

THE IMPERIAL
PRESS CONFERENCE
IN CANADA

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IN CANADA**

CANADA : A SISTER NATION

“ Canada, like all the other British Dominions, played a very big part in the Great War, and has consequently entered the partnership of nations by affixing her signature to all the Peace Treaties. This means that the old idea of an Empire, a mother country surrounded by daughter states, is entirely obsolete now, and has long been left behind by the British Empire. Our Empire has taken a new and far grander form. It exists as a single state or commonwealth, composed of sister nations of different origins and of different languages. Great Britain, it is true, is the oldest of these nations, but the British Dominions have grown up to be her equals, and Great Britain is only one part of the whole. Consequently I regard myself as belonging to Canada in exactly the same way as I belong to Great Britain and to the other British Dominions.”—*Prince of Wales in address to the Canadian Club at Ottawa, November 8th, 1919.*



J. Russell & Sons, London.

VISCOUNT BURNHAM, C.H.

President of the Second Imperial Press Conference and of the Empire Press Union.

[Frontispiece

**THE IMPERIAL
PRESS CONFERENCE
IN CANADA**

ROBERT DONALD, LL.D.

CHAIRMAN OF THE EMPIRE PRESS UNION

FOREWORD BY

VISCOUNT BURNHAM, C.H.

PRESIDENT OF THE SECOND IMPERIAL PRESS CONFERENCE

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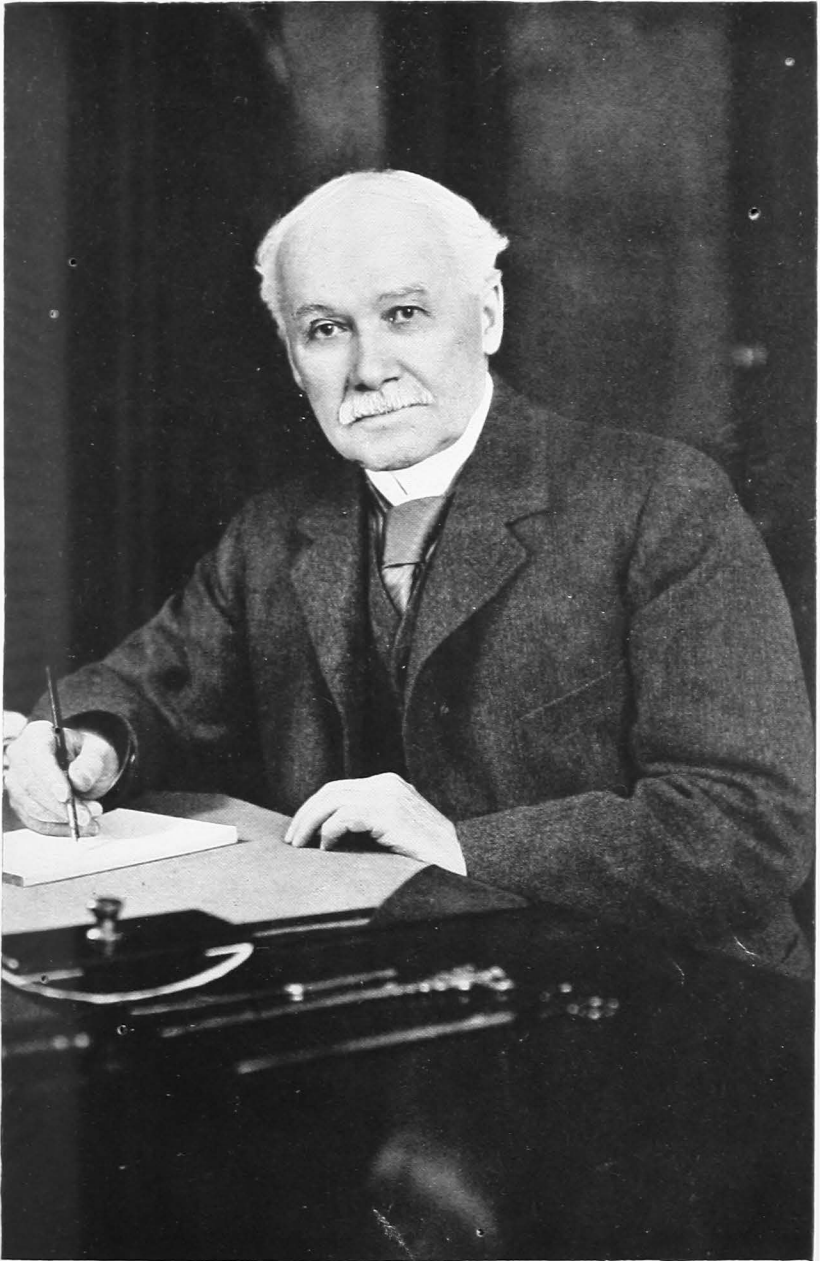
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LORD ATHOLSTAN.
Chairman of the Canadian Press Committee.



Speight.

VISCOUNTESS BURNHAM.

FOREWORD

BY VISCOUNT BURNHAM, C.H.

President of the Second Imperial Press Conference

My friend and colleague, Mr. Robert Donald, has told in the pages that follow the tale of the Second Imperial Press Conference in so terse and vivid a manner that it needs no preface to condense its meaning. Our experience was so vast and various that it seemed to be the very epitome of Canadian life. Above all, we were able to establish on the best and surest foundations the friendship and solidarity of the Newspaper Press throughout the Empire by close companionship and mutual understanding. In one of his Essays Emerson speaks of the England of his day as being "the vanguard of civility and power." In our time we feel that the compliment has a wider range, and had he been writing now he would surely, for all the patriotic pride of his American citizenship, have extended it to all the self-governing dominions of the British Crown.

• Comradeship and power were the striking notes of our reception from one shore of the far-spread Dominion to the other—the comradeship not only of our profession, but of our common loyalties, and the power, both of the Newspaper Press of Canada and of the strenuous and straining communities that make up its continental state. It is not easy to define the sense of comradeship by which we felt inspired from the very beginning of our grand tour. It was not confined

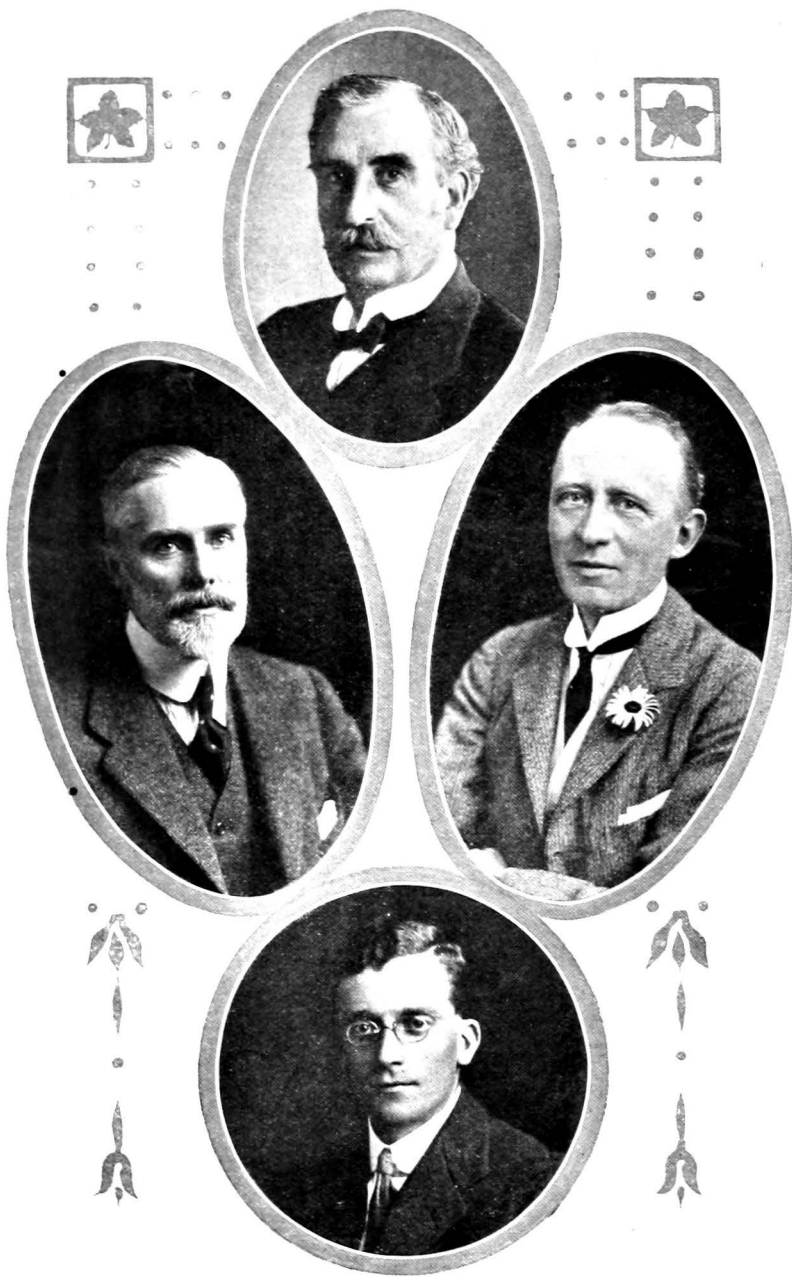
to our fellow journalists and newsmen—to use the old term—who organized it with almost uncanny efficiency. It pervaded the official circles of Dominion and Provincial Governments; it showed itself in the greetings of the civic and academic authorities, who everywhere received us with open arms; it seemed to animate in like measure the constant companies of plain citizens, who met us at every halting-place and spent their time and taste so lavishly in making us enjoy every minute of our train-bound sojourn in their midst. All that we had heard of Canadian hospitality and all that we had been led to expect was far exceeded in the realization. Whilst we were in Canada we were the spoilt children of the Empire, but what impressed itself most upon our minds was that in the warmth of our welcome to all the nine provinces there was no pretence and no pretentiousness. It was everywhere alike hearty, simple, and sincere. We always felt at home, and we nowhere felt away from home. Canada loves its homes, and we learnt to love them too. •

The Imperial Press Conference rose to the full stature of its importance and its opportunities. Opened by the Governor-General, the Duke of Devonshire, and officially blessed and praised by the Prime Minister of the Dominion and by the leader of His Majesty's Opposition, it transacted its business amid all the circumstantial dignity of the new Parliament House at Ottawa, and with all the proper provisions for useful and orderly discussion of the many subjects with which the Newspaper Press of the Empire is directly and legitimately concerned. Although there were no formal rules of procedure, like the House of Lords we kept our own order, and not once had the President to use the disciplinary powers that in our Parliamentary Empire are customarily assumed to be

vested in the Chair. The resolutions proposed had all been drafted by the different delegations in committee, and the debates were of living interest shaped to the healthiest issues. For its purposes and within its limits the Conference was truly a Federal Parliament, in which groups of representatives from all the Dominions and Colonies took their appointed place, and it was soon found that no resolution would bind the whole unless it had been framed with due safeguards for autonomous arrangements. The main difference between the first and the second Conference was that in the former the matters of most urgent importance were brought before the members from outside, whereas in the second they originated and were dealt with inside by the members themselves. Thus, as a proof of the personal abilities of pressmen the second Conference may possibly be accounted for more in its intrinsic value when the history of the Newspaper Press is adequately written. Wise and eloquent speeches were made by several Canadian Ministers, but these were not to be compared on the same plane with the prophetic utterances of Lord Rosebery and Lord Roberts in 1909. The discussions related more to the technical and vocational interests of the newspapers last year than at the London Conference, and general politics were designedly kept out of the Agenda Paper. This does not mean that the delegates did not have abundant opportunities of hearing, both in public speeches and in private conversation, the views and opinions of the statesmen of Canada on all the problems of Imperial Government and local administration. From the constitutional status of the Privy Council as the final Court of Appeal to the vital necessity of removing the embargo on the importation into this country of Canadian live stock we

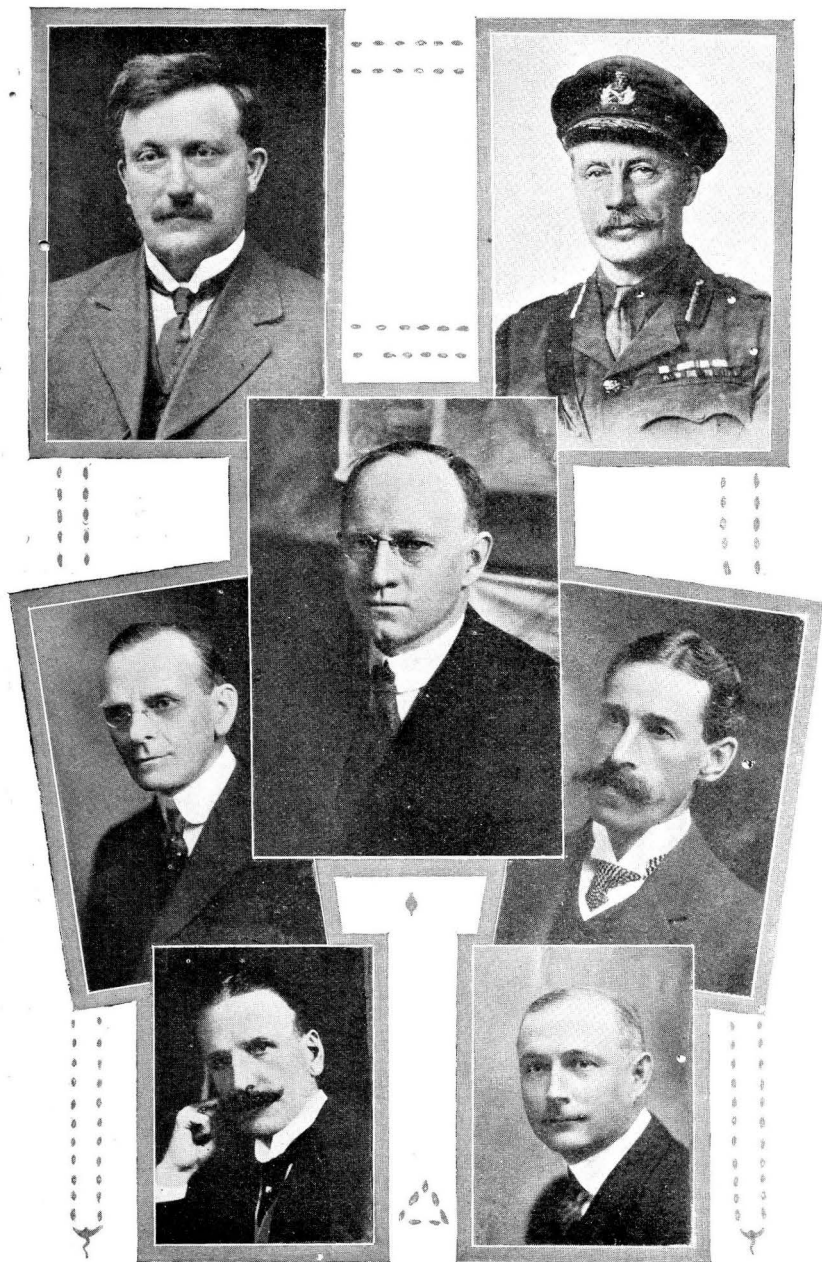
thrashed out all the public questions of the day *usque ad unguem*. But this went on outside the four walls of the Conference, and the deliberations of the Conference began and ended with the freedom and progress of the Press.

No doubt the success of the Conference and of the pilgrimage was only made possible by the finest art of organization on the part of all concerned—the newspapers, the railroads, and the Governments of the Dominion; yet to us who were its passive agents it seemed to be the very soul of spontaneity. Such a combination of goodwill centred on a common purpose was irresistible. It was the perfection of kindness and fellow-feeling in the moulding of fate that excelled itself and established a record which is not likely to be matched. We tender our heartiest thanks to Lord Atholstan and all his associates, first and foremost; but we do not forget to offer our tribute of grateful admiration to the rulers and to the people, both of British Canada and of French Canada, to that Canadian nation in fine which embraces them both in its ample and sustaining bosom and draws from both its illimitable strength. Thanks and again much thanks.



Photos by Elliott & Fry, Speaight.

1. MR. ROBERT DONALD, LL.D. (Chairman of Empire Press Union). 2. MR. F. CROSBIE ROLES (Hon. Secretary, Chairman, India and Far East Delegation). 3. SIR HARRY BRITAIN, LL.D., M.P. (Hon. Life Member of Empire Press Union, Chairman of Union's Arrangements Committee). 4. MR. H. E. TURNER (Secretary of Empire Press Union and Secretary of Conference).



Photos by Pittaway Studio, Ottawa ; F. J. Leatherdale, Toronto.

1. MR. J. W. DAFOE ("Manitoba Free Press"). 2. MAJOR-GENERAL SIR DAVID WATSON, K.C.B., C.M.G., etc. ("Quebec Chronicle"). 3. MR. J. E. ATKINSON ("Toronto Daily Star"). 4. MR. C. F. CRANDALL ("Montreal Star," Hon. Secretary of Canadian Press Executive Committee and Organizer of Tour). 5. MR. P. D. ROSS ("Ottawa Journal"). 6. HON. FRANK CARREL ("Quebec Telegraph"). 7. MR. W. J. TAYLOR ("Sentinel-Review," Woodstock, Ontario).

THE IMPERIAL PRESS CONFERENCE IN CANADA

CHAPTER I

SECOND IMPERIAL PRESS CONFERENCE

Representative Delegations from All Parts of the Empire—Record of the Tour through Canada—A National Welcome—The Family Spirit—Mentors and Guides—The First Imperial Press Conference—Advance made by Ottawa Conference—Interchange of Views—Presidents' Speeches—Canadian Patriotism and Empire Unity.

THE following pages contain a record of the visit to Canada, in August and September of 1920, of delegates representing newspapers in all parts of the British Empire, to attend the Second Imperial Press Conference; an account of their welcome by the Press, Government, and people of the Dominion; some description of what they saw and of the impressions which they received: also a full report of the Conference proceedings at Ottawa on August 5th, 6th, and 7th.

No party of visitors ever had better opportunities of seeing so much of the vast Dominion of Canada in so short a time. Every conceivable courtesy was shown to us, the hospitality showered upon us was overwhelming, the friendliness of our reception touching and sincere. We travelled eight thousand six hundred miles from East to West and back again by trains, cars, and boats. At every point where we stopped there was the same heartiness and enthusiasm in the welcome which we received: in the mining towns as in the great cities, in seats of learning as in holiday resorts, by wayside stations, in rural retreats, and among the farmers in the Prairie lands. Canada mobilized all her means of hospitality to do us honour and to make us feel at home. We felt at once that we were friends among friends, members of one household paying a family call. In that spirit, as members of the family, we were received. The object of our mission, and the spirit which

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animated every one of us, was admirably expressed by the "Manitoba Free Press," when it said :

The fact is that our visitors are merely members of the family who have come from the Old Land and the far corners of the world to see how we Canadians are getting along in our home in the northern part of the American continent, to shake our hands, to hold friendly converse with us in the tongue which binds us all together in a community of spirit and sentiment, and to carry back with them to our kinsmen, of whom they are in a very real sense the truest of representatives, the story of what we are, what we have done, what we stand for in the troubled world of to-day, and of the visions of the future which we hold.

We report now the result of the visit undertaken in that spirit and with these objects.

Our colleagues of the Canadian Press were the organizers of the tour, and our chief hosts; they had the cordial and invaluable co-operation of the Governor-General, the Prime Minister of Canada, of provincial governments, State officials, civic authorities, corporations, and organizations of all kinds, each eager to outbid the other in doing honour to their kinsmen from overseas.

The invitation to hold the Second Imperial Press Conference in Canada was accepted for 1915. The war made such a gathering impossible. The invitation was renewed in 1919, the Conference was fixed for August 1920, and a comprehensive grand tour was arranged. A committee, under the Chairmanship of Lord Atholstan, representing the whole of the Canadian Press, was formed, and made itself responsible for all the arrangements, which were carried out with an infinitude of detail and a determination to make the visit in every way instructive and enjoyable. Everything was carried through as planned with meticulous care and efficiency.

The delegates invited to attend the Conference and to participate in the tour numbered one hundred, sixty of whom represented the newspapers of the United Kingdom and forty the Press of the Overseas Dominions, India, and other British territories. Representatives invited from the vernacular Press of India were unable to attend owing to the occurrence of the elections under the new Indian constitution. Many of the delegates were accompanied by their wives and other members of their families. The party were joined by many leading Canadian newspaper men, several of whom always travelled with them, while all took part in the Conference.

If any of the overseas delegates returned from the tour

without an encyclopædic knowledge of Canada and new visions of the greatness of the Dominion it was not for lack of educational facilities. Our hosts were mentors as well as guides. A mass of literature, most appetizing in form, dealing with the resources, industries, wealth, and potentialities of the Dominion and of every aspect of Canadian life, had been specially prepared by them for our enlightenment. Our education began before we started. Lord Northcliffe, the Hon. Treasurer of the Empire Press Union, the state of whose health, much to everyone's regret, prevented him joining the party, presented each delegate with "'The Times' Book of Canada," a compact and comprehensive pocket encyclopædia specially written for the occasion. It was packed full of facts concerning the political history, the agricultural, industrial, and every other Canadian interest, including literature and newspapers, presented by an impartial and accurate authority. Before we arrived at our stopping-places during the tour, fresh parcels of literature were distributed, and the supply kept up in serial form, as it were, from coast to coast. We had each an official guide-book, written by Mr. Castell Hopkins, giving a description in chronological order of every place visited, a bound linen map of the Dominion with our route marked, and each one was supplied with a neat loose-leaf pocket diary showing places, times of arrival, etc., which was kept up to date week by week. Books specially written for our edification on cities and provinces were neatly bound with the name of each delegate printed on the covers. The men who took charge of us to show us round at each point of interest were the men best able to impart further information.

The Canadian newspapers rose to the occasion magnificently. They issued special editions, upon which much labour was spent, giving us information about their cities and provinces, telling their readers about us and the significance of our visit. Alert and enterprising, the Canadian newspapers have acquired the brightness and directness of American journalism, while retaining some of the best characteristics of the British Press adapted to Canadian conditions. We envied their lavish use of newsprint, and were grateful for their generous allocation of space to our doings and sayings. Some of the special illustrated editions, got up, regardless of expense, to celebrate our arrival, were highly creditable productions, and would have done honour to journalism in any country.

A more touching example of Press patriotism than the

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publication of a special edition was the suppression of the ordinary issue, when its production interfered with personal service on our behalf. This happened in the case of the "Gleichen Call," which, torn between two duties, made the sacrifice. There is a winning pathos about its explanation:

The "Call" makes no apology for not issuing a paper last week, nor do we claim it any holiday. The simple fact is that having started the big doings that occurred last Thursday, we felt it incumbent upon us to see it through, and to do so found the two jobs too big for us, so dropped the "Call." We now believe we were fully justified in this, and that during the next few years our guests of the Imperial Press will more than make up for the missing issue.

The heading of this article was "Accept our thanks"—a well-turned compliment.

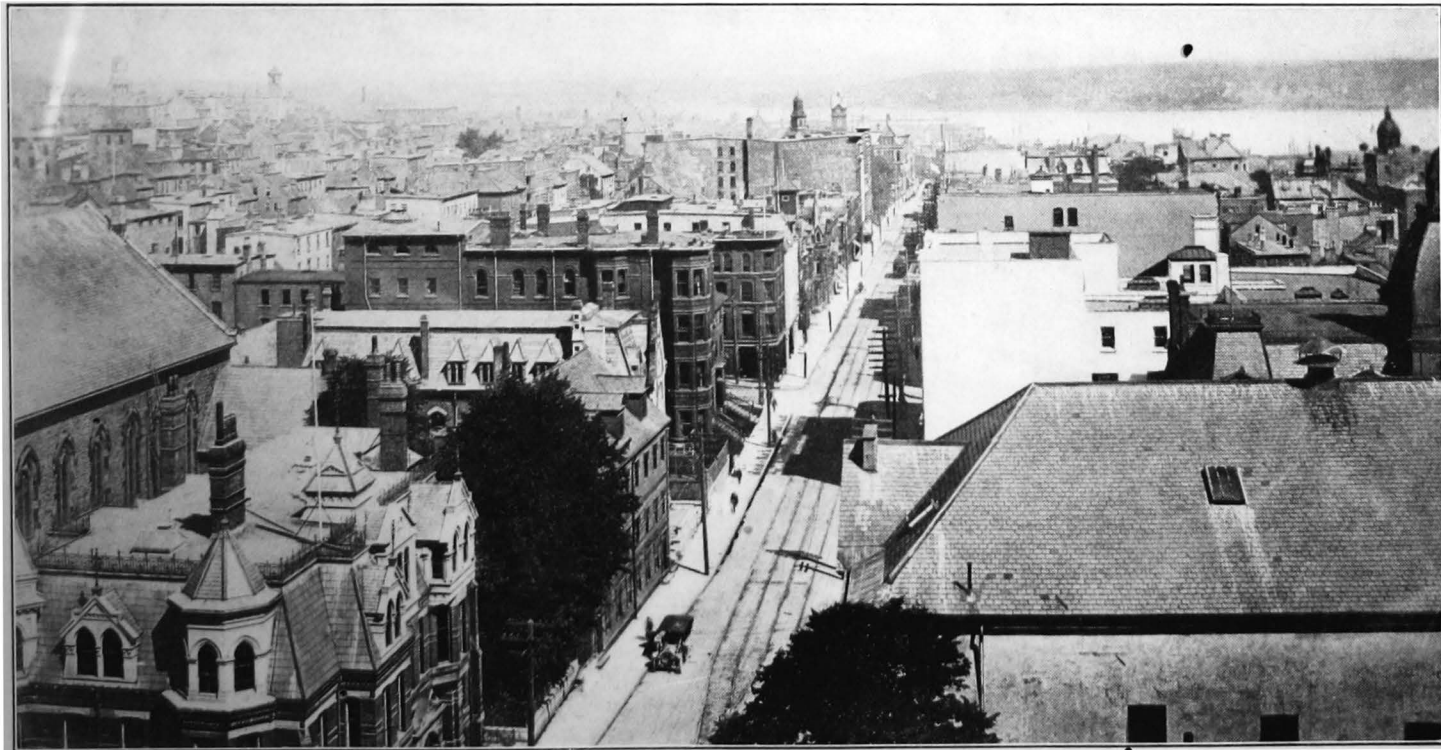
The time of our visit, most suitable as it was to us, was not a convenient season for our Canadian friends. Legislatures, universities, colleges, and schools were not in session. Many officials and business men were away on vacation. All plans were interrupted on our behalf: the Governor-General, the Prime Minister, and other members of the administration, provincial ministers, presidents of universities, and big business men broke into their holiday to assist in our reception and to make things pleasant for us. In the East the fruit growers left their orchards, in the Prairies the farmers deserted their harvesters to take us round in their cars—at a time when a day's stoppage of work meant a serious loss.

Besides gathering much information from the literature presented to us and from personal observation, we had unlimited opportunities of talking to Canadian men and women, who opened their minds to us with the utmost freedom and candour. The interchange of speeches, which took place with persistent regularity, speeches charged with impressive assortments of facts and figures, provided many contributions to our education. Every tour of this kind inevitably provokes, or provides the excuse for, a great outpouring of oratory. The chief duty of facing the oratorial barrage which met us on every move forward fell upon our leader, Lord Burnham, who paid the penalty for his initial success when he struck the right note and captured Canadian sentiment. He was continually called upon afterwards to speak, on almost every occasion when speaking took place. He showed the right spirit, and maintained his freshness, vitality, and high standard to the end. It was a trying and arduous experience, but



Photo by J. M. Gibbon.

LADY BURNHAM UNVEILING STATUE OF EVANGELINE AT GRAND PRE, PRESENTED BY
THE CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY.



A BUSINESS CENTRE IN HALIFAX. LOOKING TOWARD THE GREAT HARBOUR OF THIS ICE-FREE PORT.

he acquitted himself manfully. The signal success of the tour and of the Conference was due, in the greatest degree, to the sound tact, fine judgment, true appreciation of Canadian character and ideals, and broad democratic sympathies combined with a lofty Imperial note, which Lord Burnham maintained in his responsible positions of leader and president.

The First Imperial Press Conference, held in London in 1909, and presided over by the first Lord Burnham, was a landmark in Empire history. We now see events in their real perspective, and know that this first meeting of representatives of newspapers from all parts of the British Empire—men who were untrammelled by pledges to constituents, uncontrolled by governments, men who were free and able to guide their readers and mould public opinion in their respective spheres of influence—did more than any preceding Imperial gathering to bind the Empire together in its common purposes and for common defence. The Second Imperial Press Conference will not be less far-reaching and lasting in its influence. It met at a time when the component parts of the Empire are taking stock after the great world conflagration—when Canada, the premier dominion, is planning, rebuilding, entering on a new stage of national development, material and political. We watched with amazed admiration the boldness of Canada's new enterprises, the indomitable courage and confidence of her people. Canada has taken a phenomenal leap forward within the last few years, and now stands, in relation to the chief industrial countries of the world, third in railway mileage, fifth in its total exports, and sixth in pig-iron production. It is stretching out for new markets overseas, is becoming a maritime, as well as an agricultural and an industrial, power. Behind the material wealth which she is piling up there is a spirit of supreme confidence among the people in her mission and in her destiny. There is a passionate Canadian patriotism and an equally passionate devotion to the Empire. The one is the complement of the other. They are two facets of the same faith. A just aspiration on the part of the leaders in public life to see Canada attain a greater measure of nationhood is inseparable from a resolve to maintain unimpaired the unity and stability of the British Empire.

From Nova Scotia's misty coast to far Columbia's shore,
She wakes—a band of scattered homes and colonies no more,
But a great nation, with her life full beating in her breast,
A noble future in her eyes, the Britain of the West

CHAPTER II

FROM LONDON TO SYDNEY

On the "Victorian"—The "North Atlantic Times"—Long Distance Telephony—Gramophone Concerts, carried Two Thousand Miles—Greetings at Sea—The Visitors.

THE reception of the delegates to the Second Imperial Press Conference began in London. Colonel Parkinson, of the "Ottawa Journal," one of the gallant Canadian newspaper men who won distinction in the war, came as the plenipotentiary of the Canadian Press to accompany us across the Atlantic, and gave us the glad hand of fellowship at Euston station on the morning of July 19th. Mr. A. B. Calder, of the Canadian Pacific Railway, another genial representative of our hosts, had preceded him to map out our travelling arrangements and look after our comfort during the tour. Both were the cheeriest of guides, and soon became among the kindest of friends.

The party who boarded the C.P.O.S. steamship "Victorian" at Liverpool on the afternoon of July 19th consisted of all the British delegates and a number of Overseas delegates travelling by way of London.

During the voyage the Press was always with us: the enterprising Marconi Company published the "North Atlantic Times" daily on board, a morning and evening edition, giving the news of all important world happenings. The Company also took the opportunity of demonstrating, on a scale not attempted hitherto, the possibilities of long distance wireless telephony. Up to a distance of two thousand miles, from Chelmsford, in Essex, wireless telephone messages were received daily. Gramophone concerts were given and were heard distinctly. The installation on the "Victorian," owing to the structural limitations of operating on board ship, while it could receive, was not able to radiate messages to such a great distance, but conversations were carried on between the "Victorian" and Poldhu Station, in Cornwall, to a distance of about a thousand miles. Messages were given and received

from passing steamers to a distance of 400 miles. The "Victorian" was never out of reach of the sound of the human voice on land, as when speech from Chelmsford could no longer be heard talk with Newfoundland began.

While still several hundred miles from land greetings by wireless were flashed through space addressed to Lord Burnham from the Governor of Newfoundland, from members of the Ministry, from Newfoundland, Canadian and American journalists—a foretaste of the friendly avalanche of messages which fell upon the party before they landed at Sydney.

According to the original programme, Halifax, not Sydney, was to be the first Canadian city to welcome the Empire Press delegates; but the change, caused by a strike which delayed the departure of the "Victorian," was happily appropriate in one respect: Sydney is the nearest Canadian city to England. It stands on the eastern point of Cape Breton Island, stretching out into the Atlantic like a beckoning and welcoming hand to the ocean traveller.

FROM THE UNITED KINGDOM

Viscount Burnham, C.H., Chairman of the British Delegation, President of the Empire Press Union; Mr. Robert Donald, Vice-Chairman of the Delegation, Chairman of the Empire Press Union; Sir Harry Brittain, K.B.E., M.P., Chairman, Arrangements Committee; Mr. R. A. Anderson, "Irish Homestead"; Lord Apsley, "Morning Post"; Mr. R. J. Arnott, M.A., "Canada"; Miss M. F. Billington, representing the Society of Women Journalists; Sir Robert Bruce, "Glasgow Herald"; Mr. J. T. Clayton, "Craven Herald," Skipton, President, the Yorkshire Newspaper Society; Sir Emsley Carr, "News of the World"; Mr. D. Davies, "South Wales Daily Post," Swansea; Mr. (now Sir) W. Davies, "Western Mail," Cardiff; Mr. J. C. Glendinning, "Derry Standard"; Mr. J. D. Graham, "Wolverhampton Express and Star"; Mr. J. L. Greaves, "The Paper Maker"; Mr. Harold Harmsworth, "Western Morning News," Plymouth; Mr. J. Harper, "Glasgow Record"; Mr. J. Henderson, "Belfast News-Letter"; Col. Sir Arthur Holbrook, M.P., "Portsmouth Times"; Mr. P. J. Hooper, "The Freeman's Journal," Dublin; Mr. L. Howarth, "Yorkshire Post," Leeds; Mr. Percy Hurd, M.P., "Canadian Gazette," London, and London Editor of "Montreal Star"; Mr. G. A. Isaacs, National Society of Operative Printers and Assistants; Sir Roderick Jones, Reuter's; Mr. Valentine Knapp, "The Surrey Comet," President of the Newspaper Society; Mr. C. D. Leng, "Sheffield Telegraph"; Mr. J. S. Macdonald, "The Farmer and Stockbreeder"; Mr. T. McLachlan, "The Scotsman," Edinburgh; Mr. William Maxwell, "Aberdeen Daily Journal"; Mr. John Mitchell, "Dundee Courier"; Mr. Percival Marshall, Chairman, British Association of Trade and Technical Journals; Mr. J. B. Morrell, "Birmingham

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Gazette"; Mr. T. E. Naylor, Printing and Kindred Trades Federation; Sir Frank Newnes, Bart., Messrs. George Newnes, Ltd.; Sir Gilbert Parker, Bart., P.C., Messrs. Odhams, Ltd.; Dr. Ellis T. Powell, "Financial News"; Mr. J. Sherlock, Official Reporter; Mr. A. E. Sprigg, "Leicester Mail"; Sir Charles Starmer, "Northern Echo," Darlington, and allied newspapers; Sir Campbell Stuart, "The Times," "Daily Mail," "Evening News," etc.; Mr. L. Goodenough Taylor, "Bristol Times and Mirror"; Mr. E. G. Tong, Official Cinematographer; Sir George Toulmin, "Lancashire Daily Post"; Mr. H. E. Turner, Secretary of the Empire Press Union; Mr. D. W. Vick, "Daily Mirror" and "Leeds Mercury"; Col. Ed. W. Watt, "Aberdeen Free Press"; Mr. J. D. Williams, "Cambria Leader," Swansea; and Alderman E. Woodhead, "Huddersfield Examiner."

FROM OVERSEAS

REPRESENTING THE PRESS OF AUSTRALIA

Mr. D. Braham, "Sydney Daily Telegraph"; Mr. W. Brennan, "Melbourne Argus"; Mr. Taylor Darbyshire, "Melbourne Age"; Hon. C. E. Davies, M.L.C., "Hobart Mercury"; Mr. Hugh R. Denison, "The Sun," Sydney; Mr. G. E. Fairfax, "Sydney Morning Herald," Chairman of the Australian Section of the Union; Hon. Theo. Fink, "Melbourne Herald"; Mr. E. E. Edwards, "Brisbane Telegraph"; Mr. Walter Jeffery, "Sydney Evening News"; Hon. J. W. Kirwan, M.L.C., "Kalgoorlie Miner"; Mr. J. J. Knight, "Brisbane Courier"; Mr. A. Langler, "West Australian"; Major G. V. Lansell, "Bendigo Advertiser"; and Hon. A. Lovekin, M.L.C., "Perth Daily News," Australia.

REPRESENTING THE PRESS OF NEW ZEALAND

Mr. H. Horton, "New Zealand Herald"; Mr. J. Hutchison, "Otago Daily Times"; Mr. E. Abbey Jones, "Southland Daily News"; Mr. T. W. Leys, "Auckland Star"; Mr. J. Parker, "Wellington Post"; Mr. W. J. Penn, "Taranaki Herald"; and Mr. P. Selig, "Christchurch Daily Press," Chairman of the New Zealand Newspaper Proprietors' Association.

REPRESENTING THE PRESS OF SOUTH AFRICA

Mr. R. Allister, "Cape Times"; Mr. P. Davis, "Natal Witness"; Mr. B. H. Dodd, "East London Daily Dispatch"; Mr. C. D. Don, "Johannesburg Star"; Mr. R. S. Ward-Jackson, "Rand Daily Mail"; Mr. N. K. Kerney, "Cape Argus"; Mr. N. Levi, "De Volkstem," Pretoria; and Mr. D. M. Ollemans, "The Friend," Bloemfontein.

REPRESENTING THE PRESS OF INDIA

Mr. J. P. Collins, "Civil and Military Gazette," Lahore; and Mr. J. O'B. Saunders, "The Englishman," Calcutta.

REPRESENTING THE PRESS OF NEWFOUNDLAND

Sir Patrick McGrath, "St. John's Evening Herald"; Hon. Alex. W. Mews, "St. John's Evening Advocate"; and Dr. H. M. Mosdell, "St. John's Daily Star."



1. SIR FRANK NEWNES, Bt. 2. SIR GILBERT PARKER, Bt., P.C. 3. MISS M. F. BILLINGTON.
 4. SIR CAMPBELL STUART. 5. SIR RODERICK JONES. 6. SIR EMSLEY CARR.
 7. LORD APSLEY.



CITY AND HARBOUR, ST. JOHN, NEW BRUNSWICK.

In the foreground the Bridge over the famous Reversing Falls.

REPRESENTING THE PRESS OF THE WEST INDIES

Mr. H. G. Delisser, C.M.G., "Daily Gleaner," Jamaica.

REPRESENTING THE PRESS OF CEYLON

Mr. F. Crosbie Roles, "The Times of Ceylon."

REPRESENTING THE PRESS OF EGYPT

Mr. R. Snelling, "Egyptian Gazette."

REPRESENTING THE PRESS OF THE STRAITS SETTLEMENTS

Mr. Walter Makepeace, "Singapore Free Press."

REPRESENTING THE PRESS OF MALTA

Dr. A. Bartolo, "Daily Malta Chronicle."

The following were Chairmen of delegations:—Mr. G. E. Fairfax, Australia; Mr. T. W. Leys, New Zealand; Mr. R. S. Ward-Jackson, South Africa; Mr. F. Crosbie Roles, Asia and Near East.

The following ladies accompanied the delegation: *From the U.K.*—Viscountess Burnham, Lady Carr, Mrs. J. D. Graham, Mrs. J. L. Greaves, Mrs. Percy Hurd, Mrs. G. Isaacs, Lady (Roderick) Jones, Mrs. J. Mitchell, Mrs. J. B. Morrell, Lady Newnes, Mrs. E. T. Powell, Miss Agnes Powell, Lady Starmer. *From Australia*—Mrs. C. E. Davies, Mrs. H. R. Denison, Mrs. G. E. Fairfax, Mrs. T. Fink, Mrs. J. W. Kirwan, Mrs. J. J. Knight, Mrs. G. V. Lansell, Mrs. A. Lovekin. *From New Zealand*—Mrs. J. Hutchison, Mrs. Abbey Jones, Mrs. T. W. Leys, Mrs. W. J. Penn. *From India*—Mrs. J. O'B. Saunders. *From the West Indies*—Mrs. H. G. Delisser.

•The majority of the party were visiting Canada for the first time, others had been to the Dominion, but few of them knew the Maritime Provinces. It was a new experience for most of the visitors.

We deeply regret to announce that four prominent members of the party who took part in the visit to Canada and the Conference have since died. Mr. C. D. Leng, one of the proprietors of the "Sheffield Daily Telegraph" and allied newspapers, died early in the New Year suddenly of heart failure. He was in perfect health while he was in Canada, and took an active part in the tour, and indulged in sports, including golfing and swimming.

Another English delegate whose death we regret to record is Mr. Alfred Sprigg, editor of the "Leicester Mail" and vice-president of the Newspaper Society, who had a distinguished career as a journalist.

Another delegate whom we have lost was the Hon. C. E. Davies, of the "Hobart Mercury," a member of the Tasmania Legislative Council, a man who took a keen interest not only in journalism, but in all matters of political development.

We have also to lament the loss of one of those Canadian hosts, Mr. M. R. Jennings, of the "Edmonton Journal." He accompanied the party in the West, and acted as our chief host in Edmonton. Mr. Jennings was president of the Canadian Daily Newspapers Association, and took a leading part in Edmonton in all public and charitable works.

CHAPTER III

THE MARITIME PROVINCES

(1) NOVA SCOTIA

A National Welcome—Sydney, the Canadian Pittsburg—Official Reception—Lord Burnham outlines the Objects of the Visit—Luxurious Railway Travel—Romantic Cape Breton Island—Halifax, “The Eastern Gateway”—In the Land of Evangeline—Rich Orchards—Truro, the “Railway Hub” of the Province.

As the “Victorian” sailed into the magnificent land-locked harbour of Sydney, on the brilliant morning of July 27th, we had an indication of the kind of welcome which was in store for us. The cargo vessels loading at the wharves, the tugs, pleasure boats, and other craft were gay with bunting, and Lord Burnham was the recipient, on behalf of the delegates, of hundreds of telegrams of welcome from all the leading public men in Canada. They brought home to us, at once, the national character of our welcome and the brotherly feelings which inspired them. The Governor-General, the Duke of Devonshire, telegraphed a cordial welcome, and wished the visit and Conference every success.

The Hon. Arthur Meighen, K.C., who had recently assumed the office of Prime Minister of Canada, sent the following message :

On behalf of the Government of Canada I cordially welcome the delegates to the Imperial Press Conference to this Dominion. I invite you to make during your visit an investigation of Canadian resources and conditions as complete as the time at your disposal will permit, and assure you a hospitable greeting and a warm appreciation of the high purpose you have in mind from the people of Canada. The store of information which you will acquire about this country, and which, through you, our people will learn of in other parts of the Empire, cannot fail to be of great advantage to all.

Other ministers sent messages, including Hon. Sir Jas. A. Lougheed, Minister of the Interior, who, as Minister charged with the administration of the natural resources which come under the Federal Government, offered the Imperial Press Conference delegation every facility to enable its members

to secure a knowledge of the vast natural resources of the Dominion and the importance to the Empire of their development.

In addition to these telegrams there were messages from almost every municipality in Canada, from Boards of Trade—the local Chambers of Commerce in Canada—from associations, clubs, etc.

The first press message which we received—handed to us on board—was from the "Sydney Post." It was as follows:

The "Sydney Post," modest in size and circulation compared with the great journals represented by the members of the Imperial Press Conference, is from its local position privileged to extend to you the first of many warm welcomes to the Dominion.

Those who will speak through its journals for the people of Canada recognize the world-wide importance of the Press of the British Isles. They look on your visit to this Dominion as a happy augury for the future, as your visit should strengthen, through knowledge, the ties which bind the great Commonwealths represented by your Association.

What you see in your land-fall—a superb harbour, a group of collieries and steel works, advantageously placed for traffic with the whole world—is the creation of the last thirty years. As you go westward even more striking examples of enterprise will be shown you, and you will find development in education, in public spirit, in philanthropy, in the amenities of life following close on the material progress which is their necessary basis.

• These last years have tried Canada and have unsettled Canada as these years have tried and unsettled our Commonwealths and their Allies. They have, however, fixed in our minds the advantages of co-operation and of mutual intercourse.

The welcome which we extend is based on that recognition, and is as warm here as it will be in other places where that welcome will be extended by a larger population grouped against an imposing civic background.

Representatives from the Canadian Press welcomed us before we left the "Victorian": Mr. C. F. Crandall, Hon. Organizing Secretary, the representative of Lord Atholstan, Chairman of the Canadian Committee; Mr. John Nelson, who had crossed the continent from Vancouver; Mr. J. W. Dafoe, of the "Manitoba Free Press"—both of whom were delegates at the First Imperial Press Conference—and Mr. W. J. Taylor, of Woodstock, New Brunswick.

Sydney stands for the new industrial Canada. The first impression of the visitors was one of spaciousness and activity. Round the capacious harbour, one of the finest on the Atlantic sea-board, and right up to the shore, are coal-mines; close by

are great steel works. There is more than one Sydney: North Sydney, at the entrance to the harbour; Sydney Mines, near the shore, which, with Glace Bay near by, forms a progressive industrial community—the centre of the coal and steel trade of Eastern Canada—controlled by the Dominion Iron and Steel Company and the Nova Scotia Steel and Coal Company, both included in the new British Empire Steel Corporation.

The party, having been thoroughly well photographed and cinematographed, were received by their hosts and taken around the city by motors. Sydney stands on a hilly site. Its houses are chiefly of wood, except the best schools and the banks. Its streets are in an unfinished condition: the distinction between the rough roadways and the unpaved sidewalks is somewhat undefined in places. The telegraph and telephone poles are at variance with the perpendicular; but these little peculiarities were overlooked in the case of a city in a hurry to grow up. There was amazing activity everywhere. All sorts of motor-driven vehicles rushed about the streets, driven in many cases by boys. Everyone was working. There are no drinking saloons or luxurious soft drink shops in Sydney. The first informal reception took place at the Royal Cape Breton Yacht Club, near a residential part of the city, where there are pretty villa residences. The club we found was outside the prohibition area. There are no hotels or restaurants in the city, but the reception committee was equal to the emergency, and we had our first example of successful improvisation in the way of hospitality. The reception luncheon was given in King's Hall. It was arranged by the Daughters of the Empire and the Ladies of St. Andrew's Church, who were responsible for the catering, for decorating the hall, providing the band, and waiting upon their guests. We had our first taste of prodigal Canadian hospitality, and were introduced to an immense variety of sweet dishes and drinks as parts of a sumptuous repast.

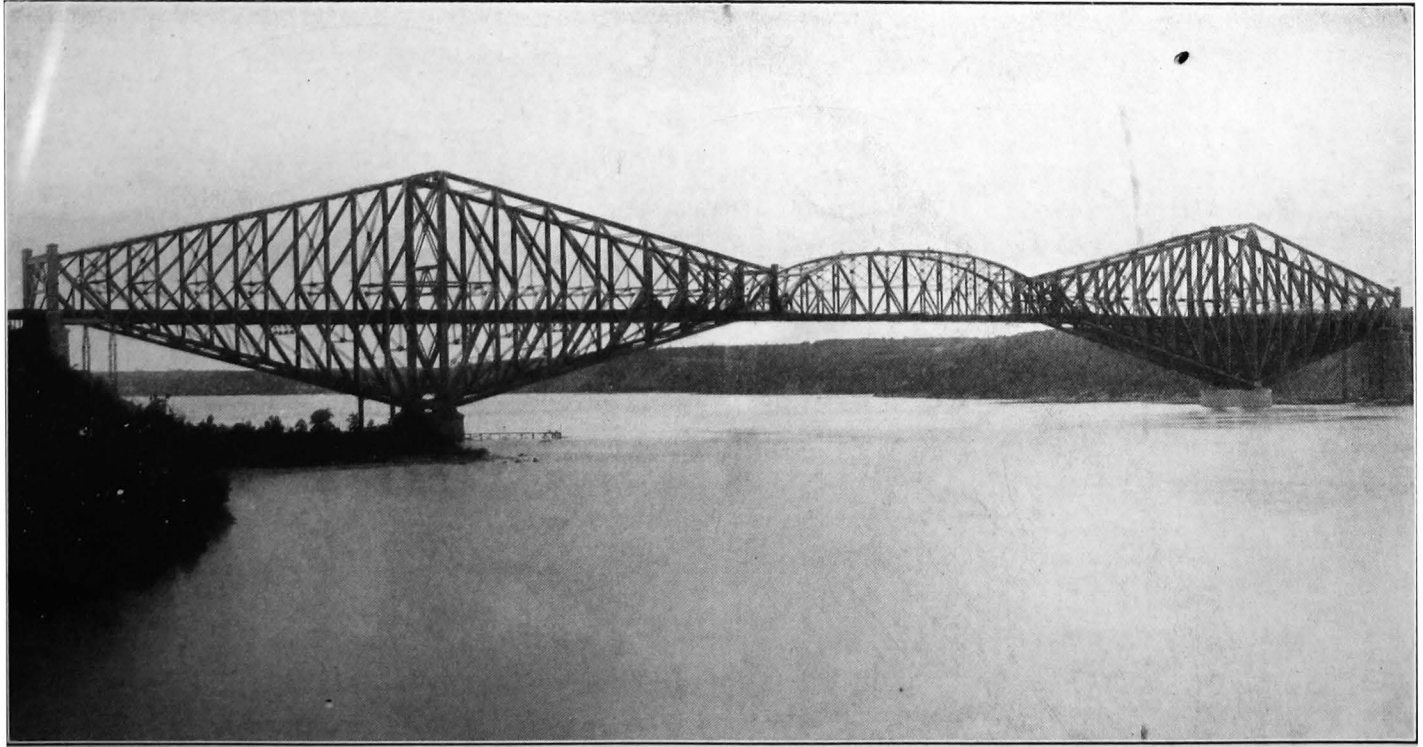
Mayor Fitzgerald presided and welcomed the delegates. Senator McLennan said that the personal touch that would come from the visit between Canada and the rest of the Empire would do much to help them all in bearing their burdens. Lord Burnham, in this the first of many speeches which he delivered during the tour, returned thanks and set the tone and expressed the spirit which was maintained by himself and followed by other speakers. He said:



Photos by Maull & Fox.

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1. MR. GEOFFREY E. FAIRFAX ("Sydney Morning Herald," Chairman of Australian Delegation). 2. MR. D. M. OLLEMANS ("The Friend," Bloemfontein). 3. MR. WILLIAM WALLACE (Assistant Secretary, Canadian Executive). 4. MR. J. R. BURNETT ("Charlottetown Guardian," Prince Edward Island). 5. DR. AUGUSTO BARTOLO ("Daily Malta Chronicle"). 6. MR. WALTER MAKEPEACE ("Singapore Free Press"). 7. MR. ROWLAND SNELLING ("Egyptian Gazette"). 8. MR. RUPERT DAVIES (President, Canadian Weekly Newspapers Association).



