooner or later, it will be applied and another powerful section will be added to the influence in the country tending to the maintenance of the Imperial sentiment. The very existence of this present great demand that immigration from Great Britain be increased is evidence of the determination of Canadians to maintain the country as one dominantly British.

V

THE TREND OF THE TARIFF

This matter of the attraction of population to the country will be rendered easier by any increase in the general prosperity of the country, a fact which already has been suggested. It is, from this point of view, a problem of perhaps less importance than the related problems of taxation and transportation, for upon the latter depend the production of the country's wealth. Once the prosperity of the country is so great as to convince the world that money can be made in Canada, then there will be no lack of immigrants of the types which are needed.

The tariff, being a tax, reacts very strongly upon the economic life of the country, and it is an instrument which has, and will have, a very potent influence

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upon the future. The industrial interests agitate for a higher tariff, as high as is the tariff of the United States against Canada. The agricultural interest, chiefly in the western provinces, feels antagonistic to the policies favoured by the commercial and industrial centres of Eastern Canada. The prairie must trade with the world, since it has an annual surplus of wheat, over the domestic consumption, which, in some years, amounts to over four hundred million bushels. In order to permit other countries to purchase this surplus, those countries must be allowed to ship goods to Canada, and the tariff, in the opinion of the westerners, must be framed to permit of this. The cost of machinery and supplies, and the general cost of living, must be kept as low as possible to keep down production costs, so that there will be a margin of profit under the price obtained for the wheat, which price is set at Liverpool under world conditions over which the producers have no control.

The only tariff policy suitable for the whole country is a compromise—one which balances the demands of the agricultural

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and industrial extremes. In a general way this has been attained in the present tariff which, although imperfect in detail, gives a reasonable amount of consideration to both interests. But this present tariff is the result of a negative policy designed to maintain as great a measure of political peace as possible, rather than one designed to give the greatest assistance to the country's trade. Canadians are beginning to think of the necessity of a more vital policy being adopted to promote the general welfare, and it will not be long before one will have to be evolved, capable of more or less universal acceptance.

Tariffs being such artificial applications upon the lives of countries, speculation as to their future trends is a somewhat dubious affair. But, so far as Canada is concerned, there are conditions existent which will have a ruling influence upon its future tariff history.

The chief of these can be seen in the state of Canada's trade with the United States. Although Canada purchases over eight hundred million dollars worth of

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goods from the United States annually, and is the best customer that country has in the world, yet it does so in face of the fact that the tariff system of the United States has been ruthlessly strengthened to keep out Canadian products. The Fordney tariff gave a staggering blow to Canada's exports to the States, yet it was accepted with surprisingly little murmur in Canada. Canadians now are feeling that the time is arriving to make an answer in the only way which will be understood, and condoned, in the country to the south, and that answer is to put up against the States the same high rate of tariff as they put against Canada, and to do it on those articles which are purchased mostly from them, but which could be obtained from other countries, possibly from within the Empire.

If and when such action is taken, as taken it will be in the not far distant future, it will only be on the expressed condition that Canada will be ready to lower the new tariff wall as and when the tariff wall against Canada is lowered.

But such a policy will never be initiated

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of itself, regardless of the pressure caused by the unsatisfactory balance of trade between the countries. That unsatisfactory balance will make the demand for a retaliatory tariff more and more emphatic as the years pass, but the demand will emanate chiefly from the industrial and commercial interests and from all the people dependent upon them. The fact that the industrialization of the Canadian West is progressing rapidly will mean substantial support for such a policy even on the prairies. But the opposition of the primary producer, chiefly the agricultural producer, will remain sufficiently strong to insist, not upon the non-establishment of the retaliatory tariff, but upon an accompanying condition which would prevent the new tariff from being utilized to raise prices in Canada, and to increase the cost of production in the primary occupations.

That accompanying condition can only be the granting of a substantial increase in the rate of British Preference on all goods affected. Unless there is such a safeguard to the primary producer in-

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cluded, no policy of the establishment of a Canadian tariff as high as that of the United States could ever be instituted in Canada. Without such a safeguard an attempt to do it would only split the country into bitter rival factions.

But this policy which the state of trade with the United States, and the demands of national unity, is forcing slowly on the country, is one which has something to offer to all the interests which make up the national life. It will include something of what the industrial interests desire, and that is further protection against the entry of goods from the United States, and, by opening the door wider to British goods, it will also give to the primary producer what he always demands, and that is the creation of competition to the local industry which is being protected. Both sides will gain a great deal, and it is problematic whether much will be lost. In the unlikely event of the United States later accepting the implied offer of trade reciprocity, an agreement could be worked out to the distinct advantage of Canadian trade

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without too great and too sudden a sacrifice of the industrial life of the country.

Such action, when taken, will change materially the main direction of Canadian trade to the benefit of both Canada and Britain. The added flow of British goods to Canada will permit Britain to be a better market for Canadian products. The increased trade will start once more the flow of British capital to this country and it is noteworthy that whenever that has taken place in the past, there has been also a flow of British immigrants. Canada will then be using its trade relations as a powerful factor in solving its population problem, and that without the necessity of organizing the type of immigration appeal which it has now to use in the old land.

This newer tariff policy is commencing to emerge in Canada and there are signs that it will prove to be an acceptable national policy. It is being forced gradually upon the country by the existing conditions of trade, and it is to this policy that the people will come. The West will tend to be content with the increased competi-

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tion from Empire sources, particularly as it will recognize an instrument which might ultimately produce freer trade with the United States, a matter of great material benefit. The commercial and industrial East will tend to accept such greater protection from United States competition, even at the cost of increased competition from Britain, in view of the fact that Canadian industry has the natural advantage of distance over industries located across the Atlantic Ocean. Above all, the policy will be recognized as one on which all sections of the country can unite to find common ground, and one, also, which will tend to encourage the further application in Canada of the practice of Imperial co-operation. It will be all the more acceptable because of that.

VI

THE MATTER OF 'STATUS'

The question of Canada's 'status' within the Empire is one concerning which there is much misconception, and a consequent unnecessary feeling of uneasiness. Canada's progress towards an ever more and more complete autonomy seems to many to entail an inevitable growth away from the Empire, and it is, therefore, looked upon in some quarters with disfavour. Yet the public as a whole is not particularly interested in the question and it becomes, accordingly, the part of the statesman, rather than of the politician to promote it. It is fortunate, perhaps, that this is so, for as long as political parties cannot curry popular favour by a programme of quick attainment of autonomy in those matters which are not yet

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under absolute Canadian control, it is not likely that the country will be rushed into taking inadvisable steps before the suitable time arrives for taking them.

But there is no necessary antagonism between the gradual attainment of an even more complete autonomy by Canada, and the growth of the spirit of co-operation and unity between the constituent parts of the Empire. If this were realized, this whole question of 'status' would be seen in its proper proportion and could be treated simply as an academic problem of the proper functioning of Empire administrative machinery. Canada's desire for complete and absolute self-government is entirely consonant with its wish to be whole-heartedly a part of the Empire.

Canada's history, for the last hundred years, is chiefly a record of the successful attempts made to obtain an ever-growing measure of self-government. Always the cry of those who have opposed the granting of the demands of the autonomists at any time was that the ties that bound the country to Britain and the Empire would be endangered. Even back when Robert

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Baldwin led the fight to obtain responsible government in Ontario, the governing powers, both in Canada and in England, were convinced that the granting of his requests meant the loss of Canada to the Empire. When Sir Wilfrid Laurier stood out against Joseph Chamberlain's proposals leading towards a federated Empire he was condemned as a man who was leading the country to political independence. Sir Robert Borden escaped criticism as an Empire wrecker, when he insisted that Canada should have separate representation at the Peace Conference and on the League of Nations, only because of the high degree of nationalistic feeling which the war period generated in Canadians. But when Mr. Mackenzie King undertook to sign a treaty with the United States in 1923 dealing with the Halibut fisheries in the North Pacific, he received the full brunt of the criticism of those who believe that any step promoting autonomy means a step in the wrecking of the Empire. On the latter occasion even the Premier of one of the other Dominions denounced the action of the Premier of

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Canada, and *The Times* in London saw in it an indication of the end.