QUEBEC BRIDGE, WHICH CROSSES THE ST. LAWRENCE SEVEN MILES ABOVE QUÉBEC CITY.

The first bridge erected collapsed in 1907, the centre span of the next fell when nearly complete in September 1916. The bridge was finally completed in September 1917. This bridge is the greatest undertaking of its kind in the world. Total length 3,240 feet; length of main span 1,800 feet; weight of steel in bridge 66,000 tons. There is provision for two railway tracks and two five-foot sidewalks.

Your Mayor invites us to see Canada for ourselves and witness the resources and the strength of the Dominion. That is the spirit in which we are here. We have not come to lay down the law, to teach you how to run your own show, or, still less, to tell how we would run it if it were at home.

We do not do that because we do not believe it. We have not come as preachers or teachers; we have come to learn for ourselves the great success of the Dominion and how she has managed, in so short a space of years, to accomplish such immense things, and, so far as we can tell, to foretell the promise of the future. We have no philosophy with us, which would enable us to solve your problem, but we can see for ourselves how much each constituent of the dominions of the Crown can contribute to the common strength and prosperity of the whole.

It is a happy chance that has brought us to your city to-day. When I was in Canada twenty-five years ago Sydney was not even a figure on the map. It seems to me typical of Canadian youth and possibility that we see on all sides evidence of what enterprise can do in the development of industry, aided by the natural resources of the land. But we see also that what she has done is but little compared with what she will do in the future.

We have come to what we know is a land of promise, and which turns out to be a land of performance. The British Empire is a land of many homes. We pass from home to home. From the moment we entered your harbour we felt we had the home touch. There was no difficulty in getting us here; you will find it much more difficult to get rid of us. Not so much more than a hundred years ago Edmund Burke spoke of Nova Scotia as a hard-featured brat; but you have changed your physiognomy since then, for we have seen nothing but a coast of beauty, and your welcome has not only passed expectations but passed belief. . . . The disease from which I shall suffer while in Canada is anæmia of superlatives, for words will be ineffectual to express the thanks we feel.

Mr. A. Langler, of Perth, Western Australia, spoke on behalf of the Overseas delegates.

During the afternoon the delegates visited the steel works of the Dominion Iron and Steel Company, played tennis or went for motor runs. The ladies of the party were entertained by the Daughters of the Empire.

At six o'clock the delegates and their friends boarded at Sydney station the two special trains placed, as arranged by the Canadian Press, at their service by the Canadian Pacific Railway and the Canadian National Railways to carry us across the continent and back. These trains, which were to be our homes for the greater part of the days and nights spent in Canada, were admirably adapted for long distance travelling. They were hotels on wheels. The first, preceded by a pilot locomotive, started half an hour before the other. The locomotives carried the Union Jack. The Canadian

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National Railways train was the latest example of an all-steel transcontinental. The trains had similar accommodation. Each consisted of seven cars. About half the party were given separate compartments. There were smoking-rooms, drawing-rooms, and observation cars. The train programme had been planned out to the minutest detail, and the whole arrangement worked out as per schedule. Everything possible was done to make travel not only comfortable but enjoyable. The baggage was handled according to system, which never led to a loss. There was a baggage car always accessible for the heavy pieces. The baggage was insured. There was a train committee representing the delegates, and a railway official was in charge of each train: Mr. A. B. Calder for the Canadian Pacific, and Mr. C. K. Howard for Canadian National Railways. There was a tailor for brushing and pressing clothes. Bags were supplied for laundry and clothing, which, after being very carefully washed, were returned in a day or two—quick work—at other stopping-places. There was a news bulletin issued every morning, and telegrams could be sent off and received. Stenographers were at our service. There was a library on each train. The representatives of the National Resources Branch of the Dominion Government were ready to give enquirers information about Canada which the literature distributed day by day did not supply. A physician and two nurses were on hand solely for the benefit of visitors, should their assistance be required. An official film photographer of the Ontario Government and another representing the British delegates accompanied the party to picture their doings. The coloured porters were all politeness and attention without being fussy; the dining-car stewards were capable and well spoken. Perhaps the greatest pleasure was found in the train catering: the variety of dishes, the prodigality of the meals, the excellence of the cooking were marvellous. Anyone who went through a Canadian train breakfast, luncheon, and dinner, in the same day, eating all that was put before him, and survived without consulting a doctor, would be a physical marvel. But no gourmand would ever have had the courage to do it. One must choose a few of the many tempting dishes, and the delegates having done so had then to limit the size of the portions. All over Canada it was the same. Generous and well-cooked meals, lavish hospitality. It is the land of abundance as well as the land of opportunity. There was, for

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instance, every conceivable kind of fruit, and no shortage of sugar—indeed, no shortage of anything. There was no milk at meals—only cream. As for drinks, there was the same embarrassing choice of the soft and sweet kind. No alcoholic drinks were served on the trains, whether we were passing through the “dry” lands or the moderately wet province of Quebec. Ice-water was, of course, universal: the first thing in the morning and the last thing at night. It was on tap from tanks in the trains, to be drunk out of very clean, sanitary, neat paper cups. The trains ran at a good pace, not with the swift smoothness of the Brighton “Southern Belle,” but they kept time and fitted well into the other traffic. When the special trains stopped for the greater part of a day, or two or more days, the compartments were all thoroughly cleaned and made fresh and sweet before the journey was resumed. The same attendants waited on the visitors throughout the whole tour.

The Canadian Railways are not fenced as in England. There are numerous level crossings; the locomotives and cars are of quite different types from the English; the signals used on entering a station and approaching a level crossing are not ear-piercing whistles, but the more melodious, if somewhat monotonous, tolling of bells on the engines.

The transportation arrangements were perfect. Each visitor was presented with a book of tickets, which were examined and collected by an official with apologetic politeness every day or two. When we spent a night or more at hotels, rooms were allotted beforehand on the train, the baggage checked through, and in some cases the keys of the rooms handed to us. The best hotels at which we stopped belong to the railways. So much for our experiences on the special trains.

• We steamed out of Sydney on the beautiful evening of Tuesday, July 27th, and soon left behind the region of industry and entered the land of romance: with the beautiful combination of mountain and woodland scenery, fertile plains and hillsides. Cape Breton Island, settled by hardy Frenchmen from Brittany in the sixteenth century, bears still the imprint in its place-names of its original colonists. Well did they name that remarkable inlet of the sea, which almost cuts the island in two, the Bras d’Or Lake—the Golden Arm Lake—as the setting sun casts rays of a golden hue on the still waters. The island is a paradise for sportsmen. The visitors had their

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first glimpse of Canadian scenery, and found in the great lakes, hills, and woods of fir and silver birch a similarity with Scottish scenery, but on a grander and nobler scale. Farm-houses nestle on the plains and hill-sides. Now and then little wooden churches stand out, in many cases the worshipping houses, so we were told, of the descendants of Highlanders, who still use the Gaelic tongue.

The run to Halifax, the next step, was a night journey. Towards midnight the trains were conveyed by ferry from Cape Breton Island to the mainland of Canada, an operation which interested those who had remained up to see it, and which did not disturb those who had gone to bed. We were told that :

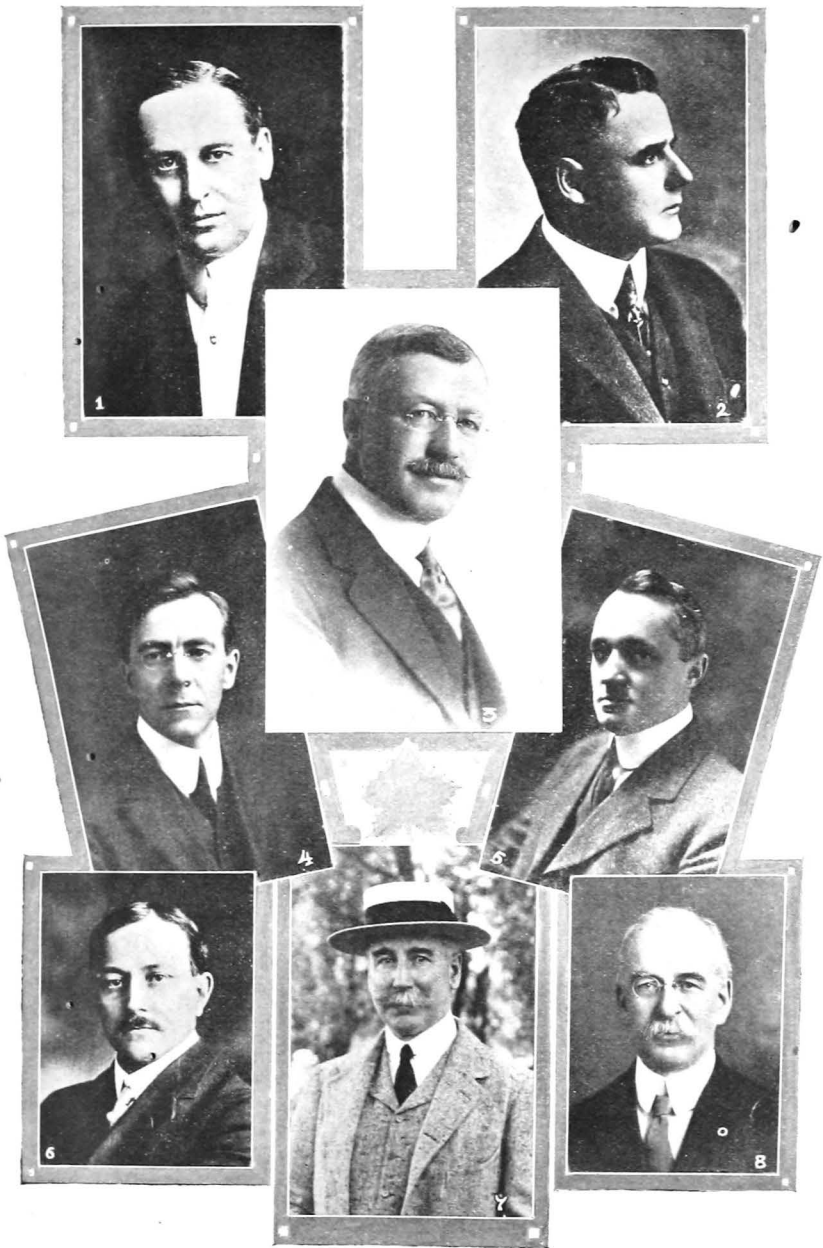
Halifax is a fitting portal to the half of a continent which stands behind and pulsates with the new life of a growing nation. It joins the old with the new, and its splendid harbour brings the sea power of Britain, the fleets and commerce of the Old Land, into touch with the productive greatness of the Dominion.

An apt description, but the delegates missed the majesty of Halifax, which should be approached by sea and not by train. Afterwards they had the opportunity of seeing the glories of the harbour, but to have entered it through the narrows, less than a mile in width, was to receive an impression of immensity—a great harbour with several wide channels of deep water, where the greatest liners can ride at anchor, broken by large and small islands, the shore fringed with trees on the hillsides, and the city standing out sharp and clean on an elevated peak-shaped peninsula, dominated by Citadel Hill. There is room in Halifax harbour, ice-free all the year round, to shelter the fleets of the whole world.

On arrival at Halifax on the morning of July 28th, the delegates were met at the station by Mr. A. F. Macdonald, editor of the "Morning Chronicle," a delegate at the First Conference, and by other members of the Reception Committee. Delegates enjoyed the chance of seeing something of the prosperous metropolis of Nova Scotia before an official reception took place in the Legislative Council Chamber.

At this official reception the Hon. McCallum Grant, the Lieutenant-Governor, welcomed the party to the "Eastern Gateway of the Dominion."

Nowhere, he said, would they find existing more strongly among the people the spirit of loyalty to, and unity with, the



1. The late MR. M. R. JENNINGS ("Edmonton Journal"). 2. MR. JOHN NELSON ("Vancouver World"). 3. MR. J. H. WOODS ("The Calgary Herald"), 4. MR. W. F. KERR ("The Morning Leader," Regina). 5. MR. C. FRED PEARSON ("The Chronicle," Halifax, N.S.). 6. MR. OSWALD MAYRAND ("La Presse," Montreal), 7. MR. J. B. MACLEAN (Maclean Publishing Co. Ltd.). 8. MR. F. B. ELLIS ("The Globe," St. John, N.B.).



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Photos by C. Vandyk, Ltd. ; Heaton Bros. ; Elliot & Fry ; Miles & Kaye.

1. DR. ELLIS T. POWELL ("Financial News"). 2. SIR GEORGE TOULMIN ("Lancashire Daily Post"). 3. MR. GEO. ISAACS (National Society of Operative Printers and Assistants). 4. MR. J. D. GRAHAM ("Wolverhampton Express and Star"). 5. SIR CHARLES STARMER ("The Sheffield Independent," etc.). 6. MR. J. B. MORRELL ("Birmingham Gazette"). 7. MR. J. L. GREAVES ("The Paper Maker"). 8. MR. T. E. NAYLOR (Printing and Kindred Trades Federation).

land of their forefathers. Everywhere they went in Canada they would be welcomed, but nowhere would their welcome be more hearty or more sincere than the welcome which they would receive from the heart of the "Blue Noses" of Nova Scotia.

Lord Burnham, in reply, said they were meeting "in the historic hall of one of the most venerable of the constituent assemblies of the British Empire," the second, he believed, in order of precedence of the whole of our free Parliaments.

It was here that, for good, as no one can doubt, the misrule of the old France was thrown off, and the French race, with all its great and heroic qualities, never greater than in the Great War, was enabled in conditions of freedom to work out its destiny and help to build up this great Dominion by the coalition of two great types of civilization. We all know how much the various great complementary qualities of both races have meant for the prosperity and strength of the Dominion, but we do not forget that here in Halifax, not fully fledged, but after trial and trouble, there arose that great movement for the federal union of Canada itself, and that it was by the persistence of the Maritime Provinces that that great work of constitution-making was brought to so successful an issue.

Nova Scotia has contributed some of Canada's leading statesmen. It has provided the Dominion with three Prime Ministers. Joseph Howe, who was both statesman and journalist, was one of the founders of the Federation in 1844. When Howe left this Chamber, said Lord Burnham, to resume once more his editorial chair, he said :

Welcome, welcome, thou dead wood by which I live; power to influence the daily thought, to touch the hearts, to enter the dwellings of tens of thousands like an old familiar friend, and inform, incite, and guide them.

The Hon. J. W. Kirwan, of Kalgoorlie, Western Australia, replied for the Overseas Dominions, and the Hon. F. B. McCurdy, Canadian Minister of Public Works, wished the delegates to observe the change of public opinion in Canada. "In Canada, more than in any other part of the Empire, a new nation had been born out of the war."

The Hon. W. S. Fielding, formerly Dominion Minister of Finance, and for twelve years Prime Minister of Nova Scotia, said that the relationship between newspapers and politics was not only very close, but was in many respects for the public good, for the profession of journalism broadened men's minds and tended to make them more fit for any field of effort to which they might be called.

The Mayor of the city, Mr. Parker, in an address of welcome to the visitors—"Ladies and Gentlemen, the city is yours"—told them that Nova Scotia gave Canada its first university, its first free Parliament, and its first newspaper.

The visitors made a tour of the city and the harbour. They saw the devastated area caused by the explosion of a munition ship in the harbour in 1917, when nearly 2,000 people lost their lives, and all houses were destroyed in the neighbourhood. They saw a garden city rising on the ruins, with well-laid-out streets and boulevards, houses solidly built of concrete, communal buildings erected—all carried out by a public commission which administers the surplus relief funds received at the time of the disaster. They saw, too, the marvellous progress which Halifax is making as a shipbuilding centre, and the new industrial activity which had been stimulated during and since the war.

A civic luncheon was given to the party in the moulding loft of the shipbuilding yard, which had been transformed into a beautifully decorated dining-hall. The luncheon was served by ladies. Mr. McLurg, the managing director of the shipyard, who had been for three years a prisoner of war in Germany, presided. Mr. Robert Donald spoke on behalf of the delegates in reply to the toast of welcome. He reviewed the programme of the Imperial Press Conference, outlined the wider objects of the visit, and referred to Canada's achievements in the war in regard to man-power and munitions. He continued :

We are eager to learn how the war has affected your political and economic outlook. Has it produced a more independent sentiment, a stronger sense of nationhood, an increased confidence in your future greatness? We would like to follow the trend of your political thought in all these matters, and expect your editors and statesmen to talk to us frankly on these subjects as friends to friends, as members of one family, so that when we return we may be intelligent and sympathetic interpreters of your aims, your ambitions, and your ideals.

During the afternoon and evening the visitors had more trips round the city and neighbourhood, were entertained at tea by the Lieutenant-Governor, and visited the famous Waegwoltic Club on the beautiful North-West Arm. The glimpse of this enchanting retreat, where the placid waters of the harbour are enclosed in a sylvan setting with attractive residences on the slopes and by the shore, which the visitors obtained in the afternoon, was eclipsed by the scenes

they witnessed in the evening. The water then looked like Henley-on-Thames on a vast scale. Hundreds of pleasure boats and canoes were skimming over the water and swarmed by the club-house, which was brilliantly illuminated. From the occupants of the boats there was a vociferous and hearty welcome, re-echoed by the crowd on the verandah of the club-house. On shore bands were playing, and the ballroom of the club-house was filled with dancers. Young Canada was enjoying itself. The North-West Arm, summer and winter, is one of the choicest spots in Canada for sport and pleasure.

As happened on other occasions when we had slept in the trains, we found ourselves in a new world in the morning. On reaching the pretty rural town of Kentville we found motor-cars waiting, and we drove through one of the most romantic and one of the richest areas in Canada—Kings County, "the Garden of Nova Scotia." It was a glorious motor ride on a brilliant morning over winding, dusty roads, past prosperous farms, through undulating, well-wooded country. "It looks quite settled," "Something like England," "What magnificent crops!" "What miles and miles of apple-trees and such fruit!" "It's such a quiet and peaceful country"—were some of the remarks heard. All kinds of cereals and fruits do well in the happy and sheltered valley of Acadia. The Government Experimental Farm, which we inspected at high speed, showed how the productiveness of the soil could still be increased. The town of Wolfville, near which is Acadia University—not overlooked—is in the rich orchard area of the Annapolis valley, a hundred miles long and six to fifteen miles wide, which produces over a million and a half bushels of apples a year. The procession of cars took us to scenes of the most fascinating and tragic incidents in Acadian history—to the little wooden church where the edict banishing the Acadians was read in 1755, and to Grand Pré Park, where a statue to Evangeline was unveiled. It is the heart of Evangeline land—the centre of an agricultural paradise.

These romantic lands of Evangeline, with their abundant apple harvest and other luxuriant crops, lie in gentle slopes and fair meadows round the Basin of Minas, in the Bay of Fundy, where the surging tides rising fifty feet have to be kept back by dykes. Here the prettiest ceremony of our tour took place. At Grand Pré Park Lady Burnham unveiled the

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bronze statue to Evangeline, the inspirational heroine of Acadian history immortalized by Longfellow.

Rev. Dr. Cutten, President of the University of Acadia, said that they owed it to the great descendant of an Acadian French family, Denis Hébert, and the generosity of the Canadian Pacific Railway, that they were presented with the beautiful park, which had been the site of the village of Grand Pré in which Evangeline had lived, and the beautiful statue which was about to be unveiled.

Lady Burnham's address—short, sympathetic, expressive, and choicely phrased—was as follows :

I am deeply conscious of the great honour you have done me by asking me to unveil your beautiful statue of a woman who has become the type of a devoted ministrant that has contributed its full share to the strength and sweetness of the British Empire. Evangeline is the beautiful conception of an American poet whose verses we learned to read, when we were children, on both sides of the Atlantic. History has shed another light on the Acadian story. We see to-day that British policy was not as black as it was painted. Whatever may be the truth of the story, as a woman, and as an Englishwoman, I shall always regard it as one of the most painful episodes in our annals. Thank God those cruel old days lie behind us for ever, and from the fate of Evangeline has sprung a great wave of sympathy which has carried on the healing hand of time. The British Empire stands to-day in fast friendship with France, firmer during the last few years than it has ever stood before. The war, with all its horrors and sadness, has bound us, through the deeds of our beloved and heroic sons, with bands of steel. Ypres, Vimy, the Somme, and all those other deeds of glorious heroism lie deep down in our hearts, never, never to be forgotten. If those dear ones could speak to us to-day, their message would be, "Stand fast together, and let not our sacrifice have been in vain." To Evangeline let us say :

"Thou art the sun of other days
That shines by giving out their rays."

It is a good omen that your beautiful sun, God's healing hand, should be resting upon us to-day who are here to do honour to that sweet woman. Under those rays, in your wonderful land so full of beauty and promise, the old hatred is dead. Only the old character remains, and both characters are worthy of the respect and admiration of all mankind.

Sir Gilbert Parker also spoke, and said that he believed that in young Hébert we had a sculptural genius. "In him, and in Louis Honoré Franchette, the French Canadians have shown how they have contributed to the influence of Canada throughout the world."

Near where the statue stands is an historic well—belonging



Photos by Elliott & Fry, London ; F. Coghlan, Londonderry ; O'Byrne, Johannesburg ; W.G. Parker, London.

1. MR. PERCY HURD, M.P. ("Canadian Gazette," London Editor "Montreal Star"). 2. MR. J. C. GLENDINNING ("Derry Standard," Ireland). 3. MR. L. GOODENOUGH TAYLOR ("Bristol Times and Mirror"). 4. MR. N. K. KERNEY ("Argus" South African Newspapers, Ltd.). 5. MR. T. W. LEYS ("Auckland Star," Chairman of New Zealand Delegation). 6. ALDERMAN E. WOODHEAD ("Huddersfield Examiner"). Centre: MR. R. S. WARD-JACKSON ("Rand Daily Mail," Chairman of South African Delegation).



VIEW OF MONTREAL FROM MOUNT ROYAL (English for Montreal) seen from the restaurant where the Press Delegates were entertained by the City on August 3rd. The St. Lawrence and Victoria Jubilee Bridge seen in the distance.

to the old village of Grand Pré, and a rough stone cross marks the burial-ground of the Acadians up to 1755.

The visitors returned to their trains and stopped next at the progressive town of Truro—"The Railway Hub of the Province"—which is romping ahead as an industrial centre as well as holding a strong position as an agricultural and distributive market. It has fine, wide, well-paved streets and concrete sidewalks. It seems overcrowded with educational institutions—such is the passion of young Canada for getting on intellectually.

Mr. Coffin, the Mayor, received the party, and bubbled over with civic pride, which was justified by the excellence of the town government. He is a newspaper man, and mentioned that Canada had 150 daily newspapers—half of them published in Nova Scotia,—and 900 weekly publications, for a population of eight millions. The delegates were also welcomed by Mr. McCurdy, Dominion Minister of Public Works, Dr. Cumming, head of the Agricultural College, and by two farmer members for the district, who had just been elected to the Provincial Parliament. For the first time a Canadian third party appeared in the East, and captured five seats.

Sir George Toulmin was the principal speaker on behalf of the visitors. He said that

what they had seen in Nova Scotia had been a revelation to them. They found a very high type of civilization. He could not help thinking of some of the conditions which existed in the Homeland, and wishing they could replace them with the conditions they saw there. He would take part with greater confidence than ever in the work of sending children to Canada, so that they could enjoy the advantages of that great civilization which was developing, and become useful citizens of the Dominion.

Mr. Don, of Johannesburg, speaking for the Overseas delegates, said

that the reception at Truro concluded the most wonderful three days he had ever had in his life. In those three days they had learned more of the province and of the spirit and courage of the people than they could have learned by reading many books. This was a land of kindly homes and a kindly people, and he had seen no barbed wire fences and no notices that trespassers would be prosecuted.

Sir Arthur Holbrook, in proposing a vote of thanks to the Mayor, said

what they had already seen had proved a revelation to them. He congratulated the people of Truro on their wonderful enterprise. As an

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agricultural representative his eyes had been opened. They in England had much to learn from Canada. They could not boast agricultural colleges like this in England. Instead of coming to teach Canada they would go back to tell the people of England how much Canada had to teach them.

The delegates were much interested in the Agricultural College which they inspected, and in the Nova Scotia experimental farm which they also visited.

(2) NEW BRUNSWICK

Enterprising St. John: An Ice-free Port—A Country Club—Fascinating Fredericton—Its Irresistible Attractions—Characteristics of the Maritime Provinces.

Nature made Nova Scotia almost an island. A narrow neck joins it to New Brunswick. The beauties of the scenery on the way from Truro to St. John were lost to us, as we travelled by night. Our entry into the city was delayed by a railway accident—two trains in front of the Press specials having collided—the only untoward incident of the kind during the tour. The St. John reception committee promptly met the emergency by sending motor-cars, which took us to hotels—the first we had visited in Canada—where we had the refreshing experience of getting a bath, the only thing in the way of domestic comfort which the special trains did not provide. As befits a city built on solid rock, with a stirring history, St. John strikes the visitor as a stronghold of vigorous commercial enterprise. It does not look a mushroom upstart. It possesses fine stone and brick buildings and well-paved streets. St. John was so christened by Champlain when he discovered the site in 1604, on the day of St. John the Baptist. He gave the same name to the river, and, as a voracious local historian says, he did not trouble about giving a name to any other part of the country, so that to this day the citizen of St. John is only dimly conscious of a nebulous suburb of that city known as the "Province of New Brunswick."

The pride and glory of St. John is its harbour. It is fed by the products of the fertile valley of the St. John River, and it is the outlet for a great volume of commerce from central Canada. It is free from ice all the year round, and is served by three railways. A dozen important steamship lines have

regular services from it to all parts of the world. It will soon have the largest dry dock in Canada. We visited the harbour—the only municipally operated harbour in Canada we were told—in a municipal ferry-boat, and saw something of the industries which flourish around it. We saw the famous reversing falls at the mouth of the St. John River, where the tide, rising fifty feet, produces this phenomenon.

The delegates were motored to a picturesque manor house a few miles from the city, where they were entertained at lunch. Mr. Bullock, the acting Mayor, presided. He said that St. John was only second to Montreal on the west side of the Atlantic in its volume of ocean traffic, and Montreal was only second to New York.

The Lieutenant-Governor, His Honour Wm. Pugsley, K.C., P.C., said that New Brunswick was founded by United Empire loyalists, who left the American colonies at the time of the revolution; but to-day “the constitution of the independent nations, which composed the British Empire, enjoyed democratic government to a greater extent than was the case in the United States.” The Government of New Brunswick, he said, owned 7,000,000 acres of forest land, and could supply the world's deficiencies of newsprint.

Sir Robert Bruce, replying for the delegation, said

that the functions of the Press involved a responsibility which was no less important than that of the Government. One of their chief duties at the Conference at Ottawa would be to discover ways and means by which the Press could circulate honest comment and news of current events throughout the Empire. They were out to break down as far as possible the barriers which hindered the growth of mutual understanding between the sons and daughters of the Motherland, and those of the Dominions and other parts of the Empire. With that object they would advocate the increase of cable facilities and the cheapening of cable rates.

Mr. T. E. Naylor, representing the Printing and Kindred Trades Federation, and a Labour candidate for Parliament, said

that it had been said that this was a family reunion. He supposed that he was the bad boy of the family. He was not there to apologise for the fact that he looked upon most Imperial questions from a slightly different angle from that of his colleagues, who were speaking naturally from another point of view. So far as Canada was concerned, he might be justified in referring to two great political parties. In the Old Country they spoke of three. The democracy of the Old Country was slowly assuming its place in the councils of the nation.

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They were looking forward to the time when the extreme left of these political parties might possibly be permitted to enter into the stage of authority which, once assumed, would not make the slightest difference in the attitude of the prospective government of Great Britain towards those Dominions that made up what they called the British Empire. As one who, with Mr. Isaacs, represented in the delegation the trade union element of the Press in the Old Country, they yielded no place to the editorial or journalistic section. The men who wielded the pen, who formed the policy and shaped the destinies of countries at different periods of their history, were now realizing that there was also a power that wielded the men that wielded the pen, and he looked forward to the day when they would get together, as they had in this delegation from the Old Country, and recognize that they were all equal when it came to the publication of their interests in countries governed under one system and with the sole desire to promote and increase the prosperity of the British Empire.

During the afternoon some of the visitors played golf, and others were entertained at tea by the Lieutenant-Governor and Mrs. Pugsley at their charming residence at Rothesay.

One of the most beautiful of the many beautiful drives which we enjoyed in Canada was that along the banks of the Konnebecasis River to the Golf and Country Club—a newly erected club-house overlooking the river, with all the latest luxuries which combine the social qualities of a hotel with facilities for golf. The visitors were entertained at dinner, and afterwards danced in the ballroom.

Sir Frank Newnes, in thanking the Club for the delightful time given to the delegates, said

it has been a great pleasure to travel through the Maritime Provinces. Most Englishmen who came to Canada did not come through the Maritime Provinces. It was a great eye-opener to them. They would go back with completely new ideals, and would recommend their friends who were going to Canada not to miss the Maritime Provinces. Their commercial possibilities were very large. One of the objects of the trip was to get to know Canadian life; considerations of the problems of trade and allied matters were not the only means by which the Empire could be bound together.

St. John is quite a metropolis compared with the quiet and fascinating capital of the province, Fredericton. The run from one city to another along the banks of the St. John brings home to one the reason why the St. John is called the "Rhine of America," also "another Hudson." It is a noble river with a beautiful background. Fredericton is to a large extent residential. It is called the "Celestial City." It has fine wide streets, stone-built public buildings, attractive



Photos by Werner & Son, Dublin ; H. J. B. Wills, Cardiff.

1. MR. PATRICK HOOPER ("The Freeman's Journal," Dublin). 2. MR. JAMES HENDERSON ("Belfast News Letter"). 3. MR. R. A. ANDERSON ("Irish Homestead," Dublin). 4. SIR WILLIAM DAVIES ("The Western Mail," Cardiff). 5. MR. J. D. WILLIAMS ("Cambria Leader," Swansea). 6. MR. HAROLD HARMSWORTH ("Western Morning News," Plymouth). 7. MR. DAVID DAVIES ("South Wales Daily Post," Swansea).



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Photos by T. R. Annan & Sons, Glasgow ; MacMahon, Aberdeen.

1. SIR ROBERT BRUCE ("Glasgow Herald"). 2. MR. J. HARPER ("Glasgow Record").
3. MR. JOHN MITCHELL ("Dundee Courier"). 4. MR. T. B. McLACHLAN ("Scots-
man," Edinburgh). 5. COL. EDWARD W. WATT ("Aberdeen Free Press");

private residences—an English lord has taken up his abode in one. The streets are lined with elm and maple; there are spacious parks and pleasure-grounds. It is a centre of the lumber trade, and also the headquarters of sportsmen and hunters, who find in the New Brunswick forests a wealth and variety of game, big and small. The citizen of the Celestial City who wrote the sprightly guide presented to us tells of Fredericton attractions in an entertaining style. We read:

The death rate of Fredericton is so low as to be within the reach of all. It arises almost entirely from one of two causes, extreme old age or physical malady of some kind. In the case of Government officials, neither of these has any effect. The only thing that can happen to them is, superannuation.

Of his fellow-citizens he says:

The placid Celestial Citizen is at peace with the world. The tranquil river flowing by his door is a mirror of his mind. He is content with his lot, for, if he is secure from sudden attacks of affluence, he is equally safe from the withering disaster that comes from reckless speculation. He is liberal in thought—conservative in action. Perched upon a pinnacle of judicial impartiality, he calmly listens to the evidence as to the doings of the outer world, and then takes time to consider. Whether rich or poor, bond or free, the name of Fredericton is inscribed in his heart, and he carries with him his love of the fair old elm-shaded city to the end of his earthly days.

We had our first inspection of logging near Fredericton, and saw how the logs were shepherded in the river, branded with the names of the owners, packed into rafts, and allowed to float down the river to their destination. Several of the more adventurous among the delegates imitated the expert lumbermen in walking over the rafts and logs, and appreciated the significance of the saying "as easy as falling off a log."

The delegates were received and entertained at luncheon in the Legislative Chamber of the Provincial Parliament, a handsome freestone structure with a Puritan pepper-box which serves the purpose of a dome, the sole redeeming feature of which, according to the local historian, "is the admirable view it affords of the city and its environs." The Chamber had been transformed into a banqueting-hall, again with the assistance of the ladies of the city, who were the waitresses—as charming as they were attentive. It is quite a sedate and dignified-looking chamber, with portraits of George III, one of Queen Charlotte by Reynolds, and portraits of former governors.

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The Mayor, Mr. Reid, welcomed the visitors. He said

the geographical position of Fredericton was such that their magnificent industries were extending very rapidly. Their railway facilities were of the best, and they were well situated for the development of trade, particularly with the markets of Europe and the West Indies. Then they boasted of a newspaper Press whose enterprise and influence were unsurpassed.

Sir Campbell Stuart ("The Times," "Daily Mail," "Evening News," London, etc.), responding, said in part:

It is a great dream, the British Empire, and as its constitution develops—and only time really makes constitutions—it is gradually becoming more and more the common property in government of all concerned, until the day must dawn when all of its major affairs must be ordered by some kind of Imperial Council. That day the war has brought nearer; our common heritage has become our common property, and England waits the day when the sons of the Empire will sit with her in the hours of decision—not intermittently, but permanently, no matter where the geographical headquarters may be. This, I venture to say, is the great lesson of the war, the war that found Canada a province, speaking metaphorically, and left her a nation, the war that found the Motherland and her possessions an Empire, and left her a league of our own nations.

Mr. George Isaacs, General Secretary of the National Society of Operative Printers, said:

Sir Campbell Stuart had said that the British Empire was a League of Nations. It was far more than that. It was a league of peoples. This Press Conference was representative of the great Press of our Empire, and Sir Campbell Stuart represented one of the largest groups of newspapers in Great Britain, while he spoke only for those who printed the newspapers; but they felt that they were doing their share of the great work of the Press. He was one of those who believed that the greatest statesmen were the editors of the newspapers, and the fact that two representatives of the workers, his colleague Mr. Naylor and himself, had been invited to attend the Conference was a proof of the existence of the true spirit of democracy.

Mr. R. A. Anderson ("Irish Homestead") also replied, and said that he was half a Fredericton man, his mother having been born in that city. He told them some things about the agricultural co-operative movement in Ireland, of which he was a representative.

Early in the afternoon the visitors left Fredericton, on the way to Quebec, passing through more of the grand river and

woodland scenery of the province to the small town of Woodstock, where a brief halt was made. A large gathering of the residents was on the platform with motor-cars in which to give the visitors a hurried run through the town, thus affording them a glimpse of life in a rural centre such as they had not previously visited. The journey was resumed along the banks of the St. John, which for a considerable distance forms the boundary between Canada and the United States.

• The first stage of the pilgrims' progress was finished; the Maritime Provinces had been "done." These provinces are too often missed by visitors to Canada, and in our case the late arrival of the s.s. "Victorian" deprived us of seeing the third province, the garden island of Prince Edward.

The two provinces visited form part of the original Acadia discovered by the French, conquered by the British, and developed by the United Empire loyalists, who left their homes and sacrificed their possessions in the American colonies to seek new careers and build up a new community under the British flag. They are intensely British and patriotic.

Geographically, they are—especially New Brunswick—part of New England, or part of New England is geographically part of them. The State of Maine is surrounded for two-thirds of its boundary line by New Brunswick and Quebec. It is a broad peninsula jutting into Canada. The Canadian Pacific Railway cuts across it from Megantic, in Quebec, to McAdam, in New Brunswick, on its way to Fredericton.

With geographical proximity there follows close social and business intercourse with America, and the cities in the provinces have all the outward characteristics of American cities. The customs of the people, their habits, mode of dress, style of talk are similar. They have the same social ideas. Nova Scotia and New Brunswick were among the pioneers of temperance reform in Canada, as Maine was in the United States; but the Nova Scotians and the New Brunswickers differ radically, determinately, and totally in their political ideas from their friends and neighbours. To emphasize this difference, they fly the Union Jack, sing "The Maple Leaf" and "God Save the King" on every opportune occasion.

From the point of view of agricultural and industrial development, much has yet to be done. Both provinces could support comfortably more than a population of twenty millions. Not half the thirteen million acres of land suitable for agri-

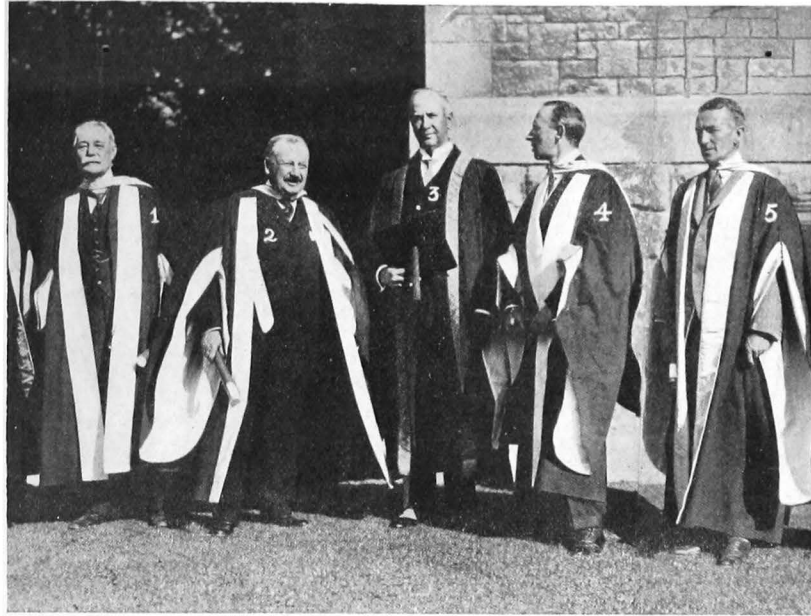
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culture in New Brunswick have yet been occupied. The province has not even been thoroughly explored. Witness the testimony of the local historian :

In all its essential features the forest of New Brunswick is to-day what it was in the dawn of history. It is still the forest primeval. Over the rampart hills and under the sentinel stars are streams whose sources are unknown ; vast areas of timber land that have never echoed the sound of the woodman's axe or the hunter's rifle ; lofty cataracts whose hoarse soliloquy is seldom heard by human ear ; beautiful lakes without a name, whose eternal stillness is broken only by the rattle of the kingfisher, the leap of the landlocked salmon, the uncanny laughter of the loon, or the plunging stride of the wading moose. The voyager who seeks these hidden shores will find a gentle, bounteous wilderness to whose ever-verdant antiquity the Pyramids are young and Nineveh a mushroom of yesterday.

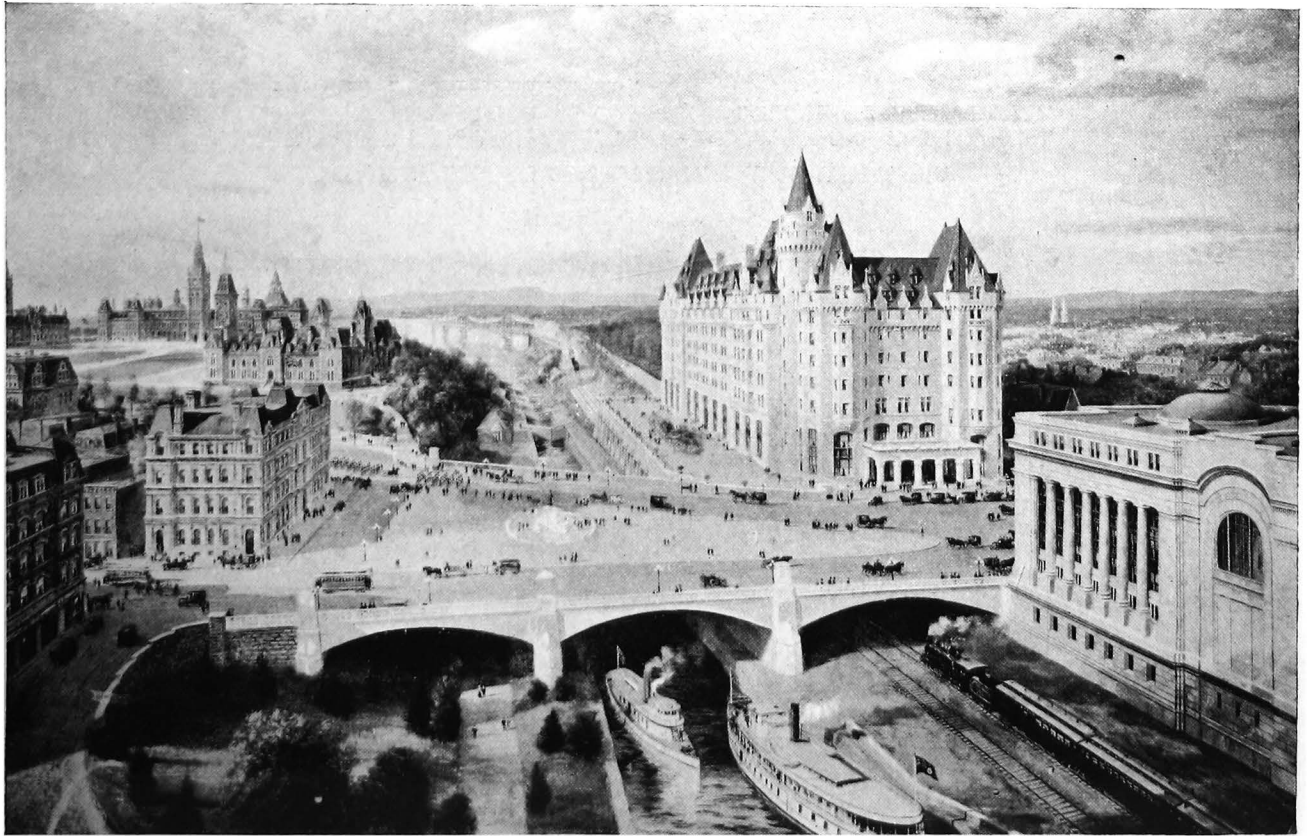
That quotation is a reminder that New Brunswick, in the midst of its scenic marvels, has almost unequalled facilities for shooting and fishing. Its rivers and lakes, of which it has many, abound in salmon and trout, and are the happy hunting-ground of the fisherman. Every kind of game is found in its forests and marshlands. There are more moose in New Brunswick than in any part of the American continent, except, perhaps, Alaska.

The delegates were very much touched by the part played in the hospitality they received in the Maritime Provinces by the ladies. Every luncheon, tea, and dinner given to them was prepared, arranged, and served by ladies all prettily dressed in white, which added to the delicacy of the compliment.



HONORARY DEGREES CONFERRED BY MCGILL UNIVERSITY.

1. MR. T. W. LEYS ("The Auckland Star," New Zealand, Chairman of New Zealand Delegation).
2. LORD BURNHAM (President of the Conference). 4. SIR HARRY BRITTAIN, M.P.
(Chairman of Conference Arrangements Committee).



Grand Trunk Railway.

VIEW OF OTTAWA.

CHAPTER IV

FRENCH CANADA

In Old Quebec—Paper Mills—A Rural French Town—Montreal the Metropolis of Canada—Banquet by the Canadian Press—McGill University Confers Degrees on Lord Burnham and Three of the Delegates—Entertained by the City.

AFTER our strenuous time in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, we were promised a day of rest in Quebec on Sunday. We reached the historic city early on Sunday morning, August 1st. Before entering the city we passed through part of the habitat country, with well-tilled farms; we skirted the majestic St. Lawrence before we crossed it by Quebec Bridge, a monument of engineering skill, and a tribute to the tenacity and determination of the Canadian people, who were not discouraged from completing this stupendous undertaking by two tragic failures. On arrival at the Palais station we were received by Major-General Sir David Watson, president of the local reception committee, and editor of the "Quebec Chronicle," the Hon. Frank Carrel, of the "Telegraph," Mr. Lamont, editor of "Le Soleil," and by other Quebec journalists. There was every temptation not to rest: the opportunity of seeing the most historic city of the American continent, a city with a peculiar charm and a beauty of its own, with a picturesque setting and a romantic past. Quebec has the grand manner and an atmosphere of old world chivalry. The Château Frontenac, one of the C.P.R. Hotels at which we stopped, in name, style, and situation suits the local colouring.

The delegates passed the morning according to their own sweet will; in the afternoon they were conducted to the citadel, where Colonel Woods, the historian, gave them in tabloid form the story of the battle between Wolfe and Montcalm which settled the destiny of Canada. From his original researches and encyclopædic knowledge of the subject Colonel Woods told how Wolfe won with a smaller force because of his superior strategy, that Montcalm lost partly because of the interference of political commissioners with his plan of campaign, and that the deciding factor in winning Quebec

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and keeping a continent was Britain's sea power. Colonel Woods took the party to the scene of the battle on the Plains of Abraham and explained scenes in the neighbourhood commanded by this Gibraltar of the West. Visits were paid later in the day by individual members of the party to Montmorency Falls, the shrine of St. Anne de Beaupré, the Golf Club, and other places of interest. In the evening of the restful day the delegates entertained at dinner Captain Waite and other officers of the s.s. "Victorian," and Lieut.-Colonel Parkinson, who had acted as their host from London. Lord Burnham presided and proposed the health of the officers of the "Victorian" and of Colonel Parkinson. Captain Waite replied. Colonel Parkinson spoke of the broadening influence on Canadians of the contact with the home country, of the half-million Canadians who had gone abroad in the course of the Great War. Common dangers and common sacrifices had cemented the integral parts of the British Empire in lasting form. Representatives of the Canadian Press had played a great part in the war, chief among them being Major-General Sir David Watson, Brigadier-General Odium, the late Major John Lewis, and the late Major Gordon Southam.

Mr. C. F. Crandall, the organizer of the Conference, responding to the toast of the Canadian Press, proposed by Mr. Robert Donald, said

these conferences affected not only the Empire, but indirectly the world at large, even as they were constituted to-day. He believed that their scope was bound to extend. The country through which they were about to journey adjoined a country which was foreign to them in the natural sense of the word, but which spoke the same tongue, and was in the main pledged to the same principles. There was no fort along the boundary line, and no barrier except the strongest barrier of all—misunderstanding plus conflicting ambitions. Nothing was so important in the world to-day as a solution of these misunderstandings and a co-ordination of these ambitions, but these aims would not be attained without organized service and continuous effort on the part of the men who can influence public opinion in both countries.

Mr. J. W. Dafoe, who also responded, observed that

public men in Canada had never shrunk from tackling any task, even when it looked several sizes too large for them. The building of the Quebec Bridge was an example of this. Canadians were running this country on the theory that it was impossible for the Canadian and the American people ever to have any difference that would lead

to war. The future of the British Empire depended far more on those whom he was addressing and those whom they represented than it did upon the statesmen of the Empire.

Next morning, on the way to Montreal, we stopped at Grand Mère as the guests of the Laurentide Pulp and Paper Company, whose mills are among the largest and best in Canada, charmingly situated on the St. Maurice River, with a garden city for the company's employees. A few miles further on we passed the Shawinigan Falls, which supply electric light and power to Montreal, Quebec, Joliette, and other cities.

We stopped at the junction of Joliette, where the special trains were transferred to the Canadian Pacific transcontinental line. Joliette is a typically rural town in French Canada. It stands in a level country dotted with well-tilled farms. It is a market town and a distributive centre, and has paper-making mills, lumber works, and woollen industries. As there was a short stoppage for the change-over of the trains, several members of the party had a look at Joliette, the only town which was visited unofficially. Joliette is unmistakably French. The main streets contain commodious frame houses with wide verandahs, and in many cases are surrounded by gardens. Our flying visit took place in the late afternoon, when the heads of households were sitting in rocking-chairs on their balconies and verandahs in company of their numerous offspring. The population of Joliette is increasing fast without outside help from immigrants. The finest buildings in Joliette are the Roman Catholic seminary, the Bishop's Palace, and the Church, all in granite and marble.

Street names and notices in Joliette are in French, but sometimes the English equivalents are added. One inhibitory notice warning people away from the high-power cables was in French, English, and American, thus:

" Pas d'admission.
No admission.
Keep out."

Lord Burnham and several other delegates, including the writer, became so absorbingly interested in this French town in the heart of French Canada that they were left behind, the trains starting without them, and they had to be picked up from the track.

We arrived in Montreal on Monday night, August 2nd,

and adopted the practice, which was afterwards followed, when we stayed at two hotels: travellers by the first train all went to one hotel—in this case the Ritz Carlton—and travellers by the second train to another—the Windsor. Thus baggage was dealt with conveniently. Representatives of the hotels were on the trains, and rooms were allotted beforehand. There was no confusion, no delay.

We were joined here by several Australian and New Zealand delegates, who had come by the Pacific route. Several prominent newspaper men from the United States had crossed the border to greet us, and a host of our Canadian comrades had gathered to do us honour.

Montreal is the metropolis of Canada. It has a population of about 775,000. It is the second seaport on the Atlantic coast, although it is a thousand miles from the ocean. It is the meeting-place of lake and ocean steamers, and it is a centre and terminal of railway lines 30,000 miles in length. It combines all the grandeur of a glorious history with the pulsing energy of modern enterprise. It is one-third British, two-thirds French, and wholly Canadian. For its public buildings, churches, schools, colleges, banks, and shops it will challenge comparison with any city on the American continent. Its situation on an island—thirty-two miles long and from four to eight miles wide, at the confluence of the St. Lawrence and the Ottawa Rivers—is unique.

The visitors toured the city on the morning of August 3rd in cars put at our service by our hosts of the Canadian Press. We were taken to Mount Royal, which dominates the city and commands magnificent views of the lower part of the city, the harbour, the great bridge, and the St. Lawrence, and in the distance the Adirondack Mountains in New York State.

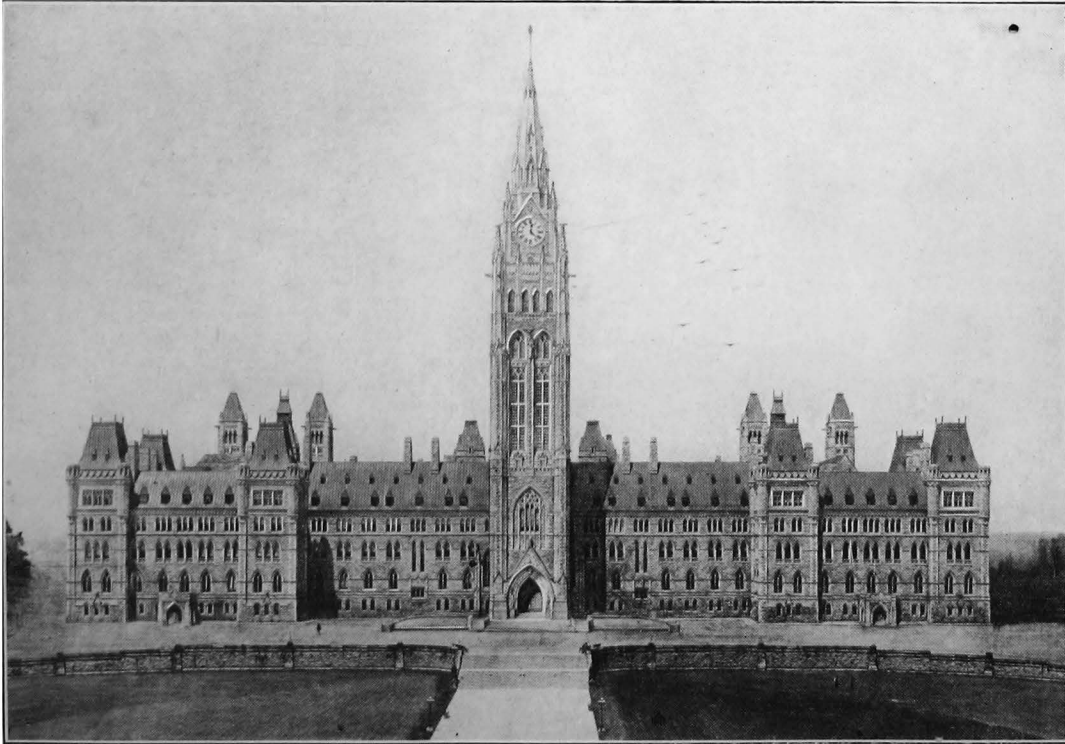
Mount Royal is the home of Montreal's merchant princes. The park which crowns the hill is carefully preserved as a pleasure resort. Motor-cars are excluded. To reach it we left the cars and took horse cabs—little "victorias" such as formerly existed in Paris—a feature in Montreal's transport system. We were entertained at luncheon at the restaurant at the summit.

The Mayor, the Hon. M. Martin, presided. The speech of welcome was delivered by the Right Hon. Charles Marcil, M.P., an old newspaper man who was Speaker during Sir Wilfred Laurier's last ministry. Addressing the delegates he said:



By courtesy of "The Star," Montreal.

OPENING OF THE CONFERENCE, WHEN THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL ADDRESSED THE DELEGATES AFTER HAVING BEEN INTRODUCED BY LORD BURNHAM.



THE NEW PARLIAMENT BUILDING AT OTTAWA AS IT WILL APPEAR WHEN THE
TOWER IS ERECTED.

The Second Imperial Press Conference was held here on August 5th, 6th, and 7th, 1920.

You are all familiar with the great part which Montreal fills in the economic and commercial life of this country. Situated at the meeting-place of ocean and lake navigation, a thousand miles from the sea and fifteen hundred miles from the head-waters of the great system of lake and river navigation, its position is unrivalled. While being the national port of Canada for more than seven months of the year and the second port in America, and the seventh in the world, it is also its great railway, banking, commercial, and manufacturing centre. Its trade extends to all parts of the world, and is ever increasing as the country is being opened up and peopled. Montreal will have added interest from the fact that its citizenship is made up chiefly of the two great races which have made of Canada the first of the overseas sister nations of the British Empire. As the metropolitan city of Canada, Montreal is also rendered doubly interesting by the fact that because of the number of its citizens speaking the French language it is the third largest French-speaking city in the world.

As journalists you are aware that Montreal has a creditable Press, with five French and three English dailies, apart from several periodicals of a high character. Some of these periodicals have a very wide circulation, and are read throughout Canada and many parts of the United States and the Empire. They are important factors in building up the country and making it known abroad.

Quebec, as the mother province of the Dominion, and the keystone of the Canadian confederation, is doing its full share to make of Canada a great nation. We need more people to open up our broad land and to exploit our immense resources of the sea, the farm, the mine, and the forest. All who are prepared to become Canadians and to uphold the British institutions under which we live are welcome from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

Your influence is felt throughout the Empire, and incidentally throughout the world. When you become fully acquainted with conditions prevailing in Canada you will be able to render this country signal service in making it better known and appreciated.

Sir Harry Brittain, replying on behalf of the guests, said :

Mr. Marcil has rightly referred to Montreal as the meeting-place of two great nations who have made of Canada the first of the sister nations of the Empire. With the spirit of cordial co-operation which I am convinced will for ever endure between these historic peoples, whose glorious achievements cover every field of human endeavour, it is impossible to paint too brightly that picture which the future must hold for this wonderful metropolitan city whose guests we are so proud to be to-day.

Mr. Robert Donald, speaking in French, proposed the health of the Chairman, and a vote of thanks to the reception committee for their hospitality.

During the afternoon McGill University conferred the degree of LL.D. upon Lord Burnham, Sir Harry Brittain, Mr. T. W. Leys (chairman of the New Zealand delegation), and

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Mr. Ward-Jackson (chairman of the South African delegation). The ceremony took place in the hall of the Royal Victoria College at the first public convocation presided over by the new principal, General Sir Arthur Currie, who commanded the Canadian Corps in France. In his speech Sir Arthur said :

Of the resources, the potentialities, the possibilities, the development, and the problems of Canada, you will hear a great deal. But I feel that what you will study most during your visit is the Canadian. I venture to believe that at the conclusion of your itinerary you will agree with me that as a result of the admixture of races, of the manner of life, of the influence of climate, food, soil, and general aspects of nature, there is being developed in Canada a definite type of man, with distinct physical, moral, and intellectual characteristics.

Although many races are represented in our population, the great majority of our citizens are of British or French ancestry. This great majority is thoroughly loyal to British institutions, to British traditions, and to the British Empire, and above all, it is intensely Canadian, and I for one believe that Canada can render the greatest service to our Empire and to the world at large by developing possible strength and ability, Canadian institutions, Canadian ideals, and a Canadian national spirit.

Lord Burnham and Mr. Leys returned thanks.

In the evening a banquet was given by Lord Atholstan in honour of the delegates, which was attended by leading public men and chief citizens of Montreal, a number of prominent American journalists, as well as by a large representation of the Canadian Press. It was a sumptuous affair, and was admirably organized. Excellent music was provided ; and a transparency staged at one end of the hall displayed in turn the flags of all the countries represented. Ladies were accommodated in the galleries. The speeches were on a high level. Lord Atholstan, the chairman, spoke little, leaving the toast of the evening to be proposed by Sir John Willison, "The Times" Canadian correspondent, who did it eloquently. A divertingly humorous speech was made by Professor Leacock. Lord Burnham's reply was one of the best of the many good speeches he delivered during the tour—happy in tone and sound in matter. Mr. Ward-Jackson also replied, and other speeches on this memorable occasion were made by Mr. C. H. K. Curtis, of the "Saturday Evening Post" and "Philadelphia Ledger," Mr. J. R. Rathom, of the "Providence Journal," Mr. Fernand Rinfret, editor of "Le

Canada," and Sir Lomer Gouin, editor of "La Presse," for many years Prime Minister of Quebec Province. The gathering was a testimony to the good fellowship of the Press and to British-Canadian amity. The speeches are reported in full as part of the official proceedings in the second section of this volume.

On Wednesday morning the visitors were taken on a trip around the harbour on one of the harbour launches. They were impressed by the splendid quay accommodation, the large number of big steamers, from places so far apart as Genoa, Glasgow, Yokohama, and many others of the world's great seaports. Having viewed the great floating dock, which is one of the most remarkable pieces of equipment in the port of Montreal, the delegates next inspected Vickers's shipbuilding yards. There they saw much that was remarkable even when judged by latter-day standards; but perhaps most remarkable of all was the spectacle of five huge steamers all in various stages of construction side by side in the building sheds. The farewell words of welcome were said at a lunch given in the Windsor Hotel by the Canadian Club of Montreal. Sir Gilbert Parker, in responding to an address of welcome by the Chairman, referred in terms of warm appreciation to the work of the French element in Canada in building up the Dominion.

CHAPTER V

THE CONFERENCE AND THE CAPITAL

Tropical Ottawa—Hospitality of the Dominion Government—The Conference and its Work—Speeches by Ministers—The Beauties of the Capital.

EXCEPT for one sharp shower, which caught us as we were leaving Fredericton, the weather since our arrival at Sydney on July 27th had been perfect; bright clear skies and warm sunshine, not oppressive by day, mild and pleasant evenings. At Ottawa, reached on August 3rd, we struck Canadian tropical climate for the first time. The heat was trying for members of the party who had not taken the precaution, following upon the advice of our hosts, to bring light clothing. The temperature was 95 degrees in the shade. It was a new experience for the majority of the delegates. The excessively hot part of the days was spent in the Conference Room, which was comparatively cool. The Government of Canada placed at the disposal of the Conference a large room in the new Parliament Buildings, not yet quite finished, and put every other facility, including the services of officials, at the disposal of the delegates. The new Parliament Buildings, situated on the site of the former structure destroyed by fire in 1916, cost seven million dollars to erect.

King Edward, when Prince of Wales, opened the old buildings in 1860. The present Prince of Wales opened the new buildings and laid the foundation of the tower during his memorable visit to Canada in 1919. The new home of the Dominion Parliament is a sombre pile in Gothic style built of rough dark granite.

The visitors and their friends were housed in the magnificent Château Laurier Hotel, now under the control of the Canadian National Railways.

The Government of Canada gave a banquet in honour of the delegates in the Château Laurier Hotel on Thursday evening. Besides a full attendance of the delegates, the guests included many Canadian journalists, members of the Cabinet, members of the Canadian House of Commons, and others.



Canadian National Railways.



Canadian National Railways.

The style of these buildings suggests museums or art galleries, colleges or academies; they are electric power generating stations at Niagara Falls, and show how the Canadian Authorities hide commercialism in an artistic setting, so as not to mar the beauties of nature.



PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS, OTTAWA.
From the other side of the Ottawa River.

It was an imposing and dignified function—a high compliment which was greatly appreciated by the visitors. The Hon. Arthur Meighen, the new Prime Minister, delivered a bold address on the functions and responsibilities of the Press, which created an exceedingly good impression. The Governor-General and Sir George Foster also spoke. Lord Burnham replied on behalf of the guests in his happiest manner, showing the great importance which he and his colleagues attached to the Conference and how much they appreciated the hospitality extended to them by all parties, and particularly by the Government of Canada. Mr. Fairfax, chairman of the Australian delegation, also spoke.

The speeches are fully reported in the official proceedings in the latter part of this volume.

The Second Imperial Press Conference met on Thursday morning, August 4th. Lord Atholstan, chairman of the Canadian Press, proposed Lord Burnham as chairman of the Conference, which was unanimously agreed upon. Lord Burnham's father presided at the first Conference in 1909, and it was fitting that the able son of that distinguished man should preside over the deliberations of the second Conference. Addresses of welcome were delivered by the Governor-General, the Duke of Devonshire, by the Hon. Arthur Meighen, the new Prime Minister, and by Mr. Mackenzie King, leader of the Opposition and of the Liberal Party. The same practice was followed on the two subsequent days. On the second day the Nestor of Canadian politics, the eloquent Sir George Foster, Minister of Trade and Commerce, delivered an address devoted chiefly to inter-Imperial trade, and on Saturday morning the Hon. Philip Blondin, the Postmaster-General, a French-Canadian, addressed us, referring chiefly to matters within the province of his department.

The business of the Conference was confined almost entirely to matters concerning the Press. No resolution was passed which did not refer to newspaper interests or public interests inseparably connected with them; addresses were delivered on inter-Imperial relations, but no resolution was passed on that subject. Lord Burnham proved an admirable and exceptionally tolerant chairman. He invited a free and frank expression of opinion from all delegates. It had been arranged that the proposers of resolutions should occupy ten minutes and subsequent speakers five minutes, but the Chairman never enforced his own rules. He was encouraging and conciliatory,

tactful and businesslike, and the programme was carried through without a hitch. When any division of opinion arose, free expression of opinion soon led to the removal of differences, so that unanimity was maintained. The Conference was attended by a hundred delegates from Overseas and from Great Britain, and about as many delegates from every part of Canada. The programme of reforms decided upon and crystallized by resolutions was of a thoroughly practical kind, and power was given to the Empire Press Union to carry them out. The Conference is by way of being the Parliament of the Press of the British Empire, and the Council of the Empire Press Union its executive authority.

The important speeches delivered at the Conference and a complete record of the discussion which took place will be found in the latter part of this volume.

There were fifteen resolutions passed, exclusive of the formal votes of thanks. These included recommendations proposing plans for obtaining better, cheaper, and quicker facilities for the distribution of news within the Empire by cable and wireless, in favour of a reduction in postal rates for letters and periodicals, for keeping the distribution of news independent of Government control, not excluding cases where assistance is given by the Government for a more extensive dissemination of Imperial news. On the professional side the Conference passed resolutions in favour of interchanging the staffs of British and Dominion newspapers and of setting up travel scholarships. On trade matters resolutions were passed with regard to taking steps to insure adequate supplies of paper within the Empire. There was also a resolution passed, recommending, qualifying, and unifying commercial laws throughout the Empire, and of harmonizing the curricula of universities and to facilitate the interchange of professors and students.

The new and extended programme of work thrown on the Empire Press Union by increasing its responsibilities and by the admission to membership of the weekly press, of magazines, technical and trade journals, rendered necessary a revision of its articles of association and its by-laws. Resolutions empowering such changes to be made were adopted. It was also decided that the Imperial Press Conference should in future meet every four years.

On the second day of the Conference an interesting function took place. Senator Smeaton White, of the "Montreal

Gazette," arranged a luncheon under the auspices of the Empire Parliamentary Association at the Rivermead Country Club six miles from the city. The club is situated by the Ottawa River in very pleasant surroundings, and delegates to the Conference had an opportunity of meeting on this occasion a number of the leading public men and politicians.

On the last day of the Conference, when all the delegates were present, a presentation was made on their behalf by Mr. Robert Donald to Lord and Lady Burnham of a magnificent moose head as a testimony of the high esteem in which they were held by the members of the Conference, and as a recognition of the admirable services both had rendered in heading the party. The head had been selected by a committee from the collection made by the C.P.R. Co. for display at the Canadian National Exhibition at Toronto.

On Saturday Mr. Robert Donald was the guest of the Canadian Club, and delivered an address chiefly on the state of public affairs in the Old Country, on the international situation and its bearing on Imperial interests.

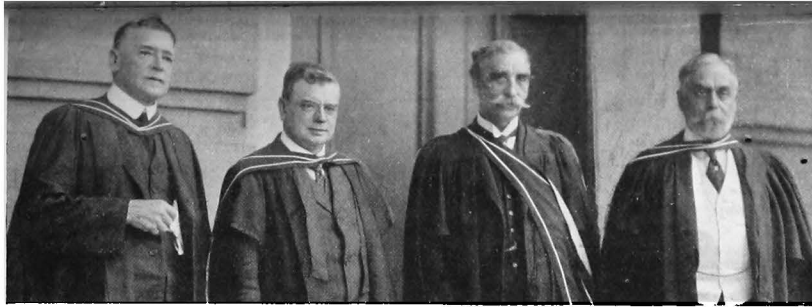
The capital of Canada has a tone and an atmosphere entirely its own, arising from its position as the seat of Government and as the head centre of the Civil Services, from its picturesque situation on a bluff overlooking the Ottawa River, from its fine architecture, from its public buildings, colleges, schools, museums, and churches. The residential part of the city is embowered in a forest of maple and other trees. No city in the world is better supplied with parks, playgrounds, shady avenues, superb drives and boulevards. It is a clean, well-ordered, dignified city determined to attain a certain imperial splendour and be worthy of its reputation as the capital of a great and growing country.

The delegates, in spite of business and the heat, were fortunately able to see a good deal of this magnificent city. We admired its private residences, erected in many cases of stone and brick, standing in isolated positions and representing a great variety of attractive designs. They are the type seen in every great Canadian city. Each home stands by itself surrounded by trees in the midst of a well-kept lawn. There are no fences or hedges or walls dividing a house from its neighbours or screening it from the sidewalks.

You never get far away from water in Ottawa. There is the Ottawa River, the Rideau River, and the Rideau Canal,

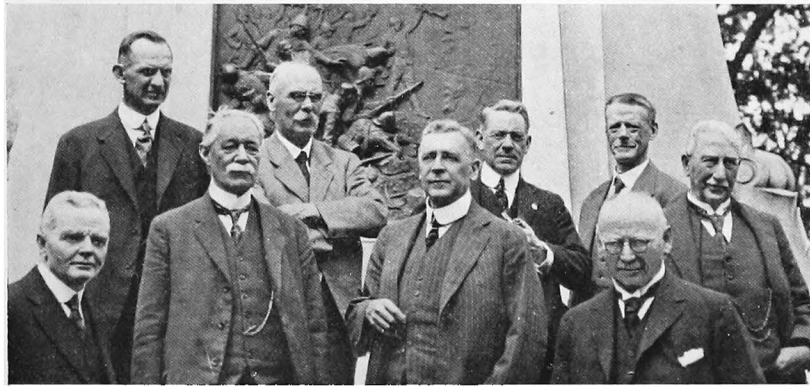
and lakes in the parks. Its waterways link it up with the great lakes and the Atlantic. Nine railways enter Ottawa, so that, as becomes a capital, it is a nerve centre of the Dominion. Business streets are well paved, and contain first-class shops and stores. Ottawa is an industrial centre as well as the headquarters of official life and a favourite residential resort. Its factories and its paper works, and its 308 industries carried on within its borders, do not obtrude themselves conspicuously on visitors. Among the more interesting places visited by us were the Central Canada Experimental Farm, and the Chaudière Falls, within the city limits, which produce 54,000 horse-power of electric energy to light the streets and the buildings, and serve as the motive force of the street railways, factories, etc.

After the Conference finished on Saturday the visitors were entertained at a garden party by the Duke and Duchess of Devonshire at Rideau Hall, the official residence of the Governor-General. There was a very large party to meet the visitors, including most of the members of the Dominion Government, chief officials, and leading citizens of Ottawa.



HONORARY DEGREES CONFERRED BY TORONTO UNIVERSITY.

Left to Right: MR. GEOFFREY E. FAIRFAX ("Sydney Morning Herald," Chairman of Australian Delegation); SIR ROBERT BRUCE ("The Glasgow Herald"); MR. ROBERT DONALD (Chairman of the Empire Press Union); SIR GILBERT PARKER, Bt., P.C.



GROUP OF AUSTRALIAN AND NEW ZEALAND DELEGATES TAKEN IN FRONT OF A WAR MONUMENT.



THE HEART OF TORONTO'S BUSINESS DISTRICT.

CHAPTER VI

ONTARIO: THE CENTRAL PROVINCE

Sunday at Niagara—Conserving Nature's Beauties, Utilizing Nature's Power—The White Coal of Canada—Through the Fruit Gardens of the Niagara Peninsula—Industrial Hamilton—Toronto the very British Queen City—Where Farmers Rule—A Great Agricultural College.

ECONOMIZING time, according to the programme of our hosts, we left Ottawa at night and arrived at Toronto on Sunday morning, August 8th, but not to stay in "the Queen City": we embarked on the Canada Steamship Company's lake steamer "Chippewa" to cross Lake Ontario bound for Niagara. The weather was bright and fine, with glorious sunshine. There was no breeze to disturb the placid surface of the lake; it was just comfortably warm on the water. We were not the only pleasure-seekers. A Sunday at Niagara across the lake is a favourite trip for Torontonians. The voyage on the inland sea within sight of pretty scenery was an enjoyable change. We passed Queenston and landed at Lewiston on the America side, as far as which the moving waters of Lake Ontario flow into Niagara River. The courteous American immigration and customs officers waived the usual formalities, and we boarded special tramcars on the Gorge Railway, which for six miles skirts the turbulent waters of Niagara below the Falls. Our official guide compressed the description of this scenery of unequalled grandeur as follows:

*Following the river by trolley along the cliffs, the tourist traverses the Great Gorge River. A real description of the scene requires poetic insight and dramatic power. As the train rushes or creeps along the varied grades of the line the river narrows into a gorge, the water appears to cease flowing, and leaps and dashes upward and around as if impelled by volcanic forces; the dark front of rock frowns into the storming depths, and the train goes steadily on, while lesser whirlpools indicate dynamic forces of lesser weight.

Over the famous whirlpool rapids where Captain Webb lost his life in 1883 while attempting to swim the river is a suspension car—the Spanish aerial tramway—on steel cables

to carry passengers from one side to the other, a thrilling experience which some members of the party indulged in later in the day.

The visitors found their first sight of the Falls a short distance away somewhat disappointing: they expected something bigger; it is only on closer inspection that the full majesty and magnitude of the cataract is realized.

Mr. T. E. Naylor, the Labour representative of the London Printers, wrote the following graphic account of the impressions produced upon him by the Falls:

Surely their height and width had been exaggerated—that is the first impression. And they do not overwhelm you, as you expected to be, with an appearance of titanic force. The noise of the waters, too, is not of that thunderous volume that you have always associated with Niagara; and you view the Falls from a greater distance than you expected. They have a music of their own, nevertheless, strangely soothing, and filling the air from one end of the town to the other. The scene is more than a picture—it is a panorama.

As the day lengthens, and the eye becomes accustomed to the hugeness of the setting, the Falls seem to stand out stronger and bolder. You are fascinated. First impressions are revised. You admit to yourself that you are not disappointed. The Falls are really as wonderful and as vast as they have been described. As for beauty, this, too, grows upon you. The rainbow effects of the sun upon the ever-rising spray, as it blows across the surface of the water and over the promenade and street, drenching you where you stand, are indescribable. Certainly, seen on a breezy day, the Falls present a spectacle that it is well worth travelling a few thousand miles to see, were there nothing else to view the whole journey through.

On leaving the Gorge Railway we found cars waiting for us. We drove through Niagara City on the American side and over the international bridge which is the boundary line.

Our chief host at Niagara was Mr. P. W. Ellis, chairman of the Parks Commission, and under his guidance the party viewed Niagara from all points, visited Queenston Heights Park, from which we got a magnificent panorama of the rich surrounding country, of river, orchards, vineyards, and great gardens. On the heights stands the stately monument to Brock, the victorious general in the war of 1812. The whole neighbourhood is historic ground. There is a monument to Laura Secord, the heroine of the Battle of Beaver Dams in 1813. Near by is Navy Island, where William Lyon Mackenzie raised the standard of revolt in 1837, and whose grandson now leads the Liberal Party of Canada.

Around the Falls there are over 1,000 acres of parks and gardens under the control of the Commission, the most beautiful of all being Queen Victoria Park, immediately adjacent to the Falls, and presenting by its sylvan charms and peaceful atmosphere a striking contrast to the raging torrent two hundred feet below.

The Commission is also responsible for making and maintaining thirty-five miles of boulevards by Niagara River, Lake Erie, and Lake Ontario, and connecting up one of the favourite Canadian and American pleasure resorts.

Overlooking the Falls the Commission have a refectory—publicly owned and managed—which serves meals and refreshments at popular prices, where we were entertained at lunch. Mr. P. W. Ellis presided, and gave us a lot of information about the work of the Commission. He showed that he and his colleagues were inspired by high ideals of civic patriotism. Mr. David Davies replied on behalf of the delegates, and succeeded by his entertaining and humorous speech in defying the roar of Niagara, producing counter-explosions on the part of his amused audience.

During the afternoon our hosts showed us all the interesting sights in the neighbourhood of the Falls. Some of the delegates took a trip in the "Maid of the Mist," which sails almost right under the Falls, and others visited the "cave of the winds," or walked through the tunnel under the Falls. Dr. Harry Y. Grant, one of the Commissioners, whose residence adjoins the Falls, entertained the party at tea. The power-stations were visited, and we were driven along the spacious boulevards, in which the Commission take a special pride.

One cannot help contrasting the peaceful scenes and well-kept gardens and parks on the Canadian side with the commercialism of the American side, with its unsightly power-stations and factories by the edge of the mighty river. There are no eye-sores on the Canadian side. The power-stations are disguised as museums or art galleries. In all things there is consideration for æsthetic sentiment and a desire to preserve the environment of the Falls from anything which would jar on the grandeur of one of Nature's masterpieces.

Another contrast is the spirit and policy behind the two scenes. In the United States individualism has had full swing, the power which the Falls supply is in the hands of private corporations. Besides the control exercised over the Falls in Canada by the Commission and other public bodies,

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the Ontario Hydro-Electric Commission own and operate the chief power-stations and distribute the current to public authorities.

The Ontario Hydro-Electric Commission, of which Sir Adam Beck is chairman, has distributed more "white coal" in Canada than any other corporation. It supplies 230 municipalities with power, 119 of them, including Toronto, from Niagara. It has invested about \$100,000,000 in the business. The power is sold by the Commission at cost price, and when it entered the field charges were reduced by more than 50 per cent., and customers increased by more than 400 per cent. in six years. It is not without competition, both from the electric power undertakings and by natural gas in some centres, but it continues to expand. It is about to take over and to operate the street railway system in Toronto. It now distributes 200,000 horse-power. At the Falls the stations were working under an effective head of 135 to 160 feet. For its new station the Hydro-Electric Commission is constructing a canal $12\frac{1}{2}$ miles long, taking in the water two miles above Niagara Falls, and carrying it nearly eleven miles down the river, thereby doubling the power by getting a head of 330 feet.

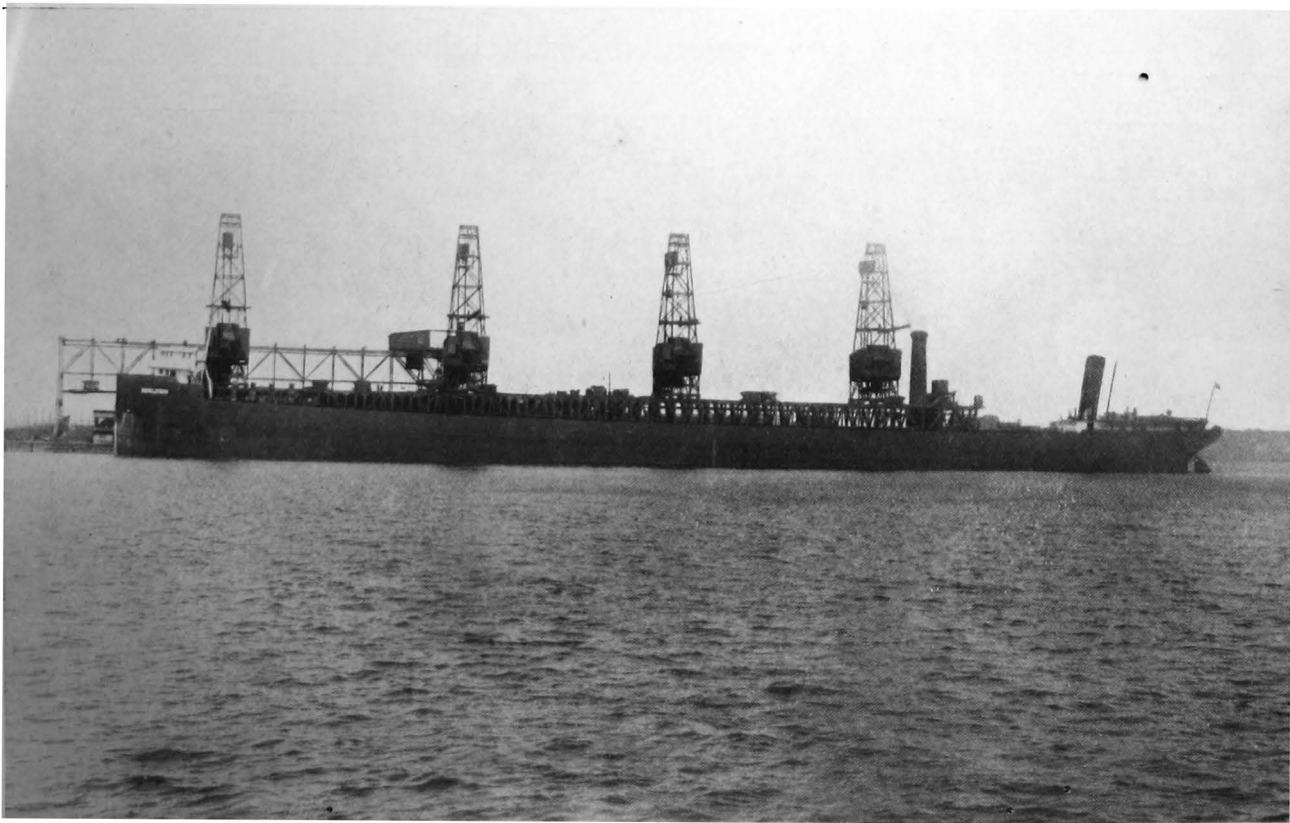
This cheap electric power—the price is about 1*d.* per unit—has given a tremendous stimulus to the industrial development of Ontario, and ensures it a still more prosperous future. The Park Commissioners sell the water rights of Niagara for power purposes, and from the fees thus received maintain the park, gardens, boulevards, bridges, and waterways, all of which are being increased year by year.

Niagara River, which connects Lake Ontario with Lake Erie, is thirty miles long with a drop of 326 feet. At the Falls there is a drop of 162 feet. It is estimated that the river is thirty feet deep when it flows over the Horseshoe Falls, and that over 20,000,000 tons of water flow over the cataract every hour. The Canadian Fall, which has 95 per cent. of the water, is 3,000 feet wide, and the American Fall 1,100 feet wide. Goat Island, which separates them, is 1,200 feet wide. Ten years ago a treaty was entered into between the British and American Governments which allowed 36,000 cubic feet of water per second for power purposes to Canada and 20,000 cubic feet to America.

Having been made thoroughly to understand the wealth of Niagara and to appreciate the inexhaustible charm of the



THE TWIN CITIES OF PORT ARTHUR AND FORT WILLIAM AT THE HEAD OF THE GREAT LAKES, THE CHIEF OUTLET FOR THE GRAIN TRAFFIC OF THE CANADIAN WEST.



THE S.S. "GRANT MORDEN," OF CANADA STEAMSHIP LINES, THE LARGEST FREIGHT STEAMER ON THE GREAT LAKES, LOADING AT FORT WILLIAM WITH HALF A MILLION BUSHELS OF WHEAT.

surroundings, our hosts entertained us at dinner at the Cliftonville Hotel, after which a film was shown picturing the Falls in winter, not less impressive, while fantastic and weird in its compelling grandeur, than the sunny view which we had witnessed. When darkness came on we were given another thrill by seeing the Falls illuminated.

Some members of the party slept in the Cliftonville Hotel, whilst others preferred their own quarters in the trains, in view of an early start in the morning.

Next morning the special trains landed us at Grimsby, on Lake Ontario. Grimsby had a grievance against the organizing committee because it had not been allowed the privilege of entertaining us beyond presenting each member of the party on arrival with a basket of delicious fruit, a sample of what the orchards of Grimsby can produce. Cars met us at Grimsby station to drive us through the garden of the Province to Toronto. On the road to Hamilton, eighteen miles distant, we passed through luxurious orchards and rich vineyards—the great fruit-farming area of the Niagara Peninsula. The southern belt of Ontario resembles a garden on a grand scale. It produces in abundance peaches, plums, pears, melons, quinces, cherries, and other small fruits, which find a ready market because of their high excellence. There are rich vineyards, which yield choice varieties of grapes. Above all, the Province prides itself on its apples, the annual crop of which is valued at \$13,000,000. Ontario fruit secures prizes wherever it is exhibited. A good deal of the fruit is canned near where it is grown.

Fruit-growing farms for peaches and cherries are worth from \$150 to \$300 per acre. Grape lands, except in special localities, cost less, and the best apple lands can be bought for \$100 per acre. There is great opportunity for developing the trade; both labour and capital are required.

At Vineland, in the heart of the peninsula, is a Government experimental station, which carries on valuable scientific and practical work for the benefit of the fruit-growers. There are also institutes and boards of agriculture for education in the cultivation of the soil and encouraging co-operation. There are also women's institutes, which teach household economy, and are centres of social life and progress throughout the rural districts.

We saw on every side, as we drove along the highway, signs

of abounding prosperity: rich crops and evidence of advanced husbandry, well-built and comfortable farm-houses, sometimes built of brick, surrounded with ornamental trees, tennis-lawns, and gardens. Every farm seemed to have its telephone and electricity and every farmer his motor-car.

Our next stop was at Hamilton, a real, live, go-ahead, industrial city of 120,000 people, with a land-locked harbour at the head of Lake Ontario. It owes its development to cheap electric power, which made many American industrial concerns establish branch works at a spot so favoured not only by cheap power but by railway connections with all parts of Canada and the United States, as well as communication by water.

We drove through the principal streets of the well-built and busy city and then along one of the new concrete motor roads—this one is forty miles long—towards Toronto. We stopped for lunch at Kingsthorpe, eleven miles from Hamilton, at the summer home on Lake Ontario of Mr. W. J. Southam, chief proprietor of a string of newspapers: the "Hamilton Spectator," the "Ottawa Citizen," the "Winnipeg Telegram," the "Calgary Herald," the "Edmonton Journal," and others. Each of these newspapers is run on independent lines, maintaining its own individual characteristics. Rain fell during our drive through these fruit gardens of Ontario, and militated somewhat against the views which we obtained.

Mr. Southam had prepared a large marquee near his bungalow home, to accommodate his numerous guests at lunch. The chair was occupied by General Lynch Stanton, and Mr. R. S. Ward-Jackson replied to the toast of welcome.

We reached Toronto in the evening and were lodged at the palatial King Edward Hotel, in time to prepare for a banquet given in our honour by the City Corporation.

Toronto, the capital of Ontario—the most populous province in the Dominion—challenges Montreal in its claim to be the metropolis of Canada, and is running a race with it for the primacy in wealth and population. It differs from Montreal in being thoroughly, passionately, British. It is tenaciously patriotic in the larger sense. It has American hustle, energy, and enterprise in business, based on solid British qualities. In civic affairs it is largely Orange. It has more churches for its population than any city in Canada, is devoted to education, and has the largest university in the Dominion. It

contains well-built business streets—with sky-scrappers and big stores, palatial banks and manufacturing establishments, wide tree-lined avenues with luxurious homes. There are fifty-eight parks and pleasure grounds within the city limits.

Mayor Thomas Church, K.C., an Orangeman who has been mayor for six years or more, presided at the Corporation banquet, and had a go at Sinn Feiners and other Empire disruptionists. He also said :

The fact was that 85 per cent. of their population was of English, Irish, or Scottish origin, and he hoped that immigration in the future would be largely from the British Isles. Toronto had attractions for these people, because it was a public ownership city, with its own electric distribution system, waterworks, and civic services, and he was glad that the Dean of Hydro-Electric public ownership, Sir Adam Beck, was present to assist him in extending a welcome to the delegates.

Sir Campbell Stuart, in responding for the delegates, observed that Toronto was the capital of Canadian newspaperdom and said :

It has been said very often on this trip that there is nothing like meeting people to know people. That is a truism, but it is not given to all to indulge in it. Everyone cannot travel thousands of miles through a great Empire, or even from Canada to the Motherland, and therefore may I suggest to you that there are other ways to know of the great Empire and her resources. First, and naturally first, through the Press ; secondly, through the film, a new and powerful agency of education ; and last, but not least, in the text-books of your schools. My lords and gentlemen, we have lived in the opening days of the twentieth century, and we have faced already some terrible problems—faced them, thank God, successfully. More are before us—as the world grows in population its problems multiply—but if we of this Empire can stand together side by side, extending the hand of fellowship and goodwill to our great neighbour to the south, we can ensure beyond any doubt the lasting peace of the world and the happiness and advancement of mankind.

Mr. T. W. Leys, of New Zealand, also replied, and gave the impressions of a New Zealander on his first visit to Canada.

The first impression was of magnitude. The second was one of enormous virility. The third impression made upon him was the variety of the scenery in Canada. Virility, he continued, was a thing of the heart. The New Zealander had the sensation in coming to Canada that he was visiting his own kith and kin. "We are not in any sense separated, we are relations."

Dr. Ellis Powell followed with an emotional and finished address, in which he touched the spiritual chord. He said :

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Devotion to material interests would never have inspired what had been seen on the fields of Flanders. Men and women would not have died as they did for the constitutional unity of the British Empire. What was probably nearer to that cause of devotion, but not the inspiration of it, was loyalty to the King, the nucleus of the British Empire. But what is the King? That devotion is as much centred upon the office as upon the person. Neither of these objects is to my mind fully capable of inspiring the tremendous outburst of heroism which it has been our privilege to see in the last six or seven years.

Lord Burnham, in response to repeated calls, also addressed the gathering. He said :

I can honestly tell you that as we go on this journey we find more and more to marvel at and to admire. But there is one thing that we find universal and constant : not only the continuance of hospitality and the display of commerce, but the continued evidences of Imperial patriotism.

Next morning we were taken in a fleet of motor-cars and shown the chief features of the city, through the luxurious streets and parks and residential quarters, so that we could admire the civic spirit of the City Council, ending up at the Royal Ontario Museum, with its rich collection gathered together with much skill and at great cost. At Hart House, a recreation centre for professors and students presented to the University by the late Mr. Hart Massey, of Messrs. Massey-Harris, agricultural implement makers, we were entertained at luncheon in the great dining-hall of the building, the walls of which are covered with hundreds of panels displaying the coats of arms of every university and college in the Empire and in the Allied Nations. Sir Edmund Walker, the chancellor of the University, presided, and in response to his speech of welcome, in which he discussed the part which the University was playing in the life of Canada, short replies were made by Sir Robert Bruce, Sir Gilbert Parker, and Mr. Geoffrey Fairfax.

Sir Robert Bruce in his address said :

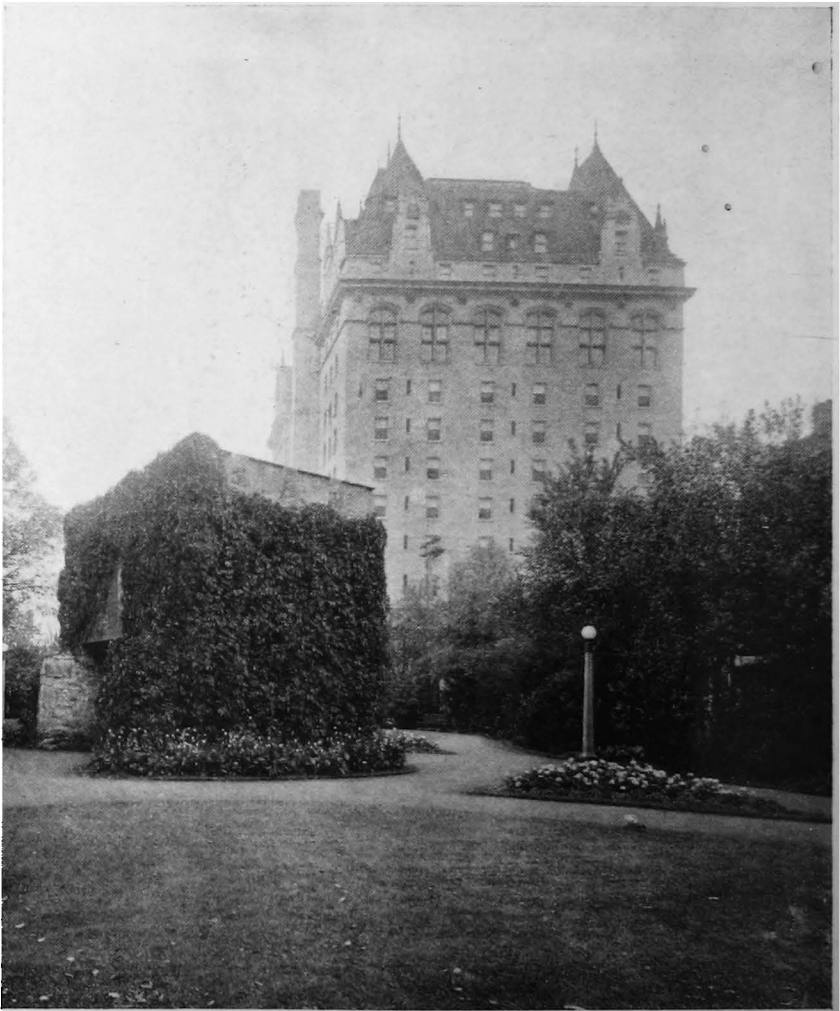
May I give you a few of our impressions? For some we were prepared—the surpassing scenery, the endless vistas, the fact visualized everywhere that this is, indeed, a land of exhaustless opportunity; the stately magnificence of your cities, the beauty of your garden communities, the substantial comfort of your people. In the homeland we have prided ourselves upon our town-planning achievements. Here we have seen things that fill us with envy.

Further, may I say how impressed we have been by the care with which you seek to place child life in the environment of health?



British & Colonial Press, Ltd.

GENERAL VIEW OF WINNIPEG.



FORT GARRY HOTEL, WINNIPEG.

The newest hotel in the West, where modernity and history meet. Historic Winnipeg is seen in the remains of the original Fort Garry on the left of the picture.

Now and again, when looking at some of your sweet auburns, loveliest villages of the plains, I have almost wished that I could throw off the burden of the years and become a Canadian child. And the wish has been deepened by the glimpses we have had of your schools and colleges and universities. And the thought has recurred that a nation which cares so much for the weal of its children, of its youths and its maidens, cannot but fulfil a glorious destiny.

The delegates then attended a meeting of Convocation held in the Senate of the University, where honorary degrees were conferred by the president, Sir Robert Falconer, on Mr. Robert Donald, chairman of the Empire Press Union, Sir Robert Bruce, Sir Gilbert Parker, and Mr. Geoffrey Fairfax. The presentations were made by Sir Edmund Walker. Mr. Donald returned thanks on behalf of the four new honorary graduates of the largest university in the Empire.

During the afternoon and evening the visitors played golf, went motor drives, or were the guests of new friends whom they met for the first time, and who invited them to their homes with all the cordiality and generous hospitality of old friends.

Mr. Donald in the evening addressed a meeting at the National Club of the more advanced politicians, at which the Hon. E. C. Drury, the Farmers' Premier of Ontario, was present.

Next morning—Wednesday, August 11th—the delegates went a tour of inspection of the water-front and harbour, and noted the new industries which were being started, including a branch establishment of Messrs. Baldwins, of South Wales. They saw the beginning of a vast improvement scheme which will cost £5,000,000, and which will develop Toronto both as a port and as a shipbuilding centre.

The visitors were entertained at luncheon at the Royal Canadian Yacht Club. Mr. Goodwin, Commodore of the Club, welcomed the visitors, and Sir Roderick Jones replied.

He referred to the important part which Toronto had played and was destined to play in the development of Canada, which he described as the healthiest part of the British Empire. But he pointed out that the measure of health was the measure of responsibility. He also referred to the distress prevailing in Central Europe, which he had recently visited, and described its condition as a festering sore on the body politic.

Mr. Donald was the guest at luncheon of the Empire Club, and addressed a large gathering on Empire conditions and problems.

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Leaving Toronto at 3 o'clock, we ran south-westward for forty-nine miles to the city of Guelph, situated in the fertile county of Wellington. It bases its reputation as an enlightened civic centre mainly on the fact that it owns and operates its public utility services, including gas and water works, tramways, and electric light, buying its current from Niagara, eighty-three miles away, from the Hydro-Electric Commission; also because it is the seat of the Ontario Agricultural College, which has more than a Canadian renown. The city is surrounded by a hilly country. The visitors were taken by cars driven by their owners to the heights, where, from the Golf Club, they commanded a magnificent view of the district.

The college was then visited, and also MacDonal Institute, founded by Mr. William MacDonal, of Montreal, at which young women are taught the art of domestic economy and housekeeping. We were entertained at dinner at the college, and received a welcome from the Prime Minister of Ontario, the Hon. E. C. Drury, and the Minister of Agriculture, the Hon. Manning Doherty. Ontario has a Farmer Government, supported by forty-five members of the Farmers' Party and twelve Labour members. The old groups, Liberal and Conservative, form a combined Opposition, and the heads of each party cut up the remuneration which in this province is voted to the leader of the Opposition—amounting to \$5,000 a year.

Mr. Drury, addressing the delegates, said :

The Press is not always good—in fact, we sometimes find that it is bad; but I believe that on the whole it is actuated by a high standard of ethics. It has to be. If it gets out of touch with public thought, if it does not tell the truth, it finally is chastened by its readers, who will not read it. So that it may be business necessity, rather than morality, that keeps up its standard. In Ontario we are Canadians, and, for the benefit of our friends from Great Britain, I say that we are not colonials. We are a nation in thought and feeling, if we are not a nation technically. The day is past when a Cockney, slightly happy, might expand his chest and say, "We own you!"

Referring to water power, Mr. Drury continued :

We hope that the time is not far distant when every lake port will be an ocean port, and we believe that the hydro-power, developed in making the change, will be sufficient to pay for the development. We have only begun to touch our sources of power. We in Ontario may count ourselves favoured in this generation that we can see Niagara in the beauty of the cataract. I rejoice to see it as such; but the time may come when it will be necessary to destroy the cataract in order to serve our homes, and beautiful as the cataract

is, I would rather see it used in our homes of the Province. Our forest products, perhaps, have not been treated to the best advantage in the past. In the future we hope to so manage the districts of the North, which can only be devoted to timber, to such advantage that they will produce a crop of timber every thirty-five or forty years. We hope that Ontario pulp will be employed to the best advantage by the newspapers of the world. There are two things that we need and two things that you can give us—men and capital. We don't want to search the world for immigrants, but we need them—and Britishers preferred. We want the best. We do not want a permanent labouring class distinct from all others. We want farm labourers who may expect to be farmers, and we have room for five times as many people as live here to-day.

Mr. Doherty asked the help of the Press to get the embargo on Canadian cattle removed and to help in marketing fruit by removing excessive intermediary charges.

Mr. R. A. Anderson (of the "Irish Homestead"), speaking in reply to the welcome, said :

You should keep all your magnificent country to yourselves. Put your own capital into it. Keep your own boys and girls at home to build up your own country with your own reserves. Don't get in foreign capital, for when foreign capital goes into a country it is generally followed by the owner of the capital, and he always wants to have more or less of a say in the management of the country.

After spending the night in the trains at Guelph station, we started next morning for Sarnia. On the way to Sarnia, situated at the point where the waters of Lake Huron pass through the St. Clair River to join Lake Erie, we traversed the German settlement of Southern Ontario, amongst towns bearing such Teutonic names as Breslau, Hespeler, Baden, and New Hamburg. There was also a Berlin, but it has been rechristened Kitchener. This district sent to the Canadian Army some of the greatest heroes of the war. Colonel John McCrae, the author of the famous poem "In Flanders Fields," who fell in the war, came from this neighbourhood, and from Owen's Sound farther north, in St. George's Bay, came the famous flying ace, Colonel Bishop, V.C., and other gallant officers.

CHAPTER VII

ON THE GREAT LAKES

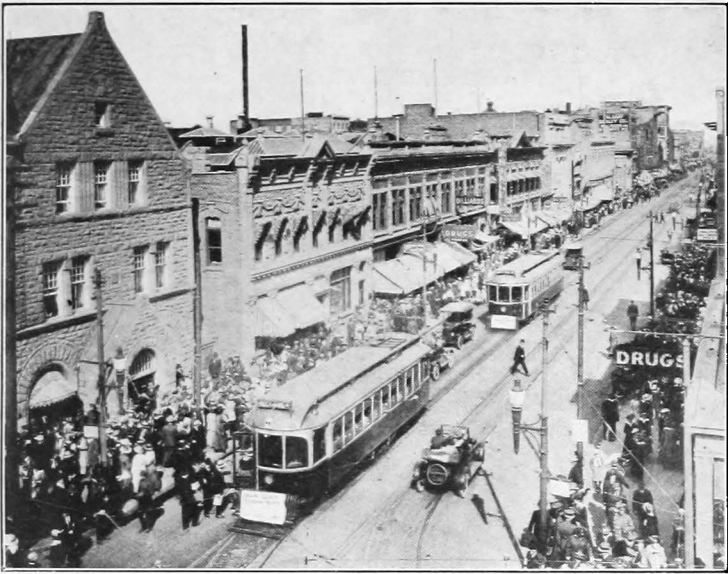
Sarnia a Growing Lake Port—A Trip in a Palatial Lake Steamer—Industrial Activity in Lake Cities—The Unguarded Boundary—Object-lesson to the World—The New Liverpool of the West—The Prosperous, Ambitious, Booming Twin Cities of Port Arthur and Fort William the Future Gateway of the West.

ON arrival at Sarnia, which stands just opposite Fort Huron in the state of Michigan, we found that city flaunting its welcome and its nationality in a blaze of colour. We had never had to face such an array of flags, streamers, and bunting, and the people showed that they meant it. They had ordered an elaborate lunch for us on the s.s. "Hamonic," which was to carry us over the Great Lakes, but the steamer was delayed at Detroit by fog. With the Canadian capacity for improvisation, the reception committee, headed by the Mayor and Mr. McAdams, chairman of the Chamber of Commerce, arranged luncheons in an hotel and a restaurant with the help of the ladies of the town. Then we had the usual tour in motor-cars around the city and neighbourhood.

At Sarnia we saw the first of the Indian population and a reserve of 287 Chippewas. They are well cared for, have their schools and churches, they choose their own chief by ballot and conduct their affairs through a Council. They are paid annuities through a land fund, and are allowed to leave the reserve and become enfranchised citizens.

Sarnia gets its electric power from Niagara, 175 miles away, and has a supply of natural gas coming on its own pressure from a field ninety miles distant. This gas is used for heating and cooking.

We went on board the s.s. "Hamonic" as the guests of the Northern Navigation Company, and under the charge of Senator J. P. B. Casgrain, a director of the company. It was a delightful experience. The great lake steamer has all the comforts of an hotel. The water was perfectly calm. The movement of the ship was almost imperceptible. There was a bright and cheerful gathering on board. After dinner there were concerts and dancing.



A BUSY STREET SCENE IN PROSPEROUS, CALGARY.



A STREET IN WINNIPEG.

Note the business men's cars "parked" on each side of the wide thoroughfare.

SAMPLE OF WORLD CHAMPION WHEAT, GROWN NEAR SASKATOON BY
MR. SEAGER WHEELER.



Canadian National Railways.

The story of this hard wheat is as follows : A Scotsman employed by David Fife on a farm at Peterborough, Ontario, on returning from a visit to Scotland in 1841 brought his employer back a Glengarry bonnet. Before leaving Glasgow he saw a ship unloading wheat, and helped himself to a handful, with which he filled the bonnet. Mr. Fife sowed the sample, but the cattle did not respect the experiment, and ate the crop all except three heads, which the farmer carefully preserved and cultivated. From these few grains of corn came the Red Fife Wheat, and also the variety known as Marquis Wheat, so called after the Marquis of Lorne, who was Governor-General when the Red Fife had been further crossed and better adapted to the Canadian climate. The ancestral grains from the Clyde steamer had been grown in Galicia and shipped from Danzig, and from them developed the best varieties of hard wheat grown in the North-West to-day. Thus did the frugal Scotsman, by appropriating a handful of wheat, contribute to the wealth of Canada and help to make the North-West the granary of the world.