Who thinks, now, that Robert Baldwin was wrong? Who criticizes Laurier's opposition to Chamberlain and the federation idea? The signing of our own commercial treaties has become a commonplace, and a Minister at Washington has already demonstrated his practical usefulness. Have any of these things endangered the Empire relations? The truth of the matter is that this is not the type of thing out of which Empire unity is made, and opposition to any step to be taken, now or later, towards a more complete autonomy cannot reasonably be based on this age old, and discredited, cry of danger to the Empire.

Unfortunately, in Canada, whenever a question arises which includes the possible taking of another step towards a more complete power of self-government, it is apt to be seized upon by the then-existing opposition as a means of attack, as a means to inflame the people against the indicated destroyers of the ties which bind us to the Motherland. If the public

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were only slightly observant, it would see that the very history of the country denies such arguments.

Ever since the Constitutional Act of 1791, which sought to keep the Canadas in a state of colonial servitude to England, there has been a constant and inevitable pressure from the people of the country to acquire the complete right to their own government. It has not been the monopoly of either of the older political parties, since, even since Confederation, the leaders of both parties have led the country along this path towards a fuller autonomy. It was a Conservative leader, Sir John A. MacDonald, who put an end to the privilege of the Governor-General attending Cabinet meetings, and drew from Downing Street an admission of the right of Canada to make its own tariffs. It was Sir Wilfrid Laurier, a Liberal of the Liberals, who kept Canada on the road to self-government when he fought the attempt of the Federationists to mould the Empire to their hearts' desire. Then Sir Robert Borden, as leader of a Conservative and Unionist Government, gave public pro-

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claim to Canada's claim of nationality at the Peace Conference and at Geneva. Mr. Mackenzie King, the present leader of the Liberal Government, has followed the policy laid down by all his predecessors in office, regardless of their politics, when he has applied the principle of nationality to Canada's functioning in international affairs. Because of all this, the public should see the absurdity of the leaders of one party attacking the leaders of another for doing just what they themselves would do if they were in power and the occasion arose. It is not a question of party politics, and should not be made so.

This desire upon the part of Canadians for real self-government is inherent in the Canadian character, whether it is realized or not, and that for a very simple reason. Canadians are British, and it is in the blood of Britons to be free. The whole history of Britain constitutes the reason why Canadians, from the very first of their history, have demanded the right to govern themselves. They would not be Britons had they not that desire, and that same trait will lead them, in the future, to

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take into their own hands those matters over which they have not, as yet, complete control. But, when and if they do, having regard to the history of similar matters in the past, it cannot be soundly urged that they are once more endangering the Empire connection.

The Imperial Conference in 1926 defined Great Britain and the Dominions as "autonomous communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another in any respect of their domestic or external affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the crown, and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth." This would infer the absolute equality of the Dominions with Britain, and it is so, perhaps, in theory, but it is not so, at present, in practice. This was recognized by the Conference by a declaration that "principles of equality and similarity, appropriate to status, do not universally extend to function." The situation, therefore, in plain language, is that the Dominions obtained the theoretical acknowledgement of their absolute

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equality with Britain and declared their right to assert themselves nationally in any way which appealed to them at any time, there being the understanding that such assertion of nationality should not be such as to embarrass the Empire or any of its constituent parts.

If, therefore, Canada should, in the future, desire to be free from limitations included in the Colonial Laws Validity Act, or be free from the Imperial regulations in regard to merchant shipping, or to abolish the existing appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, or to obtain the power to amend its own constitution, the right to all these has been established. It becomes, only, a matter of domestic policy as to whether any such requests should be made. But, if it is ever made, in regard to any of these phases of administration, on neither side of the Atlantic should it be objected to on the old ground of possible damage to the Empire connection or be quoted as evidence of Canada's desire to break away from the Empire.

In another way, also, too much impor-

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tance has been given to this matter of 'status' in the past. It has allowed a somewhat false conception of nationality to be current in the country. The constitutionalists have been saying that, since Canada is a nation and free to make its own decisions, it is, therefore, free to take part, or not, in Empire wars, as it thinks fit. Under some conditions this may be so. But the real point of the matter is that such a decision would not be left to Canada or to Britain. It would be decided by the Empire's enemy, if Canada did not decide it for itself. Even if neutrality looked to Canadians to be the right policy, they would be neutral only so long as the enemy wished not to consider them an integral part of the British Empire. If it were to the enemy's advantage to include them in the Empire for the purpose, they would be at war, without any choice in the matter whatever. The fact is that whatever degree of nationality Canada may have attained, it is yet recognized chiefly within the Empire, and it is not, and it is difficult to see how it can be, recognized internationally among

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the nations of the world. Canada may have a seat on the Council of the League of Nations, and there may be a separate entity, but it still remains, if not in theory then it will prove so in practice, that when the Empire is at war, or Britain, Canada is also at war. How to harmonize that fact with the idea of complete national autonomy is a problem for the future to solve. Fortunately time has solved many problems for the British Empire, and it is probable that for this one also a solution will be found in due course.