At ten next morning we steamed into Sault Ste Marie Canal, popularly known as the "Soo"—the waterway and locks which connect Lake Huron with Lake Superior. Through the canal there passes every year three times the volume of traffic that goes through the Indo-European connecting-link—the Suez Canal. Giant freighters—long narrow vessels with the lookout and bridge right in the bows and the engines in the stern—pass and re-pass every few minutes, carrying coal and other goods to the ports on Lake Superior, and returning laden with grain and lumber, and the products of the North-West bound for the East. There is water transportation from Thunder Bay, at the head of Lake Superior, through the series of lakes, canals, and rivers to the sea. The Welland Ship Canal, which connects Lake Ontario with Lake Erie, and the St. Lawrence itself are being deepened so as to be navigable for vessels of 10,000 tons, which will carry freight from Port Arthur and Fort William—1,400 miles inland—through the deepened waterways—all free from tolls—and across the ocean to Liverpool.

The giant freighters, palatial passenger-boats—the mighty leviathans of the lakes—and smaller trading and pleasure craft are the only ships in these inland seas, canals, and rivers which for over a thousand miles form the boundary between the British Empire and the United States. No forts on shore, no gunboats or battleships on the water, no armed sailors, no soldiers along the longest frontier in the world. Ever since the Rush-Bagot Agreement of 1817, which limited warships on the lakes to small gunboats, long since obsolete, for doing police work against smugglers, that unguarded frontier has stood, and still stands, an example to mankind. The significance of its example and contrast is brought home to one as we sail past towns on the lakes and look across the narrow stretch of water between Sarnia and Port Huron and watch the Canadian and American industrial centres at Sault Ste Marie, almost within speaking distance of each other, where the only rivalry is in the arts of peaceful industry.

The Sarnia Chamber of Commerce reminded us of the sturdy patriotism of the Canadians on the boundary lines, and asked us to observe at the same time their sterling friendship with their neighbours.

In its welcome it said :

We would ask you to contribute on our behalf to the fund of public opinion the observation that the spirit which sixty years ago rallied

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the Dominion forces and Dominion sentiment to generous effort prevails here in full strength to-day. We would ask you to observe that here on the international boundary this sentiment goes hand in hand with very good will towards our neighbours.

This object-lesson of an unfortified and almost imperceptible frontier between the two greatest world states has raised the hopes and stirred the imaginations of the friends of humanity. To-day it stands in striking contrast with the embattled frontiers of Europe, as it has done for more than a hundred years. No one has spoken to the world more eloquently on this object-lesson than the late American Ambassador, Mr. J. W. Davis, who in an address to the Birmingham and Midland Institute in 1920 said :

On a front of 5,400 miles, or roughly as far as from London to Cape Town or Bombay, by land and water, over mountain and plain, through lake and river, and prairie and forest, the British Empire and the United States meet each other face to face without thought of defence or fear of aggression. In all that distance the only sentinels who guard the line are the silent monuments erected by the joint action of the two nations; the only vessels are the unarmed ships which carry the commerce of their common waterways; the only weapons are the woodman's axe, the huntsman's rifle, and the tools of fruitful trade and agriculture. Peace reigns from end to end as profound and undisturbed as the quiet of the primeval forest that still clothes many reaches of the boundary line. It is a peace, moreover, not of monotony nor of solitude, for a journey along the windings of this far-flung frontier is an epitome of the industrial and commercial life of the two countries.

We stopped in our passage along the boundary line of the lakes at the Canadian city of Sault Ste Marie. The Spanish River Paper Mills and the Algoma Steel Works were visited—two of the many large industries carried on here. On the other side of the canal and the rapids there is an American counterpart of the Canadian "Soo" city, which is also an industrial centre. The "Soo" has many railway connections, and is one of the largest traffic highways and junctions in the world.

We ended our trip on the Great Lakes at Port Arthur, reached on the morning of Saturday, August 14th.

The "Daily Times Journal" of Port Arthur and Fort William published in our honour a special edition devoted to the interests of the twin cities "that weld Canada together in the Gateway of the West." It saluted us with the following greeting :

Pressmen of the four corners of the British Empire,—We at the head of the Great Lakes of Canada greet you to-day with all the spontaneity and wholeheartedness of a North-Western people. To say that we are glad to welcome you would be bromidic. You may take that for granted—"and then some," as our Western colloquialism aptly states it. To-day you stand in the heart of the great Dominion of Canada, at the doorway to the golden granary of her Prairie West—the national pin-point at which converges the traffic east and west of half a continent. . . . You see here two Canadian cities in the making, in the heart of a vast section of the Dominion whose tremendous resources of field, mine, and water yawn for the developing hand of man. What we most stand in need of is more people—brawn and brain of good old British stock such as were our forefathers who pioneered in the East in the nineteenth century just as we are pioneering in the North and the West to-day.

Figures always impress one in Canada, but the figures flung at us when the "Hamonic" landed us at Port Arthur and Fort William were staggering. These twin cities are not so well known in the Empire as they should be; they will be more heard of in the near future. They represent the new, restless, vigorous enterprise and initiative of young Canada. They are at the head of the navigation of the Great Lakes. They form the natural outlet for the immense harvests of the West. They will be a new Chicago and a new Liverpool. They are great in their present activities, stupendous in their possibilities. The two cities which form one community have only a population of about 16,000 each—all workers. They are situated at Thunder Bay, with thirty-six miles of deep-water frontage. Port Arthur—named after the Duke of Connaught—is built, as it seems, on terraces rising to an elevation of 400 feet. Fort William, which existed as a French trading port in 1669, lies on the level. Both compete with each other as to which shall have the bigger of everything. There are thirty-one grain-storage elevators in the cities, with a total storage capacity of 53,000,000 bushels—at least one of them the biggest in the world. They handle 140,000,000 tons of freight every year. Both cities build big ships, and turned out warships during the war. Both have cheap power from neighbouring waterfalls—300,000 horse-power, with 1,000,000 in reserve. Both have booming industries—flour-mills, engineering works, can works, saw-mills, pulp and paper mills. The electrically operated machinery which both possess for loading and unloading ships enables a 10,000-ton ship to be unloaded in ten hours, and a 15,000 tonner, like the s.s. "Grant Morden," of the Canada Steamship Lines, to deliver 14,300 tons of coal

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and to leave port filled with 14,500 tons of wheat in seventy-two hours. The twin cities are well served with railways—both the C.P.R. and the C.N.R. have important terminals at the ports. Each city claims that it beats the other in civic government; they own the tramways, electric light and power, water works and telephones. While they are busy all the year round, the period of their greatest activity is in the Fall—which coincided almost with our visit. From the middle of August to December, when navigation on the lakes closes, the railways from Winnipeg carried last year the colossal quantity of 124,000,000 bushels of grain. A special train of fifty cars left Winnipeg every hour of the day and night, including Sunday.

Port Arthur and Fort William occupy a wonderful strategic position :

At the head of the world's greatest inland waterway, the portal to a vast Empire whose development is yet in its infancy, the twin cities offer a site unrivalled for industrial, terminal, and harbour developments.

The only other things which these cities share in common is the scenery. Within easy reach there are high mountains, forests, island-studded lakes, rivers, waterfalls, and famous hunting and fishing territories.

In nothing did the sister cities seek to outdo each other so much as in showing us hospitality. The morning was given to one and the afternoon to the other. In each case we were driven round the cities in motor-cars—two separate fleets. We were entertained by Port Arthur at the Prince Arthur Hotel, which belongs to the C.N.R. Mayor Mathews presided and Sir George Toulmin spoke for the delegates. During the afternoon Lord Burnham turned the first sod of a new paper-mill at Fort William. In the evening it was the latter's turn to entertain. The Mayor, Dr. R. J. Manion, M.P., presided. Mr. G. R. Duncan, President of the Local Board of Trade, told us about the possibilities of the city as an industrial centre. Mr. Charles Birkett told of its importance as a distributing centre for grain; and Mr. Percy Hurd, M.P., replied for the delegation.

The ladies accompanying the delegates were entertained by the Fort William Women's Canadian Club during the afternoon and evening.



THE LIEUT.-GOVERNOR OF ALBERTA (left) AND LORD BURNHAM (right), ESCORTED BY BLACKFOOT CHIEFS.



LORD AND LADY BURNHAM AFTER THEIR INVESTITURE BY THE BLACKFOOT INDIANS.



LADY BURNHAM IN BLACKFOOT INDIAN DRESS, AND CHIEF YELLOW HORSE.

Photos by courtesy of the late Mr. M. R. Jennings.



Canadian Pacific Railway.

A VIEW OF CALGARY.
A rapidly growing Western City.

CHAPTER VIII

MANITOBA : " WHERE THE WEST BEGINS "

Winnipeg : the Metropolis of the Prairie Provinces—The Chicago of Canada—A Growing Industrial Centre—The New Fields of the Cloth of Gold.

THE run by night from Fort William to Winnipeg is through a barren belt, with stunted trees, lakes, rocks, scrub—relieved by occasional clearings, settlements, Indian encampments, and lumber stations. In the grey light of the morning we passed an oasis in the woodland—the enchanting Kenora, situated on a string of lakes, dotted with thousands of islands. It is the favourite summer resort of the people of Winnipeg, a hundred and thirty miles away. Every well-to-do resident owns an island at Kenora, with a bungalow, tennis-court, and motor-boat, and there they enjoy bathing, swimming, fishing, and aquatic sports. Special week-end trains run between Winnipeg and Kenora.

A reception committee of the leading citizens of Winnipeg awaited us at the Canadian Pacific railway-station, reached on Sunday morning. Half the party were lodged in the C.P.R. Royal Alexandra Hotel, and the other half in the palatial new hotel—the Fort Garry of the Canadian National Railways.

Winnipeg is among the youngest of the big cities of the world. Men live in the city who remember it as a hamlet in the lone and lifeless prairie. Mr. J. W. Dafoe, now in the full vigour of his prime, joined the "Manitoba Free Press," of which he is now the forceful editor, when it was the pioneer paper, with a sale of 2,100 copies, in a community of 10,000.

In 1871 Winnipeg could only muster 200 inhabitants; at that period the whole territory which became the Province had only a white population of 1,500. The first train arrived at the infant city in 1886, connecting the city with St. Paul and Minnesota, and the C.P.R., in its route across the continent, reached it in 1889. That year was the starting-point of the city's phenomenal growth. Then it became a milestone in the onward march of the Empire of the West. Now it is the greatest primary grain market in the world; it is the centre of

a far-reaching transportation system, the capital of Manitoba, the Metropolis of the Prairie Provinces.

On arriving at our hotels on Sunday morning, we were besieged by members of the reception committee, who turned out to do us honour. They were ready to convey us to golf clubs, to run us round the neighbourhood, to carry us farther afield in Prairieland, to take us to their homes and to church—anything to give us pleasure or information, exercise or entertainment. The Hon. Robert Rogers, a well-known politician, returned from Kenora to give a garden party in our honour and a dinner to a number of delegates.

Seeing the city was left until the next day. Fleets of cars driven by their owners started out early. Winnipeg does everything in a big way. Its parks are spacious. Its streets are broad avenues—120 feet wide. Its residential quarters are boulevards with trees and lawns separating the roads from the sidewalks. New avenues are laid out well ahead of the houses. The city has plenty of room for development. It is planning as if it were only at the beginning of its career. Winnipeg is well wooded. Trees thrive in its streets, and in its numerous parks are many giants of the ancient forests.

Winnipeg has quite the metropolitan manner. Its wide streets are so choked with traffic that at crossings policemen regulate it by the simple means of exhibiting a sign with laconic directions "Stop!" on one side and "Go!" on the other. It possesses palatial bank buildings and resplendent stores. The brilliant illumination of the streets and shops on the night of our arrival might have been something exceptional in our honour; it was only the normal outburst of extravagant illumination.

Winnipeg is a cosmopolitan city: all races in Europe are represented among its people. The international element figured largely in the strike of 1919, which penalized and isolated the city for several weeks. Insurgent labour has entered politics and given up direct action. Labour is divided by rivalries and is now quiescent.

Amplitude of elbow-room does not stop Winnipeg from following the Western example of building high. There are many sky-scrapers in the chief business streets. Winnipeg is in a perpetual condition of reconstruction. It possesses some fine examples of architecture. A most stately building is the new Parliament House, which cost seven million dollars.

The visitors were the guests of the city at a luncheon at

Assiniboine Park. Mayor Grady presided, and in proposing the toast of the guests, said

he predicted that before many years had elapsed steamers coming from Europe by the Hudson Bay route would sail up the Red River to Winnipeg. He advised British investors to put money into the paper manufacturing industry in Canada, as they might be able to secure a full supply of newsprint from the Dominion.

Mr. George Isaacs (Operative printers), in responding, referred to the conditions of social unrest that prevailed in many countries, and the functions which the Press could perform in producing a state of tranquillity in society.

If the Press sat on the safety-valve there was going to be a burst. Unless the Press recognized the aspirations of the common people, they were going to play into the hands of extremists. The revolution which he and those who thought with him wanted was a revolution of the ballot which hurt nobody, and not a revolution of bullets. The richest country was the country with the largest number of happy people, the country where there were no class prejudices and no class hatreds. He would say to the newspapers, "Preach what you practise; do all you can to bridge the river of misunderstanding which divides class from class, and a great deal of the trouble which exists to-day will disappear."

Mr. Brennan (Australia), expressed the thanks of the Australian delegates to the people of Canada for their boundless kindness.

Mr. Robert Donald was entertained at the Rotary Club, which consists of business men, at Fort Garry Hotel, and after luncheon delivered an address on Empire affairs.

In the afternoon the inspection of the city was resumed, and the visitors were impressed by the fact that Winnipeg was no one-sided metropolis—dealing only in grain. Its wheat rivals that of Chicago—its stock yards are the largest in the West. It does not limit its other commercial energies to distribution: it is an increasingly important manufacturing centre.

Winnipeg has industrial advantages besides that of position and capital and enterprise. Nowhere in the world is there cheaper electric power. The city owns its hydro-electric power plant, drawing its power from the Winnipeg River. Electric power and current for heating and cooking is supplied at 1 cent. per kilowatt-hour. The flat telephone rate for business houses is \$60 per annum; for personal telephones

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just half that amount (£6). The State owns the telephones and does not run them at a loss. The automatic system is largely used.

In the evening a banquet was given by the Provincial Government in the Fort Garry Hotel. The Lieutenant-Governor, Sir James Aikins, presided, and the attendance included many of the leading citizens of Winnipeg.

Grace was said by the Rev. Dr. Gordon, who is better known to his hundreds of thousands of readers as Ralph Connor, and who interrupted his vacation on his island at Kenora to be present.

The Lieutenant-Governor, having welcomed the guests, proceeded to trace the development of Canada. He said :

Now all the powers of a nation, a sovereign state, are possessed by Canada, except one, and that is the right to maintain peace and declare war. This subject will have to be considered by the Constitutional Conference which will meet in 1921.

While they were laying the foundations of Canada, Great Britain had watched over them and protected them, and they had got from her the fundamental principles of civil and religious liberty. Their country had been built upon the straight lines of truth and righteousness, and built in that way, they might rest assured that she would stand firm when the storms had to be faced. They had the opportunity of a young nation not to build in haste, but to erect a structure that would be strong and permanent, and would be the latest expression in nation-building in this world. That was what Canada should do.

It was the desire of Canada to be essentially British. Reverting to the question of nationhood, he said that Canada had asserted herself as in spirit and in form the equal of the United Kingdom, and desired to have the benefit of that position. Was Canada, he asked, equally prepared to take the burdens of the Empire ; to shoulder her share of them with the peoples of the United Kingdom ? She was glad to be stimulated by representatives of other parts of the Empire in helping her to form those new relations ; and, speaking of future developments, he said he did not know whether there would be some form of constitution for the Empire, but he ventured to say that with a growing Empire they could never be bound in any straight-jacket or any plaster cast. There might be some form of a league of nations. Whatever the form, they could only be bound together by the spirit that permeated all parts of the Empire. That would be to them as a pillar of cloud and fire, and would lead them into an inheritance of greater blessedness and peace and prosperity.

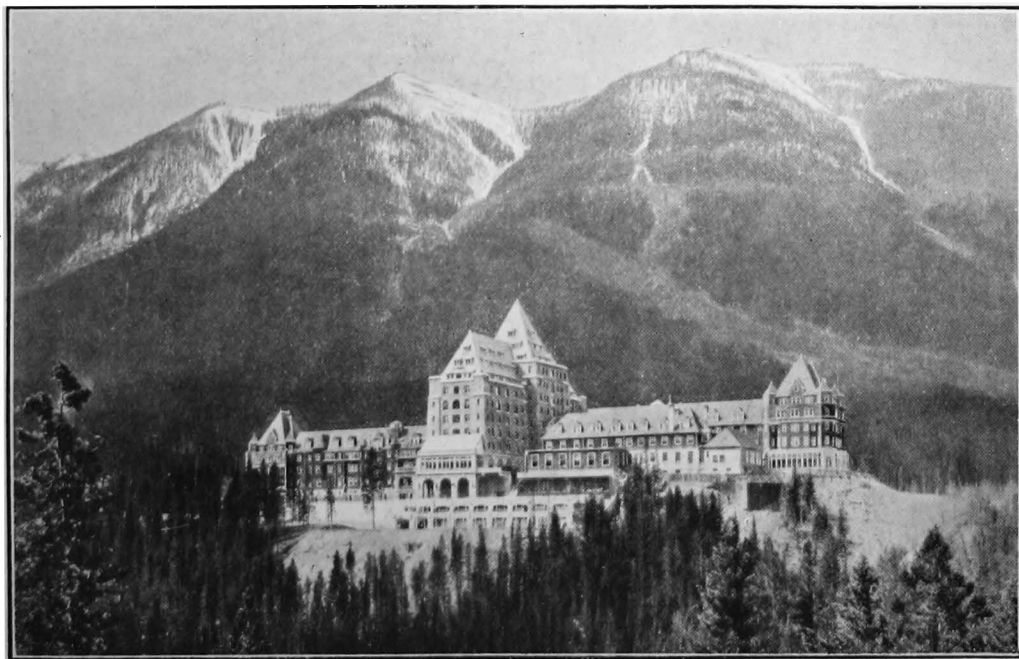
Lord Burnham, in returning thanks, said :

This tour has been a mighty uplift of the spirit. It has been a revivifying journey. It has renewed and strengthened our faith in the predestined destiny of this Empire. It has given to us first a great



CANADIAN NATIONAL PARK, BANFF.

A Reservation of 5,732 square miles. Cascades Mountain, 9,825 feet, is seen in the background. Banff, named after the county in Scotland where Lord Mount Stephen was born, is one of the finest health resorts on the American Continent, and is visited annually by about 80,000 people.



Canadian Pacific Railway.

BANFF SPRINGS HOTEL.

contrast and relief from the terrible picture of watching the mortification of the old European system. He had found in that great Dominion a national character different and distinct from that of the United States, which they from the Mother Country would fain believe received its best qualities from their race: the bulldoggedness of the British; the resolute spirit of the British. They rejoiced to think there was a Canadian character; and while they knew Canada was a mighty land of homes, they had not realized that all those homes were beautiful homes. Commenting upon the fact that Canada was showing its national spirit in its architecture, he said that surely they had an example in the Parliament Buildings in Winnipeg—spacious, and magnificent beyond conception. Perhaps they were in advance of the times, because in Canada they were always living ahead of themselves, but in their very grandeur they were calculated to encourage that spirit that would make the future more wonderful than the past.

We feel that in this Dominion there is the call for another generation of men of like grasp; of great measures, and endowed with the same vision—the vision not of the visionary but of the seer; who sees in the crystal globe of the new world the sure and certain potency of the next century.

Whatever developments might take place in the form of the Empire, what would hold them together would be the British spirit. We all feel that. It is said sometimes that we are a commonwealth of independent nations. That is not true. We are a commonwealth of interdependent nations. We depend each upon the other and all upon the whole.

J. W. Dafoe ("Manitoba Free Press") said

that when they had come to Winnipeg they had experienced the most fascinating summer climate in the world. He added that in winter, although the thermometer did drop a little, "you didn't feel it at all." Speaking of the journey farther west, he pointed out that the visitors would see the beginning of things. There was no city in the West that was not actually younger than most of the delegation. We are trying to put into the West the stable foundations of Canadian citizenship. Canada could be helped by getting citizens into whom would not have to be drilled British ideals and principles. They had in the West newer Canadianism, not hostile to the East, but the Canadianism of to-morrow.

Winnipeg is on the fringe of the prairie wheat-growing country. On Tuesday morning, August 17th, we entered it and stopped at three young wheat cities, Portage La Prairie, Carberry, and Brandon. Each is served by three transcontinental lines. Our trains carried us through the heart of the Empire's granary. On every side flat plains stretched, as far as the eye could see, covered with yellow wheat: in every direction an unbounded vista of golden grain: a new field of the Cloth of Gold: no horizon except

the blue sky which merged in the far distance with the golden carpet. The view was broken by spacious and well-built farm-houses, surrounded by young trees carefully nursed to produce shelter. The far-flung treeless prairie will soon be dotted with "bluffs" and plantations. The Government has a large experimental farm for testing trees suitable for the prairies. Last year 50,000,000 seedlings were distributed to the farmers, and trees will soon grow up to break the monotony of the landscape. The farms are large, the country is divided into "sections" a mile square, between each section a space of 100 yards is left for roadway. The soil is fabulously rich, and can grow crop after crop of wheat without alternating, and requires little fertilization. Fleets of motor-cars met us at the stations and carried us swiftly through the wheat fields so as to see the harvesting operations at close quarters. We were told that the finest wheat in Canada—which means in the world—was grown around Portage La Prairie, our first stop until we arrived at Carberry, our next, when we found that its claim to be the centre of the finest wheat in Canada—and in the world—was incontestible; but when we reached Brandon, motoring all the way from Carberry through the wheat lands, we were informed that the best centre for the finest wheat was unquestionably in the neighbourhood of Brandon. To us the wheat seemed to be the finest everywhere, but more claims for supremacy met us later in Saskatchewan and Alberta. Emulation is a stimulus to efficiency: pride in results leads to higher efforts.

At Portage La Prairie—which is the home of one of our travelling hosts, Lt.-Col. Macpherson, M.L.A., proprietor of the local "Graphic"—we were given lunch in a little park on an island in the river. The Mayor, Mr. Metcalf, and Mr. Woods, President of the Local Board of Trade, made the welcoming speeches, which were answered by two of our most eloquent speakers—Professor Bartolo, the versatile Maltese and ardent British patriot, and Dr. Ellis Powell.

Carberry was reached in the afternoon, and the party were entertained at tea by the Mayor and welcomed by him and Dr. Wangle, M.L.A. Ernest Thompson Seton wrote most of his charming nature stories at Carberry. A journey of forty-five miles from Carberry to Brandon was covered by cars, and a most exciting run it proved to be.

Brandon is the second city in Manitoba. It has developed local industries and a wholesale trade. It has an automatic

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telephone system, municipal street railways, a central steam-heating system, and well-paved streets.

After having a look at Brandon, we were entertained in the chief hotel of the city by the Mayor, Mr. Dinsdale, who referred to the fine record of his city in the war.

Sir Arthur Holbrook, in reply, mentioned that it had been his good fortune to serve on Salisbury Plain when the first contingent of 30,000 men from Canada arrived, and among them were men from Brandon.

CHAPTER IX

SASKATCHEWAN AND ITS HUNDRED MILLION ACRES OF GRAIN LAND

The Farmers' Co-operative Movement—Prodigious Crops—Regina the Flourishing Capital—Moose Jaw and its Welcome—North-West Mounted Police.

BEFORE we escape from the impression that Manitoba is the premier province for the extent and richness of its harvests, we are in Saskatchewan, which we soon learn is entitled to first place, as it produces more than half the wheat crop of Canada. And that quantity—amounting with other cereals sometimes to 375,000,000 bushels in a year—is only a small percentage of its ultimate capacity. Out of 94,000,000 acres fit for cultivation only 15,000,000 acres are now under crops. The population of the province is 650,000, and their export of agricultural produce and the number of the live stock which they possess are prodigious for such a comparatively small number of people scattered over a vast territory of 251,700 square miles—twice the size of the British Isles. The explanation is to be found in the fertility of the soil, and in the industrious habits of the people.

Saskatchewan is a stronghold of the agricultural co-operative movement in Canada. Here the farmers fought the distributors. They have co-operative terminal elevators of a capacity of 3,100,000 bushels, and a chain of 298 local elevators covering the entire province and holding 9,425,500 bushels of grain. They have successful co-operative creameries, and also combine to buy supplies and sell farm produce. The grain growers' co-operative movement, which began as a trade protection measure, has developed into a formidable political power, making the new third party in Dominion politics, and its influence is powerful or dominant in some of the provincial legislatures.

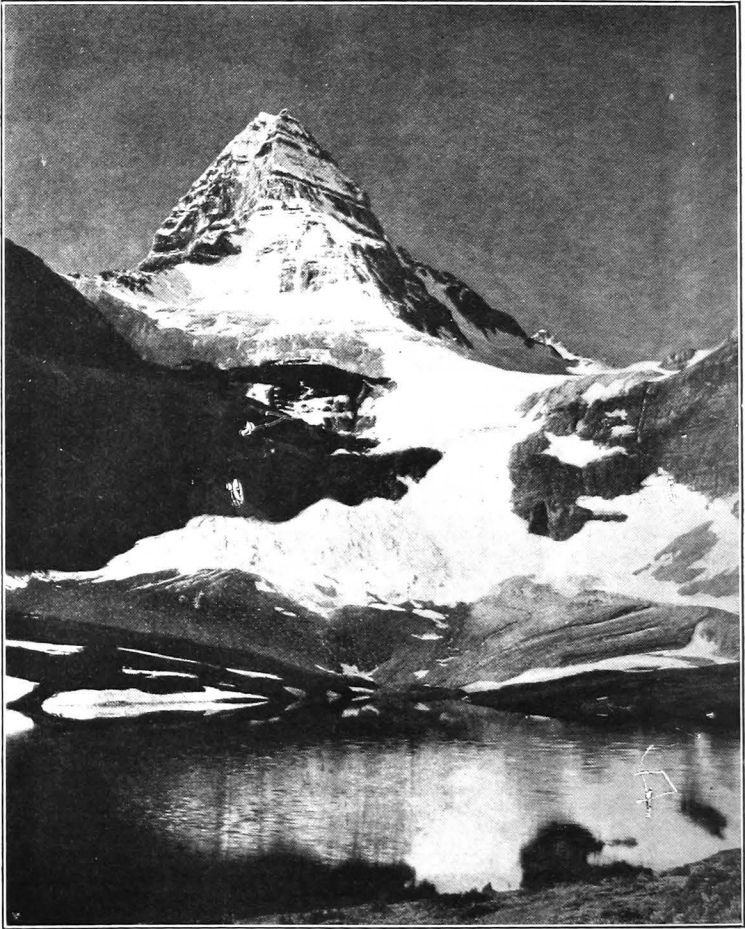
We paid two visits to the province, taking in Saskatoon, the northern city, on our return journey, particulars of which will be found in chapter xii.

We arrived at Regina, the capital of the province, after



INCOMPARABLE LAKE LOUISE.

A Gem of the Rockies, showing Victoria Glacier (11,355 feet) and Mount Lefroy (11,220 feet).



MOUNT ASSINIBOINE, IN THE ROCKIES.

a night run of eight hours from Winnipeg. The city is in a spacious plain. It has sprung up in twenty years. Its population is now 45,000. Motors took us for a run through the city and neighbourhood. We visited the barracks of that splendid picturesque force the North-West Mounted Police, now known as the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. We watched an exhibition of their skill in horsemanship, which included the riding of wild horses.

The agricultural college was next visited. It was one of the most efficient which we had inspected.

Luncheon was served in the imposing Parliament Building. The Hon. William Martin, the Premier, presided. In his address he said :

In Saskatchewan they had a cosmopolitan population made up of people from every country in Europe, who were coming more and more every year to appreciate the principles of British justice and law and order on which the government of the country was conducted. Saskatchewan was essentially a rural province, in which 72 per cent. of the people lived on the land. It produced more than half the wheat crop of Canada, and it had more schools in proportion to its population than any country in the world.

Lord Apsley, in responding, referred

to the agricultural possibilities of Saskatchewan, and pointed out that the only land comparable with that of this province was the land in the Ukraine; but what a contrast between the condition of that country and the condition of Canada—a land to which civilization was now looking for help so that it might be saved!

Mayor Grassick sketched the development of Regina, which in twelve years had increased in population from 6,000 to over 40,000.

Mr. David Davies said that the astonishing thing about the long-sustained welcome which the delegates had been receiving was the organization, which was perfect. The position of Canada was that of a daughter in her mother's house and a mistress in her own.

Mr. Thomas Marshall, president of the Saskatchewan branch of the Canadian Press Association, mentioned that in the province there were 200 newspapers published every week, including seven daily papers.

A drive of from forty to fifty miles through a splendid agricultural country, chiefly wheat-producing, brought the visitors to Moose Jaw, a rapidly growing city with a population of 25,000. Moose Jaw is an abbreviation of the Indian

vernacular for "the creek where the white man mended his cart with a moose jaw-bone." We admired the same fervent, confident, optimistic spirit of local patriotism which characterizes all the new cities of the West. In an address to "The members of the Empire Press Union," the "Moose Jaw Daily News" expressed the local sentiment as follows:

We of the city of Moose Jaw, the buckle of the Great Canadian Wheat Belt, greet you to-day with the wholeheartedness of a north-western people. We are truly glad you have honoured us with a visit, and our hope is that your short stay with us will be most pleasant and profitable.

As far as age goes we are yet in our infancy, it being less than forty years ago since the whole site of the city as it is to-day was a part of the boundless prairies of Western Canada, inhabited chiefly by the red man and roamed over by innumerable herds of buffalo. Our history has yet to be made, but we are vain enough to think that we have "got away to a good start," as our Western colloquialism would express it.

Moose Jaw to-day is recognized as being the very centre of the greatest wheat-producing belt in the entire civilized world. The products of its great wheat farms have taken first place in all the great dry soil expositions of the North American continent. This is not merely an accident of a single year, for the success has been repeated each and every year for almost a decade.

Our only request is that during your brief visit here you will do your utmost to grasp our future possibilities and gauge the not unimportant part we are at present playing in Empire building, and, upon your return to the Motherland, tell the people at home, through the columns of your great journals, the opportunities that await them here in this most favoured spot of our fair Dominion.

What we need more than anything else to make this province the greatest in Canada is more people—good old British stock who will continue the pioneering work we in the West are doing to-day. When they come we will welcome them with open arms, just as we welcome you now, and help them to carve out fortunes for themselves and greater opportunities for their children.

Both our city and our province are in the making, and despite our feverish anxiety to supply the Mother Country first and the balance of the world thereafter with our foodstuffs, we are not neglecting our educational opportunities, or the finer arts. We have made rapid strides in both during the past decade, and have obtained the distinction of leading the rest of the Dominion in the matter of advanced and sane legislation.

The visitors were entertained at a garden party, at which Mayor Hamilton welcomed us.

Sir Frank Newnes returned thanks. He said:

The hospitality of the Canadians was as boundless as their prairies, and they hoped some day to have the opportunity of returning it. He

realized that Canada was a country of the greatest possibilities and opportunities, and he would never hesitate to advise young people to come out. If young people were prepared to work hard, to adapt themselves to local conditions, and to take for a start, the kind of job that they would not take in England, they were bound to succeed.

A night's journey brought us to the little town of Gleichen, Alberta.

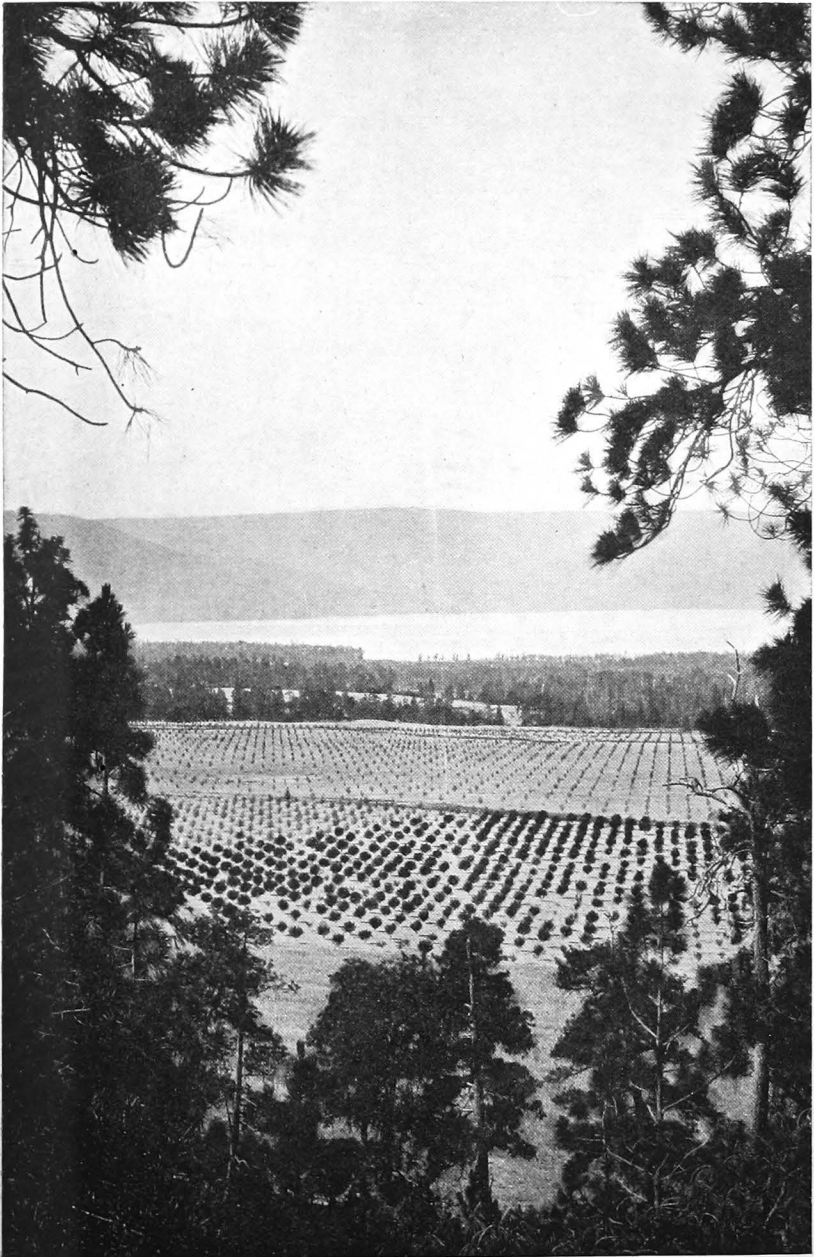
CHAPTER X

ALBERTA AND THE ROCKIES

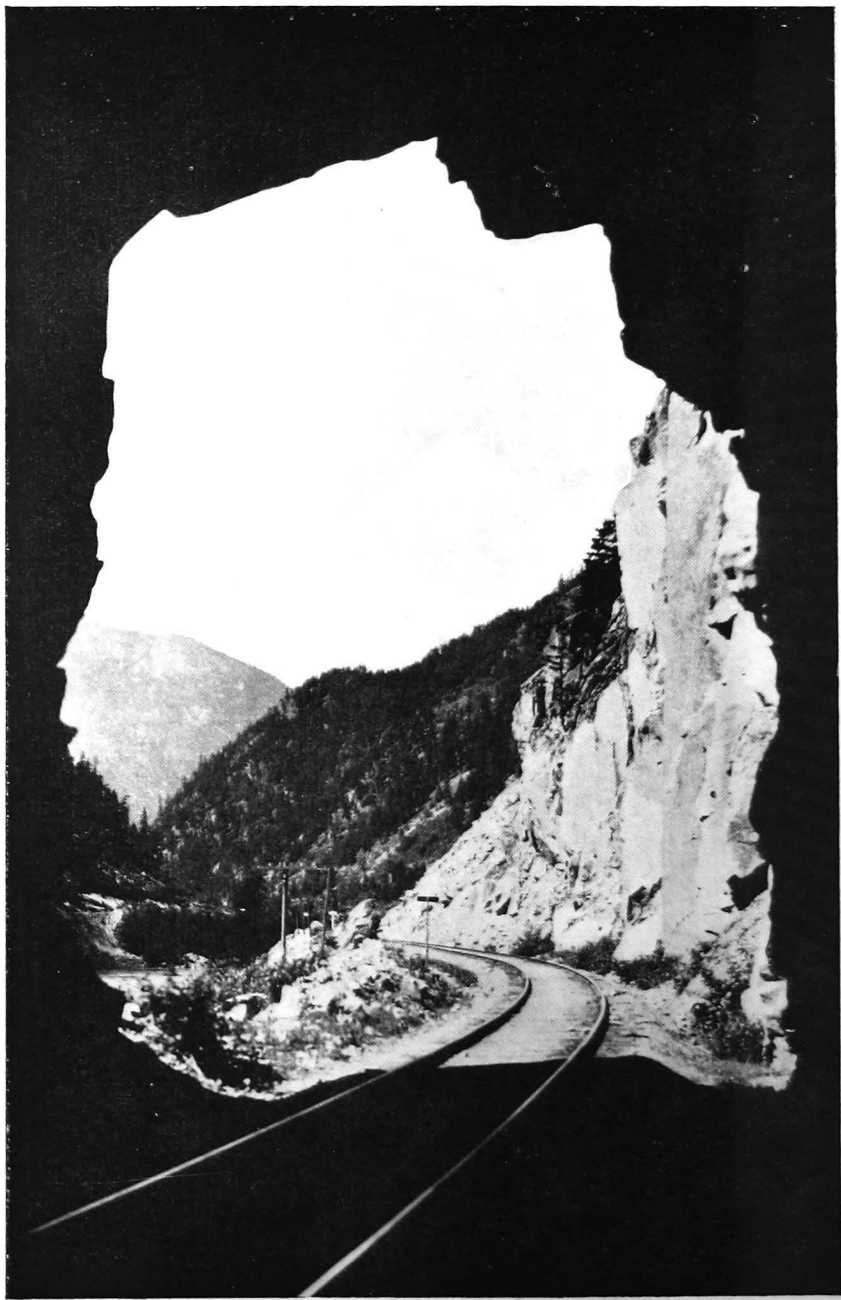
Among the Blackfoot Indians—Lord Burnham Chief Old Sun—A Stampede and Real Wild West Show—Calgary and its Civic Democracy—Mineral Wealth of the Province—A Drive through the Rocky Mountains—Incomparable Banff and Unsurpassable Lake Louise.

THE Canadian Parliament has not (yet) withdrawn the privilege from the native races of conferring titles on distinguished visitors. Lord and Lady Burnham were the recipients of honours from the Blackfoot Indians, whose settlement is at Crowfoot, near Gleichen, Alberta. The Blackfeet are a sturdy race. They farm and hunt. Their wants are few and little work satisfies them.

The tribe, in full war-paint, met the visitors near the railway station, where Chief Yellow Horse welcomed them. Lord Burnham, mounted on horseback, was escorted to the tribe's encampment at the head of a most picturesque procession, including the Blackfoot braves in their native dress, cowboys in traditional "Wild West" costume, and a detachment of the North-West Mounted Police in their scarlet uniforms. Lady Burnham and the remainder of the delegation followed in motor-cars. Upon arrival at the camp, the visitors were much interested by the brightly painted "teepees" of the Indians. Lord and Lady Burnham were conducted to a screened enclosure and there invested as chiefs of the tribe. The christening of a new chief is not settled until the head of the tribe sees the subject, so that he may choose a name which fits. Lord Burnham's cheerful countenance and genial smile at once suggested to Yellow Horse that *Nat-o-Sapi*, "Chief Old Sun," was the appropriate designation. It was a special compliment. The Blackfeet were sun-worshippers before a third of them became Catholics, and another third became Protestants, while the rest remain in a state of doubt as to their future faith. Yellow Horse's predecessor, a famous brave, was also named "Old Sun." Lady Burnham was named *Le-ni-Naki*, which means "Great Lady"—the highest title available



VIEW OF ORCHARDS IN OKANAGAN VALLEY, BRITISH COLUMBIA.



Canadian National Railways.

ONE OF THE NUMEROUS ROCK TUNNELS ON THE CANADIAN NATIONAL RAILWAYS IN THE ROCKY MOUNTAINS.

for a lady. The new chiefs were invested with the insignia of the order elaborately designed and ornamented with brightly coloured beads. The ceremony was not complete until Lord and Lady Burnham had donned the garb of the tribe—coats and trousers of coloured buffalo hide and the famous feathered headdress. The new recruits had to wear borrowed plumes. Brand new robes had been made for them, but they proved irresistibly attractive to a tribesman, who appropriated and sold them to an American.

After the ceremony Lord Burnham resumed his place beside Chief Yellow Horse at the head of the procession, which moved on to the town "corral." Here, from a large "grand stand," the visitors witnessed what many much-travelled members of the party declared to be the finest exhibition of horsemanship and rough-riding they had ever seen. The show included a "cowboy stampede," in which Indians took part, roping of steers, "breaking-in" of wild horses—in one case a greatly daring cowboy rode a steer backwards, and somehow stuck on. There was also fine racing, the Indians riding bareback. The North-West Mounted Police—famous for their horsemanship—also joined in the sports.

Before leaving, Lord Burnham thanked the Indians for the honour conferred upon Lady Burnham and himself, and presented Chief Yellow Horse and Chief Weazle Calf with big medals on behalf of the Press Conference, expressed pleasure that the Indians were doing so well, and wished them continued prosperity. His remarks were translated word for word, as the older Blackfeet do not yet know English.

It was unanimously agreed by the delegation that Mr. Woods and his committee had provided a most notable programme for the short stay at Gleichen, and the novelty and informality of this picturesque interlude were greatly enjoyed.

After Gleichen our next stop was Calgary, the largest city in Alberta. This province—in area twice the size of Great Britain—exceeds the other prairie states in its potential wealth. Besides its abundant cereals, it is rich in minerals. Its coal production exceeds that of Nova Scotia. It has valuable gas deposits; its oil-fields are only just beginning to be tapped. It may prove to be one of the biggest new sources of oil fuel in the Empire.

Calgary, which is within sight of the Rockies, has a population of 80,000. It is the seat of numerous industries, which are fostered by the existence of abundant and cheap water-

power, as well as natural gas conveyed by pipe line from a distance of about a hundred miles, and sold at a very low price.

The city is laid out in approved chequer-board style. Streets are numbered from Centre Street, east and west, and from Centre Avenue, north and south. For example, the first avenue south of Centre Avenue and west of Centre Street is called First Avenue, S.W. The avenues are numbered from Centre Avenue West Centre on the same principle. Each block has one hundred numbered houses, and each block starts numbering from the number following the block preceding it. Even numbers are on the north and east sides of streets; odd numbers on the south and west sides.

New experiments in democratic government are being carried on in these new lands of the West, and in Calgary we found a new scheme of civic democracy in practice.

Calgary is governed by an elected Cabinet of three Commissioners: the mayor, elected annually and paid \$5,000, two commissioners, each elected for two years, and paid \$4,000 each. There is a City Council, consisting of twelve aldermen, elected for two years, six retiring annually. The elections are based on proportional representation. The initiative, referendum, and recall are in operation. The citizens initiate local legislation, and if endorsed by referendum the commissioners put it in operation. If the electors are dissatisfied with the action of the commissioners or aldermen before their term of office expires, they can recall them by popular vote.

The school trustees are elected annually. The Mayor is the head of the city administration. The city owns land, the water supply, street railways, electric lighting power plant, the hospitals, a golf course, markets, etc. The telephones belong to the Provincial Government. Automatic exchanges are in operation. One commissioner takes charge of the public utility services, the others of all other departments. The commissioners and aldermen are nearly all Canadian born.

Having visited the city, the delegates were entertained at a banquet in the Palliser Hotel, which was attended by 800 guests, including the leading citizens of Calgary.

Mr. R. Bennett, K.C., in proposing "Our Guests," said:

The first mark of the civilization of the West was the provision which had been made everywhere for education. Everywhere they went they would see that the most imposing buildings were the school-houses. He referred to the laws limiting the hours of labour, the provision of hospitals, the establishment of mothers' pensions, and

other means by which he claimed they had endeavoured to lay broad and deep the foundations of a happy and prosperous race in the future. Prior to the war 75 per cent. of the settlers in Alberta were from the United States, and it was for these people to learn that under the British monarchy they enjoyed measures of democracy and freedom which were unparalleled in the history of the world.

On the larger aspect of Imperial interests Mr. Bennett said :

The people of Canada have blazed a trail in the development of our free Empire, and have shown how the nations which owe allegiance can achieve autonomy while still retaining their great historic background.

Lord Burnham, in replying, thanked his hosts for the splendid reception they had given "in this amazing city of Calgary." He rejoiced in the expression of faith in British ideals of the proposer of the toast.

Not a member of the party would be there if he had not faith in the destiny of the British Empire. He testified to the general satisfaction which had been felt upon learning that in Canada pressmen were held in universal esteem. "I believe," said he, "that there is no place in the world where the Press plays a more honourable part in public affairs than it does in Canada. That mutual respect between the Press and the public which ought to prevail is seen here in a marked degree. I wish," he continued, "that others could follow in our footsteps. I am very sorry that the rumour that Lloyd George was coming to Vancouver has proved untrue, for it is altogether regrettable that the greatest statesman in Europe should not know this portion of the Empire. He would find in this new world relief from the depression which the constant strain of the contemplation of the ruin of Europe must mean, even for a man of his buoyant spirits. It is a reproach and a scandal that so few of our public men know the Empire, and lack of that knowledge should be a disqualification for political office of any but a purely parochial kind."

Mr. T. M. Tweedie, M.P., in proposing the health of the ladies, paid tribute to the fine work that women had done during the war.

Lady Newnes, in responding, referred to the marvellous hospitality of the ladies of Calgary, and expressed regret that it would be necessary to leave so soon their new-made friends. The lady members of the party had been greatly interested in visiting Calgary homes, and noting the extent to which labour-saving devices were used.

The citizens of Calgary had a happy conception in supplying motor-cars to take us to Banff, eighty miles distant along a motor road which will not be complete until it pierces the

Rockies and reaches Vancouver. This motor drive will long be remembered as one of our most delightful experiences. When it began the Rocky Mountains were a rugged outline of peaks. When it finished they shut the astonished visitors from the outward world with multiple rings of mountains rising from 9,000 to 13,000 feet in height, with snow-capped summits of fantastic outline, suggestive of immense spear-points, domes, battleships, twisted sugar loaves, and a hundred other objects fashioned on an indescribably colossal scale. The road lay through the winding valley of the Bow River, in which Calgary is built, and as it climbed up towards and eventually buried itself amid the mountains, there was a sustained crescendo of scenic effect which made a deep impression on even the most hardened of globe trotters in the party: One and all declared that they had never seen anything equal to what it was now their privilege to behold.

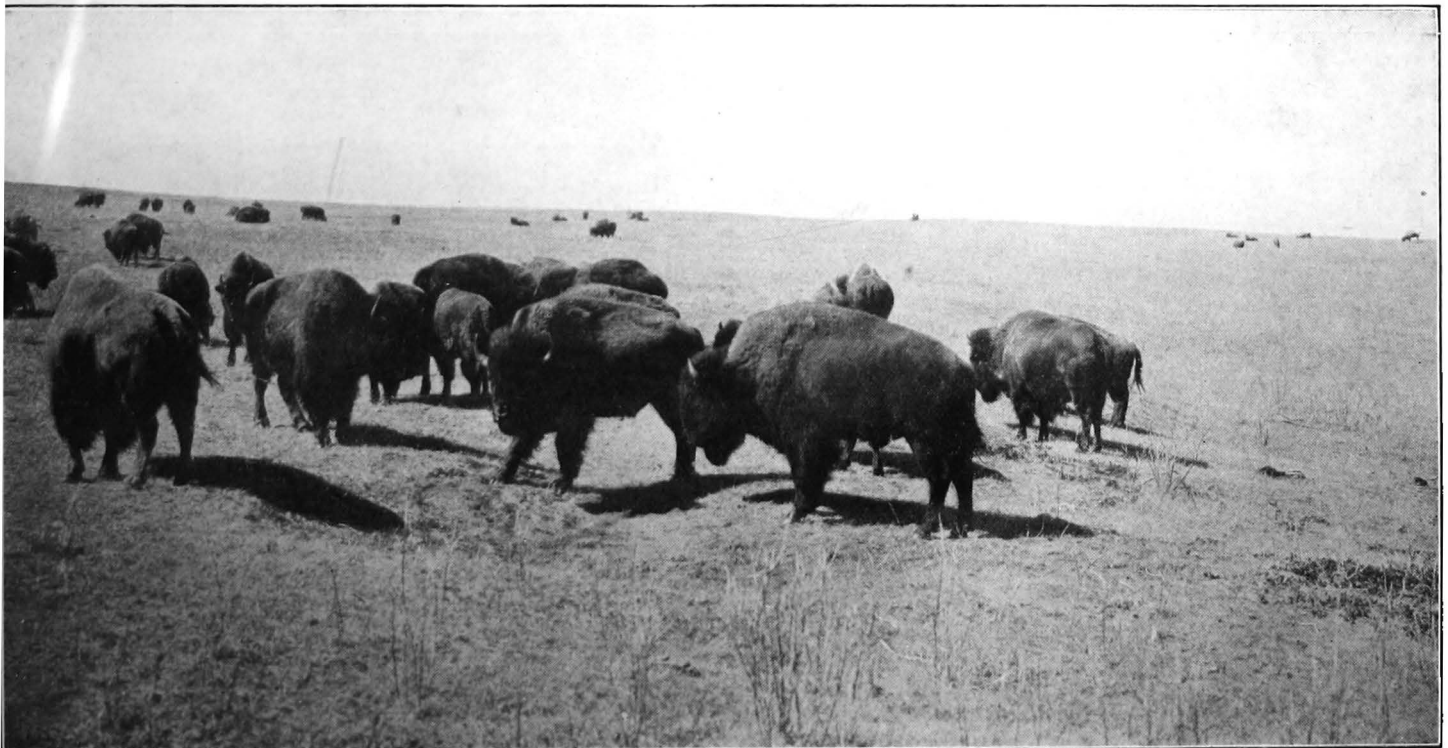
A halt was made at a lovely spot on the banks of the Bow, forty miles east of Calgary, where the Calgary reception committee had arranged to serve luncheon. Our friends of Calgary, headed by Mr. Woods, of the "Calgary Herald," outdid every host in the novelty and attractiveness of their hospitality. They had sent lunch on ahead of us, erected a large, open tent, with rest tents for the ladies containing everything which they required after a long run over dusty roads in open cars, including manicure sets and vanity bags. The lunch itself would have done credit to a first-class restaurant. Much thought and care had been given to this charming and picturesque function. While luncheon was served, an aeroplane circled overhead. It was one of those which are used by the Government to help to detect outbreaks of forest fires which do such untold damage every year in the great forests of Western Alberta and British Columbia. A message dropped from the machine proved to be an invitation from Captain A. W. Carter, of Morley, Alberta, to visit the headquarters of the patrol. Lord Burnham, having read the message, paid a tribute to the good work which is done by the aerial patrol.

Our journey in the afternoon was continued towards Banff by car. We saw, and smelt, evidences of forest fires, and the haze which the smoke created was perceptible for several days. For many miles on the road towards Banff we ran through the Canadian National Park, which contains, within its three thousand square miles, some of the most magnificent scenery of the Rocky Mountains. We stopped at the palatial hotel of



Grand Trunk Railway.

A BEAUTIFUL VIEW ON THE SKEENA RIVER



BUFFALO : PART OF THE HERD PROTECTED IN BUFFALO PARK, WAINWRIGHT, ALBERTA.

the C.P.R., Banff Springs, which we found thronged with American visitors. Banff is the most beautiful and picturesque resort in the Rockies. It has hot sulphur springs, matchless mountain scenery; the district provides every attraction for the tourist in search of health and pleasure: splendid fishing, opportunities for motoring, boating, and golf and all kinds of sports, with one of the most exhilarating climates in the world.

Saturday was spent by the delegates revelling in the beauties of Banff and in exploring this alpine paradise. Some of the party visited Johnson's Canyon; others drove to Lake Minnewanka, a spacious sheet of water 5,000 feet above sea level, walled in on all sides by steep mountains. The road lay through an enclosure in which are kept wild buffalo, wild goats, and other specimens of Rocky Mountains fauna. After a delightful day at Banff, the delegates rejoined the train on Saturday night, and on Sunday morning found themselves close to the famous Lake Louise, the Gem of the Rockies. Pine-covered mountains closed it in on three sides and a mighty glacier on the fourth. It is one of the most perfect examples of scenic beauty in the world. There was a repetition of the previous day's experiences in riding, boating, trips on mountain ponies, and motor runs to the Valley of Ten Peaks.

On the morning of August 23rd the westward journey was resumed. We soon reached the Great Divide, where a gateway marks the boundary-line of Alberta and British Columbia, and saw the mountain stream whose water, meeting a rock, divides into two rivulets, one of which drains into the Pacific Ocean, while the other empties itself into Hudson Bay. The Great Divide is 5,300 feet above sea level, and then there is a rapid descent of 1,200 feet made through spiral tunnels, one of the most notable of the many engineering feats of railroad building in the world. Lord Burnham, dressed in engineer's overalls, rode in the locomotive cab for this run down the famous Kicking Horse Pass, and enjoyed one of the most thrilling of his experiences. From this point onwards the line descended slowly, and the change in the character of the country was apparent. Chinese labourers were seen carrying out repairs along the line, the trees became taller than on the eastern slopes of the mountains, and patches of tillage, such as we had not seen for several days, appeared.

CHAPTER XI

BRITISH COLUMBIA : THE NEW ENGLAND ON THE PACIFIC SLOPE

Lake Windermere Camp—The Rich Vineyards of Vernon and Okanagan Valley—The Western Gateway—Vancouver City's Splendours—Tree Felling—In the Loggers' Camp—Fish Canning—Very English Victoria.

FROM the snow-capped peaks of the Rockies the scene changed, with a great variety of glimpses as the trains twisted this way and that. At Golden we paused on our western journey, and turned aside on a mountain track in the dry-zone highlands of British Columbia to visit a summer resort on the shores of Lake Windermere. Here, on the edge of golf links with sand "greens," we were received in the golf pavilion by a cheery crowd of residents and visitors. Here also, from the Shuswap Indian encampment on the other side of the links, assembled some sixty Indians. The women, who seemed to be in a majority, were nearly all mounted, and they rode races for money prizes presented by Lord and Lady Burnham, while awards were also given for the best costumes worn by the youngsters.

Away we whirled again in the afternoon, and started on a night run further downhill, and then, by way of Sicamous Junction, on a second southerly tour to Vernon; and next morning we were among the orchards of the famous Okanagan Valley. Fruit farms are interspersed among the woodland areas of the hill-sides. Irrigation turns the slopes into fruitful lands. You see the flumes which carry the water down to the valley and the pipes which distribute it to the farms and ranches. Below is rich vegetation and heavily-laden fruit-trees; above arid and sun-baked lands.

The citizens of Vernon turned out in the early morning in great force. The country here is settled largely by English people. They were demonstratively enthusiastic in their welcome, and we were whirled along among the orchards and

invited to watch how fruit was picked, packed, and marketed by the Vernon Fruit Growing Union. At a spot in the vineyards at Lavington has been erected a little granite monument to commemorate the victims of the war which this corner of peaceful Columbia sent—over 6,000—to the fields of France. After “glimpsing the Okanagan,” we arrived at the Country Club on Lake Vernon, where we were entertained at a picnic lunch served on the edge of the lake.

President Cossitt, of the Local Board of Trade, who was in the chair, said :

In British Columbia we have only a small population of 500,000, when we have room for 10,000,000. They did not want the kind of settler who came to them and told them he “did not intend to work to-day.” We are all workers out here.

Mr. Cossitt went on to describe the tour of the journalists as one of the most important missions ever in Canada. He told briefly of the part British Columbia had taken in helping the Mother Country in the late war, and said that if she were ever in any danger, Canada would be with her every time.

Lord Burnham, who was called upon to reply, recalled his first visit to the district in 1894, when the first orchard was being planted. While everybody at that time appreciated the possibilities of the fruit-growing industry, they could not have foreseen the realization—the valley under close settlement and dotted with most beautiful homes which charmed and surprised him beyond measure. Canada was the country of good homes, and where, asked Lord Burnham, can you find better homes than in the Okanagan Valley?

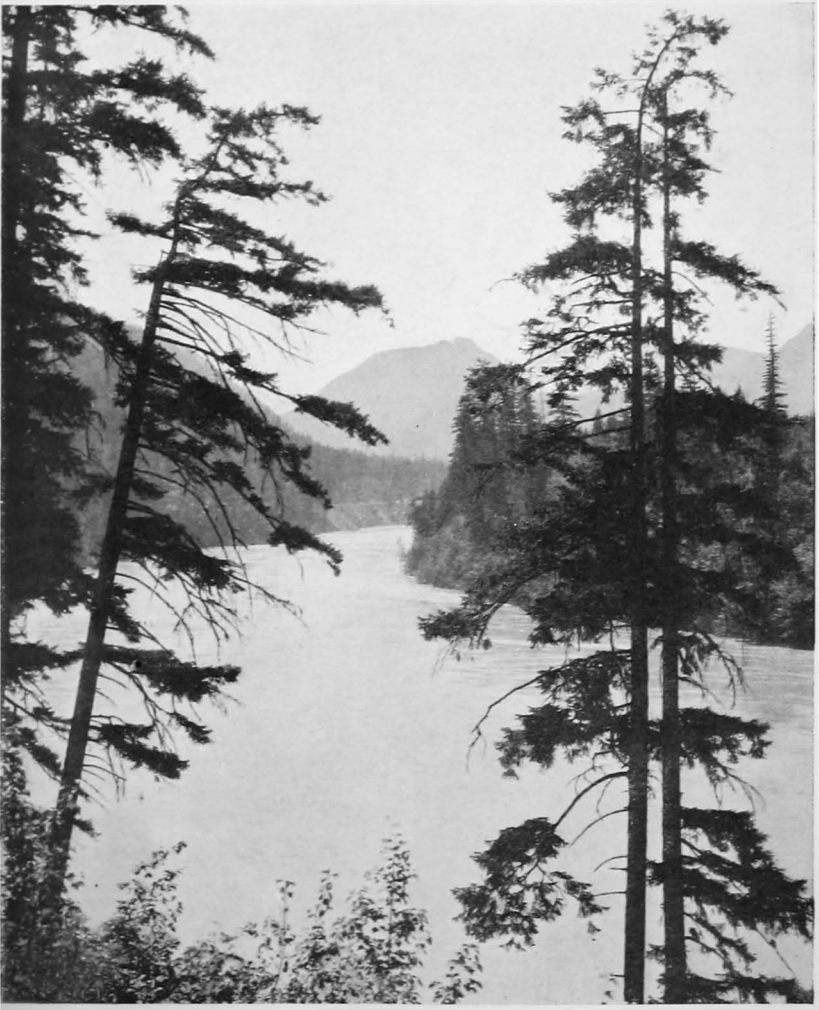
Before leaving Vernon a happy little ceremony took place. It was the birthday of Mr. A. B. Calder, our kindly train director of the C.P.R., friend and guide from London, and he was presented with a flask by Mr. Crandall, on behalf of the Canadian Press. All present offered him their warmest felicitations and acknowledgments for his many services, and later, at Vancouver, the visitors also presented Mr. Calder with a memento handed to him by Lady Burnham. A fifteen-hour run carried us from Vernon to Vancouver, where we arrived on the morning of August 25th.

British Columbia differs from every other province in Canada in its physical and geographical characteristics, in its natural resources, and in its climate. It is more English than the

other provinces: English in the origin of its settlers, English in its customs, English in its mild climate tempered by the warm winds from the southern seas, English in its rain. It possesses all kinds of scenery: grand mountain ranges, spacious lakes, torrential rivers, waterfalls, forests with giant trees whose life-story took root in a primitive age, a coast-line of 7,000 miles with a multitude of inlets, peninsulas, islands with navigable waterways, stretching 100 miles inland; it has fruitful valleys and fertile prairies; it holds within its borders minerals of all kinds: gold, silver, copper, lead, coal; its fisheries are limitless, its lumber almost inexhaustible; it can draw millions of horse-power from its waterfalls. In fact, the extent and value of its natural resources, so varied and so abundant, cannot yet be calculated. There are no other half-million people settled in any part of the globe who have more wealth per head within their reach than have the British Columbians.

East and West meet at Vancouver, the western metropolis on the mainland of Canada, with its 200,000 inhabitants, pulsating with the vigorous life of a progressive community. From the roof garden of the fourteen-story Vancouver Hotel one gets an inspiring panoramic view. Below lies a city in a forest, with opulent boulevards, wide long streets, and lordly buildings; to the north grand mountain scenery; to the south slopes covered with mammoth trees, old before Captain Vancouver discovered the coast; near by fine rich farm-lands and orchards; a water-front of forty miles, extensive wharves and warehouses; ships sailing westward to the Orient and onward to England, or skirting the American coast, through the Panama Canal, on eastbound journeys to the Old Country, or turning south to the Dominions of the Pacific. You recognize the presence of industries and buildings, expanses of pleasure-grounds and bathing beaches—a city uniquely beautiful in situation with an infinite variety of attractions—a great international port—the British maritime outpost of the West, growing in importance and magnitude.

Having glimpsed the city from this vantage-point, we had, by the courtesy of our hosts, the opportunity of visiting it by car at close range and of exploring its pleasant suburbs. Near Vancouver fine old trees are falling daily to the woodman's axe. Here in Stanley Park the forest veterans are preserved—giant trees over 200 feet in height and more than 200 years old.



Canadian National Railways.

VIEW ON THE FRASER RIVER, BRITISH COLUMBIA.



Canadian National Railways.

FRASER RIVER CANYON, BRITISH COLUMBIA.



Canadian National Railways.

THE THOMPSON RIVER, CANADIAN ROCKIES, BRITISH COLUMBIA.

Vancouver was reached on Wednesday, August 25th, and our first hosts there were the Canadian Club, who gave a luncheon in our honour at the Vancouver Hotel. Mr. Somerville, the president, urged us when we returned home to see that more British publications were put on the news-stands in Canada to replace the United States publications which were now enjoying what was almost a monopoly. Lord Burnham replied. He paid a tribute to the Canadian Clubs of Canada, which were doing such a great work for the Imperial idea.

It is not for me to preach Imperial patriotism, however, for I often think you ought to come and preach it to us.

Impressed with the great transportation systems of Canada, he said that nothing civilized so much as transportation.

We would be false to our own senses if we failed to pay recognition to the pioneer work of railway giants who built the great roads. It was the genius of men, not the genius of communities, that made life. The men who built the Canadian roads had the practical ability engineers and the foresight of seers.

The automobile, too, was playing its part in Canada, and, perhaps, to a greater extent than in England, where machines were generally in the possession of the well-to-do and not, as in Canada, often at the doors of the working-man to make life more pleasant for himself and family. Thus once again the visitors had learned that the age of miracles was not past. We have seen your orchards and your fruit gardens, and British Columbia is rightly called the market garden of the British Empire. I can imagine no pleasanter place in which a man's lot might be cast than in the smiling valleys of this province.

In this great Western country you are taking part in creation. You are laying out a continent. You have the true British spirit in that you sow that others who come after you may reap the harvest. In this country there is nothing more refreshing than the splendid spirit of hopefulness which makes every man look upward, and not backward to the crimes and blunders of the past.

We are all actuated by the same spirit, the old British spirit which, with some failings and many deficiencies, we of the British Press are trying to express among you, to enable you to understand us, while we ourselves learn to understand you better than ever before.

Mr. Parker, of the "Wellington Post," New Zealand, said :

We are at one on the question of the desirability of cementing and improving the relationship between the nations of the Empire. There was a need for the study of economic matters between the nations of the Empire. Tariff reciprocity and first-class shipping lines were needed. He urged that Canada and Australia should see to it that the best use was made of the direct route through Vancouver. If economic necessity should dictate that the United States should be the biggest shipping customer and merchant of Australian countries,

the history of the British nations in the Pacific might be profoundly affected.

Simultaneously, on the 25th, a luncheon was given in honour of the ladies of the party by the Women's Canadian Club. Lady Burnham, in returning thanks in a happy little speech, said :

I was asked what I liked most in Canada. With your cities so up-to-date, your industries so amazing, your mountains and lakes so beautiful, and your land so vast and full of promise, it seemed rather a difficult question to answer, but for me it was easy. I said, "The Canadians." We have come from the great East to the great West—the golden land of plenty and unsurpassed mountains and lakes, and I must say that I was not prepared to see such a vast amount of cultivation and so many farms. In such a land, with such a people, nothing could be too great to accomplish. We who are returning to the Old Country must be your ambassadors, and do everything we can to send you good citizens. The tour through Canada will prove a great inspiration to the members of our party, and has taught us much. You have taken us to yourselves and have made us feel that touch of home so dear to the heart of every woman of every land, and a great sympathy has been born which I hope will endure for ever.

Lord Burnham, who gave a short impromptu address, expressed himself as being greatly impressed by the cheerfulness which he found evident among Canadian women :

I have never known a community in which there was so little grumbling among the other sex. The members of the Press party had come to realize during the tour of Canada that the women have counted just as much as the men in the making of this great country of homes. Since the war the bond between Canada and the Old Country was firmer than ever. It is impossible now to separate the destiny of this great Dominion from the traditions of the Mother Country. Although we realize that self-development and self-determination are the means by which Canada will be built up, yet it will be necessary for us to draw strength one from another.

After the luncheons the visitors were motored to the harbour, where they boarded a ferry and were taken to the other side of the bay. In the course of the trip they were enabled to see the curiously-shaped mountain-tops known as the Lions, which are a great landmark in the district. Those who were commercially inclined concentrated their attention on the harbour and the shipbuilding yards and the line of skyscrapers which they were leaving behind them. On the far side of the inlet motors were in waiting, and the party were conveyed to

the forest area, where the well-known Capilano Timber Company carry on operations. On the way a halt was made to view the beautiful canyon of the Capilano River, which is seen to the best advantage from the frail suspension bridge, on which not more than a certain number of persons is allowed to gather at one time.

Seven miles from Vancouver the party were within the timber limits. They were in the property of the Capilano Timber Company, as the guests of the management. Their experience from this point is best described in the picturesque report which was given by the "Vancouver World," as follows:

A diminutive locomotive, gagged with a blanket of tar-paper to prevent it from spitting sparks from its smokestack, two flat cars, and an openwork caboose were waiting to transport the party to the scene of operations. Stealthily creeping over trestles and snaking over the mountain-side to avoid dangerous spots, the train sneaked up the switchback railway. It was ticklish, that ride, and the passengers were in no mood for frivolity.

Then the sight of the timber. Strawn over the mountain-side as if a god of the mountains had scattered a handful of matches, huge logs were ready to be loaded on to the cars. "British Columbia tooth-picks," they call them.

Everything was in readiness. Clinging 180 feet above ground like a fly on a reed, Nick Nickerson, a rigger, whose job his co-workers proudly described as being the highest paid in the woods, was awaiting the word to give the last few whacks necessary to "top" a 210-foot fir.

At the signal Nick chopped at the tree-top. It staggered slightly, lost its balance, and away it fell crashing to the ground. Another monarch of the forest had lost its head. Nick waved his hand in victory, cleared the neck of the tree from chips, apparently, and with the assistance of a rope which girdled the tree, and one end of which was attached to his belt, while the other was held in his hand, quickly returned to *terra firma*. Technically, Nick had topped a spar-tree for high lead logging.

It requires about twenty minutes to fell a large tree, but, haying been partly sawn through, only a few strokes were required. The big fir bunted and crushed others out of the way, ripped limbs, and with a great crash settled in a cloud of dust.

Yarding or hauling logs and loading them on the cars was the next operation. Hauled by a steel cable and pulled by a donkey engine, the huge trees were slowly but surely drawn down to the track. Other logs larger than themselves were nudged out of the way, and when a huge stump protested, it was uprooted.

Having watched the top-riggers, the lumber-jacks, and loggers at work, the visitors next saw them in their camp, where supper was served. The lumbermen's quarters were clean and comfortable—window-boxes with flowers decorated

the cabins and "bunkhouses." Their supper was sumptuous. The menu contained nothing out of the ordinary routine, except paper napkins, consisted of piping hot soup and tasty veal with dressing, new potatoes, bread that invited another slice, fresh tomatoes, cucumbers, green onions with a tang, sausage rolls, jelly rolls, cake, peaches, coffee the aroma of which filled the room, butter that had no equal, sauces and pickles of many varieties, and other palatable delicacies. Mr. Blake Wilson, President of the Board of Trade, delivered the speech of welcome. Mr. Crosbie Roles and Mr. Percival Marshall replied. On the way back to Vancouver the delegates saw the method of unloading the logs from the cars into the company's basin at the water-front.

At the Hastings Timber Company's works we were shown how logs were "snagged" out of the water by an endless chain, to be cut into huge beams.

Next morning, Thursday, August 26th, another staple British Columbian industry—fish canning—was inspected at the works of the New England Fisheries Company, where trawlers, loaded with salmon, halibut, and other fish from the Fraser River and other northern waters, were taken into the canneries, where the process of gutting and preparing the fish for preservation was carried out, chiefly by Japanese women, some of whom carried their babies on their backs. Fish were cut up, cooked, and smoked, and then packed into tins by labour-saving machinery.

This day ended, after more exploration of the city, including a look at the Chinese quarter, with a banquet at the Hotel Vancouver.

Mayor Gale, who presided, said that the delegates were the most important body which had ever visited the city.

The Hon. J. W. Kirwan (Western Australia), in reply, said:

I heard in Ottawa of immigrants from the United States who came here holding grotesque ideas of what Empire means. They did not understand that there is nothing in the idea of devotion to Empire which is inconsistent with the development of the highest democratic ideals. Canada, New Zealand, and Australia are examples of my contention. In Australia we had adult suffrage of both sexes for both federal houses before woman suffrage was a practical question in the politics of any other country. Our Labour Party is the strongest in existence, and constitutes the Government of Australia. Yet on the outbreak of war, when the leader of that party was asked where the Labour Party stood, he said, "Australia will be with the Empire in



Canadian Pacific Railway.
HASTINGS AND GRANVILLE STREET, VANCOUVER, BRITISH COLUMBIA.



Canadian National Railways.

ENGLISH BAY, VANCOUVER, BRITISH COLUMBIA.

the war to the last man and the last shilling." There is no danger in regard to Empire feeling in Australia. Sometimes I think that we who live in the outer parts know some things better than those who live near the heart. The greatest danger to the Empire is the untravelled Britisher.

Mr. C. D. Don (Johannesburg) said that the strongest impression produced by Vancouver was one of youthful vigour, and a determination to do better things to-morrow. He had met a South African student in one of the Canadian agricultural colleges, and asked her what she was learning, and she had replied, "I am learning enthusiasm."

Sir George Toulmin, having referred to the harbour improvements projected for Vancouver, said:

That is making smooth the paths of Empire; but I wish you would consider the cables also as a sort of highway connecting modern communities. Without the fullest cable communication the thought of the Empire cannot be communicated. Nothing is more vital than the dissemination of news.

One of the most interesting features of the evening was the presentation to Mr. A. B. Calder, of the C.P.R., of an album in which was inscribed a tribute to the many of his qualities which had helped so much to bring about the success of the tour.

The signature of every member of the party was appended to the tribute. Lord Burnham referred to the splendid organization of the tour, and to Mr. Calder's big part in making it a success. The dedication in the album described Mr. Calder as a prince of raconteurs, as a patient helper, and as a promoter of good feeling among the voyageurs. Mr. Valentine Knapp added to these remarks by describing Mr. Calder as a prince among chiefs of a service that was democratic to the core and where big men rapidly rose to the top—the railway service.

Sir Arthur Holbrook said that Mr. Calder had been the life of the party.

Lady Burnham presented the album, with a few words happily chosen, and Mr. Calder, replying, said

that his work on the tour had been a pleasure rather than a duty, and had been done not as representing the C.P.R., but on behalf of his native country. He had discovered a new unit of measurement during this trip, he said, for whereas he had formerly considered Canada a land 4,000 miles across, he had now found that the distance was exactly 2,000 speeches.

The assembly concluded with a few words of welcome and Godspeed from the Hon. Mr. Ballantyne, Dominion Minister of Marine and Fisheries.

Professor Bartolo, the distinguished Maltese publicist and statesman, was entertained by the Kiwanis at luncheon, and addressed them on "The Position of Malta in the British Empire." He was the first man from overseas to address the Club. He said:

Canada was not conquered on the Plains of Abraham in 1759, but in the British House of Commons in 1744 by the British Constitution. Malta was not British by right of discovery or conquest. She came to Great Britain by right of the love of the Maltese people, and no grander tribute could be paid to Great Britain than to say that 110 years ago she so completely conquered the hearts of the Maltese people that they have refused their independence and are content to be a part of the Empire and receive her protection. Of all the priceless jewels that make up the crown of the Empire, there was none more valuable than this little jewel nestling in the blue Mediterranean Ocean—the island of Malta. The people of Canada and of Malta had been allowed to govern themselves, and this was the only basis on which liberty and justice could be built.

On the morning of August 27th, after five weeks of traveling, we set out for the westerly end of our grand tour. We arrived at Victoria, on Vancouver Island, which is 300 miles long and 83 miles wide. It has a combination of English and Scottish scenery and a better climate than either England or Scotland.

Vancouver City looks with a certain amount of jealousy on Victoria, and has not quite got over its disappointment that this city, on an island eighty miles away and thirty miles from the mainland, should have been made the capital of the province. Victoria, as becomes a capital, does not seek to rival Vancouver City in point of population, but it disputes its claim to supremacy as a port and challenges it for beauty of situation and charm of scenery.

When we left Vancouver at ten o'clock on the four and a half hours' voyage to Victoria it was raining: the second day's rain we had experienced in our journey across the continent. It was Vancouver, not Victoria rain—an important meteorological distinction—as it ceased raining before we finished the voyage. The city of Victoria is the most English of all Canadian cities. The sentiment of the people is predominantly English; many English folk make it their home. Englishmen returning after a life's work in the East stop on the way to

England at Victoria—and stay there. Victoria is English in its games. It plays cricket (we arrived during the cricket week). The city has a mellow and soothing climate and delightfully pleasant surroundings. The residential districts are charmingly situated, and the houses are model homes. The sun shines in this “city of sunshine” on an average of nearly six hours a day during the whole year. It is one of the healthiest places in the world. While a residential and health resort and the legislative and administrative headquarters of British Columbia, Victoria does not consider it incompatible with its dignity to keep certain industries going, and it has successful trading interests with Japan, China, and other parts of the world.

After the busy rush in Vancouver, with two days' functions and visits which might have run to a week, we looked forward to a peaceful and restful time in Victoria. We were welcomed by the Mayor on landing from the C.P.O.S. steamship and taken to the Empress Hotel of the C.P.R., which stands in its own grounds near the harbour and was our headquarters during the week-end. The first afternoon was spent motoring on the wide, well-paved streets and boulevards and seeing the garden oases which surround the homes of the residents.

A few miles out on the East Saanich Road we arrived at the most delightful of all the garden gems of the island—at “Benvenuto,” the home of Mr. and Mrs. R. P. Butchart, where a fête was given in our honour. Here was a wealth of flowers and perfectly kept grounds. The chief attraction was a wonderful sunken garden with high rocky sides. The visitors were full of admiration. “One has never before imagined anything so immense and so utterly beautiful,” remarked a lady of the party. The visitors were entertained at tea by Mr. and Mrs. Butchart.

In the evening a state banquet was given by the Lieutenant-Governor, the Hon. E. G. Prior, at the Empress Hotel. Addressing the company, Mr. Prior pointed to the need for British capital in the development of Canadian industries.

This is essentially a British country, and it is our intense desire to keep it British. Capital from any source has in the past been welcome as a means of developing our resources, but I feel that I am stating the view of every true Canadian when I say that the British pound sterling is far more valuable to us than the American equivalent in dollars. Men from the Motherland must come here to appreciate the possibilities of the country.

84 THE IMPERIAL PRESS CONFERENCE IN CANADA

The speaker also made a plea for the establishment of an all-British cable service as a means of communicating Imperial sentiment throughout the Empire.

“ Our Guests ” was proposed by Attorney-General J. W. de B. Farris, and was responded to by Sir Arthur Holbrook, Mr. N. Levi (South Africa), and Mr. F. Crosbie Roles (Ceylon, and chairman of the Asia and Near East delegation), who said :

At the Conference in Ottawa we commemorated the new commercial agreement between Canada and the West Indies. Some day you on this side will be interested in a similar treaty between Canada and the East Indies. In November the Canadian Government is to begin a direct steamship service to India, and when in ten years' time British Columbia has ten times its present population, you will be big purchasers of the products of the Orient. I thank your Press for the considerate way in which it discusses the Indian labour problem ; and to your Labour representatives I would say, Remember that your fathers worked for lower pay than they might have demanded, and give the slow-moving East Indian time to advance.

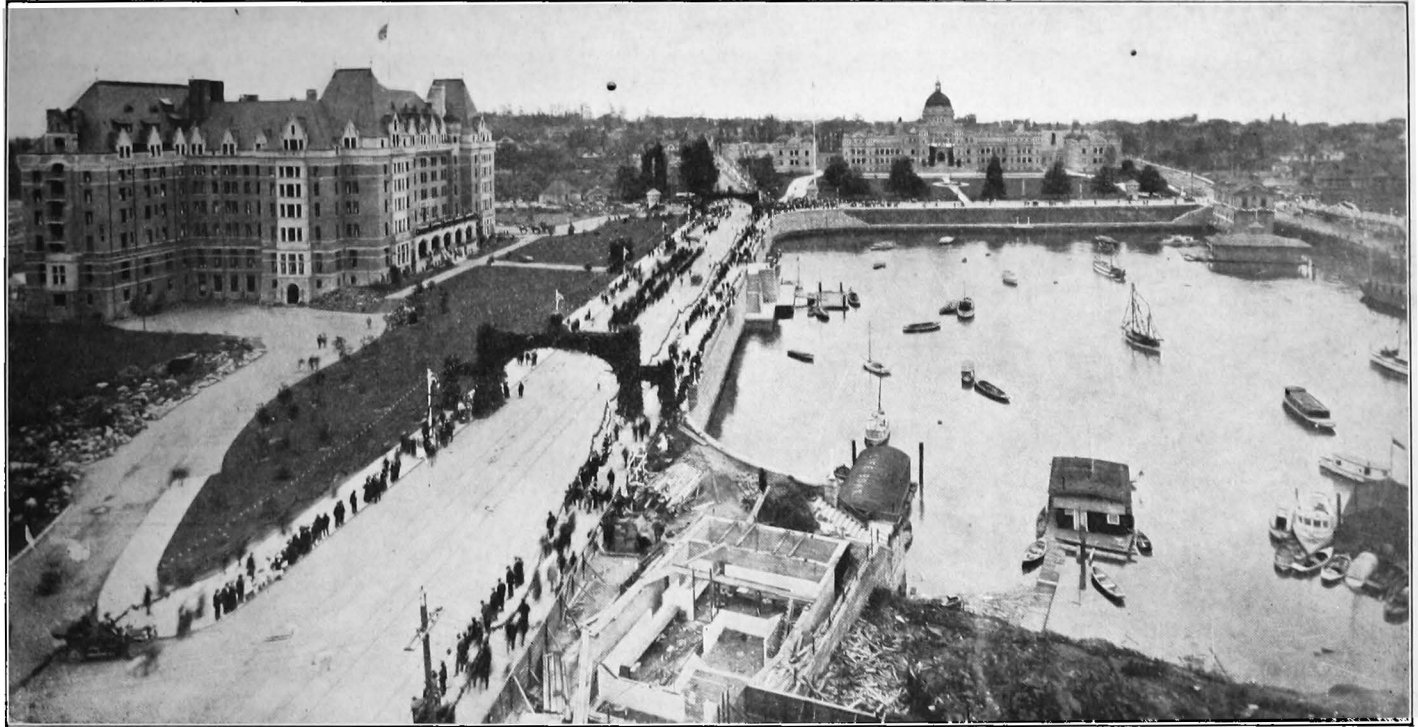
The visitors were entertained at dinner by the Canadian Club on Saturday night. Mr. John Cochrane, the president, presided. The company included the Lieutenant-Governor, the Hon. E. G. Prior. The Chairman said :

Within the British Empire there was no agency to compare with a loyal Press in placing the issues at stake in the conflict clearly before the public mind, in arousing national sentiment in the Motherland and Overseas Dominions, in establishing an intimate interchange of views between the various portions of the Empire, and in sustaining civilian morale, during the long struggle at a point where no sacrifice was deemed too great to achieve the vindication of those principles of honour, justice, and liberty which underlie our civilization.

Mr. David Davies, who responded on behalf of the visitors, said :

During their tour through Canada the Imperial Press delegates had been examining critically the newspapers of Canada, and their impression had been altogether good. The language used was clear : perhaps somewhat more outspoken than that employed in the papers of the Old Country. The Canadian newspaper men whom he had met during the tour were a credit to the nation.

More than any other part of the great British Commonwealth, not excepting the Motherland itself, continued Mr. Davies, Canada stands to gain by holding the Empire together. Standing between the old worlds of the West and of the East, a potential empire in itself, Canada will necessarily become the seat and centre of the world-embracing



WATER FRONT OF VICTORIA, CAPITAL OF BRITISH COLUMBIA.
On the left the Empress Hotel (C.P.R.), in the background the Provincial Parliament Building.



Canadian National Railways.

THE PROVINCIAL PARLIAMENT BUILDING, VICTORIA, BRITISH COLUMBIA.

Anglo-Saxon federation that is to come. The possibilities of Canada are beyond the imagination.

One of the certainties of the future is the foundation of a new form of government, a new form of federation, and from it may come, aye, almost certainly will come, a complete reunion of the English-speaking people of the world. In this new government, with an executive meeting somewhere, Canada will certainly step into a prominent status. When Canada has accepted her position, she will necessarily become the seat and centre of this English-speaking federation. Canada is full of greatness of every kind. You of the present generation are working inconspicuously for future greatness.

How should you meet this situation that will surely come to you? I would be insincere if I were to say that your educational system was perfect, but let me tell you that a nation's greatness centres in her schools. The schoolmaster ploughs to make a richer world. Stand back and give him room and a clear road. Your first interest should be to build up a generation well educated. The best wealth of a nation is not its factories, its stocks, railways, and other material possessions, but consists of its manhood and womanhood, and the higher the standard you attain with your human material, the sooner will you realize the triumphant Canada that is now looming in the distance.

The influence of woman in the destinies of the Empire is to be felt more strongly than ever from now on, and I do not fear their influence. I think of what they did in the war. You in Canada have inherited the peculiar faculties of the British race. You are fusing together the alien qualities, and you will continue to do so in the upbuilding of a great nation. I have faith in Canada, and in her men and women, the mothers of the boys who brought glory to your country in the late war.

A pleasant fifty-mile motor drive took place on Saturday through the town of Duncan, a thoroughly British settlement. The road led along the coast; on one side were great forest trees, and on the other bays whose outlines gave the impression of lakes and the islands which were scattered along the coast of Vancouver Island. We were received at the Country Club, where we saw a larger assortment of home newspapers than in any other town during our visit. Lord Burnham, replying to the welcome given by Mr. Savage, the proprietor of the "Duncan" paper, said there were few things to equal and nothing to excel what they had seen on the island of Vancouver. Mr. Hutchison, of New Zealand, commented on the absence of New Zealand news in the Canadian Press. Lady Burnham, before leaving, presented proficiency badges to the Duncan Boy Scouts, and Lady Newnes delivered a brief address to the Girl Guides.

Many of the delegates returned to Vancouver on Sunday afternoon, and others, after dining with new friends in Victoria, followed by the night boat.

CHAPTER XII

EASTWARD BOUND AND FARTHEST NORTH

Returning by the National Railways Route—The Fraser and Thompson Rivers—Kamloops—Jasper Park—Edmonton, Gateway to the New Northland—A Flag from the School-children of Old Edmonton—Saskatoon and Prince Albert—Wainwright and Buffalo Park.

THE return journey began on Monday, August 30th. Westwards the C.P.R. special trains led the way, coming back eastwards the Canadian National Railways special train took precedence. During the day out from Vancouver City our way lay for many miles along the valley of the Fraser River. Both the C.P.R. and the Canadian Northern, now the National line, have been built in this valley. The lines run parallel to each other; they cross the river at the same spot, and the parallel continues. The trains plunged through a series of tunnels cut in the solid rock. Railroad building in this region is a triumph of engineering. Along the banks of the river there are scenes of sublime natural beauty with many changes. Sometimes we were in a deep canyon. Then we passed wooded slopes or mountains, or we ran close to the edge of the cliff and saw the foaming cascades far below.

After leaving the Fraser River the train ran along the valley of the Thompson River and stopped at Lake Tranquille, whence we went by motor to the town of Kamloops, in the centre of a cattle- and horse-raising country, becoming by irrigation more agricultural. Kamloops was not to be denied. We did not reach it until 9 o'clock, but Kamloops was equal to the hour and the occasion. We were welcomed, in a blaze of light which turned night into day, by Mr. Burton, the Mayor. Kamloops has plenty of cheap electricity; we had never seen streets so extravagantly illuminated.

Mr. Burton called our attention to the healthiness of Kamloops. The sanatorium for tuberculosis at Lake Tranquille had more cures than any institution of the kind in the world. It had treated tuberculous soldiers of the Canadian Expeditionary Force. They had introduced irrigation which was yielding remarkable results.

Dr. Ellis Powell referred to the spirit of progress which was shown in Kamloops and so many other parts of Canada, and said that the old Imperialism and arbitrary political dominance had gone, but in Canada they had true Imperialism that took the powers of the earth and made use of them in the cause of human progress. They in Canada appreciated the magnificent destiny that was opening before them.

Mr. Snelling, of Egypt, also spoke.

Leaving Kamloops, we travelled during the night through the famous Yellow Head Pass to Jasper Park, a natural reservation and game reserve of wild, rugged territory of 4,000 square miles. Both these places are named after a yellow-headed hunter called Jasper Hayes. Magnificent mountain scenery is seen from the train on approaching Jasper, the final spectacle of all being Mount Robson, the giant of the Rockies, over 13,000 feet high. The top of the mountain and some thousands of feet downward is covered with snow. Its sides in some places consist of huge cliffs several thousand feet deep. The trains were halted for a few minutes to get a better view of the great glacier on Mount Robson, glistening in the early morning sunshine—affording a memory of a scene of extraordinary beauty and majesty. Another mountain passed was Mount Cavell, named after the heroic English nurse murdered by the enemy in Brussels, at a point on the borders of British Columbia and Alberta. Along the Yellow Head Pass is a range of mountains between 10,000 and 11,000 feet high. On arrival at Jasper the party were driven along the mountain road to Lake Beauvert, and runs were taken enabling us to get a general impression of the Park. Jasper Park is historic ground for hunters. It is a region of wild Alpine scenery, rocky hills, numerous lakes, rivers, gorges, stunted trees, hard, bare lands, and in the plains and hollows a good deal of vegetation. The names of places are a combination of English, French, and Indian. It is a very romantic as well as a very picturesque region, and there are parts which have never been explored. All kinds of wild animals indigenous to North America are found in Jasper Park—caribou, moose, elk, beaver, deer, mountain sheep and goats, skunks, porcupines; there are also eagles and many varieties of birds. The Athabasca River runs through the park. Lake Beauvert was the headquarters of the party during the day. Visitors had the opportunity of boating or canoeing, bathing, admiring the

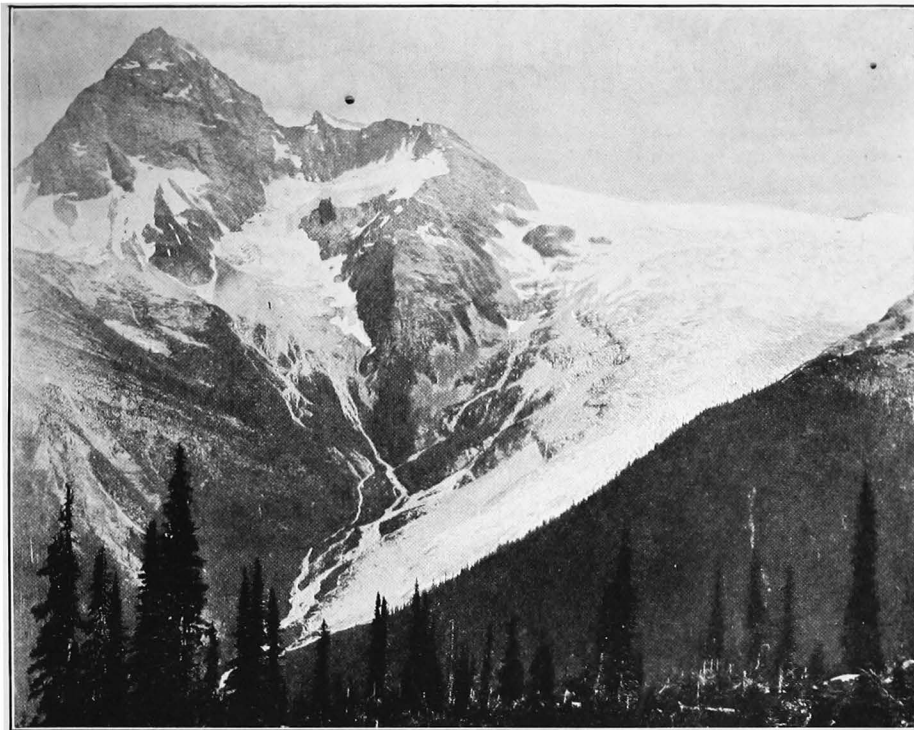
architectural skill of the beavers, and exploring the neighbourhood. Most of the cars used had been driven up from Edmonton by their owners for the occasion; and a full band of newsboys, in uniform, had their summer camp in the neighbourhood, that they might supply music at the barbecue. The bandmaster had been one of Mr. Jennings' earliest protégés, and he now has a news store of his own, and before long will be in the running for the mayoralty of Edmonton.

A buffalo barbecue lunch was served on the borders of the lake. A young buffalo from Wainwright Buffalo Park had been killed in honour of the party, and its quarters were roasted over a fire of pine logs in the open air. Tables were improvised. Lord Burnham, wearing a cap and apron, took a hand in carving the meat, and the guests served themselves with the buffalo meat, which they enjoyed, vegetables, and corn in the cob with melted butter. Colonel Maynard Rogers, superintendent of the park, welcomed the visitors. The inhabitants of the park, he said, included 10,000 big-horned mountain sheep and 2,000 mountain goats. Sir Emsley Carr, in responding for the visitors, said that the party had experienced every species of hospitality in the Dominion, but that day was the first time that they had had a dinner of buffalo. They had fathomed everything in Canada except the hospitality and the patriotism of its people.

A night's run from Jasper took us to Edmonton, the capital of Alberta.

Edmonton, the most northerly city in Canada, is described as "a city with no past, some present, and an illimitable future." It is the gateway to the new northland, to the new Peace River and Mackenzie River territories, where nature still holds secret its resources for the service of humanity. Edmonton is the capital of Alberta. Political influence had more to do with giving it that distinction than geographical advantages. It is the seat of the university, and has now transportation facilities equal to any Western city. Edmonton is surrounded with coal-fields as well as grain-fields. Alberta produces about 6,000,000 tons of coal a year, and its deposits are only beginning to be exploited. It has extensive natural gas wells, bituminous sands in its rivers, and it is one of the areas which is expected to bring a new source of oil supply to the Empire.

The severity of the winter climate in Alberta is modified by the Chinook—the warm wind which blows from the south-



MOUNT SIR DONALD (NAMED AFTER DONALD] SMITH LORD STRATHCONA) AND
THE ILLECILLEWAET GLACIER.



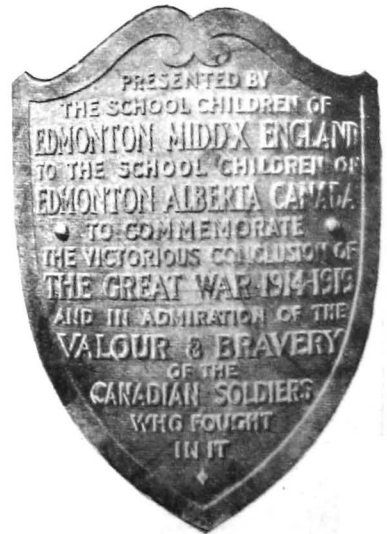
By courtesy of the late Mr. M. R. Jennings.

FAR FROM THE MADDING CROWD AND WORRIES OF FLEET STEET.
 Lord Burnham (newspaper proprietor) and Mr. T. E. Naylor (newspaper labour) paddling their own canoe peacefully on Lake Beauvert in Jasper Park.



THE YOUNGEST MEMBER OF THE IMPERIAL PRESS CONFERENCE PARTY—MISS JOYCE ISAACS—WHO CELEBRATED HER FIRST BIRTHDAY, HAVING ATTAINED THE AGE OF TWELVE MONTHS DURING THE TOUR.

The snapshot (taken by Mr. Isaacs) shows Mrs. Isaacs holding Miss Joyce, and Mr. T. E. Naylor, of the London Printers.



BRONZE SHIELD, PRESENTED BY THE SCHOOL-CHILDREN OF EDMONTON, ENGLAND, TO THE SCHOOL-CHILDREN OF EDMONTON, CANADA.

The presentation was made by Lady Burnham.

great city should possess, and its pushful citizens look with unlimited confidence to that illimitable future which is theirs. The comparison of areas in Canada with areas in Europe is fallacious: still more fallacious is a comparison between populations. New Edmonton's 65,000 people form a virile and creative community helping to shape the future of Canada, the 65,000 inhabitants of old Edmonton drag out a monotonous existence in a London dormitory. The position of the new city and its pioneer population account for its superiority.

New Edmonton has 20 banks, 41 schools and 6 colleges, 11 theatres, 150 factories, 25 hotels, and 160 miles of streets. It has two prosperous daily newspapers which have evening and weekly issues. The assessment of its property of a hundred million dollars compares with £210,000 in old Edmonton. Its municipal possessions include railways, electric light and power works, and telephones—none of which come under the Urban Council of old Edmonton.

There is room for many of the young men of old Edmonton to take part in building up the new Empire of the West in Alberta. This new land will draw out their latent energies. There are careers waiting for them in which to do their part in creating new wealth as worthy as that of their adventurous fellow-citizen Factor Bird, who a hundred years ago stood godfather for the new Edmonton.

The flag subscribed for by the school-children of old Edmonton was accompanied by a bronze shield containing the following inscription:

PRESENTED BY
THE SCHOOL-CHILDREN OF
EDMONTON, MIDDLESEX, ENGLAND,
TO THE SCHOOL-CHILDREN OF
EDMONTON, ALBERTA, CANADA,
TO COMMEMORATE
THE VICTORIOUS CONCLUSION
OF
THE GREAT WAR, 1914-1919,
AND IN ADMIRATION OF THE VALOUR AND BRAVERY
OF THE
CANADIAN SOLDIERS
WHO FOUGHT
IN IT.

Ten thousand school-children turned out to receive our flag. They marched past the MacDonald Hotel, where we were lodged as the guests of the Canadian National Railways,

to a large open space above the Saskatchewan River, on the banks of which the city stands, in front of the Veterans' Memorial Hall. Dr. F. W. Crang, chairman of the Edmonton Public School Board, suggested the interchange of field sports teams between the two Edmontons. Mr. Woodhead, in making the presentation, said that it was appropriate that Lady Burnham should unfurl the flag, as it was the "Daily Telegraph" which had begun the movement for the presentation of flags to schools in London. One of the best signs in Canada was that the people did not hesitate to spend their money on education. Edmonton had the same number of elementary schools as Huddersfield, but four times as many high schools.

Lady Burnham, in unfurling the flag, said :

I am more than proud to have been asked to perform this unique duty of unfurling the Union Jack sent by the children of Edmonton, England, to the children of Edmonton, Canada. It was a beautiful idea of theirs, and shows how the children at home honour and revere the memory of your brave and heroic sons.

The British flag has always stood for justice and freedom; it also stands for something else, which should be instilled into the minds of every child of British race. It stands for duty and discipline. What beautiful words those are, and what magic they carry on their wings! Let no boy or girl run away with the delusion that duty and discipline mean knuckling under. That is the wrong conception of the words. Duty and discipline, as I interpret them, mean uplifting and strengthening. What finer qualities can you have for building up your characters? It was self-discipline that helped your splendid pioneers to make this beautiful land of yours what it is to-day. It was duty and discipline that helped your brave boys in their grand task of the taking of Vimy Ridge. It was duty and discipline that made history for our glorious Old Contemptibles in their wonderful retreat from Mons.

Live up to your flag, be proud of it, be worthy of it, fear God, honour the King, love your country, and respect those in authority over you. Then, indeed, you will be worthy of this great gift, and of the immortal men who laid down their lives for Canada and the Empire.

Teddy Gowan, Premier of the Boys' Parliament of Edmonton, replying for the children, said :

We wish the children of Edmonton, England, to know that we heartily appreciate their gifts, and wish them to know that from the bottom of our hearts we reciprocate their noble sentiments. I feel that I am speaking from this platform to the school-children of Edmonton, England, who are so close to us in spirit, as well as to my school-mates of Edmonton, Canada.

Cheers for the children of Edmonton, England, for the

flag and for the King, and the singing of "Rule, Britannia!" and the National Anthem brought the proceedings to a close.

During the ceremony it was announced that Lady Burnham would give first and second prizes to the girls in the high and public schools for the best essays written on the day's event. Mr. Ernest Woodhead said that he would give similar prizes for the girls of the high and public schools. Alderman Bishop, Mayor of Folkestone, England, gave a third prize to the boys and girls, and Miss Billington offered to give consolation prizes to the boys and girls.

A luncheon to the men visitors was given at the University Buildings by the Edmonton Board of Trade, the chair being taken by Mr. Chadwick, President of the Board. Dr. H. M. Tory, president of the university, said that Alberta was built on solid British lines, and its industries modelled on those of the Old Country.

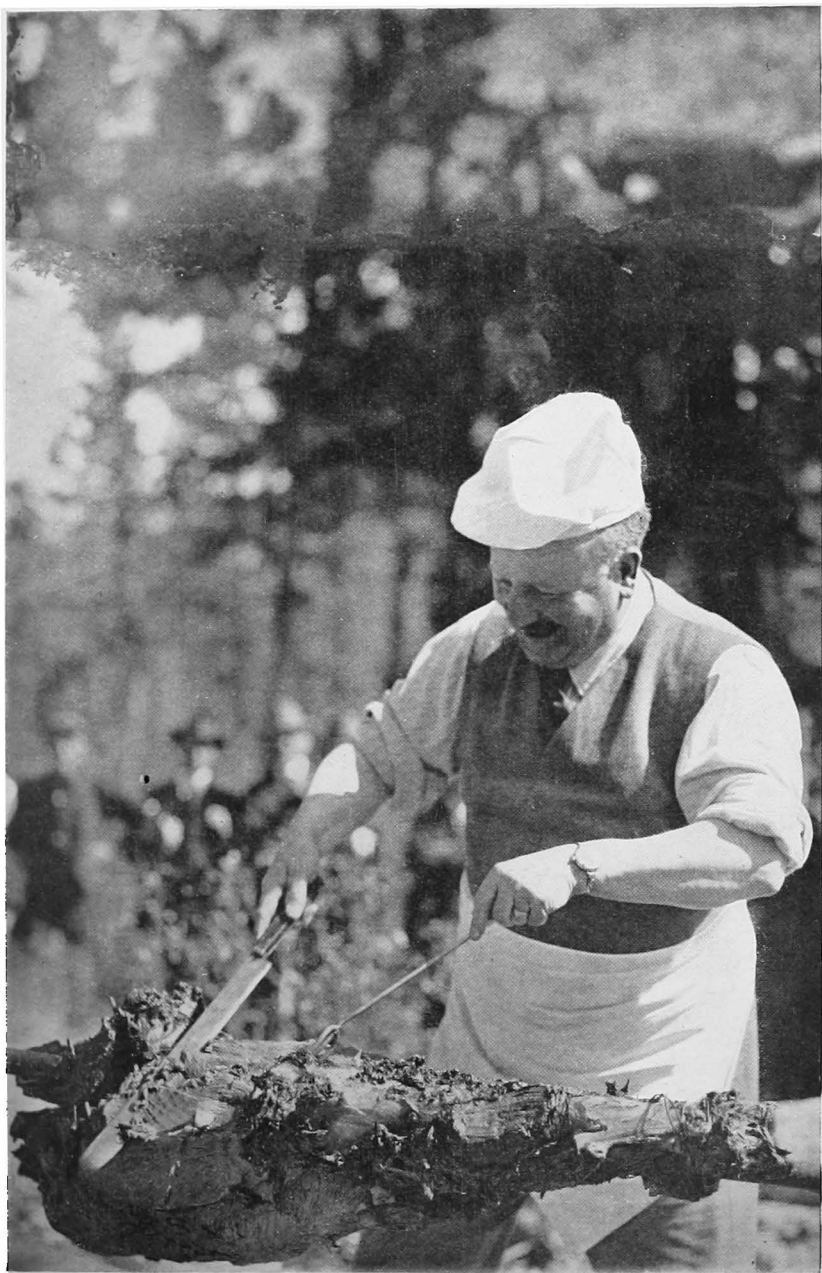
Referring to the war, Dr. Tory said that every one of the students of Alberta University fit for service enlisted, and sixty-three out of 430 laid down their lives.