The growth of self-government in Canada has one very important international result, and that is in the object lesson which it affords to the United States. That country had to fight Britain to obtain the right to govern itself, and it is a salutary lesson for it to see that Canada has been successful in obtaining that same right, not only without fighting, but by still remaining within the Empire. It helps to dispel from the minds of the people of the States the idea that Britain's Empire still is based upon conquest and domination. Seeing Canadians living in

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freedom within the Empire must help them to realize something of the work that Britain is doing in the world, and to influence them in feeling that in co-operation with the Empire the United States might find its most useful international function. The influence of the Canadian situation might even go farther than that in the far future, and be the factor leading the two great Anglo-Saxon nations to join in some such loose union as is typified now by the union of Britain and the Dominions. If, by the development of its 'status' to the utmost, Canada can demonstrate the possibility of the existence of complete independence harmonizing with unity of co-operative action between nations, and so bring the Empire and the States closer together, that alone will have justified the course of its national and international development.

Whatever the future of Canada in this matter of 'status', one thing should be clear from the past, and that is that there is no necessary antagonism between Canadianism and Imperialism. The Canadian Corps in France was distinctively

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Canadian, and its members were proud to wear their 'Canada' shoulder-badges. But they were proud also of their Imperialism and they were glad to be part and parcel of the British organization. It is not different in civilian life. When things Canadian are emphasized in any way, it does not indicate any belittlement of things British; and when Canadian nationality is in any way stressed, it does not mean that the Imperial tie means any the less to Canadians. When, and if, a crisis comes, as it did in 1914, it will be found that the more vigorous the existing Canadianism, the more intense will be the devotion to the Empire cause.

VII

PAST CONTRIBUTIONS

Canada has already been able to demonstrate its possession of some of the attributes of nationhood, to some small degree at least, by the contributions it has been able to make to the development of what has been called the Third British Empire, and to the general welfare of the world. Solutions which have been evolved in Canada to meet problems which existed can be pointed to, in some instances, as distinct and valuable additions to world progress.

It was in Canada, for instance, that the political principle upon which the Empire at present rests, and grows, was evolved. The insistent demand for responsible government grew into the present insistence for the development of complete

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autonomy, and it was worked out, and is being maintained, in complete harmony with membership in the Empire. Despite all the gloomy prophecies which invariably were made as each progressive step towards autonomy was taken, it was found that the ideas of nationality and Imperial unity were capable of reconciliation. As the practice became increasingly successful in Canada, it was extended, and other self-governing states grew up within the Empire, like New Zealand, Australia, and, more recently, South Africa. The Irish troubles were only settled because in Canada the Irish and the British found a model which had worked out sufficiently well to provide a reasonably satisfactory solution to their mutual difficulties.

It is, indeed, a fact that the whole evolution of the Empire is now in the direction of responsible government as worked out in Canada, to be attained in the dependencies as quickly as the growing capacities of their respective populations permit. "It is the recognized aim of British administrators," the Canada Year Book states the point, "by the

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extension of educational facilities and by just administration, to develop these capacities to the utmost, so that in the dependencies, as well as in the Dominions and in the Mother Country, the constitutional history of the future may be a record of 'freedom slowly broadening down from precedent to precedent'."

There is another feature in Canadian life which has its lesson for the world, and that rests in the fact that in Canada, for more than a hundred years, two races, different in language and in culture, have lived peacefully with each other, and co-operated in everything pertaining to the national welfare. The development of a Canadian nationalism has been marked, and this in spite of the fact that it contains within it two subordinate nationalisms, the French-Canadian and the British-Canadian. This has proven an advantage, rather than otherwise, since it has brought to the national character the realization of the virtues of tolerance.