Mr. J. S. Macdonald (London) replied for the guests, and said many complimentary things about Canadian progress in agriculture, but did not hold out any hope that the embargo on Canadian store cattle entering England would be removed.

Parties went for golf or country drives, and met again at the Country Club for tea. On the way back to the city the guests were taken informally to see Government House, where they were received by the Hon. Dr. Brett and his family.

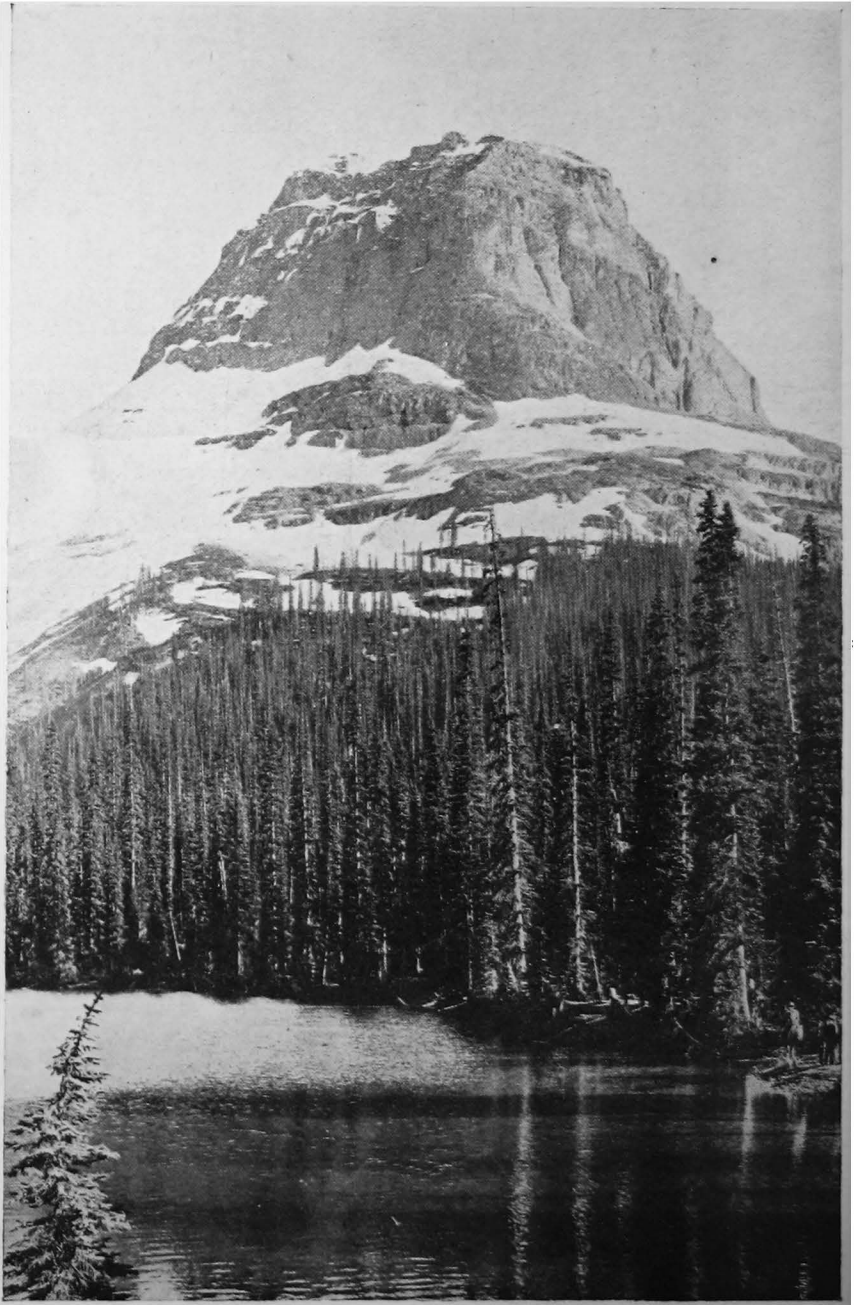
In the evening the party were the guests of the Government of Alberta at the MacDonald Hotel. The dinner was attended by Dr. Brett, the Lieutenant-Governor of the province, ministers and members of the legislature, and officials. Two notable women present were Mrs. Edith Murphy—a woman judge who attends especially to children's cases, and is known as a writer under the name of Janey Canuck—and Miss Roberta MacAdam, the first woman member of the legislature, who was about to marry Major Price. The Hon. Chas. Stewart, the Prime Minister, presided. He said

that the Government had spent huge sums of money in developing roads, railways, everything to make life comfortable, and they were waiting for ever-increasing numbers of the Saxon race to come and



By courtesy of the late Mr. M. R. Jennings.

LORD BURNHAM CARVING BUFFALO FOR LUNCH AT JASPER PARK.



Canadian National Railways,

MOUNT ROBSON, THE GIANT OF THE ROCKIES.

settle among them and make the province the kind of province which they would all like to see it. In West Canada it was possible to raise sufficient wheat to feed the whole world if they had the people to cultivate it.

Lord Burnham, in replying, recalled that in Alberta alone there was 14 per cent. of the coal of the whole world.

In Canada they knew nothing of the spirit of "ca' canny." They worked because they had faith in the future. Canada was no place for mad-dog Bolshevism, and if they had to deal with it as they had had to do in one or two places they would man-handle it into the Pacific Ocean. Perhaps the example of the Empire Press Union would now be imitated in the higher spheres of the Government. While there could not be any attempt to interfere with autonomy, there might be a permanent common council which would enable all the Dominions to share the responsibilities of the Imperial Parliament. He hoped that a common council would be brought into being next year, on which the Dominions would have a sitting minister of their own choosing, belonging to their own Cabinet, responsible to their own Government, and necessarily being of one mind with the Government of the day. If the Privy Council were now reconstituted in such a form they would have an effective body which would satisfy the demands that there should be no Imperial commitments of any part of the Empire without its knowledge and consent. He believed this to be not only possible but necessary.

The late Hon. E. C. Davies (Tasmania) referred to non-publication in Canada of news from Australia, and said that they published more Canadian news in Australia than the amount of Australian news which was published in Canada.

While the delegates were entertained at luncheon, the Edmonton Women's Press Club—the existence of such a club in a city of 50,000 people shows how great a part the Press plays in the new country—organized a most charming function for the ladies who accompanied the party. It was a luncheon the pleasure of which was enhanced by the floral decoration, artistic name cards painted by the hostesses, and songs. The speeches were short and happily phrased. Mrs. D. W. McClung, the popular Canadian novelist, welcomed the guests, and thanks were returned by Miss Billington and Lady Jones.

Our next stop was at Wainwright, reached after four and a half hours' journey.

"Fifteen years ago," said Mr. J. B. Morrell, speaking for the delegates, "Edmonton was like what Wainwright is to-day, with a population of 1,200, and fifteen years hence

Wainwright may be what Edmonton is now." Our hosts waited for us with cars to take us round the farms in the neighbourhood. We saw mixed farms, owned by Canadians, Americans, Englishmen, and Scotsmen, making handsome profits, and all as one in their faith in the new country. Wainwright is known also as the location of natural parks for the preservation of wild animals—the buffalo, elk, moose, etc. There are sanctuaries for wild animals which might, if left free, become extinct. Buffalo were rapidly disappearing from the American continent before Canada began its policy of protection in 1897. In 1909, Buffalo Park, Wainwright, protected 685 animals. They now number about 4,000—the largest herd in existence. The United States did not protect the bison. In 1906 a herd bred by Michael Pablo in Montana was about to be dispersed by the opening of the valley, where they were enclosed, to settlers. Colonel Roosevelt wanted the United States Government to buy them, but while Congress was discussing and haggling, the Canadian Government stepped in and bought them for 300 dollars a head, and they are now in Wainwright Park. This park is 100,000 acres in extent, and is enclosed by a wire fence seven feet high.

The buffalo is the monarch of the bovine race. Its flesh is like rich juicy beef. Its hair is thick and furry, its hide strong and durable. It can stand all kinds of extremes of heat and cold, and can live and thrive on the roughest vegetation. The Canadian Government is trying to produce a new bovine breed by crossing buffalo with domestic cows—not exactly a direct crossing, as it is feared that the result might be a species of unproductive mule. In originating the new species a domestic cow is bred with a buffalo bull, and a buffalo cow is bred with a domestic bull. The products of these two matings are then mated, and the next generation is the new animal called the "cattalo." It is an experiment of national importance, and there is every indication that it will be successful. If so, it will mean that the Canadian Government, by cross-breeding and in-breeding, will create a new domestic animal suitable for the northern latitudes, just as after many years of experiment it produced a hard wheat which grows almost within the Arctic circle. The cattalo will forage for themselves in winter, and will greatly increase the supply of milk, meat, and hides.

The Canadian Government are acclimatizing Persian sheep, and breeding caribou far north in the Arctic regions,

so as to increase live stock, which add much to the nation's wealth.

The visitors were entertained by their Wainwright hosts in the local picture theatre, and welcomed by Mr. Huntingford, proprietor and editor of the "Wainwright Star." Mr. Morrell, who replied, contrasted the bountiful harvest which the visitors had just seen being reaped with the empty corn-bins of the Old World.

A dash north from Saskatoon, without stopping at that city, took us to another northern outpost, Prince Albert, about 500 miles from Hudson Bay—quite a short distance in Canada—with which it will soon be connected by railway. We had several surprises. The town has a population of 10,000. Around it are rich farm-lands. There are hedge-lined roads, reminding us of the homeland. The natural beauty of the town and its situation has been increased by making wide boulevards and by planting trees. From Red Deer Hill we commanded a view of the surrounding plain. Mr. A. Knox, Member of Parliament for the district, welcomed us, and the late Mr. Leng, of Sheffield, replying, regretted that our visit to this go-ahead outpost had to be so brief.

In the afternoon we doubled back to Saskatoon.

"Seventeen years ago Saskatoon was a hamlet containing a few scattered shacks which sheltered a population of about one hundred men, women, and children. To-day it is a city on three transcontinental highways with every modern convenience and a population of 30,000." Not a vain boast this, but a fact. What has made Saskatoon? Wheat! Within fifty miles of the city the world's champion wheat is grown. The province of which it is the second city produces more wheat every year than do Alberta and Manitoba combined. Wheat brought wholesale distributive business, and manufacturers followed. Saskatoon is situated on the Saskatchewan River, over which there are five bridges within the city boundary. It is the seat of the Provincial University; near it is the forestry farm.

"It is a few miles north-west of the bi-section of the 52nd parallel of latitude with the 106th parallel of longitude." This detail is significant, because the best wheat is grown a few degrees further north. The Dominion cerealists experts claim that wheat grown in northern latitudes have four or five grains to the cluster as against two grains usual in the United States

wheat-fields. The greatest yield is nearest the northern limit of successful growth.

It was near Saskatoon that Seager Wheeler grew the world's best wheat for many years in succession. The city has provided itself with seventeen parks. It has retained, like most new cities in the West, its public utility services in municipal hands. It owns the electric light, water supply, street railways, municipal hospital, etc. The telephones belong to the State. There are nearly four thousand subscribers. The exchanges are worked on the automatic system.

Saskatoon is looking forward to become a still more important railway centre. It is anxious to see the completion of the Hudson Bay Railway, which will bring the Western producer much nearer the British consumer. The present rail and steamship haulage of grain from Saskatoon to Liverpool is 4,654 miles. The route by Hudson Bay will shorten the railway haulage by 1,056 miles.

Addresses were delivered in the University Hall, and the organization of reading circles in the homes of the people was described. In the afternoon tea was served in the house and grounds of Mr. Hermon, of the "Saskatoon Daily Star"—a picnic which was rounded off with some excellent singing.

One of the cities which we visited again on the return journey, and in which we would have liked to have made a longer stay—so full is it of interest, and so suggestive of the magnitude of the new developments of the West—was Winnipeg. Arriving at midday on Saturday, September 4th, we passed a pleasant afternoon and evening meeting our former hosts—who already seemed old friends—and enjoying private hospitality.

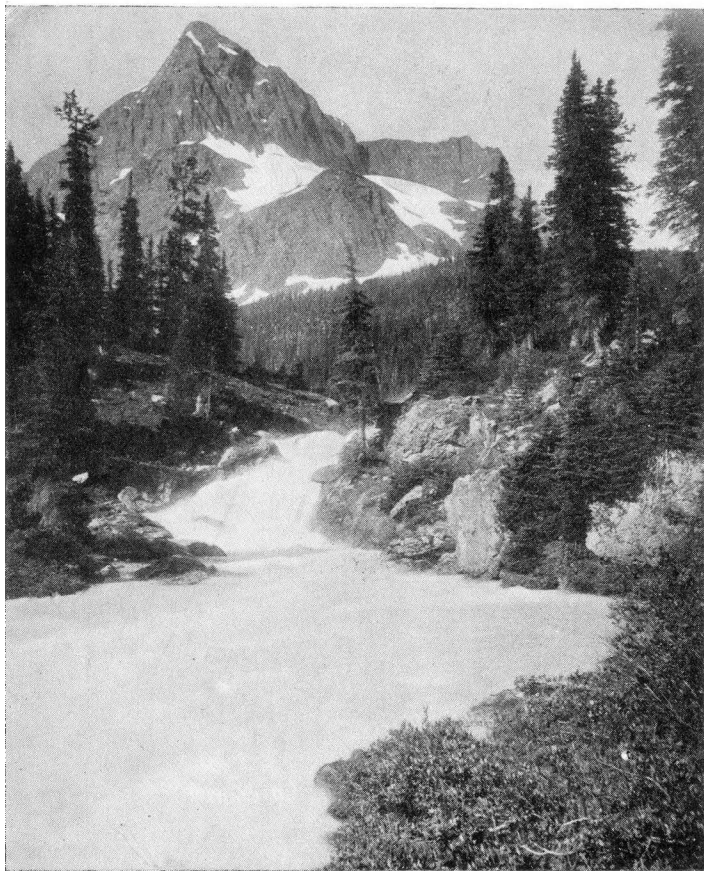
The only important function was a luncheon organized by the Canadian Club, attended by the Archbishop of Prince Rupert's Land, and many leading Winnipeg citizens, as well as all the delegates and members of our party. Two notable addresses were delivered: one by Mr. Percival Marshall, representing the British Association of Trade and Technical Journals, and the other by Mr. Percy Hurd, M.P. Mr. Marshall, speaking on "The Voice of Canada," said:

Canada's present call was for more men and more money. Canada must let British business men hear the voice of Canada if she wished more British capital. The coming exhibition of 1923 would give her an excellent opportunity. It was essential to reach the younger generation in England. Let the Canadian Clubs take up the matter

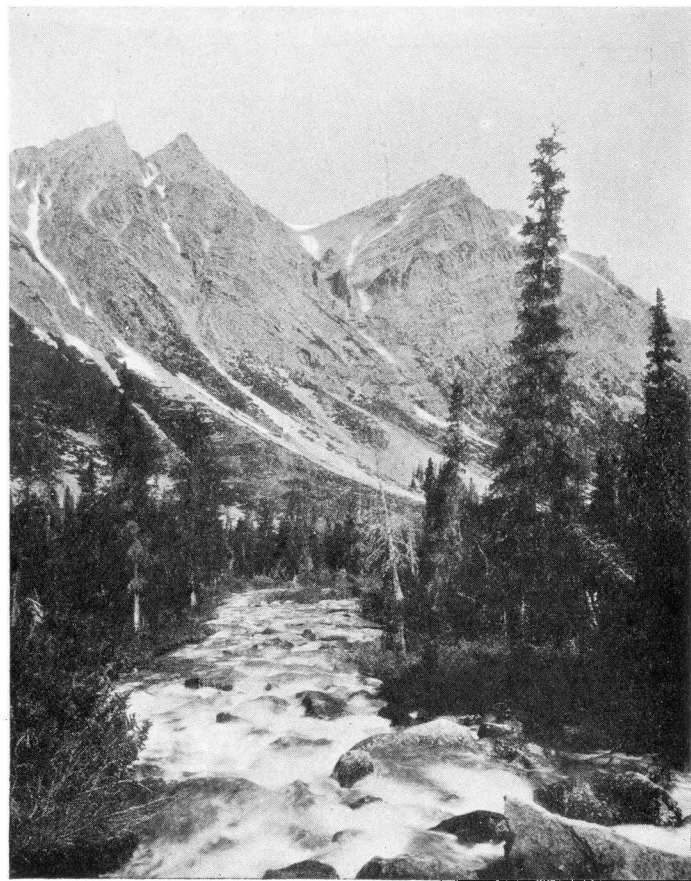


Canadian National Railways.

FRANCHÈRE MOUNTAIN, JASPER PARK.



Canadian National Railways.
MOUNT EREBUS, JASPER PARK.



Canadian National Railways.
ASTORIA CREEK, JASPER PARK.

of screen propaganda. Also circulate good Canadian fiction in the Old Country—stories of Canada by Canadian writers. Once the mind of the average British citizen had become permeated with the spirit of Canada, then would be the time to reach him with circulars and such material. But the way must first be paved by some matter more generally and intrinsically and humanly interesting.

Mr. Percy Hurd, giving "Britain's Answer," said :

And what of Britain's answer to the call of Canada to-day ?

You tell us that it is especially our men and our money that you want. You have had our money and our men in ample measure in the past. Where would your original Grand Trunk system have been but for the millions of British capital which went to its creation ?

It was to the British capitalists that the Stephens, and Donald Smiths, and Van Hornes and Shaughnessys turned at each stage in the development of that most remarkable of all Canadian products—the Canadian Pacific Railway. They did not turn to the British investor in vain.

So I might go on to speak of your Canadian Northern, your street railways, your municipal developments, and much else from end to end of Canada—the British investor has been your constant ally. He has not always secured the return he sought—in some cases through his own fault rather than yours. But it is true to say that British investments in Canada have on the whole worked up to the good old maxim, "Let your dealings with the other man be so conducted that each of you will want to deal with the other again." It is still the only sound basis for the Anglo-Canadianism that is to last and fructify.

And as with money so with men. Britain has given you of her best. In recent years four out of every five of our emigrants have gone to British and not to foreign lands overseas, and thank Heaven the store of both men and money is still great in the Old Land ! We are, I believe, on the eve of another great wave of British emigration, and four out of five of them, good men and women, will doubtless come to Canada and the other Dominions. And they will do well. During the past month I have met in Canada many men and women from my own home county of Somerset in England. I have yet to meet one who is not happy and full of hope and faith.

The proceedings concluded with a presentation made by Lady Burnham of birthday and souvenir gifts to Mr. C. K. Howard, the National Railway's representative on the tour—his birthday was while the party were at Victoria—the donors being the visitors of both trains and also their Canadian hosts and fellow-travellers. Mr. Howard had displayed marked executive powers, and cordial hopes for his further advancement were expressed.

CHAPTER XIII

MINERAL WEALTH AND INDUSTRIAL POWER

Mineral Wealth of Northern Ontario—A Mine which yields a Ton of Gold a Month—The Silver Mines of Cobalt, where Millionaires are made—An Agricultural Oasis—A Pretty Holiday Resort—The Canadian National Exhibition at Toronto.

LEAVING the mountains and the plains behind us, we went a long journey into a new country. Starting from Winnipeg, we ran eastwards without alighting from the train for over 800 miles. Our destination was Northern Ontario—a rugged country of forests, rocks, hills, valleys, lakes, vast clay-beds—an area of 330,000 square miles, not yet fully surveyed and only to a small extent developed. A run through it reveals to the visitor its possibilities; he sees signs of its immense natural resources. We were to see a new phase of Canadian industrial life.

Timmins is a mining town in the Porcupine gold area. We were met at the station in the early morning by the Mayor, Mr. McInnes, and were to be conducted to the biggest gold mine—the Hollinger. As September 6th was Labour Day in the district, few of the men were working in the mine, and we were shown the complete operation at a picture theatre by means of one of the admirable educational films supplied by the Ontario Government to exhibit the industrial resources of the province. The mine was next visited. It is the largest gold mine in North America. The gold is found in strata which are excavated to a depth of 1,500 feet. The Mayor said:

The Hollinger Mine produced a ton of gold a month. The surface of the Ontario mines had only been scratched. They only wanted capital. They had been dependent chiefly on American capital, but they invited British capital and hoped they would get it.

Mr. Penn (New Plymouth, New Zealand), speaking for the delegates, said

that here they were coming upon another phase of Canadian activity. They were to see to-day one of the greatest gold mines in the world.

He had no doubt that if they put reasonable proposals before the British investor they would get a generous response in the matter of capital.

Gold quartz specimens were presented to each visitor on leaving.

On our way to another great mining centre of Ontario we stopped at New Liskeard, an agricultural oasis in the clay belt which has an area of 16,000,000 acres. Here we experienced another of the few examples which we had of Canadian rainfalls, which disturbed the course of the proceedings which the people of the little town had planned in our honour. The resourcefulness of our hosts was equal to the emergency: they transferred the exhibition of agricultural produce got together to the railway station so that we could see it without inconvenience. The Mayor, Mr. Taylor, told us something of the progress already made in the district, and of the great things they hoped to accomplish in the near future. Mr. James Henderson (Belfast) responded.

The party continued their journey to Cobalt, the silver-mining district of Ontario, a romantic place which has made millionaires. It is a camp rather than a town—a camp of unfinished houses and misshapen streets, a camp full of life and activity in a green-grey atmosphere. We were, unfortunately, unable to see much of it. We reached it in the twilight of Labour Day, when the mines were idle. We did not see the silver in the making. A brass band played us from the station to the town hall, where Mr. McKechnie, the Mayor, said

he was welcoming the visitors to the greatest silver camp in the world. It was a place which had made many American millionaires. They would prefer to enrich British investors, but the fact was that the silver and gold mining industries in Ontario were largely controlled by outside capitalists, and the nickel mines were absolutely so controlled. There was a rich field for investment in Canada. Canada must go ahead, if not with British capital, then with other capital. Fifty-five thousand of her soldiers had been buried in France and Flanders, and with them had been buried the last vestige of colonial servitude.

The late Mr. Sprigg (Leicester), replying on behalf of the delegates, said that

in spite of all that they had seen on the Westward trip, the places visited on the Eastern trip were also full of interest. This morning they had visited the second largest gold mine in the world, and now they had come to the mine which produced one-seventh of the world's yield of silver.

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Mr. Neilly, secretary of the Mining Association, recalled that a French-Canadian blacksmith in 1903 melted down a piece of ore, and that this was the beginning of the mining industry in Cobalt. In 1911 the mines had reached the maximum output of 36,000,000 ounces. In 1918 the production was down to 17,000,000 ounces, but owing to the increase in the price of silver the revenue on the smaller output was greater. Up to 1918 the mines had produced 82,000,000 dollars worth of silver, and other Cobalts might be found at any time.

Transitions are quick in Canada. You go to sleep in one country and wake up in another. The drab-grey mining town of Cobalt, a busy hive of industry, was left at night. Morning found us in the pleasure-grounds of the highlands of Ontario, a holiday haunt where there are camps of another kind, summer homes, sports, and pleasure resorts. There is beautiful woodland scenery, and lakes with hundreds of islands. We were in the region of the Lake of Bays. On arrival at Huntsville we were taken by boat through Peninsular Lake, then by a baby train on a tiny railway to the shores of Bigwin Lake, by another boat to Bigwin Island, where the enterprising head of the Anglo-American Leather Company, Mr. Charles A. Shaw, has built a country holiday hotel of the bungalow and pavilion type. Mr. Shaw's chief hobby is music, and he maintains one of the finest bands in Canada, which played to us during luncheon at the hotel. It was a surprise, said Lord Burnham, to find such a splendid building and such a splendid band in such an out-of-the-way place in Canada.

A short night's run from Huntsville took us to Toronto. On the westward journey "the Queen City" welcomed us with enthusiasm and did us high honour; but she was not satisfied: we had not seen the Exhibition, not open on August 8th, but now in full swing. To have missed seeing the Fair would have disappointed our friends and prevented us from appreciating the immense wealth and industrial resources of the province. This annual Exhibition is a source of pleasure as well as a medium of education, and attracts many visitors from other provinces and from the United States. The trains drew up alongside the Exhibition grounds in the early morning, and, after breakfast in the administrative



By courtesy of the late Mr. M. R. Jennings.

PRESENTATION OF FLAG TO CHILDREN OF EDMONTON, CANADA, FROM CHILDREN OF EDMONTON, ENGLAND.



LUXURIOUS CROPS FROM IRRIGATED LAND IN ALBERTA.

building, an informative morning was spent in inspecting the fine display of Ontario products.

Luncheon was also served in the administrative building. Mr. Miller, vice-president of the Exhibition, presided, and in proposing the toast of the guests described the progress which the Exhibition had made. Sir Charles Starmer, for the delegation, said

that he was in love with Canada, and if circumstances permitted he would come to Canada, though he was not sure that he would stay in the East. He congratulated the people of Canada on their great development in all directions. They were big in vision and in courage, and they were continually gathering the fruits of their labours. He would urge them to continue to give trouble to successive governments until they got a direct cable between England and Canada. If they believed in the League of Nations, they should put their backs into the work and try and make it a reality. As for the Old Country, he was confident that everything would settle down all right in the end and there would be a proper readjustment between capital and labour.

Mr. Graham, of Wolverhampton, said

that this was his first visit to Canada, and he was amazed at the immense resources of the country. The Fair constituted a splendid exhibition of all branches of industrial activity, particularly those relating to farming, which was the vital industry of Canada.

Dr. Ellis Powell delivered a stirring address to the Empire Club on the higher aspects of Empire and the spiritual forces which knit us together.

The final event in the programme at Toronto was a grand banquet at Government House given by Lieutenant-Governor His Hon. Lionel Clark and Mrs. Clark. It was one of the most sumptuous banquets given in honour of the delegates and their friends. It was memorable for more reasons than one. It was the only function of the kind at which there were no speeches, and the visitors enjoyed at the dinner all the usual accompaniments found in England. There was nothing exceptional in the fact that the Lieutenant-Governor's house was an oasis in the dry land of Ontario. At the time of our visit there was no prohibition against the use of wines and spirits in private houses. Alcoholic liquors were allowed to be manufactured and imported for private consumption. At no hotels, restaurants, clubs, or on trains outside the Province of Quebec was liquor supplied. At official banquets innocuous liquids were served as cocktails before meals, ginger beer

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bubbled in champagne glasses, and no doubt this colourable imitation awakened in those who preferred the more stimulating beverage memories which made the substitute less palatable. As a matter of fact, members of the party who had never been on the "water wagon" did not experience a craving for alcoholic drinks in Canada: they found the atmosphere sufficiently stimulating and exhilarating, and it was generally recognized that prohibition had been a success. The laws as they existed last year were not found to be altogether watertight, and after our visit a popular vote was taken, which resulted in making all the provinces "bone dry"—stopping manufacture, importation, and consumption—with the exception of Quebec, which tightened up its moderately restrictive laws, and British Columbia, which turned backslider, or became more liberal-minded according to the point of view, by voting in favour of State ownership.

We gathered that there was a good deal of illicit traffic, or "bootlegging," particularly near the border, and some of our Canadian colleagues were able to extract stimulating comforts from drug stores; but the observance of the laws was becoming stricter, and the new conditions in prohibition areas will make traffic impossible.

The electors of Quebec are not likely, we were told, to follow the example of the other Canadian Provinces and the United States and adopt either State ownership or prohibition. The towns of Quebec are popular week-end resorts for Canadians, but more especially for Americans, and Montreal is the favourite meeting-place for international conferences. Prof. Stephen Leacock, in his humorous speech at Lord Atholstan's inaugural banquet to the delegates, made merry over the Americans' fondness for Montreal as a meeting-place for business discussions.

CHAPTER XIV

BACK TO QUEBEC: HOMEWARDS

Farewell to the Trains—Through the Rapids—More Impressions of French Canada—A New Welcome in Quebec—Farewell Addresses—Thanks to Friends and Au Revoir.

AT Prescott we left the two special trains, which had been, with a few breaks at hotels, our homes for six weeks. Never had the delegates and their friends experienced more luxurious travel or received better service from attendants. The waiters, the coloured porters, and other helps on the trains were polite without being obsequious, attentive without being fussy. They had a certain air of independence, but without reserve. They were anxious to make their charges comfortable, to make them feel at home and ready to do little services outside their routine duties. Lord Burnham, on parting, addressed the crews of the trains, thanked them for their services on our behalf, presenting them with material tokens of our appreciation.

On leaving Prescott we boarded one of the lake steamers of the Northern Navigation Company which was to take us to Quebec down the St. Lawrence, Senator Casgrain again acting as host. Few visitors to Canada miss the thrilling experience of running the Rapids. They would as soon overlook Niagara. It demands skilful seamanship to steer a vessel through the swirling waters between jagged rocks which threaten to pierce her, and to maintain an even keel running over cascades or through foaming whirlpools. Most of the Rapids bear French names. The men who discovered the great river were explorers and adventurers from France.

On our way westward we saw something of French Canada. We were able to add to our impressions on our homeward journey. We were able to appreciate the splendid part which the men of the French race had played in the upbuilding of Canada and in keeping it within the British Empire. We understood better the dual patriotism which animates the people of Quebec Province; their passionate attachment to the country of their birth and of their ancestors for three hun-

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dred years, their fervent French-Canadian patriotism, their loyal acceptance of British institutions under which they enjoy more freedom and greater security than they could under any other flag. Every speaker from Overseas recognized that the thrift, the industry, the law-abiding characteristics, the social virtues, the spiritual ideals of French-speaking Canadians add to the strength, the stability of the Dominion. No member of the party knew the French-Canadians more intimately than Sir Gilbert Parker, who in his masterly stories has portrayed the life, romance, and character of the habitat from first-hand study, and in his speeches during the tour he took every opportunity of emphasizing the vital part played by the French in the welfare and progress of Canada. Lord Burnham always referred to our French-Canadian kinsmen in the same strain, and recognized that the co-operation of the two races was a great source of strength to Canada and increased the solidarity of the Empire.

The Hon. Frank Carrel, one of our hosts in Quebec, declared that

the French-Canadians are the most loyal Canadians of the British Dominions, for the simple reason that they have no Motherland other than Canada, and no close connection with their Fatherland, with whom they broke off all paternal ties, after the war of 1760, when they had to decide between going back to live in France, their ancestral home, or remain in Canada under the British Crown.

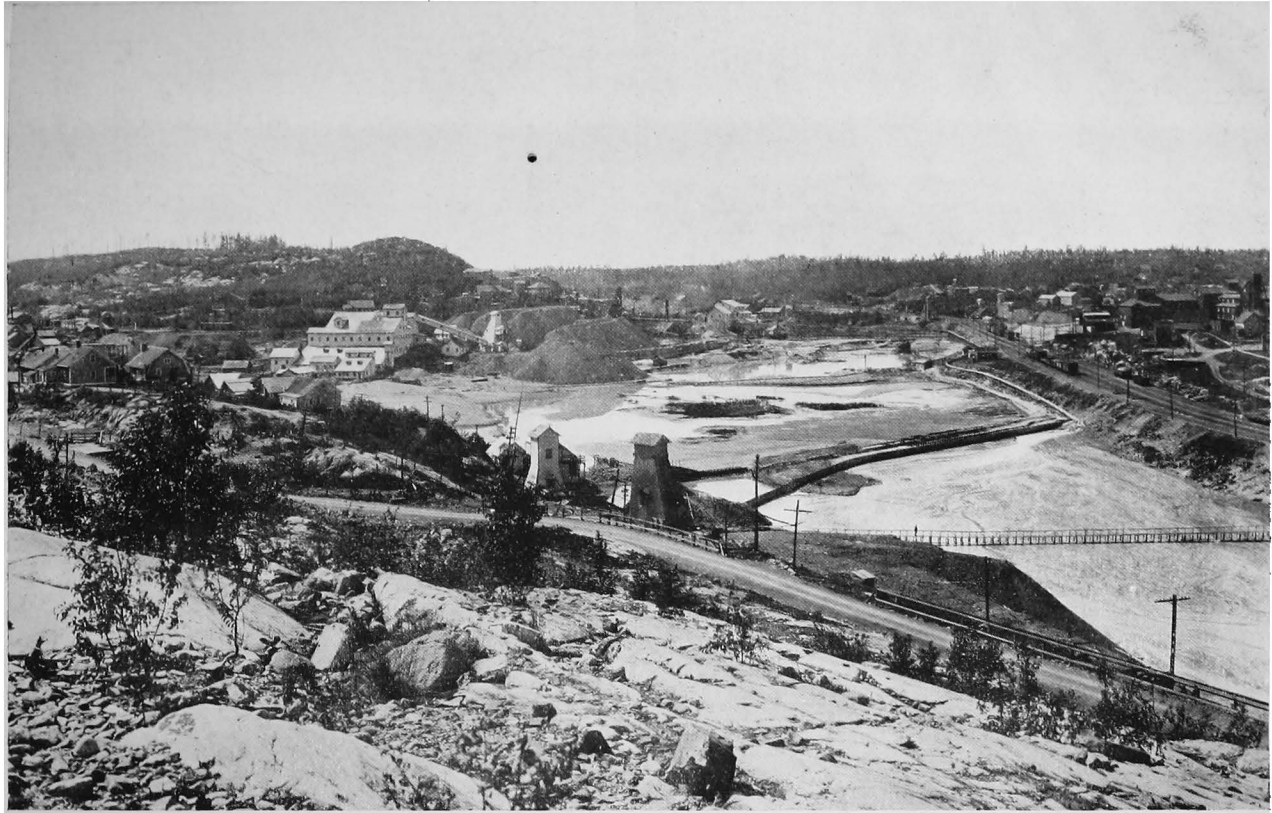
Our French-Canadian friends who are living in Canada to-day are descendants of the first sturdy pioneers and colonists of North America, who decided to remain in our new world and carry on the work which they had so courageously started. They did so because they were convinced that the British Government would respect their religion, language, and customs.

On the other hand, this loyal band of French-Canadians, who remained in Canada since 1760, and who have now multiplied into several millions, have never forsaken their vows of allegiance and loyalty to their victors, signed and sealed in the historic city of Quebec.

The visit which had begun so auspiciously at Sydney on July 27th ended at Quebec on September 15th, when we sailed for home in the s.s. "Empress of Britain."

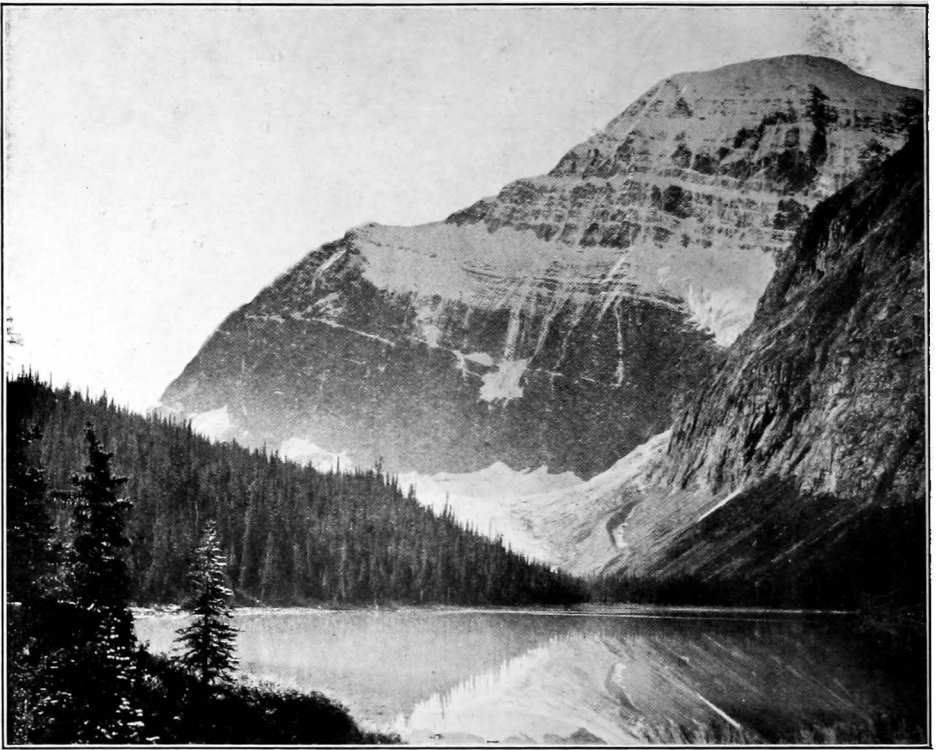
We reached Quebec on Friday, September 10th, and in the evening entertained at the Château Frontenac our Canadian friends and colleagues who had been our hosts, and also the railway and other officials whose co-operation made possible the complete success of the visit.

Lord Burnham, who presided, sent messages expressing the



Grand Trunk Railway.

VIEW OF GREAT MINING CENTRE, COBALT.



IN JASPER NATIONAL PARK, ALBERTA.

This majestic mountain has been named Mount Cavell, in honour of Nurse Cavell.



Canadian National Railways.

PROVINCIAL PARLIAMENT BUILDING, EDMONTON.

thanks of the party to the Governor-General and the Prime Minister of Canada, to the Lieutenant-Governors and other public men who had entertained us, to the newspaper men, and especially to Lord Atholstan, who had been our chief and most generous host, and who released his editor, Mr. C. F. Crandall, to act as honorary organizing secretary of the tour and of the Conference. Lord Burnham also expressed our gratitude for the services of Mr. A. B. Calder, C.P.R., and Mr. C. K. Howard, C.N.R., who were in charge of the special trains. Special mention should be made of the valuable information supplied and the many courtesies extended to us by Mr. J. M. Gibbon, the rising novelist who is publicity manager for the C.P.R., and by Mr. H. R. Charlton, who acted in a similar way for the C.N.R.

Lady Burnham, on behalf of the delegates, made a presentation to Mr. Crandall, and souvenirs were presented to other members of the secretarial staff, Captain William Wallace and Captain T. J. McEvoy, Mr. G. J. Moxley, Mr. W. A. Craik, to Mr. B. G. Oldham, correspondent of the Canadian Press, and to the assistant representatives of the railway companies.

Mr. Crandall, in reply, said :

The presiding force in the Canadian Press organization was, of course, Lord Atholstan and his executive committee, which included Mr. Atkinson of Toronto, Mr. Ross of Ottawa, Mr. Mayrand of Montreal, and Mr. Taylor of Woodstock, who, in addition to his executive work, has been with you all the way as chairman of the C.N.R. train. If I deserve credit it is chiefly for good judgment in the selection of a staff on the transcontinental trains and of the chairmen of the local committees who have ministered to your entertainment on your long journey. No man ever had more willing or more efficient co-operation than I have received from our secretaries, Captain Wallace, Captain McEvoy, Mr. Moxley, Mr. Hensley, our auditor, and Mr. Craik, whose work as an advance man has been invaluable though invisible to you. I am sure that you will all cherish the friendship of such men as John Nelson of Vancouver, B. C. Nicholas of Victoria, J. R. Woods of Calgary, M. R. Jennings of Edmonton, John Dafeo, E. H. Macklin, and M. E. Nichols of Winnipeg, W. F. Kerr of Regina, Colonel Parkinson of Ottawa, Sir David Watson and Hon. Frank Carrel of Quebec, F. B. Ellis of New Brunswick, and G. Fred Pearson of Nova Scotia. They and their association have given freely, not only of their time but of their very fine spirit of hospitality. They represent the best of Canadian manhood. I am proud to have been able to bring you all together. I must include in this list of honourable mention also the representatives of the railway executives who have contributed

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so much to the comfort and success of our trip. Without the cordial co-operation of the C.N.R., the C.P.R., the Grand Trunk Railway, and Canada Steamship Lines the tour would have been impossible, and better representatives of these great institutions than Mr. A. B. Calder, Mr. C. K. Howard, Mr. H. R. Charlton, and Senator Casgrain and their competent and courteous staffs it would be impossible to imagine.

We recognize that the past seven weeks have not been easy for you and have not been all pleasure, and we want you to know how much we appreciate the cheerful friendliness with which you have met all our efforts. Particularly I want to voice our deep admiration and affection for the noble and very dear lady who, as your "Lady Chief," has set us all such a shining example every day from Sydney to Victoria and back again to this beautiful city. To her gracious kindness, her keen sportsmanship and sense of duty, and to the dignity, tact, and energy of our distinguished Chairman—to these more than to any other factors is due the pleasant memory which everyone associated with this Conference will always bear with him.

Mr. Marshall proposed the health of Lady Burnham, which was drunk with enthusiasm. Mr. Fairfax proposed the health of Lord Burnham, which was supported by Mr. Hutchison (New Zealand), Mr. Don (South Africa), Mr. Crosbie Roles (Ceylon), Mr. Snelling (Egypt), Dr. Bartolo (Malta), Mr. Delisser (West Indies), and Sir Patrick McGrath (Newfoundland).

On Saturday we visited the famous shrine of St. Anne de Beaupré. At the Regina Hotel, Beaupré, Mr. Samson, Mayor of Quebec, entertained the party. He welcomed the visitors in English and Lord Burnham responded in French.

The last farewell function took place on Monday, September 13th, when the delegates were entertained by the Government of Quebec Province in the Parliament Buildings. Mr. Taschereau, the Prime Minister, who presided, said :

To eminent members of the journalistic profession and moulders of public opinion it will be of special interest to know that Quebec was the cradle of Canadian journalism, and that French-Canadian writers of early times fought to the bitter end for the cause of constitutional government and British institutions in which you so justly take pride to-day. It is more than a century ago, 1806, that "Le Canadien" was published in Quebec. My grandfather was one of the three chief editors of "Le Canadien." In 1810 he was confined for three months in the common jail, with Bedard and Blanchette, for having advocated against Sir James Craig's ideas formed on what are to-day your own and most sacred principles. The spirit animating my ancestor is clearly shown by the fact that shortly afterwards he was the commander of the Beauce Regiment and fought bravely as a colonel at Chateauguay resisting the American invasion. This simply illustrates the stand of French Canada on behalf of the Mother Country and one

of the many ways in which it has helped to preserve Canada to the British Crown. For, during your journey of nearly 8,000 miles throughout Canada, most of it along the boundary of a country foreign to us in the national sense of the word, but speaking the English language, it must have occurred to you how one of the two great races from which Canadian people spring is playing the part of a barrier, through language and traditions, against the invasion of habits of thought and a mode of living which eventually might leave very little differences between the spirit prevailing in the United States and the spirit pervading the greatest Dominion of the British Commonwealth.

Lord Burnham returned thanks in French. He said :

The people of Canada are becoming more conscious of their nationhood and prouder of its attributes, common interests, common sympathies, and common loyalties. You have no fear for the future, because you have the faith which moves mountains and harnesses the great waters to do your allotted work in the world. You have a giant strength and you mean to use it like a giant—but like a giant of the new world, not of the old. I was glad to find how general is the recognition—I sometimes wish it were more generous—that your giant strength largely depends upon the co-operation of the two great races which make up the Canadian nation.

The French-Canadian stock is a tower of strength and stability in the swift-moving current of Western life. It is firmly founded on the soil which you cultivate so well, no matter how hard the hand of nature may sometimes be. At home I have the honour to be president of the Anglo-French Society, which stands for the close friendship and *bonne entente* of the two greatest races in the world. On our union and co-operation everything depends.

Mr. David, the Provincial Secretary, said that nobody would find more vigilant guardians of British institutions than the Province of Quebec.

The final act at this valedictory function was the toast of the "Government of Quebec," proposed by Lord Burnham.

CHAPTER XV

WOMEN AND THE CONFERENCE

The Hospitality of Canadian Women—Women's Press Club— Daughters of the Empire.

It was neither an unimportant nor insignificant part that women bore towards the Conference. Quite early in the arrangement of preliminary details it was decided to recognize their increasingly useful work in connection with the Press by extending an invitation to their own representative organization, the Society of Women Journalists, to nominate a delegate, thus placing it upon an equality with the other official associations of the newspaper world. Viscountess Northcliffe had recently accepted the Presidency of the Society, and the Council naturally requested her to attend on their behalf. The distinction, however, Lady Northcliffe, chiefly for reasons of health, found herself compelled to decline, and she suggested, while the Council cordially agreed, that the honour of representing the Society should be assigned to Miss M. F. Billington, of the staff of the "Daily Telegraph," who had filled the office of president during the whole war period.

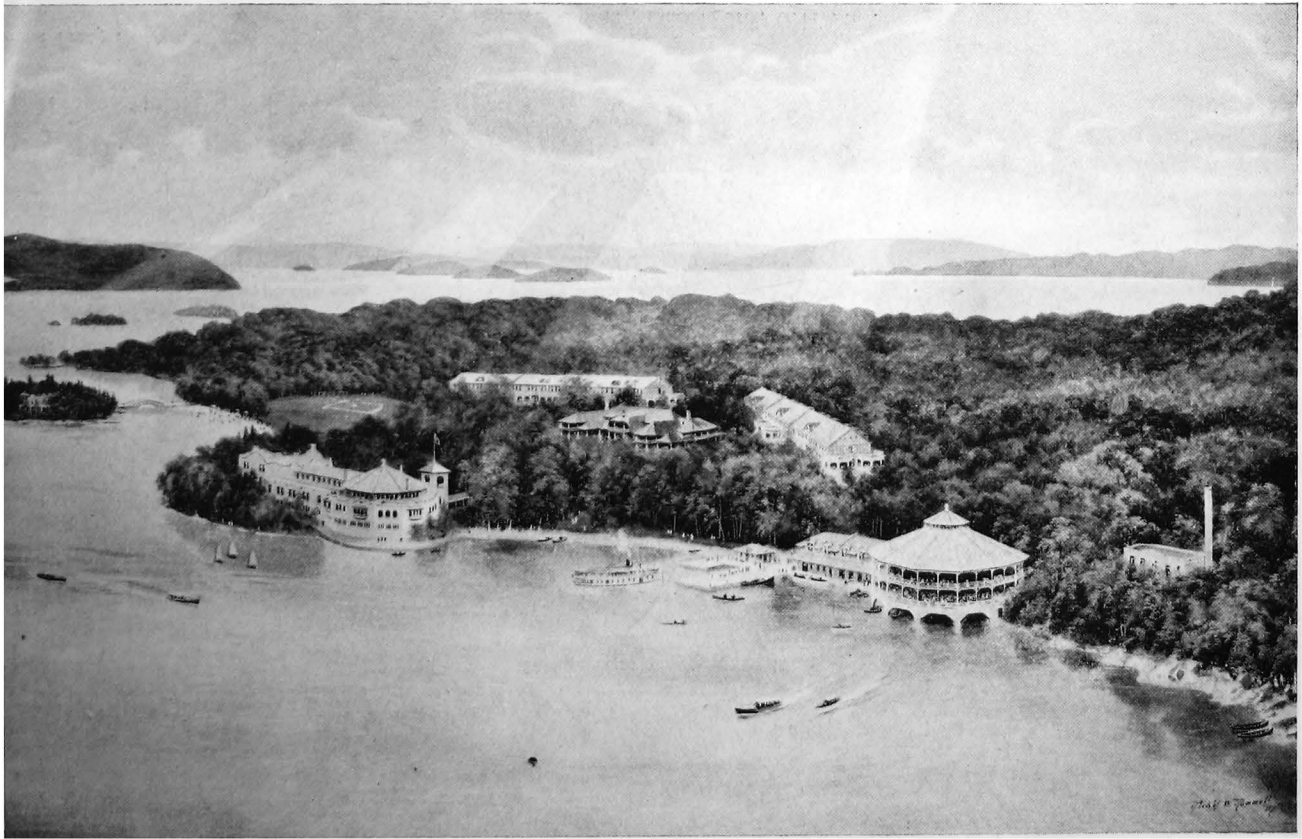
Miss Billington is a very distinguished journalist, who has earned a high reputation for her special correspondence and all-round ability in every branch of the profession. English women journalists could not have had anyone better fitted to represent them. Miss Billington took part in the discussions at the Conference and spoke at various functions.

As far as the British and Overseas members were concerned, Miss Billington's distinction was unique, but at Ottawa, Miss Marjorie McMurphy was nominated as representative of the Canadian Women's Press Club. During the proceedings of the Conference, when Lord Apsley's resolution calling upon the Empire Press Union to formulate a scheme for the interchange of members of the staffs of newspapers came forward, Miss Billington proposed, and Miss McMurphy seconded, an amendment to the effect that the benefits of such exchanges should be applicable also to women. Lord Burnham, pre-



Grand Trunk Railway.

A HOLIDAY CAMP, ALGONQUIN, ONTARIO.



Grand Trunk Railway.

THE BIGWIN INN, LAKE OF BAYS, ONTARIO.

siding, expressed the view that it was well to have a definite statement on the subject, and the amendment was unanimously carried.

Beyond this official side, however, was the delightful social element brought into the whole magnificent tour by the presence of the ladies accompanying their husbands. Lady Burnham from the outset was the ideal hostess of the whole party, leading everything with charm as well as with dignity, with supreme tact as well as with kindness, unfailing towards all. Her two or three speeches, notably on the occasion of the unveiling of the Evangeline statue at Grand Pré, at the Women's Press Club, Vancouver, and at the unfurling of the flag given by Edmonton, Middlesex, to Edmonton, Alberta, were each perfect for the occasion. On the concluding night of the visit, Mr. Crandall, summing up some of the factors that had contributed to the memorable success of the entire tour, won the loudest cheers of the evening when he referred to the share that had been borne in it by "the noble and very dear lady" who had earned the love of Canada as well as of those who had travelled with her.

Lady Newnes, Lady Carr, Lady Starmer, Lady Jones, Mrs. Ellis Powell, Mrs. Graham, Mrs. Mitchell, Mrs. Morrell, Mrs. Percy Hurd, and Mrs. Isaacs were included in the British contingent; Mrs. Geoffrey Fairfax, Mrs. Kirwan, Mrs. Davies, Mrs. Knight, Mrs. Lovekin, and Mrs. Lansell accompanied their husbands from Australia; from New Zealand came Mrs. Penn and Mrs. Hutchison; India sent Mrs. J. O'B. Saunders, and for the West Indies there was Mrs. Delisser—a company who represented many phases of thought and work and in every way typical of the women of the Empire.

And Canada took to her kind and spacious heart the ladies no less enthusiastically than the men. From the very moment of landing at Sydney this was apparent. To welcome them was a specially detailed party of the Daughters of the Empire—that wonderful organization with its network of "Chapters" extending over the entire Dominion, and by the splendid elasticity of its constitution able to direct energies upon every sort of useful endeavour, from the care of disabled soldiers to providing books for girls' clubs; from sending poor children to summer camps to assisting in the foundation of permanent memorials of patriotism, on both sides of the Atlantic. Not only had these ladies arranged a programme that would take their visitors into typical homes of Nova Scotia, but in con-

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junction with the ladies of the congregation of St. Andrew's Church they compensated for the shortcomings of local catering by providing the sumptuous luncheon which was the first meal enjoyed by the delegates on Canadian soil.

And wherever the members of the Conference found themselves, there was this same special consideration for the ladies accompanying them. The motor owners of the Dominion added vastly to the knowledge gained by the visitors alike as to the natural resources, the lovely scenery, and the domestic life, for it was often possible for the driver of his own well-appointed car to make a little detour in order to show his particular party at his own house some special trophy, some bit of fine furniture or silver dating back to the early days of the British settlers. In this way, as much as in any, was realized how essentially the basis of all the interests and cares of the Dominion lies in its homes, and the memory remains to each and everyone as a glimpse into the real character and the finest source of inspiration that is making Canada so vital a part of the Empire.

It was a charming part, too, that was borne by the Women's Press Clubs throughout the country in extending their hospitality to the lady visitors. There stand out especially in their recollections the luncheons and dinners arranged on their behalf at Montreal and Toronto, at whose exhibition on the return journey the members of the Club specially took individual guests to the sections of that big display; at Fort William and Vancouver; with a merry supper at "The Cabbage Patch" outside Winnipeg. There is one central organization of the Press Club to which all the local branches are affiliated, and membership of these is only gained with the approval by the main body of a candidate's credentials, thus maintaining a good general standard of professional work. Nor must mention be omitted of that other typical institution, the Canadian Women's Clubs, which no less gave their welcome in the various cities.

The social side of the Conference was wholly enjoyable. No matter how young the town visited, it provided opportunity at garden parties and receptions for the visitors to meet the chief residents, and the lavish hospitality so gracefully offered was truly a revelation of goodwill. Every one of the Lieutenant-Governors of the provinces gave a luncheon or dinner to the delegates, while mayors and municipalities were equally bounteously disposed, often remembering specially

the ladies of the party with gifts of lovely flowers. It was at Montreal and Ottawa that the climax of this aspect of the Conference was reached, and while Lord Atholstan entertained the delegates themselves at a magnificent banquet, Lady Atholstan, at the Mount Royal Club, welcomed the ladies at a beautifully arranged dinner party. The garden party given by the Governor-General and the Duchess of Devonshire at Government House, Ottawa, brought the programme of the Conference itself to a most brilliant conclusion, and in the beautiful grounds and the splendid ballroom everyone enjoyed a delightful afternoon in which the gracious courtesy of their Excellencies stands out amid the many happy episodes of an unforgettable gathering.

SIR PATRICK McGRATH'S IMPRESSION OF THE CONFERENCE

Sir Patrick McGrath, of the "St. John's Herald," Newfoundland, has an intimate knowledge of Canada, and is one of the leading interpreters of the Dominion to the United States. He was a prominent member of the Imperial Press Conference, and wrote a comprehensive account of the visit to his newspaper, which has been reprinted in pamphlet form, entitled "Across Canada with the Imperial Press Conference." Sir Patrick has written some general impressions for inclusion in this Report. While, he says, the British and Overseas delegates were in the main fairly representative, he regrets that the leading Lancashire journals were not represented. The absence of delegates from Lancashire was due to the imminence of a newspaper strike in that county, which took place when we were in Canada. The political situation in Ireland and also in India limited the representatives also from those countries. Sir Patrick thinks that the Conference itself should have discussed the position of world politics, armaments, etc. These questions, however, did not come within its scope. The position of world politics as affecting the British Empire was dealt with in speeches delivered by delegates outside the Conference, while the official proceedings were confined almost exclusively to matters concerning the Press and the public in its relation to the Press, so that there was no question of general political concern likely to cause a division of opinion.

Sir Patrick McGrath's appreciation of the Conference and of the tour is as follows :

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The Conference itself at Ottawa, while productive of substantial benefit in that topics of real interest and of special urgency to the newspaper profession were discussed, failed, I consider, to utilize the opportunity to go on record with a declaration in favour of peace, and for a cessation of military and naval armaments, the continuance of which on a large scale must be disastrous to the future happiness of the Empire. While the Empire note naturally and properly predominated, my opinion is that in Canada certainly, and in the other Dominions probably as well, the temper of the people latterly has been for as clean a cut as possible from militaristic ideas and warfaring activities, and that a recognition of this fact by the Press Conference would have been useful in making clear to the statesmen of all parts of the British Commonwealth that future progress should be, in the main, along the line of international concord and the development of peace-time undertakings, thus ensuring a greater measure of social uplift than would otherwise become possible.

The tour through Canada, I consider, was conceived on the broadest scale and carried out with a perfection of detail that was marvellous. We saw virtually every aspect of life in the Dominion, and were brought into direct contact with all its scenic beauties and natural attractions that have produced wealth abounding to its people through the incoming of tourists, as well as with the resources of the sea, the lakes, the forests, the mines, and the farmland, upon the development of which Canada's prosperity and progress depend.

We enjoyed a hospitality as boundless as the country, extended to us by every class of people, and we saw every type of organization, political, communal, industrial, and otherwise, as well as the ordinary citizen, spend their money, their time, and their energy on our behalf. This in many instances, and especially in the smaller places, must have meant self-sacrifice which we rarely realized, as I know it did in the West, where more than once farmers left their harvesting to help to entertain us, and their womenfolk brought the best food in their homes for our delectation; and since we cannot hope to recognize such kindness in any way that will ever reach the eye of these people, our return, therefore, should be not alone a whole-hearted recognition of Canada's greatness during the rest of our lives, but an attempt to set before our readers something of that country's resources and possibilities.

This is the best service we can do to Canada, and we should do it in full measure. That it will be done in that measure I have some doubt. I asked more than one of the journalists with whom I was in fairly close touch to send me their contributions to their respective papers, and I was surprised to find how little some of them planned to write of their tour. Some, I fear, will write nothing at all, others will content themselves with a few brief, sketchy letters or notes of their diaries, and still others review one or more outstanding features of the tour; whereas I should think it ought to give occasion for the publishing of a series of educative articles on this Great Dominion which would contribute mightily to the enlightenment of the citizens of the Mother Country and the Overseas Dominions as to the present status and future possibilities of the land which has so royally entertained us.



Canadian Pacific Railway.

A LOG JAM ON MONTREAL RIVER.



Grand Trunk Railway.

CANADIAN NATIONAL EXHIBITION, TORONTO: MAIN GATES.

CHAPTER XVI

OUR CANADIAN HOSTS

Members of the Executive Committee—Leaders in the Newspaper World who organized the Tour of the Overseas Editors and the Second Imperial Press Conference.

No one who did not take part in the Canadian tour can appreciate the superb way in which it was organized by our hosts of the Canadian Press. They spared neither time, pains, nor expense in perfecting arrangements which made the visit an enjoyable excursion as well as a delightfully pleasant tour of instruction.

The Executive Committee, upon whom the chief responsibility fell, represented the leading newspaper men in Canada.

They were splendidly supported by editors and journalists at every stopping-place on the journey, and national and local hospitality was blended harmoniously together.

The following are brief sketches of the men to whom the gratitude of the Empire editors is due :

LORD ATHOLSTAN

Lord Atholstan, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Canadian Press Association for the Imperial Press Conference, and president of the Canadian Branch of the Empire Press Union, has had a long and successful career as a newspaper publisher. He is the first Canadian journalist to receive the honours of knighthood and peerage. To his papers—the "Montreal Daily Star" and the "Family Herald and Weekly Star"—he has devoted his whole life and energy, and from small, struggling sheets he has made them what they are to-day, admittedly journalistic successes of the first order.

He received the honour of knighthood in 1908, and in 1917 was created a baron, "for extraordinary initiative and zeal in promoting and supporting measures for the safeguarding of Imperial interests." He is the first Canadian-born resident to win a place in the House of Lords.

He was born Hugh Graham, at Athelstan in Huntingdon County, Province of Quebec, July 18th, 1848, the son of R. W. Graham, a landowner, and his wife Marion Gardner, both natives of Scotland. He received his education at the Huntingdon Academy. In 1862, when not yet fifteen, he entered the service of his uncle, Edmund Henry Parsons, a well-known journalist in his day, who published

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the "Commercial Telegraph" and afterwards the "Evening Telegraph" in Montreal. In 1865 he became secretary-treasurer of the Gazette Printing Company. In association with George T. Lanigan, a brilliant writer, best remembered now as author of that comic little masterpiece, "The Akoond of Swat," he launched the "Evening Star," on January 16th, 1869, on a capital of only \$100.

The fight that set the paper on its feet was long and arduous. Within a short time Lanigan left Montreal, and Hugh Graham became sole proprietor. Success came at last, and the "Montreal Daily Star," as the paper became known, and the weekly edition, won wide circulation and influence.

From the outset of his journalistic career he has been a stalwart Imperialist, placing the welfare of the British Empire first and foremost. Early in his career he had to fight down a movement for the annexation of Canada to the United States; and since then he has fought innumerable battles for the preservation and strengthening of the tie that binds Canada to the Motherland. His campaigns for civic betterment of Montreal have been endless. The personality of this famous Canadian publisher has found expression in multitudinous activities outside journalism: in charitable enterprise and public welfare work, in addition to various forms of patriotic endeavour, and everything to which he has turned his hand for good has been inspired and stimulated by his "extraordinary initiative and zeal." This energy at the age of almost seventy-two is with him still, keeping his figure and his colour youthful, his eyes bright and his feet as spry as a boy's. Few men at half his age can handle as easily as he the heavy burdens of daily work he still keeps for himself. To the welfare of many public institutions of Montreal, notably the Children's Memorial Hospital, he has given generously of his time and means.

Lord Atholstan is an honorary Doctor of Laws of the University of Glasgow, an honour which he received on the occasion of his visiting the United Kingdom in 1909, as head of the Canadian delegates at the Imperial Press Conference. He is a Governor of McGill University, of Montreal.

MR. J. E. ATKINSON

J. E. Atkinson is president of the Star Printing and Publishing Company, publishers of the "Toronto Daily Star" and of the "Toronto Star Weekly." He was born at Newcastle, Ont., in 1865, and was educated at the Newcastle High School. He was with the "Port Hope Times" in 1884, the "Toronto World" in 1888, the "Toronto Globe" in 1889, and was editor of the "Montreal Herald" in 1896. He was appointed to his present position in 1899. He was a delegate to the Imperial Press Conference in 1909.

MR. J. R. BURNETT

J. R. Burnett is the editor and manager of the "Charlottetown Guardian," Charlottetown, P.E.I. He is a native of Aberdeen, Scotland, and served his apprenticeship to journalism on the "Aberdeen Journal" and "Evening Express." Two contemporary apprentices in Aberdeen were the present editor of the "Glasgow Herald" (Sir

Robert Bruce) and the editor of the "London Graphic" (Mr. J. Malcolm Bulloch). After several years on the "Dalkeith Advertiser" he was offered the editorship of the "Argosy," Georgetown, British Guiana, and subsequently became managing director, and converted the semi-weekly "Argosy" into a daily. He came to Canada in 1912, and has been editor and manager of the "Charlottetown Guardian" since.

THE HON. FRANK CARREL

The Hon. Frank Carrel is president of the "Quebec Daily Telegraph," Quebec, P.Q. He was born in Quebec on September 7th, 1870, and both his parents were born in Quebec. His father started the "Telegraph" in 1874 as the first one-cent newspaper in America. He attended Quebec High School, the Brothers' Academy, and Stanstead College until the age of fourteen years, when he entered the employ of the "Telegraph." At the age of nineteen years, through the sudden death of his father, he was left in control of the paper, being at that time one of the youngest proprietors in Canada. The home of the "Telegraph" is considered one of the best-planned printing establishments in North America, and the whole structure is novel in the fact that it was the first building of the kind to be erected on the continent under the Fabre system of reinforced concrete. He has been in almost every country in Europe, has toured the world, and has written several books. He is a director of the Canada Steamship Lines, International Portland Cement Company, Quebec Quarry Company, Prudential Trust, Canada Securities Corporation, president, Frank Carrel Limited, etc. etc. Clubs: Garrison, Quebec; Montreal Reform and St. Denis, Montreal; Canadian Friars and Circumnavigators, New York; Authors', London.

MR. C. F. CRANDALL

C. F. Crandall is the editor of the "Montreal Daily Star," Montreal, Quebec. He was born in St. John, N.B., brought up in Nova Scotia, and educated at Acadia University. He went from college into newspaper work in 1900 as a reporter on the "St. John Daily Sun," St. John, N.B., and successively became city editor, editor, and general manager. He was editor of the "Halifax Echo" in 1909, managing editor of the "Montreal Herald" in 1910, managing editor of the "Montreal Daily Star" in 1912, and editor in 1915. He is a director of Canadian Press Limited and Canadian Associated Press.

MR. J. W. DAFOE

J. W. Dafeo is vice-president and managing editor of the "Manitoba Free Press." He was born at Combermere, Ont., on March 8th, 1866. He was on the staff of the "Montreal Star" 1883-5, and was the first editor of the "Ottawa Journal" 1885-6. He was on the staff of the "Manitoba Free Press" 1886-92, editor of the "Montreal Herald" 1892-5, and on the staff of the "Montreal Star" 1895-1901. He has been editor of the "Manitoba Free Press" since 1901. He was a delegate to the Imperial Press Conference in 1909. In 1919 he represented the Canadian Department of Public Information at the Peace Conference.

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MR. F. B. ELLIS

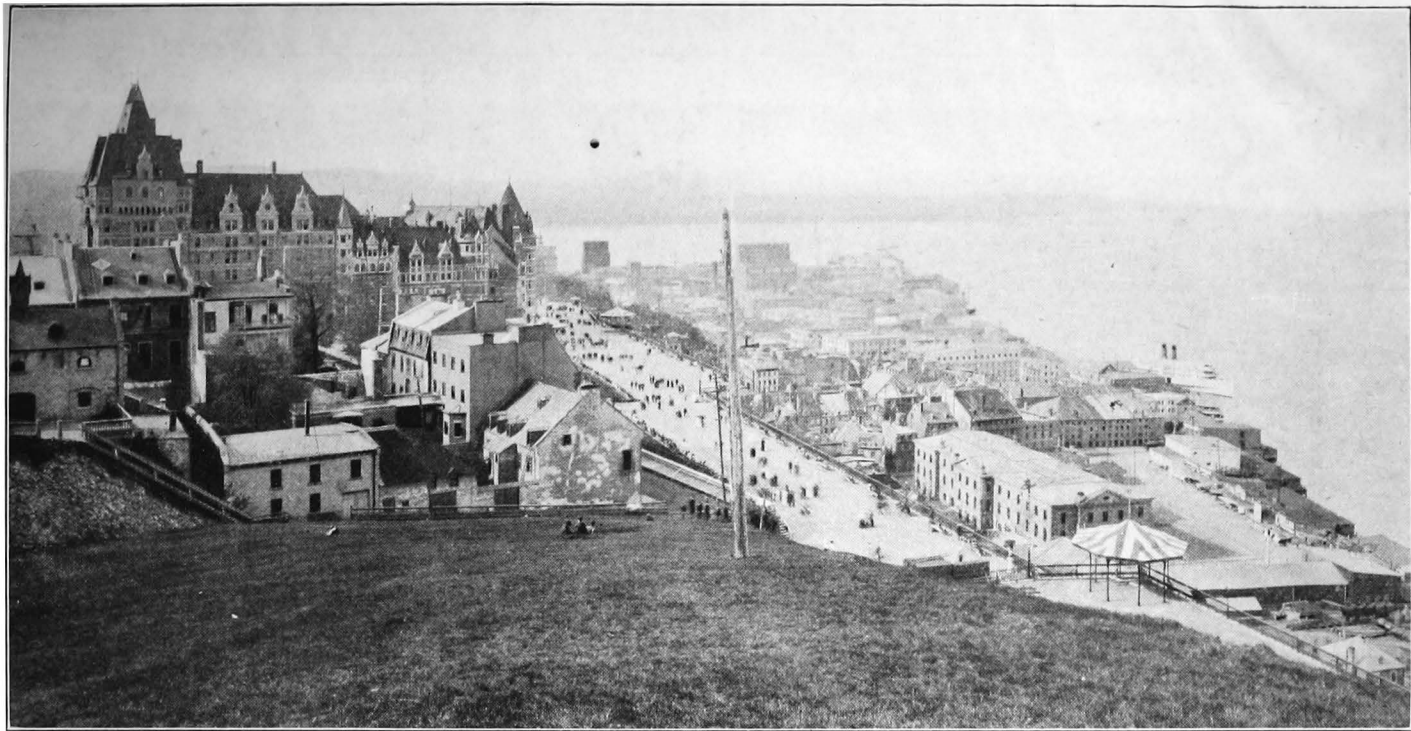
F. B. Ellis is president and editor of the "St. John Globe," of which his father, the late Hon. John V. Ellis, was founder and editor for many years. He has been identified with this paper for over thirty-five years in various capacities, covering all departments of the institution, from the composing-room to the president's chair.

MR. M. R. JENNINGS

M. R. Jennings, B.A., whose death since the visit we regret to record, was editor and managing director of the "Edmonton Journal," Edmonton, Alta. He was born in Warsaw, N.Y., in 1874. He was with the "Rochester Post-Express" in 1890, and later with the "Buffalo Courier" and "Washington (D.C.) Times." From 1895 until 1897 he was with the "Montreal Herald." He served with the United States army in Cuba in 1898 and 1899. From 1900 to 1907 he was with the "Mail and Empire" and the "Evening Telegram" of Toronto. He was then engaged in mining in Cobalt and Nevada until undertaking the reorganization and assuming the editorship of the "Edmonton Journal" in 1909. During the war he was chairman of the Alberta Recruiting Committee for the Royal Navy, and for the recruiting of rivermen and scowmen from the northern rivers of the province, and continued as president of the Edmonton Branch of the Navy League of Canada. He was chairman for Northern Alberta of the Belgian Relief Committee, first chairman of the Hospital Committee for Returned Soldiers, and a member of the original executives of the Red Cross and Patriotic Fund. He was president of the Edmonton Board of Trade in 1918 and a member of the Canadian Editors' Overseas party during the same year. He was president of the Canadian Daily Newspapers Association at the time of his death.

MR. W. F. KERR

W. F. Kerr is the editor of the "Regina Morning Leader," Regina, Sask. He was born in Goderich, Ont., October 25th, 1876, and comes of a newspaper family, as his grandfather was publisher of one of the first papers in the Ottawa Valley, published at Bytown, now Ottawa, and his father was employed on this paper, while an uncle, William Franklin, was editor of the "Jackson City, Michigan, Citizen," during the American Civil War. He was educated at public schools in St. Thomas, Ont., Grand Rapids, Mich., and Ottawa, Ont. From 1898 to 1902 he was assistant to the editor of the "Manitoba Free Press," Winnipeg, and in the latter year went to Regina as editor of the "Weekly Leader." Later he organized the Leader Publishing Co., Ltd., becoming president of the company, and purchased the "Leader." In November 1905 he founded the "Morning Leader," and has since edited it. He was one of those who applied for the charter of the Canadian Press Limited. He is a past president of the Western Canada Press Association, and is now vice-president of the Saskatchewan Branch of the Canadian Press Association. He was a member of the party of Canadian editors to visit Great Britain and France in 1918.



Canadian Pacific Railway.

QUEBEC, ON THE HEIGHTS OF ABRAHAM.
Château Frontenac Hotel, of the C.P.R., seen in the foreground, overlooking the St. Lawrence.



RUE SOUS LE CAP.
A bit of old France in old Quebec.

MR. OSWALD MAYRAND

Oswald Mayrand is managing editor of "La Presse," Montreal, Quebec. He is a French-Canadian, the son of the late Zéphirin Mayrand, notary and writer of books. He was born at St. Philippe de Laprairie, P.Q., October 29th, 1876. He studied six years at Montreal College, two years at the Seminary of Philosophy (St. Sulpice), law at Laval University for one year, and at McGill for two years. He entered journalism in 1900, and was secretary of the editorial department at "La Presse" for seven years. He then organized a publicity company, Le Progrès, Limitée, and published the weekly "Le Progrès," Montreal, of which social review he was the chief editor for eight months. He then went to "La Patrie," in 1908, as secretary of the editorial department for two years, and was city editor of the same Montreal daily paper for two other years. He was called back to "La Presse" as news editor, and became editor-in-chief before the end of the same year, November 1st, 1912. He has also been managing editor of "La Presse" since 1916. When seventeen years old he began to write and publish poems in "Le Monde Illustré." In 1905 he published a book of poetry entitled "Fleurettes Canadiennes."

MR. JOHN NELSON

John Nelson is the managing director and editor of the "Vancouver World," Vancouver, B.C. He has been in British Columbia journalism for over twenty years, joining the staff of the "Victoria Times" in 1898. He served there first as managing editor and for eight or nine years as managing director. This position he resigned in 1900 to take charge of the "Vancouver News Advertiser." In 1915 he formed a company and purchased the "Vancouver World." He was a member of the first Imperial Press Conference, held in London in 1909. He has been identified with the Militia for some years, and was adjutant of his battalion on his retirement, with the rank of captain, in 1899.

MR. G. F. PEARSON

G. Fred Pearson is president and managing director of the "Morning Chronicle," Halifax, N.S. He is a son of the late Hon. B. F. Pearson, and was born at Truro, N.S., in 1877. He was educated at McGill and Dalhousie Law School. In addition to his journalistic responsibilities, he is a member of the legal firm of Covert, Pearson and MacNutt, of Halifax. He is vice-president of the Canadian Press Limited.

MR. P. D. ROSS

P. D. Ross is president and editor of the "Journal," Ottawa, Ont. He was born in Montreal, January 1st, 1858, of Scotch parentage, and was educated at McGill University. He joined the staff of the "Montreal Star" in 1880, was city editor of the "Toronto Mail" in 1882, assistant editor of the "Toronto News" in 1883, and managing editor of the "Montreal Star" in 1885. In 1886 he founded the "Ottawa Journal." He is vice-president of the Canadian Daily Newspaper Publishers' Association. He was a member of the Ottawa City Council for several years, and contested the Ottawa Legislature in

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1904, and was president of the Ottawa Conservative Association in 1908. In 1909 he was a delegate to the Imperial Press Conference. He received the degree of LL.D. from Queen's University in 1919. He is a famous golfer and oarsman. In 1883 and 1886 he stroked the amateur champion four-oared crews of Canada. In 1909 he was president of the Royal Canadian Golf Association.

MR. W. J. TAYLOR

W. J. Taylor is president of the "Sentinel-Review," Woodstock, Ont. He was born at Napanee, Ont., and received his education at the Napanee Collegiate Institute. From 1892 to 1899 he was editor and publisher of the "Tweed Weekly News," published at the village of Tweed, Ont. From 1899 to 1903 inclusive he was connected with the "Herald," Montreal, as business manager. In October 1903 he purchased the "Sentinel-Review," Woodstock, which he owns and directs. In 1901 he started the "Rod and Gun in Canada" magazine, which he still owns and directs. For the last twenty years he has been very active in connection with the work of the Canadian Press Association, and in June 1918 was elected to the presidency of the Association, which position he held until January 1st, 1920. He was chairman of the Press Publicity Executive handling the Victory Loans during 1918 and 1919, and for nearly five months during each of these two years devoted practically his entire time to the work.

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR DAVID WATSON

Major-General Sir David Watson, K.C.B., C.M.G., etc., is managing director of the "Chronicle," Quebec. He was born in Quebec and educated at Quebec public schools. He has been connected with the "Chronicle" ever since he started upon his business career, and he became managing director in 1906. He was elected president of the Quebec Associated Press in 1908, and went as a delegate to the Imperial Press Conference in 1909.

Sir David Watson is one of Canada's most distinguished soldiers. He received a commission in the 8th Royal Rifles of Quebec in 1900, and commanded the Rifle Company of the Canadian Coronation Contingent at the Coronation in June 1911, and holds the Coronation and long service medals. When war broke out General Watson was in command of the Rifles. He was one of the first to leave Canada, and was appointed to command the 2nd Battalion of the First Canadian Division, leaving Canada in September 1914. He was promoted to command the 5th Brigade in the 2nd Canadian Division, in August 1915, and promoted to command the 4th Canadian Division in April 1916. He was mentioned in despatches seven times. He was created a Knight Commander of the Bath in January 1917. He also received the high honour of the Commander of the Legion of Honour from the President of the French Republic, and the Commander of the Order of Leopold from King Albert of Belgium, as well as the Croix de Guerre from both countries. General Watson was also a member of the party which in 1914 accompanied the Minister of Militia to the French war manoeuvres.

MR. J. H. WOODS

J. H. Woods is the editor and managing director of the "Calgary Herald," Calgary, Alta. He was born in the city of Quebec. He has been in newspaper work for more than twenty-five years, several of which were spent as Parliamentary representative in Ottawa, some in editorial positions on the "Montreal Mail and Empire" and "Montreal Herald," and for the past thirteen years he has directed the destinies of the newspaper with which he is now connected. He was president of the Canadian Press Association in 1917-18, and in the summer of the latter year was chairman of the party of Canadian journalists that visited Great Britain and the Allied fronts by invitation of the Government of Great Britain. He is a director of the various associations which administer the affairs of the Canadian Press.

CHAPTER XVII

THE FIRST IMPERIAL PRESS CONFERENCE

An Epoch-making Event—What the Conference Did—Its Lasting Influence on Empire Politics and Defence.

ELEVEN years elapsed between the holding of the First Imperial Press Conference and the meeting of the Second. Continuity of work was maintained between the two Conferences by the Empire Press Union. There was present in Canada a number of delegates who had taken part in the Conference of 1909, including Lord Burnham, Lord Atholstan, Sir Harry Brittain, Mr. F. Crosbie Roles, Mr. Robert Donald, Mr. J. W. Dafoe, Mr. A. F. MacDonald, Mr. John Nelson, Hon. Theodore Fink, the late Hon. C. E. Davies, Hon. J. W. Kirwan, Mr. J. E. Atkinson, Mr. P. D. Ross, Mr. M. E. Nichols, and the late Mr. C. D. Leng.

The credit of the conception of the First Conference belongs to Sir Harry Brittain. He realized the far-reaching importance of an Imperial Parliament of the Press and first consulted Mr. J. W. Dafoe, and next the late Earl Grey, then Governor-General of Canada, who welcomed the scheme with enthusiasm. The original idea was in the nature of a meeting of editors to exchange views and visits, with opportunities for the men from Overseas to see something of the Motherland, of hearing leading statesmen and leaders of thought, taking stock of social and industrial conditions, and inquiring into the condition of things in Europe in relation to Imperial defence.

The success of this First Conference was due to the enthusiasm with which it was taken up and the generous way it was supported by leaders in the British Press, including the first Lord Burnham, who was president and headed the National Committee, Lord Northcliffe, Sir Arthur Pearson, Mr. Kennedy Jones, and the chief editors in the country, who threw themselves whole-heartedly into the work, and whose combined influence secured the co-operation of the Government, of ex-Ministers and the greatest men in the land. It was not part of the original plan to hold formal conferences and take up

matters of professional interest to the Press, but that development emerged as a matter of course.

Sir Harry Brittain took upon himself the onerous duties of honorary organizing secretary, and supervised all the arrangements.

The Conference made its mark on every Government and every Parliament in the Empire. It was an epoch-making event, and its influence made itself felt in many ways where it was not seen and is not yet spent. An official report of the British Government recognized that the Conference rendered valuable services. It did more to create a spirit of unity than any previous gathering of representatives from overseas.

As we now know, the year 1909 was a critical time for Europe. Several men of vision issued warnings of what they feared. They foresaw the shadow of Armageddon hanging over the Continent; they feared that a time of trial was before the Empire which would test its strength, its loyalty to its ideals, and to its common sovereignty.

These grave and searching speeches by England's greatest statesmen, inspired by lofty patriotism, produced strong impressions upon the visiting editors. What they heard from others, their visits to the Fleet and to the Army, their enquiries into the conditions of affairs in Europe at close range, their association with their brother editors, and talk with all sorts and conditions of people in their journeyings throughout Great Britain, strengthened their impressions and gave them a new outlook on Empire affairs.

The First Imperial Press Conference met for the discussion of serious business at the Foreign Office on June 7th, 1909. There were present fifteen editors from Canada, fourteen from Australia, eleven from South Africa, five from New Zealand, seven from India and Ceylon, one from the Straits Settlements, and one from the West Indies—all men of light and leading and far-spreading influence. They included East Indians, Boers, and French-Canadians; and these delegates of other races than the British showed in their speeches as penetrating a sense of the British conception of Empire as any statesman in Downing Street. The guests came, as they and their hosts alike believed, to see Britain for themselves, most of them for the first time—"its institutions, its public men, its national services, its ancient seats of learning, its hives of modern industry, its historic homes, its commercial and engineering enterprise, its rural quietude, and its busy population." They

came, too, to discuss topics of interest to newspapers throughout the Empire, and subjects of Imperial concern.

The Conference at its first sitting, with Lord Crewe, Colonial Secretary, in the chair, turned its attention to the practical question of better and cheaper means of communication throughout the Empire. It passed a resolution registering its opinion that it is of "paramount importance that telegraphic facilities between the various parts of the Empire should be cheapened and improved so as to ensure fuller intercommunication than at present." This resolution led to a supplementary one embodying requests that the Governments of the Empire assist in carrying out the reforms and making definite suggestions. A resolution was also passed recommending the laying down of State-owned cables to supplement and compete with the existing cable services.

The Conference looked ahead as well as attended to urgent needs, and passed a resolution asking the Governments of the Empire to "establish a chain of wireless telegraph stations between all British countries, because these are necessary means for the cheapening of electrical communication and for the safety of the mercantile marine." That was eleven years ago. Unfortunately, the statesmen in power did not act on the recommendations of the Press, and the war found the Empire handicapped for lack of the Imperial wireless chain; and the Second Conference made a similar recommendation. A Cable and Imperial News Service Committee set up by the First Conference, and presided over by Lord Burnham, kept hammering away at Government departments and companies, backed up by the whole influence of the Empire Press Union and of the Press, with encouraging results.

The only other resolution passed at the Conference was one saying that it was desirable that the Press of the Empire should "act in concert in the wise direction of the surplus population of the Mother Country to those colonies which stand in need of additional settlers."

There were discussions on the Press of the Empire which opened up wide subjects, including Imperial defence.

The value of the First Conference did not lie solely in the formal resolutions passed, or in the interchange of opinions which took place, nor in the valuable reforms in the interest of the Press and the public which it initiated. The delegates did work of a profounder, broader, more vital, significant kind, of which the Allies in the war enjoyed the benefit, work which

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the Germans might regard as an evidence that the cunning British had planned the Conference for no other purpose than to prepare for the disaster of 1914. The delegates acquired and carried back with them to their millions of readers a new conception of Empire defence. Other benefits flowed from the Conference. Intimate associations sprang up between editors, friendships were formed which endured, a closer community of interest was established, a sentiment of brotherhood developed.

During their stay, the ambassadors of the Press had an opportunity of seeing the most interesting places in the United Kingdom, and they made the acquaintance of leading statesmen and other public men. They were entertained at banquets, luncheons, fêtes, and garden parties. They were the guests of the House of Commons at luncheon. Lord mayors and lord provosts of great cities held gatherings in their honour, and the University of Glasgow conferred the honorary degree of LL.D. on six of the leading visiting editors. Two of the most crowded and memorable days were spent at a review of troops at Aldershot, and at a naval spectacle at Spithead, superbly organized by Admiral Lord Fisher.

Of all the many pleasant functions held in honour of the Overseas visitors, the most memorable which took place under the happiest conditions was a garden party given by the then Prince and Princess of Wales—our present King and Queen—at Marlborough House, whereat the Overseas delegates were also individually presented to, and shook hands with, King Edward and Queen Alexandra—an honour never previously accorded to the visiting members of an unofficial conference.

PART II

**THE SECOND IMPERIAL PRESS
CONFERENCE, OTTAWA, 1920**

**FULL REPORT
OF
SPEECHES, DISCUSSIONS
AND TEXT OF RESOLUTIONS
OFFICIAL RECEPTIONS**

INAUGURAL BANQUET IN MONTREAL

A MEMORABLE WELCOME

THE first part of the official programme in connection with the Second Imperial Press Conference took place at Montreal on August 3rd, when the delegates were entertained at a banquet by Lord Atholstan, Chairman of the Canadian Press Committee, at the Ritz Carlton Hotel.

Lord Atholstan presided, and the guests included all the Empire delegates of the Conference, representatives of the Canadian Press, leading American newspaper men, who had come to participate in the reception of the visitors, and many notable Canadian public men.

The guests at the head table were:—Viscount Burnham; Sir Chas. Fitzpatrick, Lieut.-Governor of Quebec Province; the Hon. L. A. Taschereau, Prime Minister of Quebec Province; Sir Henry Drayton, Dominion Minister of Finance; Sir Lomer Gouin, ex-Premier of Quebec; Sir Arthur Currie, Principal of McGill University; Mr. Fernand Rinfret, M.P.; Sir Vincent Meredith, President of the Bank of Montreal; Lord Shaughnessy, ex-President of the Canadian Pacific Railway; Lord Richard Nevill; Mr. Robert Donald, Chairman of the Council of the Empire Press Union; Lord Apsley ("The Morning Post," London); Sir Robert Bruce ("The Glasgow Herald"); Mr. Geoffrey E. Fairfax ("Sydney Morning Herald"), Chairman of the Australian delegation; Mr. T. W. Leys ("Auckland Star"), Chairman of the New Zea-

land delegation; Mr. R. S. Ward-Jackson ("Rand Daily Mail"), Chairman of the South African delegation; and Sir Patrick McGrath ("The Evening Herald," St. John's), Chairman of the Newfoundland delegation.

In addition to those at the head table there were present:

Mr. Robert Adair; Mr. Dean Adams, McGill University; Mr. Robert Allister, "Cape Times," South Africa; Mr. C. W. Van Anda; Mr. R. A. Anderson, "Irish Homestead," Dublin; Mr. W. Angus, Director, Canadian Pacific Railway; Mr. E. J. Archibald, "Montreal Star"; Dr. E. W. Archibald; Dr. George Armstrong; Mr. R. J. Arnott, "Canada."

Mr. John Baillie; Mr. C. Baker; The Hon. C. C. Ballantyne, Canadian Minister of Marine and Fisheries; Dr. Augusto Bartolo, "Daily Malta Chronicle"; The Hon. Senator C. P. Beaubien; Mr. H. W. Beaucherc; Mr. F. L. Beique; Mr. F. Beauliac; Mr. G. T. Bell; Mr. Tancrede Bienvenue; Mr. H. S. Birkett; Mr. W. M. Birks; Dr. A. Blackader; Mr. W. A. Black; Mr. H. Boland, "Montreal Star"; Mr. W. L. Bond; Mr. D. Braham, "Sydney Daily Telegraph"; Mr. W. A. Brennan, "Melbourne Argus"; Mr. J. S. Brierley, formerly proprietor "Montreal Herald"; Sir Harry Brittain, M.P., Chairman, Empire Press Union Arrangements Committee; Mr. S. Hal Brown; Mr. J. Wright Brown.

Mr. C. H. Cahan, K.C.; Mr. A. B. Calder, Canadian Pacific Railway; Col. Bruce Campbell; Mr. Colin Campbell; Col. G. S. Cantlie; Sir Emsley Carr, "News of the World"; Hon. Frank Carrel, "Quebec Telegraph"; Mr. James Carruthers; Major-General Sir John Carson, K.C.B.; Senator J. P. B. Casgrain, Canada Steamship Lines; Dr. W. W. Chipman; Canon Chambers; Mr. H. R. Charlton, Grand Trunk Railway; Mr. C. R. Christie; Mr. J. P. Collins, "The Civil and Military Gazette," India; Mr. Percy P. Cowans; Dr. R. H. Craig; Mr. W. A. Craik, Canadian Press Executive;

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Mr. C. F. Crandall, "Montreal Star," Hon. Sec., Canadian Executive Committee; Mr. Ross Crawford; The Hon. Senator N. Curry; Mr. F. J. Cockburn; Mr. C. H. K. Curtis.

Mr. John W. Dafeo, "Manitoba Free Press"; Mr. J. A. Dalrymple; The Hon. Senator Dandurand; Mr. Taylor Darbyshire, "Melbourne Age"; The Hon. C. E. Davies, "The Tasmanian Mail"; Mr. David Davies, "South Wales Daily Post," Cardiff; Mr. (now Sir) W. Davies, "Western Mail," Cardiff; Mr. Randall Davidson; Sir Mortimer Davis; Mr. P. Davis, "Natal Witness," South Africa; Mr. H. G. Delisser, C.M.G., "The Daily Gleaner," Jamaica; Mr. Hugh R. Denison, "The Sun," Sydney; Mr. E. Desbarats; Mr. T. K. Dickinson; Alderman Dixon; Mr. B. H. Dodd, "East London Dispatch," South Africa; General W. O. H. Dodds; The Right Hon. C. J. Doherty, Canadian Minister of Justice; Mr. C. D. Don, "Johannesburg Star," South Africa; Mr. J. S. Douglas, "Toronto Mail and Empire"; Mr. Huntly R. Drummond, Bank of Montreal; Alderman Dubeau; Mr. Justice Duclos; Mr. G. H. Dugan.

Mr. E. E. Edwards, "Brisbane Telegraph"; Mr. S. H. Ewing.
Mr. M. P. Fennell, Hon. Theodore Fink, "Melbourne Herald"; Dr. F. Finley, The Right Hon. Sir G. Eulas Foster, C.M.G., Canadian Minister of Trade and Commerce; Mr. B. Fraser.

Mr. J. Murray Gibbon, Canadian Pacific Railway; Mr. J. C. Glendinning, "The Derry Standard," Londonderry; Mr. J. D. Graham, "Express and Star," Wolverhampton; Mr. J. Greaves, "The Paper Maker," London.

Dr. W. Hamilton; Mr. Harold Hampson; Mr. E. Hanson; Mr. W. Hanson; Mr. J. Harper, "Glasgow Daily Record and Mail"; Mr. J. Harpell; Mr. Harold Harmsworth, "Western Morning News," Plymouth; Prof. Harrison; Mr. W. Hawkins; Mr. J. Henderson, "Belfast News-letter"; Dr. Milton Hersey; Col. Sir A. Holbrook, M.P., "Portsmouth Times"; Mr. A. E. Holt; Mr. C. M. Holt; Mr. P. J. Hooper, "Freeman's Journal," Dublin; Mr. H. Horton, "New Zealand Herald"; Mr. L. Houle; Mr. C. K. Howard, Canadian National Railways; Mr. L. Howarth, "The Yorkshire Post," Leeds; Mr. J. Hutchison, "Otago Daily Times," N.Z.; Mr. Percy Hurd, M.P., "Canadian Gazette" and "Montreal Star."

Mr. G. A. Isaacs, Gen. Secretary, National Society of Operative Printers and Assistants.
Mr. Walter Jeffery, "Evening News," Sydney; Mr. E. Abbey Jones, "Southland News," Australia; Sir Roderick Jones, Reuter's; Mr. M. R. Jennings, "Edmonton Journal," Chairman Canadian Daily Newspaper Association.

Mr. G. Kelley, President, Grand Trunk Railway; Mr. Newton Kendal; Mr.

Hayward Kendall; Mr. R. H. Kennedy; Mr. N. K. Kerney, "Argus" South African Newspapers; Mr. J. Kidman, "Montreal Gazette"; Mr. W. A. Kingsland; Mr. G. H. Kingswell, "Rand Daily Mail," South Africa; Hon. J. W. Kirwan, "Kalgoorlie Miner," Australia; Mr. Valentine Knapp, President, Newspaper Society; Mr. J. J. Knight, "Brisbane Courier," Australia.

Mr. Alfred Langer, "West Australian," Perth, Australia; Mr. Errol Languedoc; Major G. V. Lansell, "Bendigo Advertiser"; Prof. Leacock, McGill University; Mr. C. D. Leng, "Sheffield Daily Telegraph"; Mr. A. Leithhead, "Montreal Herald"; Mr. Lansing Lewis; Mr. N. Levi, "De Volkstem," South Africa; Hon. A. Lovelkin, "Perth Daily News," Australia.

Mr. T. B. Macaulay, President, Sun Life Assurance Co. of Canada; Mr. J. S. Macdonald, "Farmer and Stockbreeder," London; Mr. T. B. MacLachlan, "Scotsman," Edinburgh; Mr. A. L. MacTier, Canadian Pacific Railway; Mr. Walter Makepeace, "Free Press," Singapore; Mr. J. Magor; Hon. C. Marcell, ex-Speaker, Canadian House of Commons; Mr. Herbert Marler; Mr. Percival Marshall, Chairman, British Association Trade and Technical Journals; Mr. J. McConnell; Mr. J. McCuaig; Mr. G. McDonald; Mr. L. McEvoy, Canadian Press Executive; Mr. J. McIntyre; Mr. W. McMaster, K.C.; Mr. G. W. McNamee; Brig.-General F. Meighen; Hon. Alex. Mews, "St. John's Evening Advocate," Newfoundland; Mr. C. P. Le Mesurier; Major J. Mitchell, "Dundee Courier"; Hon. W. G. Mitchell; Mr. F. W. Molson; Mr. G. Montgomery; Mr. W. J. Morrice; Dr. H. M. Mosdell, "Daily Star," St. John's, Newfoundland; Mr. F. J. Moxley, Canadian Press Executive; Dr. C. Moyses; Mr. Alex. Murray; Mr. Keith Murdoch, United Cable Service, London.

Mr. T. E. Naylor, Gen. Secretary, Federation of Printing and Kindred Trades; Mr. C. E. Neill; Mr. J. Nelson, "Vancouver World"; Sir Frank Newnes, Bt., London.

Mr. G. Ogilvie; Mr. D. M. Ollemans, "The Friend," Bloemfontein.

The Right Hon. Sir Gilbert Parker, Bt., P.C.; Mr. J. Parker, "Wellington Post," New Zealand; Mr. W. J. Penn, "The Taranaki Herald," New Zealand; Mr. J. E. Poole; Dr. Ellis Powell, "Financial News," London; Mr. E. L. Pease, Royal Bank of Canada.

Mr. A. G. Racey, cartoonist, "Montreal Star"; Mr. G. Ogden Reid; Mr. Carl Riorden, Riorden Pulp and Paper Co.; Mr. Farquhar Robertson; Mr. Justice Ribidoux; Mr. Jason Rogers; Mr. F. Crosbie Roles, "Times of Ceylon," and Chairman of the Asia and Near East Delegation; Dr. S. G. Ross; Mr. W. Ormiston Roy; Mr. Hugh Russell; Dr. Ruttan; Mr. J. R. Rathom.

Mr. B. K. Sandwell; Mr. J. O'B. Saunders,

"The Englishman," Calcutta; Mr. P. Selig, "The Press," Christchurch, New Zealand; Mr. Frank Scott; Dr. F. J. Shepherd; Mr. John Sherlock, Official Reporter; Dr. D. Shirres; Mr. C. L. Sibley; Dean Laird Sinclair; Mr. F. Clifford Smith; Mr. Rowland Snelling, "Egyptian Gazette," Alexandria; Mr. P. Spanjaart; Mr. Alfred Sprigg, "The Leicester Mail"; Sir Charles Starmer, "Sheffield Independent"; Major Stanton; Mr. A. Strathy; Sir Campbell Stuart, "The Times," London; Mr. Melville Stone; Mr. Justice Surveyor.

Mr. W. J. Taylor, "Woodstock Sentinel-Review"; Mr. H. Thomas, Canadian Associated Press; Sir George Toulmin, "Lancashire Daily Post," Preston; Mr. W. C. Towers; Mr. John Turnbull; Mr. H. E. Turner, Secretary, Empire Press Union, and Secretary of Conference.

Mr. Walter Vaughan; Mr. D. W. Vick, "Daily Mirror," London, and "Leeds Mercury."

Capt. W. Wallace, Canadian Press Executive; Mr. George Walker; Lieut.-Col. E. W. Watt, "Aberdeen Free Press"; Major-General Sir David Watson, K.C.M.G., "Quebec Chronicle"; Mr. H. Webster; Hon. Lorne Webster; Mr. W. S. Weldon; Mr. J. S. White, "Montreal Gazette"; Mr. L. S. White; Hon. Smeaton White, "Montreal Gazette"; Mr. E. R. Whitrod, "Montreal Star"; Mr. Murray Williams; Mr. J. D. Williams, "Cambria Daily Leader," Swansea; Sir John Willison, "The Times"; Mr. Lawrence Wilson; Mr. J. M. Wilson; Major-General E. W. Wilson; Mr. Walter Wilson; Mr. George Wright; Mr. E. Woodhead, "Huddersfield Examiner"; Mr. J. H. Woods, "The Herald," Calgary; Mr. Mark Workman.

Mr. F. W. Yorston, "Montreal Standard."

**MESSAGE FROM THE KING
AND OTHER TELEGRAMS**

After the toasts of The King and the President of the United States, Mr. H. M. Boland, on behalf of the Hon. Secretary, read telegrams and letters from His Majesty the King, Mr. Lloyd George, Viscount Milner, Viscount Northcliffe, and Lord Riddell, as follows:

COWES,
ROYAL YACHT
"VICTORIA AND ALBERT,"
August 2nd, 1920.

To Lord Atholstan,
Montreal.

I rejoice to think that under your chairmanship the members of the

Imperial Press Conference are now assembled at Montreal. This gathering of representatives of all parts of the British Empire marks a fresh epoch in the history of journalism, and is an important development of the first conference of 1909, that was memorable for the prophetic utterance of Lord Rosebery in his inaugural speech on that occasion. May your joint efforts be crowned by success, and may they, by securing the freedom of the Press and in the formation of a well-instructed public opinion, promote all that tends to the advancement of the well-being, moral, social, and material, of the world.

GEORGE R.I.

LONDON, July 31st, 1920.

Lord Atholstan,
Montreal.

Please accept my best wishes for the success of the Conference which, by affording to so many representatives an opportunity for counsel and consultation, should prove a powerful factor in the continued welfare and prosperity of the Empire.

LLOYD GEORGE.

LONDON, July 31st, 1920.

Lord Atholstan,
Montreal.

Please give my cordial greetings to your great gathering. I rejoice especially to think that to-night representatives of the United States newspapers will meet the Empire delegates. The influence which such a gathering can and will exert is particularly welcome now. International good feeling is the first need of the nations to-day. Only through it can we hope to reach and maintain world peace.

MILNER.

LONDON, August 3rd, 1920.

Lord Atholstan,
Montreal.

My many visits to Montreal and my friendship with so many of the dele-

gates enable me to visualize the great banquet to-night from which I am most regretfully obliged to be absent, my dear Atholstan. You have with you all that is best in the journalism of the British Confederation of Nations. You have with you men who are determined to spread the light of British enterprise and freedom. You have with you the best makers of newspapers in the world. We, at home in the Old Country, hope that this great mission will help to broaden our knowledge of every section of the Empire in every other section. We must have improved and cheaper direct intercommunication. We must have a much greater interchange of visits. I shall raise a glass, and that not a dry one, thank goodness, to all of you, with cordial fraternal greeting to great and war-victorious Canada and her hosts and guests.

NORTHCLIFFE.

LONDON, *July 31st, 1920.*

Lord Atholstan,
Montreal.

All good wishes for successful conference and pleasant evening. Glad our American colleagues are with you. Give them my love, but tell them not to take all the pulp.

RIDDELL.

LORD ATHOLSTAN

LORD ATHOLSTAN said :

Montreal feels greatly honoured by the visit of the Imperial Press delegates, but deeply disappointed that their stay here should be so short. A report just received says Toronto is crowding because they are to pay it two visits for one here. By way of explanation to Montreal friends, I am authorized to say that our visitors have no responsibility whatever for such oversight in allotting more of their time to comparatively small places like Toronto, rather than to the great metropolis of the Dominion.

You will remember that the main idea of this conference originated in Winnipeg. In making up the scheme of your trip, the West kept on claiming more and still more of your time, on the plea, as somebody irreverently suggested, that your procession across the continent should be regarded as a wild west show. And Toronto, ever mindful of its great asset, its exhibition, the greatest of its kind in the world, must have felt that a stay there of longer duration than that given Montreal by the lions of the newspaper Press of Great Britain and the Overseas Dominions would help to prevent Toronto from being forgotten.

You have had a glimpse of our beautiful Maritime Provinces, whence have come much of the brain power of our Parliament, and are now honouring the province which under benign influences, clerical and political, might be very aptly described as the balance wheel of the Dominion, where the population of mixed races want to live in peace, harmony, and contentment. Then you will be off to the great province of Ontario and the luring West, where you will be welcomed with true Western enthusiasm.

In 1909 Lord Rosebery, in a memorable speech that echoed around the world, bade the Overseas delegates a fervent welcome to the home of their forefathers. In that flash we were all thrilled by the warmth of family affection. Is it any great stretch of imagination to say that many of you now in visiting the Overseas Dominion may be coming home? If in 1909 the visiting delegates were welcomed to the home of their ancestors, may we not believe that many of you are now visiting the home of your posterity? Most assuredly you have not come thousands of miles, smiling at the discomforts of travel in crossing six dry provinces, simply for some business advantages that may be procured for

your Press and ours, but for something much more worthy of your sacrifices, to see one of those Overseas countries whose people placed no limit on their health when they heard the cry of the Motherland.

Many people believed that the conferences would develop into a world conference, in which the great Press of the United States would exercise a beneficent and far-reaching influence for universal fields. If such a benevolent combination of newspapers should ever materialize in battling for world welfare, it would be a keen competitor of the League of Nations. In the meantime, when all too soon we bid farewell to our parting guests in September, it will be in the full hope that even with dreams of grander and greater aims none of you will be able to say that your personal discomforts and the infliction of hospitality has been endured in vain.

Feeling very keenly my inability to do justice to the welcome we want to give you, I have to ask for help, and you are fortunate in my being privileged to call upon two very eminent Canadian journalists, outstanding men, whose pens are known throughout the Empire and far beyond. I have much pleasure in calling on Sir John Willison and Professor Stephen Leacock. [Applause.]