This lesson learned within the confines of any nation is apt to cause the people of that nation to practise tolerance in their

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international affairs. It is an antidote to jingoism and to that extreme type of nationalism which looks upon the 'foreigners' of other lands with suspicion. The world at large, and particularly the nations of Europe, have need to learn this lesson which can be read in Canada, that it is possible for two nationalisms, even based upon different languages, to exist harmoniously within a larger nationalism.

There are other features of Canadian life which have international value. The existence of the long international boundary line between Canada and the United States, with its complete absence of any fortification or works of defence on either side, is surely a useful lesson to the nations of the world as to the possibility of living at peace with one's neighbour. To ensure the permanence of this condition, and as an example of how questions between nations who are neighbours can be peacefully and satisfactorily settled, there exists the International Joint Commission, created in accordance with the Treaty of 1909, and consisting of six members, three appointed by the President of the United

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States, and three by the King on the recommendation of the Government of Canada. These six persons function as an international body to "prevent disputes regarding the use of boundary waters and to settle all questions—involving the rights, obligations, or interests of either in relation to the other", and the Commission is made a Court of Appeal for the final settlement of "any questions or matters of difference between the two countries." It is, in fact, a League of the Two Nations of the North American Continent, and, as such, it functions successfully, without, be it marked, any question of the necessity of armaments to enforce its decisions. Here, at least, in the world, the question of disarmament has been solved. Its possibility has been demonstrated.

Much could be said of other distinct contributions which Canada has been able to make to the world. The Industrial Disputes Investigation Act of 1907 led the way in the field of conciliation between employer and employee, and it has been the base for much progress in this

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connection in other countries. The demonstration of the possibility of efficient management of public ownership of utilities has been made in several instances, and upon a particularly large scale in the case of Hydro-Electric Power in Ontario. The development of new wheats, and of co-operative marketing on a large scale, have been important factors. All these things are indications that Canada, as a nation, has been able to do distinctive things, that Canadians have not been content to copy any other people, even the people of the United States whom they are supposed to emulate. Canada has already done some things worth doing in the world, and the accomplishments of the past are only the slight promises of what the future perhaps will see. Certainly Canada's life to the present has been sufficiently individualistic as to make it certain that Canadians will insist, in the future, upon treading their own path, wherever it may lead them. They will not be content to follow meekly any path blazed for them by their southern neighbours.

VIII

FUTURE PROSPERITY

No one familiar with the economic progress which Canada has already made, and with the yet untouched natural resources of the country, can be doubtful of the probability of great future prosperity. It takes no more than a glance at the resources available to the future to convince anyone of what is ahead. All that is needed is the opportunity for peaceful development.

Little more than fifty-two million acres of agricultural land are under crop in the country, and there still remains available more than three hundred million acres for future settlement. It is estimated that the forests of Canada still contain over four hundred and eighty billion feet of lumber and twelve hundred million cords of pulp

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wood. The fish and furs of the country have tremendous potential value. One-sixth of the known coal reserves of the world, nickel deposits which even now produce six-sevenths of the world's supply, expansive oil-fields, large copper and silver deposits, are located within the country. Canada ranks now as the third largest gold producer in the world, and whereas the other fields in the world are giving decreasing quantities, Canada's deposits are not yet even located by general areas. Although there has been already great development of the water powers of the country to develop electricity, the present total of about four million and a quarter horse-power represents only about eleven per cent of the available total. Over forty million horse-power of low-cost hydro-electric energy remains to be developed.

There is an area in the country as large as France, Germany, Belgium, Denmark, Holland, and Great Britain, with similar climatic conditions, the development of which has scarcely commenced. This is the Peace River area. It is an area which can produce fifty to sixty bushels to the

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acre of the best quality wheat, whereas a twenty acre yield on the prairies is a good yield. It has inexhaustible deposits of the highest grade steam-coal. Its rivers can supply twenty million horse-power of electrical energy whenever it is needed. It has tremendous deposits of all the minerals, of gypsum and of salt. There are eighty million barrels of oil in its tar sands just waiting for the development of an economic process of extraction. People who know this area the best, claim that it will be able to support millions of people, in ease and comfort. There is justification even for the following statement of one enthusiast : " It is the last and yet it is the richest, the most salubrious and the most beautiful region of the world to be explored, exploited and colonized by civilized man."

Population is the only thing needed for Canada to enter into the full of the heritage which belongs to it, and this century will see the empty spaces of the country fill up. It was the discovery of gold in California in 1849 which started the great western development of the United States, and in

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the eighty years which have followed, the population of that country has increased by over a hundred million. Canada has many more millions to draw from than did the United States, and has much greater agricultural and other resources to attract them. It will not be many years before the tide will begin in earnest and immigrants by the millions will flow to these shores. The end of the century will see Canada with a population of over a hundred million. The growth of world population during that period will force such an increase in Canadian population, even if there were no other influence acting in that direction.

If war, or pestilence, does not block the progress of the country, Canada will make as great advances in the remaining years of the twentieth century as did the United States, in the last three-quarters of a century.

This very wealth which Canada has in its resources, and this very assurance of a tremendous future prosperity makes of the country an inviting economic prize for any other country to acquire. It would

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be, it is admitted, a valuable acquisition to the powerful country which is Canada's southern neighbour. There are many people, indeed, who for that reason think that the inevitable future of the country is to be found in its absorption by the United States.

Such an absorption would assure the material future of the Canadian people. There would be an automatic protection for the economic and peaceful development of natural resources, resulting, probably, in much individual wealth. But this certainty of material prosperity would be purchased at great spiritual cost.

If Canadians gave in to the superficial Americanizing influence which abounds in the country, if they gave up all their ideas of independent growth, they would be doing no more than selling their birth-right for a mess of potage. They would be giving up all idea of making a distinct and useful contribution to the progress of the world, and to the enhancement of the benefits of western civilization. They would be deserting the other nations of the Empire in the forward work of the

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world. They would be refusing to give heed to the spirit of their soldier dead in France and Flanders, as it was expressed by one of them :

“ If you break faith with us who die
We shall not sleep, though poppies grow
In Flanders fields.”

It has been said that absorption is inevitable because of the great investments of American capital in Canada. Apart from the fact that there is much doubt as to the political and social results of such a process, (an indication of which is the fact that the western development of the United States was made possible chiefly by the influx of British capital), this process of infiltration of American capital is not as yet serious, when held in comparison to the national wealth of Canada. The total national wealth is estimated to be about twenty-five billion dollars, whereas the whole total of British and foreign capital invested in the country is some five and a half billions, little over twenty per cent of the wealth held by Canadians. Of this investment by outsiders, about forty per cent was made by

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Britain, about fifty-five per cent by United States, and the balance by other countries. Less than twelve per cent of the total wealth of Canadians is held by interests in the United States, and that is not an amount which gives them any recognizable degree of control. It represents, indeed, simply a modest borrowing by Canadians for the sake of the development of their resources. It has, and will have, no great political or social significance.

Whatever the future will bring, Canadians will make their own way, and depend upon their own native ability to work out their problems. They have inherited the British instinct for continuous development, and the spirit which made the Empire will make a virile and independent Canada within the Empire. Of the alternate roads which Canada might take, that towards the United States, and that looking towards co-operation within the Empire for world progress, the cross-roads have already been passed, and Canada is already well on its way along the latter road. It will not retrace its steps to take the other turn.

IX

THE ROAD WE TAKE

Canada's road, then, is the broad highway along which it can travel with the other nations of the Empire, and with any other nations of the world, towards the peaceful development of all the world. Along that way there will be much opportunity of service, and for the application of an increasing influence as the country itself becomes more powerful and more populous.

Canada made that decision definitely in 1914, when the call came for service to the Empire and the world. It did not, then, think of taking the same action as the United States, and remain on the outside. There was not even a public interest shown in the matter of waiting to see what the States would do. Canada decided

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the matter for itself, and took the step which led it away from the States, and towards the Empire, without even being aware of the fact that such a choice was being made. In the face of that choice, and of the record which Canada made in the war which followed, surely it is fatuous to argue that many minor considerations indicate that the future of the country lies rather with the United States than with the Empire. Could Canada give any more proof than it did in the war years as to the road it was determined to take ?

It has been indicated earlier that the problems concerned with Canada's 'status' have little to do with the ties which bind the country to the Empire, but that they are simply the outgrowth of the natural desire of Canadians to govern themselves in all things. The people of Britain, in like circumstances, would make the same demands for complete autonomy, for it is from them that Canadians have inherited that insistence for independence of government which cause the demands to be made. Let it be realized then, that when Canada takes over more and more the functions of

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a national government, such action has no relation to the determination of Canadians to stay with the other nations of the Empire in the work which has to be done in the world.

Canada has a double motive leading it to make what contribution it can to international matters. The first is that one which already has been discussed and which rests in the absolute necessity for world peace to enable the country to proceed with its internal development unhampered by outside disturbances. The second is that, having contributed in its short history something of at least some small value to the progress of the world it desires to do nationally what most of its citizens desire to do individually, and that is to make some further sort of contribution to the general welfare. For these two reasons it has taken its place in the family of nations, a place which will grow in importance and in influence as the century progresses.

It looks upon the international situation from a different angle, perhaps, than does Britain, and its outlook has something in

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common with that of the United States. The fact that there is a similarity in judgment of international affairs between the United States and Canada makes Canada's possible contribution doubly valuable, since it carries the promise of rendering the exercise of co-operation between the American Republic and the British Empire closer and more facile.

Canada, like the United States, has a natural hesitation in becoming involved in strictly European affairs. The difficulties which face Britain in Europe are difficulties peculiar to Britain because of its location, and only affect Canada indirectly because of their effect on Britain. In the Canadian view, the difficulties of Britain in relation to Europe are akin to difficulties which might develop in Canada with its southern neighbours. But when any differences of opinion or policy develop between these two American nations, the minds of the two peoples do not go to the thought of war as a possible solution. The necessary machinery has been provided whereby the differences can be adjudicated peacefully. It is the hope

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of Canada that the nations of Europe may be able soon to come to the same condition, when the thought of war as a means of settling their disputes will become intolerable, and other more suitable and peaceful means will be instituted. Canada will use its place in the Empire and on the League of Nations to promote the fruition of such a condition, but cannot become an interested party in any European alliances or other plans which rest, in the last analysis, upon power, and the threat to use it. Britain's policy in Europe is Britain's alone, and Canada's only concern in it lies in the hope that it will not again lead to Empire participation in an European war. But if, unfortunately, it does, Canada will not be found wanting.

The lessons which Canadians have learned from the existence of two races within the borders of the country are lessons which they will apply more and more to their judgment of international affairs. Within the country there have been constant adjustments which have had to be made between the French-Canadians and the British-Canadians. The *status*

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quo at the time of Confederation has not proven altogether satisfactory to either, particularly as the country has developed and new provinces created. But the difficulties have been adjusted peaceably, because there have existed agencies to create the necessary adjustments, and the desirability of change from time to time has been recognized.

With this in mind, Canada looks upon such matters as the Locarno agreements, the various international treaties, and even the League of Nations, with some misgivings, if also with some hope. The misgivings are based upon the realization that in all the agreements which the nations arrive at, the emphasis seems to be placed on the maintenance of the *status quo*, a condition of affairs generally suitable to the requirements of the stronger nations. Too little care seems to be exercised to provide for changes in the existing conditions which might, from time to time, become advisable. When an agreement is arrived at, for example, to guarantee forever the existing international boundaries of European nations, it omits to take into consideration

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the fact that in all cases the existing boundaries are not racially sound, or that the pressure of dissatisfied minorities might become so great as to necessitate some changes being made. Some means must be provided whereby consideration can be given to the constant state of change, which might well create even more dangerous and unjust conditions than at present exist. Just as the ballot in democratic countries provides a method whereby the people may obtain any desired change without recourse to civil war, so must there be means worked out whereby nations, or minorities, can obtain needed change of status without recourse to war.

Canada, too, has learned the lesson of tolerance towards a people who speak a different language, and possess a different culture. French-Canadians and British-Canadians each have learned it in relation to the other. But extreme nationalism is based upon intolerance, and it is the chief cause of modern wars. In the middle ages, countries went to war urged on by an extreme religious fervour, but that, fortunately, is no longer a cause of

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war among the more civilized nations. Its place has been taken by this undue emphasis placed upon nationalism. Now, nationalism, in the sense of superiority to other people, or where it inculcates in a people a sense of their fitness and fate to rule other peoples, is a vicious thing, and one that must be rooted out from the peoples of the western civilization, if the rule of peace in the world is to be instituted. There is a fit place for a pride of race, of a pride in one's country, but it need not be translated into a hatred of other races, and of other countries. A lesson can be learned from the Scot, who, wherever he goes in the world, retains a sincere love for his country and a deep pride in his race but there is nothing of the extreme in his patriotism, and nothing in it which tends to create friction with other peoples. That type of patriotism, and it is the type which is being developed in Canada, cannot countenance the intolerance of jingoistic nationalisms. Canada will always be found opposed to undue manifestations of such extreme nationalism in the world. It knows it to be unnecessary.

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Canada, too, has great faith in the efficacy of the principle which was developed within its borders, and which is the guiding principle of the Empire, of the gradual development of the powers of self-government within a young and growing nation. The Empire contains a quarter of the people of the earth, and that quarter, by virtue of membership within the Empire, is guaranteed the privilege of self-government, as and when their varying capacities can justify their exercise of it. If the other three-quarters of the people of the earth were all included in a similar system of gradual development, and if there existed enlightened nations guiding that development, and guaranteeing it, there would be a path towards world unity worth the effort to create. If, indeed, the United States, and one or two of the countries of Europe, could be enlisted in this work of the gradual extension of self-government to all the peoples of the world, and could work harmoniously together, as the nations of the Empire work together, the problem of peace would be solved.

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The United States, and the Empire, together, have the necessary power to enforce such a programme, not by the use of naval and militaristic force, but by the use of a newer power which is theirs and which is becoming daily of greater international effect. That new power is the financial power, which is possessed by these two groups. Every nation of the world, now, must come to New York or to London, for its major financial requirements, and there is a tendency more and more to grant financial needs upon definite political conditions. The Dawes' plan, which effected the re-establishment of Europe, was a plan wherein political conditions were included in the financial arrangements, and it was because of the financial power of the States that the agreement was accepted. In a similar way, peace has been forced upon the Central American states by the bankers of New York. There have been, indeed, many indications that this power of finance is the power to which the world can look in the future as the dominating power of the world. It will, in the long

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run, accomplish what armaments have not been able to do, and will never be able to do, and that is to guarantee world peace.

Canada will do much in the future to promote this necessary understanding between the United States and the Empire. It is vital that it should be done. Any path which leads to enmity between Britain and the States will be fatal to Canada, and for this reason, as well as for the greater one which lies in the realization of the achievements which these two together could accomplish, Canadians always will see to it that their friendship to the States, as to the other nations of the Empire, never ceases to be nourished.

Canada's way to the future, then, is well defined. It is a path which leads to world service, within the Empire, and one of intimate co-operation with the United States, in an endeavour to keep that influential and powerful nation working in co-operation with the Empire in the development of the peoples of the world, and in the promotion of world peace. It is not a path which will lead it to become an integral part of these United States,

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since Canada has greater work to do and greater opportunities before it than it would have if it were only nine more states added to those which have already been federated. Canadians are fully aware of this opportunity which is theirs and many of the people of the Motherland know it also. Would that more of them realized it ! Perhaps these following words of one of their own number who has spent fifty years here in Canada will be of influence. Maurice Hutton, Principal-Emeritus of University College of Toronto, sometime Scholar of Worcester College and Fellow of Merton College of Oxford, has written the paragraph below in his book *Many Minds*—it is the final reflection of an English student of Canadian affairs :

“ I quite agree : it is, I think, necessary to maintain it, not for Great Britain’s sake only, though I was caught too late ever to forget her interests ; not for Canada’s sake only, though I have been so long here—fifty years practically—as to feel often a Canadian : (and if and when I don’t, my speech betrays me often and advertises me for one) I see nothing for Canada of

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supreme value outside the Empire : she would become just an inferior United States (whether or not she were absorbed in the United States), just a poorer America, a northern North America, commercialized to her Southern neighbour's likeness, gravitating every year more and more to that type : not for Great Britain's sake only or for Canada's sake only : but for the world—for the whole world's sake—this British Empire of nations is the greatest and most beneficial experiment in politics ever made : at least the greatest and most beneficial which is already a going concern : the League of Nations is greater and more beneficent, but it is not yet secure, not yet really going steadily. The British Commonwealth of nations is a going concern and it is an experiment which benefits the whole world, for it makes for world peace,"

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