SIR JOHN WILLISON

SIR JOHN WILLISON spoke as follows:

This event touches so many considerations and opens so many alluring highways and byways that one is not certain along which road he should travel nor just where and when he should end his journey. I must speak for you, Sir, whose eminence as a journalist and distinction as a citizen make you the natural host for an occasion of such exceptional interest and significance. I must speak for the Press of Canada, which,

whatever may be its faults or whatever its virtues, expresses faithfully enough the spirit and the genius of the Canadian people. Nor may I forget that I am in the Province of Quebec, rich in romance and legend, in sacrifice for religious faith, and in heroic human adventure, where two races enjoy the privileges of a free British citizenship, sustain common social and political responsibilities, and illustrate the tolerance, the sense of equity, and the principle of equality which together constitute the strength and glory of British institutions.

I must speak, too, with the rural simplicity of Toronto and the metropolitan dignity of Montreal. My sentences should carry that flavour of assertion which distinguishes a community that aspires and also suggest the quiet, social confidence of another community which believes that it has achieved. If I am dull or dry you will remember that there are long, arid stretches between Toronto and Montreal, and if one comes in a crowded Pullman, what is a flask among so many? We of Toronto must import our enthusiasm while you of Montreal, comparatively, still walk in the broad way that leadeth to fraternity of soul and judicious conviviality.

Then around me and before me are many representatives of the most learned and authoritative Press in the world, bearing titles enough and honours enough to create a suspicion that you may cherish some secret design to corrupt our sensitive democracy. For we in Canada have decreed that titles shall become extinct with the convenient decease of those among us who now are afflicted with that "tainted" distinction, and who become from year to year more and more an object of antiquarian interest. It may be that the British Press is not so restrained as it thinks it is in domestic controversy, but we freely and gladly

recognize its noble patience and singular discretion in dealing with questions that trouble the nations. In its headlines it is still among the non-combatants, and with all its learning one suspects it is still comparatively ignorant of that revised version of the English language which is reserved for picturesque description of sporting events in America. But we honour the British Press for its solidarity and dignity, for its infinite sagacity when British interests are to be advanced and protected, and for its placid unconcern and baffling silence when those who would provoke a quarrel with Great Britain desire co-operation in offence and belligerency.

I do not forget that the other Dominions, with India and the Dependencies, are represented at this conference. There are delegates from South Africa, in which Canada has long had a deep and affectionate interest, and where during the war there was demonstrated, as never before even in British history, the genius for reconciliation and the strange power to inspire devotion and sacrifice which lie in the British constitutional system as interpreted by a democratic monarchy and a truly Imperial Parliament. We have also delegates from those southern communities, far separated from us by "the long wash of Australasian seas," whose social and political experiments perplex and enrich us, which are the despair of Conservatives and sometimes the confusion of Radicals, and which now and again are discarded at home just when they are adopted elsewhere. And we have representatives of Newfoundland, which we have wooed but have not won, and which we suspect would respond to our advances if we were a more indifferent suitor. One may not attempt to penetrate the mystery, the perplexity, and the complexity of the problems of India, but the hour and the occasion justify a word of recognition and reverence for the

general prudence, high integrity, and long outlook of British administrators, and an expression of complete confidence that they will lead the Indian peoples safely and wisely up the slopes of freedom to such ultimate self-government as we in Canada possess. We rejoice to have in Canada and to open our hearts and our homes to all those representatives of any and every portion of the Empire who are our comrades and co-workers in the great and continuous endeavour to unify and consolidate its far-scattered peoples for the heavy tasks of the future.

We do not greet your guests, Sir, as strangers or aliens to Canada. They are on their own soil, under their own flag, welcome visitors from the old homestead to a new land, where the children hold the old faith and love the old traditions and cherish the memories of the fathers from whose loins they have come and whose high qualities of independence and courage they would emulate. As we Oversea Britons, returning from the continent, feel the thrill of home when our eyes first catch the cliffs of Dover, as, back on British soil, we are comforted by the conveniences and the intimacies of English speech, as our hearts beat responsively to the world pulse of old London, and as we feel there, however mysterious and unexpressed the sense of possession and of inheritance from other ages, so may they feel here the sense of a common heritage in this spacious land which under the Providence of God we hold for King and Empire.

THE CANADIAN NATION

No doubt your guests have been reminded that we are a nation. We first became a nation with the union of the British North American Provinces more than half a century ago, and, if I read our political literature aright, with every change of Government since Confederation we have

been made a nation over again. Indeed, nation-making is one of our infant industries, protected, not by a tariff, but by the British navy. But though when skies are clear and winds gentle and seas smooth we put the emphasis upon nationality, when storms appear and the waters are turbulent we forget that we are a nation and remember only that we are an Empire.

God has moved in a mysterious way throughout the whole history of the British people. In London ten years ago it was my privilege to talk across a dinner table with a distinguished British statesman, then and for many years afterwards one of the King's Ministers. He asked me what Canada would do if Great Britain should become involved in a great war in Europe. I said that one could answer such a question only from feeling and instinct, but I believed that if the Old Country ever seemed to be in actual danger Canada would send soldiers in tens of thousands, and, if necessary, bankrupt herself in defence of our common institutions. I think I recall his exact words in reply. He said: "My dear sir, I do not doubt you are sincere, but nothing is more inconceivable than that Canada will ever send soldiers to fight with Great Britain in Europe." But we did send soldiers to fight with Great Britain in Europe, and thousands are still over there, bearing in their breasts, as was said of the heroes of Cawnpore, "the wounds that do not shame." Nor did we act from any calculation of loss or gain, under Imperial compulsion, or under flogging by Governments or military leaders. We acted as we did because there was nothing else to do. Nor have we ever claimed that we won the war. If a Canadian may say it, we commanded the world's respect and kept our own, and that is enough for a decent individual or a decent nation.

It is no part of my purpose tonight to consider the future of the

Empire or the ultimate form of constitutional organization that may be evolved. We have reconciled Colonial autonomy and Imperial sovereignty. We shall go on step by step, as common interests may dictate and practical experience direct. We shall not give a great deal of attention to the constitutional perpetualists, and far less to the constitutional destructionists. We have found and shall continue to find a basis of common action in emergencies, and probably shall wrangle and jangle over forms and phrases when no emergency exists. But Canadians recognize, however rival political schools contend, that they must share the burden of defence, the people of the British Islands understand that the Dominions must determine their own status in the Empire, and all British subjects now admit that equal privileges in the Empire involve equal duties and responsibilities. If that be granted—and there, after all, was the secret of unity in the war—the constitutional machinery will be adjusted to give effect to the sentiment which pervades and dominates all portions of the Empire. Let us not worry overmuch about the theory of equal nations or the designs and projects of suspected and imaginary Centralists in London. Let us say to the emotional autonomists and the Jingo Imperialists, "A plague on both your houses." British statesmen, we are convinced, have no other desire than that the Dominions shall express themselves within the Empire, and the people of the Dominions would make short shrift of statesmen who would attempt to lead them outside the Empire. That is enough for the time, and as I have said, if the necessity for more definite constitutional machinery develops the genius of British statesmen, in the Dominions and the Mother Country, supported by the common will of the British peoples, will forge new bonds of

union and establish ever more firmly and securely the foundations of the Imperial Commonwealth.

CANADA AND AMERICA

May I add that the Canadian people have two great duties which lie outside the strict and narrower obligations of Empire. One of these is so to interpret the Empire to the United States that friction and suspicion will abate and the American people believe that British statesmen desire understanding and co-operation with Washington for the world's good, and not primarily or peculiarly for the greater security of the Empire or through any selfish design to embroil the Republic in the affairs of Europe. This Empire has lived for a thousand years, and can live for a thousand years longer by its own strength of arm and its own love of freedom and justice. When all is said, the true glories of civilization are not in conquest but in service; not in war and its triumph, but in peace and its blessings; not in the power of an Empire to menace and overawe the world, but in its disposition to do justly and love mercy and keep peace among the nations. "Not by might nor by power, but by My spirit, saith the Lord of Hosts." As British subjects we believe that, wherever the flag has been carried, freedom has ripened under its folds, law and order have been established and maintained, and the common lot of the common man has been ameliorated. I know there are doubtful chapters in the story, but it still is the best story that has been written in what John Morley has described as "the sombre anarchy of human history," and the shadows are hardly perceived in the wide stream of light that marks Britain's pathway down the centuries. Through all these centuries, in order to ensure the independence of the citizen and maintain and extend the principles of free constitutional government, Great Britain has fought bloody

battles, has overthrown tyrants at home and tyrants abroad, has pulled thrones down and set thrones up, has curbed the power of aristocracies and mocked the divinity of kings, and scattered the bones of her sons over the whole earth. We want to keep such an Empire and make such a world, and in that spirit only we look to Washington.

I believe there are forces in these two nations making invincibly and inevitably for common understanding and common action, and that ultimately they will prevail. I so believe because I believe in freedom, in bonds of blood and speech, in the long, silent spiritual pressure of traditions hallowed by the ages, in man's final humanity to man, and in the God who is never inactive if ever invisible in human affairs. We in Canada may do much to assist that final spiritual reunion of the English-speaking peoples, and may I suggest that we have so borne ourselves in these last fretful and turbulent years, in the sensitive and difficult sphere of international relations, as to be not unworthy of the affection and respect of our neighbours and the high example of the Mother Country. There is wisdom, Sir, in your proposal that in future Conferences the Press of the United States should have adequate representation. I have always believed that in the first tremendous weeks of the great conflict in Europe American opinion was steadied and turned definitely and irrevocably towards Great Britain and the free nations by Lord Grey's statement of the British position and the resolute, luminous, and convincing interpretation and support of his statement by powerful American journals. From their firm, lucid, and courageous reasoning there was no escape, and gradually they moulded the temper of the nation and brought its immense reserves of human and material resources into the struggle. We may not forget, nor can one think that the

Press of any country ever rendered a greater service to mankind.

And the other duty which lies upon us, to which many of us are at times unfaithful, which we forget in the ardour of political debate, is to maintain harmony between religions and races and sections in Canada, to ensure unity at home by wise conciliation and temperate controversy, and to build for the future upon that corner-stone of toleration which is the bedrock of British institutions. One word more, and that is, Welcome to Canada. May you have happy days among us and pleasant recollections hereafter. And through these hours of fraternity and intimacy may we be better citizens of our own countries, better subjects of the Empire, and better soldiers in the unending warfare against the forces which divide and destroy, which separate class from class and nation from nation, and make the earth a place of torment for multitudes for whom a Child was born at Bethlehem and a Cross carried up the Hill of Calvary. [Applause.]

PROFESSOR LEACOCK

PROFESSOR STEPHEN LEACOCK said:

There are times when a speaker feels, on rising, somewhat appalled and abashed at the dignity and learning of the audience he is about to address—but this is not one of these times; I am not worried at all. I admit you make a very imposing appearance, but when I remember you are, after all, gentlemen of the Press, I have no fear of you whatever.

I know the Press in all its methods. I know it when it sits up at three o'clock concocting leading articles, but in no mood do I like it better than the present one. My only direct connection with the Press consists of dealing with young men who come to me after I have made a speech and say, "Would you mind giving me the heads of what you said?" There is something about my speeches which makes them think it is all introduc-

tion. They think that the principal parts are to come later on, while the principal parts are really coming right now. It there are any members of the Press here to-night, I just want to say to them that the chief parts of my speech are coming right now. These are the chief points, just what I am saying now. [Laughter.]

I have been asked to come and help welcome you to-night, and I cannot tell you by what great sacrifice I did it. I may tell you, however, that I have come from my farm in the country, and there the bugs are eating my farm away at this moment. I ought to be there. Those of you from the Australian antipodes know that of hand-picked bugs we have more this year than ever before, and I really should not have left. My wife clung to me and asked me to stop: "The bugs first," she said; but I said, "No! the bugs come every year." [Loud laughter.]

Well, I am sorry if Lord Atholstan should think that I may be talking in a light vein. Lord Atholstan said particularly, "Don't be light. I think they ought to have something to carry home." I said, "Forget it, Lord Atholstan. There will be no trouble about that. They will be carrying home all they can get without my telling them anything."

It is a pleasure, and a great pleasure, gentlemen, to welcome you to Montreal. I don't know of any one spot north of Mexico I would sooner welcome you to than Montreal. If you could just realize the demand we have for beds and accommodation for conventions and meetings! I cannot transact the simplest business in the United States without receiving a wire, "Think better personal conference in Montreal." I never get a lower berth on the New York Central without receiving a telegram, "Think better personal meet you Montreal and discuss." [Laughter.]

I have nothing but sympathy and admiration for some of the splendid

labours you are about to achieve. I have added up the number of men taking part in this Imperial Press Conference, and computed the number of dinners you are going to participate in. I have then multiplied them together and got the mean average individual dinner you are going to eat: 4,200; and 3,600 luncheons. You are to be given dinners and luncheons all the way from here to Vancouver, to be shown waterfalls, factories, and works of all kinds, and in the spirit of true British brotherliness you are going to stand for it. I form something of a mental picture of your delegate when he gets to a town at the end of the trip, and they say, "This is the principal factory of our town, we want you to see it." Some men break down into hysteria and say in a quavering voice, "Is that your principal factory, really?" Others go in a flying rage and say, "By Heaven, don't show me that." But you are come to eat these luncheons and dinners and look at these factories, because that is the way we bind our British Empire together.

We have with us to-night distinguished delegates from the United States. They have often wondered how we hung together. Well, I can tell them the secret now, they are seeing us do it. I have met more friends from Tasmania to-night than ever I did in my life before. We do not need to have conventions and gatherings, we just simply get together, eat, drink, and show one another our factories.

I have only one word of advice to offer to you gentlemen, and it is the advice given by Daniel Webster as he stood by the falls of Genesey River and said, "Men of Rochester, go on." That is what I invite you to do, sirs. Go on as you are doing: you are all right. [Laughter.]

LORD BURNHAM

LORD BURNHAM, in reply on behalf of the visitors, said:

Lord Atholstan, Your Honour, My Lords and Gentlemen,—After this splendid banquet, the magnificent hospitality of which I have never known equalled, I feel quite incapable, for reasons that Professor Leacock has just explained to you, adequately to express the gratitude of the visiting delegates to the Press of the Dominion.

However, though I am unable to deal with the five points of Professor Leacock's speech, I can deal with one. It seems that in his absence his potatoes will be suffering from bugs. Well, sir, it is my privilege to tell him that we have brought with us some of the greatest agricultural experts in England, and I will see to it that their services are at his disposal, so that at least he shall not suffer from his courtesy in coming here this evening. [Laughter.]

But I wish to say that, as we know and Greek wisdom has taught us, in hospitality the will is the great thing, and we all of us have never known the will to hospitality so determined, so prodigal, and so magnificent as it has been during our time in Canada. We wish to tell you how grateful we feel to the committees of the Press, and above all to the man who has been the inspiring genius of the whole of our welcome, who shrinks from the limelight, but whom we mean to bring out this evening, our host of hosts, Lord Atholstan. They have done everything, from first to last, to make us all feel that we were really at home. The British world is a world of its own, and it is a world of many homes. Canada is a country, and if it were not for the presence of our American friends I would say that it was a continent, of homes. The difficulty for any one of us to determine is in which of the homes we would choose to live.

I have very little doubt that if I put the question to all the delegates here this evening, they would say that there was no better home than Canada, and perhaps, as Lord

Shaughnessy has suggested, we are not all British enough to be good Canadians. At the same time, we feel intensely the home spirit, and we thank you with all our hearts for the reception we have received from the moment we set foot on Canadian shores.

Fifty years ago Dr. Johnson spoke of the "bleak and inhospitable shores of Canada." Well, all we know is that Canada has established a record for hospitality which none of the other Dominions can ever succeed in surpassing. We are all of us here as newspaper men, proud to stand with the newspaper Press of Canada, which is second to none throughout the length and breadth of the British Empire. When we put aside the mere archæologies of the case, we know it has just as good a claim to have established the freedom of the Press as has our own.

We know that in point of our effective annals, the Canadian Press dates back the same length of years. We know, too, that it has the same virility, the same independence that we claim for the newspapers of our other colonies. We are met here to-night, to use Burke's words, "in the union and fellowship of the Great Empire of which we all are citizens." We are met also in the "communion and fellowship of a high profession" to which we who are journalists here are proud to belong. But may I at once say that we are glad—more glad than I can tell you, to see amongst us many American proprietors and editors who have done us the honour of coming to Montreal this evening. We take their distinguished presence as a personal compliment. But we see in it something better than that. We see in it the emblem of the firm friendship and high purpose, without which both the new world and the old world would soon disappear into something worse than primeval chaos.

When I hear of alarms and excur-

sions, about the awfulness of the United States, I try to forget the froth of the platform, and I think of the Americans I have known, and know to-day, and I know that one and all of them are men of strong sense and high principle, who are united with us heart and soul in maintaining the British ideals of liberty and justice.

When the poison gas is about, and there is a good deal of it and it has various colours—sometimes it is yellow, sometimes it is green, sometimes it is red—I trust to such men as Melville Stone and Curtis to supply both the cure and the preventive, and I know very well that they would not be here this evening unless they wished to extend to us the right hand of friendship, which I, on behalf of our delegates, readily and greedily accept. [Applause.]

Now our friend, Professor Leacock, has said that he hears we have a mission. Let me tell him at once that we have not, and relieve his mind. Dickens makes one of his characters to say, "Never have a mission." We have no mission. Those who served in any department of state during the Great War recollect how, time after time, papers were passed to them with the words, "for information, please." That is exactly what we are here for—for information, please. The Lieutenant-Governor, when I came in, said to me, "I think you fellows ought to find out something about Canada." We fellows are here to find out something about Canada, and just as we have no mission, let me relieve your mind by telling you, we have no mandate. A mandate, as we all know, is a diplomatic contrivance for passing on to other people responsibilities which one is not willing or unable to take up oneself. We have therefore no mandate. We are here only to see things for ourselves, and I venture to prophesy that what we are about to see in Canada will be on a par with

what we have already seen in Canada, and that we will find it very good.

FIRST PRESS CONFERENCE

I cannot help recollecting with pride that this is the first Imperial Press Conference to be held on the soil of Canada. There have been congresses and there have been meetings of other kinds, but although this is the Second Imperial Press Conference, it is the first to have been held outside the British Isles. We are about to renew the work of 1909. That we were brought together, the editors and newspaper men of the Empire, for the first time eleven years ago was the brilliant idea of Sir Harry Brittain, who is with us tonight. He first conceived it, I believe, on Canadian soil. Before 1909 we pressmen of the Empire did not know one another, and we did not know ourselves. The power of the Press was recognized; but what our Conference established was the dignity of the pressmen.

In the days of old in England my father and John Delane, the great editor of "The Times," never knew one another, so often in mutual defiance they seemed to stand, and as to personal touch between newspaper men of other dominions and ourselves, it simply did not exist. We altogether lacked what Scott calls "the secret symbol, the silver link, the silken tie," which prevents misunderstanding. In 1909 we met, and liked one another. To me and my family it will ever be a source of pride that my father was president of the First Imperial Press Conference. We took counsel among ourselves on matters that concerned ourselves; but we did far more than that, we heard from the great leaders of thought and action who counted for so much in the destinies of the British Empire.

Lord Rosebery, as we have been reminded by the message from the King, spoke of the calm before the

storm, the impressive silence when you could hear a leaf fall while the forest fires were smouldering ready to burst into flames which half consumed our civilization. We heard the patriotic views of that model of chivalry, the late Lord Roberts. We were taken into the circle of Cabinet secrets and Cabinet agenda, and some of that agenda is agenda still, and with that agenda we have still to deal. The agenda that is before the British Empire is just as full to-day as before the war. But perhaps some of us can read it a little better in the light of our war experience. We can never forget the splendid response of Canada in the first contingent of volunteers. We can never forget that Canada was the first Dominion to adopt compulsory service when the skies were darkened with the storm-clouds of German reserve forces, and time after time during the war the Canadian Corps saved the situation and the day—400,000 men drawn from the life-blood of your body politic. [Applause.]

DEED OF PARTNERSHIP

But apart from the partnership in sacrifice, our common interest and common mourning have taught us that after all it matters little what are the forms of our Government, so long as they express the union of mind and soul which makes the substance of the British Empire.

Sir John Willison has spoken this evening with directness and eloquence of need of elasticity in our deed of partnership. He has spoken of stationary perpetualists and destructionists, but our Empire does not depend on forms and formulas. What we want is free access of mind and soul from one Dominion to another, and no bank of discontent from which mischief-makers can draw at will.

We want our statesmen in close touch with one another throughout the Empire, and we can easily see

means whereby, either by Privy Council or by personal conferences, this may be attained.

We should no doubt be all the better if we had a Privy Council of the Empire, because there is always the danger that men who have no duties allotted to them will seldom make duties for themselves; but when the Prime Ministers of the Empire can talk to one another on the telephone, there will not be half the risk of those misunderstandings which have been the cause of so many difficulties in the past. [Applause.]

Surely our newspaper Press has an essential part to play in this. Some great writer has said that every drop of our blood is coloured by the Press, and adds, "Let me make the newspapers and I care not who make the religions and the laws." Although there is a note of exaggeration and hyperbole in this, there is no doubt that we add colour to the blood of the community. It is good that we do not all use the same pigments. It would be bad for the progress of the world if we did, but it is surely our duty not to paint the world red in the old sense of the word, but to give to the blood of the community the redness of health, and so to act that the joint interests of the Empire are neither forgotten nor ignored.

It never was truer than it is to-day that the British interest is in peace, that at a great price we have attained peace, but not at the price of British honour, which never stood higher than it did at the end of the great war. Peace cannot endure unless the British Empire works skilfully and well. We have to stand up for British strength and justice, but I say it advisedly, that unless the members be animated by faith in the Empire, and unless sustained by common principles as to ways and means, the British Empire itself will fall down and fail. For the purpose of rendering our Empire proof against poison and poison gas, of making our Empire

better able to achieve the high purposes of our British civilization, I believe that this coming Conference may mean as much as the last one, if not more, but I cannot put it higher. Statesmen, not pressmen, have told me that the Imperial Press Conference did more to draw together the moral and intellectual forces of the Empire than any Imperial Conference that ever was held. If we can achieve as much, it will be a proud record.

Never did body of men and women come to your shores with greater feelings of relief and refreshment. For the time being I believe we were all glad to be out of Europe. We were sick and tired of the stale taste of blood. We want to forget for the moment that awful load of responsibility for the complication of miseries which rest upon Europe, and which we seemed so little able to dispel or to dissipate.

We came here to a land of hope, and are bound to say we feel a detachment from European miseries here such as we have not felt since the war began. We feel great hope in the manifest and obvious destinies of Canada. If I may slightly alter a notable saying, I could tell you the truth, that the oldest tradition of Canada is her youth, and she has had that tradition over 300 years. At the same time she still keeps the rose of youth in her hand. It is a plant which is strengthened by long years of experience. Even those who have seen Canada for the first time—and I have seen it only after an interval of twenty-five years—none can doubt that with the immeasurable resources of this Dominion, and still more with the individual energy of her people, Canada is destined to come into the front files of human progress. Who can doubt it?

Canada may have infinite possibilities, but if she has so splendid a record of work done it is because it has been done by the Canadian

people. She is what the Canadian people have made her, drawing no doubt new strength from the whole of the Empire, but at the same time colouring everything with the Canadian character and inspiring everything with the Canadian touch. It has been to us an inspiration to see what we have seen, and it seems to me the best thing of all was to see how you and your community welcomed us to this city of Montreal, for two centuries the outpost of civilization on this continent, which shows us in the beauty of its sights and in its superabundant possibilities of which we see evidences on every hand, what the union of two races in Canada can do, and what they have brought into their common stock.

Her imagination and strength, I am certain, mean for Canada a future of power and potency more than any one of us can conceive. With these feelings on behalf of the delegation I thank those who have spoken these words of welcome and those who have carried these words of welcome to so magnificent a success. The one thing which seems most difficult to realize in this kaleidoscope is that we have only passed a week. We have the greater part before us in point of time, and I am sure not less before us in point of the hospitality we shall receive.

On behalf of all the visitors I thank you from the bottom of my heart. [Applause.]

MR. WARD-JACKSON

MR. R. S. WARD-JACKSON, of the "Rand Daily Mail," Johannesburg, responding on behalf of South Africa, said that it was a nerve-racking proceeding to stand up and address such a world-wide gathering as that. He had been trying to find the reason why McGill University had conferred on him the distinction of a degree as Doctor of Laws. He had listened carefully to reasons given to him,

"and was no wiser when they had been given." He should have been told that, as he is the representative of South Africa, and as McGill University is one of the greatest of universities, it had given him this degree because he was "from South Africa, and because South Africa is our sister, and as such we love her." It was his duty to try and express their gratitude for Montreal's reception of them in Canada. It was not that they had received such hospitality as no other Dominion had dispensed, but that Canada had taken them to their heart and to her homes. "You have left homes, in some cases many thousands of miles distant, to receive us. I represent the Benjamin of the Dominions, and since I came to Canada I have been a little grieved to listen to two eminent speakers, and to notice that in speaking of the Dominions they both omitted South Africa, although they very scrupulously mentioned Hong Kong. If you knew how you could help South Africa by remembering her, and by not always regarding her as a source of trouble, you would certainly do so. Remember that, like you, we have a history behind us not free from bloodshed, misunderstanding, and misrepresentation, and with two conflicting ideals which finally were settled by fighting. You Canadians helped Great Britain in that war as you did in the recent one. Therefore, it is of special interest to you to know that the blood of your heroes was not shed in South Africa in vain. In South Africa, as in this country, two nations, speaking different languages, live side by side in friendliness and amity, and it was only eighteen years ago since the Peace of Vereeniging was signed."

Mr. Jackson pointed out that no other part of the Empire offers greater attractions than does South Africa, both from an Imperial and a trade point of view, and no country would so well repay the attention of Canadians.

He stated that it was agreed that the Conference had no mission in coming to Canada, but that was not to say that they did not have a duty, a duty to work for the benefit of the Empire and of humanity at large. It was said that we have peace, but he felt that a peace dictated on the field of battle was no permanent peace, and all history proved that such was the case. They should not be pessimists, but he felt that full notice should be taken of the signs of self-consciousness in the East, the East which we had never understood, and from which throughout history the great movements of nations had worked—from East to West. It was so necessary for the Press to place itself at the service of the Empire. There were in existence extreme doctrines which might lead them into anarchy. To build up was, he thought, the task of the Press Conference. "The gospel we have to tell is the gospel to build, build, build—for God's sake, do not pull down. Our task in every Dependency is to preach this great doctrine, and perpetually build on the surest foundations that were ever laid down." [Applause.]

PRESS OF THE UNITED STATES

Introducing the toast to the American Press, LORD ATHOLSTAN said :

We are honoured to-night with the company of distinguished American journalists, who have come long distances to greet our Overseas guests. They are representatives of thousands of American publications, who feel that amongst the best guarantees for the peace of the world Anglo-American friendship and good-will rank very high. We are glad to have with us too a well-known French-Canadian journalist, a brilliant writer and distinguished member of the Canadian House of Commons, Mr. Fernand Rinfret, who will speak to the representatives of the American Press.

MR. FERNAND RINFRET

MR. FERNAND RINFRET, Member of Parliament of St. James's division, Montreal, proposed "The Press of the United States," saying that it was a very pleasant duty for him to propose this toast, and it brought back to him memories of when he went to visit England and became acquainted with the intensity of the British war effort. Here they were gathered together again, this time in Canada, but the parallel was still more complete by reason of the presence in the Conference from the neighbouring country of the American Press. "I think that we all rejoice in their visit, and feel assured that it will bring forth the best of results; it is a movement of reciprocity."

Mr. Rinfret pointed out how Canada might consider itself the godfather of the American Press, for was not the paper which they used the product of Canada's forests, and in the fact that American Press opinions came back to Canada on paper made of its pulp, he felt that Canada had not lost through the exchange. He was particularly honoured in taking part in this gathering, and in addressing Imperial delegates and pressmen from America. He thought that it might be that in some instances our neighbours had not understood French-Canada, or had been misled by misconception, and French Canada's conception of Imperial matters might have been different from that of other Canadians—and sometimes it had been closer to what was correct.

Mr. Rinfret referred to the way in which Lord Atholstan appeared to be running two Governments, one in this country through his newspapers, and in England through the House of Lords, and much amusement was caused by this novel view.

Mr. Rinfret emphasized the solid qualities of French-Canadians, their loyalty to the Crown, their attachment to the soil, and their intense

love of freedom, in each case the same as other Canadians, and he suggested that Americans stood for the same ideas, and that the two nations were working for the same ideals. "It is in that spirit of friendship that I am intensely proud, as a Canadian of French origin, to drink to the health of American pressmen."

MR. C. H. K. CURTIS

Replying to the toast of the Press of the United States, Mr. C. H. K. CURTIS, of Philadelphia, said:

Lord Atholstan, My Lords and Gentlemen,—Only a little way south there is an imaginary line between the United States and Canada. Why should there be any more a barrier between these two countries than between New York and Pennsylvania, or any other of our states? The only obstacle seems to be that we are not well enough acquainted, but that obstacle on this occasion is likely to melt away. We need to become better acquainted.

Mr. Rinfret has said we have lived side by side here for a century. Canada has entertained friendly relations with the United States for half a century with only an imaginary line between us. Business and social relations have naturally brought us together, and in consequence we understand each other better. The American Press appreciates these better relations, and welcomes occasions for better understanding of each other's difficulties. To know each other better means peace and prosperity, so we welcome our British brothers on these shores.

It is a subject of regret on the part of the United States that you gentlemen cannot find time to visit us. I have often heard that spoken of recently, and it has been mentioned a number of times, "Can't we in some way induce these delegates to pay us a visit?" I will take it upon myself to invite you to the United States whenever you find it convenient, and I can

assure you there is as hearty a welcome as you have received or are likely to receive in the Dominion here. We will offer you our services, and do everything we can for you; in fact we will say to you as the darky preacher said in his prayer, "Use us, O Lord, use us in any way you think fit, even if it is only in an advisory capacity."

MR. JOHN R. RATHOM

Mr. J. R. RATHOM ("Providence Journal," Rhode Island) supported Mr. Curtis, in saying that there was to-day an alliance between Great Britain, the British Empire, and the United States, consisting, as far as newspaper men were concerned, of two things. One was the fact that, in his country, the greater part of Americans were just as true to the principles of liberty and justice as the people of any country on the face of the earth. "Character and courage, I think, exemplify American history." He considered that talk of trouble between Great Britain and the United States could be utterly disregarded, and felt well able to talk of this matter, since he had been born under the British flag, and for the last twenty-five years had been under the American flag, and as both countries had the same ideals, and both believed first in a Supreme Being, second in character, and third in courage, they could always meet each other half-way.

SIR LOMER GOUIN, K.C.M.G.

LORD ATHOLSTAN then rose and paid the following tribute to Sir Lomer Guoin, who was seated at the head table:

We can all recall instances of notable men in public life having risen to the ranks of journalism, sometimes because they had tired of the irksomeness and thanklessness of politics, and sometimes for other reasons. The names of ex-President Cleveland and ex-President Taft occur to us in this connection.

To-day this yearning for better things is magnificently exemplified in this province by one who honours us with his presence to-night. A man who, for many years in public life with an irreproachable record, at the very zenith of his power, which he might have retained for many years, abandons his public career to take over the editorial direction of an influential journal.

Nothing has happened in this province for years that is of greater significance than the entry into journalism of our highly respected ex-Premier, Sir Lomer Gouin. We have reason to congratulate the country. I will not ask Sir Lomer Gouin to speak, because, I think at the present, he prefers to have his pen do what his voice did. However, I think you will all join in giving him three cheers.

This was responded to most heartily.

SIR L. GOUIN'S REPLY

In reply SIR LOMER GOUIN, addressed the assembly briefly, as follows :

I have been in public life for some twenty years, and I had the honour of being Prime Minister of the province for fifteen years. I have attended a number of dinners, but I was promised that to-night I would enjoy the full pleasure of a dinner because I would not be called on to speak.

I have had to speak at every dinner I have attended for the last fifteen years, and now at the end of

this very brilliant fête, our very distinguished host, Lord Atholstan, pays me the compliment of telling you gentlemen of the delegation that I have acted as Prime Minister in this province for so long, and that I have decided to change my career and go into the very noble profession of journalism. I cannot thank him for the turn he has passed on to me, but I must certainly thank all you gentlemen for the way you have received his remarks. I cannot speak as a journalist. I was only born to the family yesterday, but I was proud and happy to receive Lord Atholstan's very kind invitation to participate at this dinner, because I knew I would meet the greatest journalists of England and of all the Dominions, and some of our good neighbours of the United States. Our friend, Mr. Rinfret, who is my senior by eleven years in this profession, has expressed to you gentlemen of England, gentlemen of the Dominions, and gentlemen of the United States, how proud we are in Canada of your visit. I was glad to hear Lord Burnham say you enjoyed the hospitality of the Maritime Provinces. I was proud to hear you were satisfied with the reception given to you in Montreal, and I am sure that the same cordiality will meet you all over Canada, and when you come back to Quebec, I hope I will still be a journalist, and that I may be able to pay you the proper compliments when we have the honour of receiving you in the capital of our province. [Applause.]

BANQUET BY THE CANADIAN GOVERNMENT.

NOTABLE SPEECH BY THE PRIME MINISTER

A reception banquet was given in honour of the Imperial Press Conference by the Government of Canada, on Thursday, August 5th. The Governor-General, the Duke of Devonshire, presided.

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The Prime Minister, THE HON. ARTHUR MEIGHEN, delivered the following speech in proposing the toast of the evening. He said:

The duty before me now is one that I come to gladly. It has all the pleasant and none of the forbidding features, both of which at times characterize public tasks.

The influence and permanence of a conference is governed, not so much by the objects the members of the conference may have in common as by the public advantage to be derived from those objects being promoted and realized. An organization, however legitimate it may be to the man behind the pen, and however powerful its constituent parts, can never, if its purposes are purely selfish, hope to attain the same importance, the same orbit of interest, the same rank and elevation, and the same long life, as one whose success can be built only on the foundations of public service.

There can be no institution in a democratic country—and the British Empire is the most thorough-going democracy on earth—no institution, with the possible exception of the Government itself, which is of such

close and vital concern to the whole population as is its Press. This has always been true, and as time goes on it becomes increasingly and pre-dominantly true. I said with the "possible" exception of the Government, because, ultimately, in a country like ours, we are governed by public opinion, and the Press has more to do with the creation and direction of public opinion than all other factors together. On the tone and temper and wisdom of its Press depends in preponderating degree the happiness of a people. To what, therefore, is of first importance to democracy, democracy turns its eyes and gives heed. That is why the presence among us and the deliberations of this Conference are now engaging the interest of Canadians and of all British people. We welcome you to Canada.

We welcome you because we are glad to have you here; we welcome you as fellow-citizens and missionaries of this Empire, anxious to learn of Canada that you may help Canada, anxious to know the truth and to spread the truth in order to strengthen the silken cords that bind the commonwealth of British nations.

I have said that the Press, as an institution, holds a rank co-extensive with government; indeed, it can be said to exert a still more primary and far-reaching power. If that is the case, we are all at liberty to discuss the principles that should govern the conduct of newspapers. We get a

DELEGATES TO THE SECOND IMPERIAL PRESS CONFERENCE, 1920.



1. MR. P. D. ROSS ("The Ottawa Journal"). 2. MR. J. SHERLOCK (Official Reporter). 3. MR. E. WOODHEAD ("The Huddersfield Examiner"). 4. MR. R. S. WARD JACKSON ("The Rand Daily Mail"). 5. MR. T. E. NAYLOR (Printing and Kindred Trades Federation). 6. MR. MORGAN POWELL ("Montreal Star"). 7. MR. GEORGE ISAACS (National Society of Operative Printers and Assistants). 8. SIR RODRICK JONES (Reuter's).
 9. MR. C. F. GRANDALL ("The Montreal Star," Hon. Secretary Canadian Press Executive). 10. HON. J. W. KIRWAN, M.L.C. ("The Kalgoorlie Miner," West Australia). 11. MR. D. M. OLLEMANS ("The Friend," Bloemfontein). 12. HON. THEO. FINK ("The Melbourne Herald"). 13. MR. D. BRAHAM ("The Sydney Daily Telegraph"). 14. MR. J. J. KNIGHT ("The Brisbane Courier," Australia). 15. MR. E. E. EDWARDS ("The Brisbane Telegraph," Australia). 16. HON. A. LOVEKIN, M.L.C. ("The Perth Daily News," Australia). 17. MR. H. C. DREYER, C.M.G. ("The Daily Gleaner," Jamaica). 18. MR. VALENTINE KNAPP (The Newspaper Society). 19. MR. H. E. CRISHOLM ("Manitoba Free Press," Winnipeg). 20. MR. ROWLAND SNELLING ("The Egyptian Gazette"). 21. MR. NORMAN SMITH ("The Ottawa Journal"). 22. SIR CAMPBELL STUART ("The Times," London). 23. MR. J. O'B. SAUNDERS ("The Englishman," Calcutta). 24. MR. RUSTUM JEE (Bombay). 25. MR. W. BISSON ("The Melbourne Argus"). 26. MR. J. L. GIBBY ("The Paper Maker"). 27. MR. J. D. GRAHAM ("The Wolverhampton Express and Star"). 28. MR. J. D. DON ("The Johannesburg Star," South Africa). 29. MR. J. B. MORRELL ("The Birmingham Gazette"). 30. VISCOUNT BURNHAM (President of the Conference). 31. MR. R. ALLISTER ("The Cape Times," South Africa). 32. MR. R. A. ANDERSON ("The Irish Homestead," Dublin). 33. MR. F. CROSBIE ROLES ("The Times of Ceylon"). 34. MR. WALTER MAKEPEACE ("The Singapore Free Press"). 35. MR. J. P. COLLINS ("The Civil and Military Gazette," Lahore). 36. MR. G. H. KINGWELL ("The Rand Daily Mail"). 37. SIR GEORGE TOULMIN ("The Lancashire Daily Post"). 38. MR. W. B. NORTHRUP, M.A. 39. MR. H. HORTON ("The New Zealand Herald"). 40. MR. JOHN MITCHELL ("The Dundee Courier"). 41. COL. SIR ARTHUR HOLBROOK, M.P. ("The Portsmouth Times"). 42. MR. R. A. ANDERSON ("The Irish Homestead," Dublin). 43. MR. N. K. KERNY ("Cape Argus," South Africa). 44. MAJOR G. V. LANSELE ("The Bendigo Advertiser," Australia). 45. LORD ATHOLSTAN ("The Montreal Star," Chairman of Canadian Press Executive). 46. MR. W. B. NORTHRUP, M.A. 47. MR. P. DAVIS ("The Natal Witness," South Africa). 48. MR. C. D. DON ("The Johannesburg Star," South Africa). 49. MR. J. B. MORRELL ("The Birmingham Gazette"). 50. VISCOUNT BURNHAM (President of the Conference). 51. SIR GILBERT PARKER, Bt., P.C. 52. MR. P. SELIG ("Christchurch Press," New Zealand). 53. MR. N. K. KERNY ("Cape Argus," South Africa). 54. MAJOR G. V. LANSELE ("The Bendigo Advertiser," Australia). 55. MR. R. J. ARMISTE, M.A. (Canada). 56. SIR CHARLES STARMER ("Northern Echo," Darlington, and Allied Newspapers). 57. MR. W. TURNER (Reuter's, Far East Correspondent). 58. HON. ALEX. W. MEWS ("St. John's Evening Advocate," Newfoundland). 59. DR. AUGUSTO BARTOLO ("The Daily Malta Chronicle"). 60. MR. T. McLACHLAN ("The Scotsman," Edinburgh). 61. DR. ELLIS T. POWELL ("The Financial News"). 62. MR. FRED. COOK. 63. MR. HAROLD HARMSWORTH ("The Western Morning News," Plymouth). 64. MR. HUGH R. DENISON ("The Sun," Sydney). 65. SIR PATRICK McGRATH ("St. John's Evening Herald," Newfoundland). 66. MR. J. W. DAFCE ("Manitoba Free Press," Winnipeg). 67. MR. L. GOODENOUGH TAYLOR ("The Bristol Times and Mirror"). 68. MR. J. S. MACDONALD ("The Farmer and Stock Breeder," London). 69. COL. ED. W. WATT ("Aberdeen Free Press"). 70. SIR ROBERT BRUCE ("The Glasgow Herald"). 71. MR. PERCIVAL MARSHALL (British Association of Trade and Technical Journals). 72. SIR ENISLEY CARR ("The News of the World," London). 73. THE LATE MR. ALFRED SPRIGG ("The Leicester Mail"). 74. MR. ARTHUR BURROWS (Marconi's Wireless Telegraph Co., Ltd.). 75. MR. ROBERT DONALD (Chairman of the Empire Press Union). 76. MR. J. HUTCHISON ("Otago Daily Times," New Zealand). 77. THE LATE HON. C. E. DAVIES, M.L.C. ("The Hobart Mercury," Tasmania). 78. SIR FRANK NEWNS, Bt. 79. MR. T. W. LEYS ("The Auckland Star," New Zealand). 80. MR. JOHN NELSON ("The World," Vancouver). 81. HON. FRANK CARREL ("The Quebec Telegraph"). 82. MR. W. A. CRAIK. 83. MR. J. PARKER ("Wellington Post," New Zealand). 84. HON. W. S. FIELDING ("Journal of Commerce," Montreal; ex-Dominion Minister for Finance). 85. MRS. M. F. BILLINGTON (Society of Women Journalists, London). 86. MR. TAYLOR DARBYSIRE ("The Melbourne Age"). 87. SENATOR SMEATON WHITE ("The Montreal Gazette"). 88. MR. GEOFFREY E. FAIRFAX ("Sydney Morning Herald," Australia). 89. MR. E. ABBEY JONES ("The Southland Times," New Zealand). 90. HON. W. S. FIELDING ("Journal of Commerce," Montreal; ex-Dominion Minister for Finance). 91. LT.-COL. J. B. McLEAN (Proprietor of McLean Publications, Canada). 92. MR. RUPERT DAVIES ("The Mercury," Renfrew Ontario; President, Canadian Weekly Newspaper Association). 93. MR. WILLIAM MAXWELL ("Aberdeen Daily Journal"). 94. MR. N. LEVI ("De Volkstem," South Africa). 95. MR. E. R. SYLES (Manager, Canadian Weekly Newspapers Association). 96. MR. E. R. SYLES (Manager, Canadian Weekly Newspapers Association). 97. MR. E. R. SYLES (Manager, Canadian Weekly Newspapers Association). 98. MR. E. R. SYLES (Manager, Canadian Weekly Newspapers Association). 99. MR. E. R. SYLES (Manager, Canadian Weekly Newspapers Association). 100. MR. E. R. SYLES (Manager, Canadian Weekly Newspapers Association).

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lot of advice from them, and I do not see how we can refuse to give some in return.

I won't undertake to advise as to the financial end of your enterprise, because I have no means of answering for the consequences should my advice prove wrong. They tell me that money can be lost even in the newspaper business. I give you merely a layman's thought as to what an editor should keep in mind. In my way of looking at it, there is only one motto he need bother much about, and that is to tell the truth. As news you tell the truth only once, and then it is news no longer, but editorially you reshape, restate, and re-emphasize, and repeat the truth forever. It has been said that a man in public office should speak the truth sparingly, but with precision. That does not apply to the exalted office you hold. Your privilege is to tell everything, to tell it with care, but with abandon, with jealousy for its reality and honesty, but with a fullness of circumstance and emphasis. For a good newspaper man, I think there is only one proverb: "The truth shall make you free."

There are several ways of failing to live up to this principle; there is misstatement—I speak now not so much of practice as of a blemish that I think occasionally injures your profession—there is as well understatement; there is overstatement; but the favourite method is the half-truth. Assertions are made, perhaps not directly false, but only a fraction of the relevant facts, and misleading if left alone. Something that arrests and surprises is torn away from other facts of greater importance, and the reader is astonished and alarmed, and someone suffers injustice.

Then the news dispatch is ordered so as to take on the colour of the doctrine that the editor happens to espouse, and again great injustice is done. More and more the news article has become the real formu-

lator of opinion. As such it has gained in importance over the editorial page. Then surely the news should be news—a fair and just presentation of the truth. The distribution of news is now the greatest public trust in the whole body-democratic. The opportunities for good are infinite, the possibilities of mischief are just as vast.

The only human institution that compares in power with the Press is Government; but a Government operates under restraints. Its every act is debited or credited in the ledger of its fate. It moves under a system of checks—the parliamentary check, the electoral check. But the Press lives in a much freer atmosphere. In fact the essence of a really useful Press is its freedom. All the more need, then, of character, more need of fidelity to its trust, all the more reason why this profession should insist that the trust should be discharged with a rigid adherence to truth. The demagogue in journalism is a far more dangerous man than the demagogue in Parliament.

A member of the British Government said to this Conference in 1909, that the way in which you could best serve the large and general interests of the British Empire was to write good and true words, words that would proclaim the solidarity of Christendom, and the interdependence of nations. I think it can be said that in the eleven eventful years which have passed since then, the great body of the British Press has fulfilled that exalted mission.

But if Mr. Churchill were speaking now instead of in 1909, he could hold up the same banner and sound the same note with even greater zeal and authority. There never was such overwhelming necessity to direct the currents of British public opinion and expression toward the ends of peace, and good-will among men as there is to-day. It never was quite as true as it is now that Britain's

greatest interest is peace. In order to make lasting peace a possibility, and bring order out of the chaos of the Eastern hemisphere, in order to hold up her end of the white man's burden—a ponderous end it is—she joins hands with every real friend of peace in the world to police and protect communities who cannot protect themselves. She maintains now, though drained and exhausted with war, an army in Egypt, an army in Mesopotamia, an army in Persia, an army in India, an army in Constantinople, an army in Cologne, an army in Anatolia, an army in Palestine, and that list does not include the most distressing and onerous of her obligations. Surely Britain's greatest interest is peace, and surely the highest mission of her Press is to seek to attain that goal, and by faithfully defining the conduct and motives of our own Empire, and generously interpreting the actions of other Powers, to help re-establish good-will among nations on a broad democratic basis.

Let us hold to every instrument and organization that makes for peace, and give it our help. Let us encourage the League of Nations. Whether it succeeds or not, one thing is certain, there are things to be done before we have any chance for real dependable peace that the League of Nations may be able to do, and that no other institution in the world can by any possibility perform. If the League of Nations should fail, there is a dark outlook for humanity. Canada intends to do her full part in the work of making it succeed.

The only aspiration this country has is equality of nationhood within the British Commonwealth. Self-government we have long enjoyed. Indeed, self-government is the chief cornerstone of the whole structure; no contraction of our autonomous rights could ever be suffered for a moment. And as Canadian interests expand, particularly Canadian in-

terests abroad, the term self-government takes on from time to time a larger meaning. Nor can we be unmindful that the exercise of national rights involves corresponding responsibilities. But no development of self-government, and no problem of the sharing of responsibilities, can ever be allowed to menace the integrity and essential oneness of this Empire. If the British Empire, the first League of Nations, should fail and fall apart, I would not have much hope for the second and larger pattern.

Your Excellency, our guests to-night, they and their successors in the real seats of the mighty, have much to do in the fashioning of the destiny of our country in the promoting of the good, and the good name of Britain and this Dominion, and of the happiness of mankind. Of their welcome to Canada they already have no doubt. Our gates, and our doors, and our hearts, are open. I give you the health of our guests, the members of the Imperial Press Conference, 1920.

VISCOUNT BURNHAM

LORD BURNHAM, replying for the delegation, said:

On behalf of the newspaper Press of the British Empire, for which I am allowed to speak as President of the Empire Press Union, I wish to acknowledge the abundant—almost overabundant—kindness with which we have been received in Canada. Canadian hospitality will be for all of us the criterion of friendship. The Government of Canada has taken its full share in our reception. We thank them, and we feel ourselves signally honoured by their recognition.

The Dominions want no missionaries of great causes, because great causes are their own interpreters; but, here and everywhere, day by day, hour by hour, we influence the thoughts and actions of the masses of men and women who rule the British Empire.

I still speak of an Empire without fear and without reproach, because our Empire is its own type and its own species. Statesmen all over the world are perpetually seeking new words and phrases to define that which is above definition. We are not an Empire like the Tartar camp of barbaric corruption which called itself the Russian Empire; we are not the crazy combination of irreconcilable antipathies which was created in 1809 as the Austrian Empire; still less like the Holy Roman Empire, which was co-called, as we know, because it was neither holy nor Roman, nor an Empire. We are, of course, a commonwealth of nations as well. Sir Charles Tupper tells this story in the "Recollections of Sixty Years":

"When the Hon. T. F. Bayard was Secretary of State, I visited him, in 1887, in Washington, at his request to discuss the relations of the two countries. I met with the frank declaration: 'Well, Sir Charles, the Confederation of Canada and the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway have brought us face to face with a nation, and we may as well discuss public questions from that point of view.'"

He was a wise man, who realized the present and foresaw the future. You have the rights of nationhood, recently recognized more than ever before by the appointment of your envoy at Washington, but we still believe that it is as part of the Commonwealth. There is a cant phrase of the day which you often hear used—the co-operative commonwealth. I fear it is meant to cover all sorts of crude economics, but surely it ought to be true of the politics and the economics of the British Empire. It is still necessary. There is an American proverb which tells us that he who will not answer to the rudder will answer to the rocks. We have as many rocks ahead of us as we have reefs behind us. Since the dark

ages the world has never been plunged in such chaos and darkness as it is to-day. There never was a time when the fable of the bundle of sticks applied with such force and reason as it does to the British Empire in the peace which is no peace.

Our Imperial Press Conference is surely a part, and an essential part, of a co-operative commonwealth. It is, so far as I know, the first Imperial Conference to be held in Canada, or in any Overseas Dominion, although, as I am well aware, great and learned societies have several times held their annual congresses here, and departments of state have sent their representatives to *ad hoc* meetings. Our *ad hoc* is the fullest and most intimate understanding and comprehension between newspaper and newspaper men in all the Dominions of the British Crown. The first Imperial Press Conference was held in London in 1909. For the first time the statesmen of the Empire met the newsmen of the Empire. In all the "grandeur of generality" the journalists heard the statesmen tell us what they knew and what they feared. Of this, I am sure that if the British Empire is to be a co-operative commonwealth, we must have a thorough sense and practice of co-operation on independent and self-respecting lines between the Governments of the Empire and the newspaper Press of the Empire. As Burke said, "It is mind that works on mind; men are not governed as with a charm by a dead form of words, nor is the mysterious whole held together by chains made out of shreds of parchment." Mind on mind, heart to heart, that is the real union of our nationhood. The blood that was spent like water on the altar of a common duty and a common patriotism; the tears that fall on the row of medals, which is all that reminds the widow and the orphan of the lives that are not, in spite of all the malcontents and

all the cynics—these things which make up the sum of our sympathies have not been done in vain.

THE TOAST: "CANADA"

Mr. G. E. FAIRFAX, of the Australian delegation, tendered his heartfelt thanks to the Government of Canada. They had received nothing but the kindest treatment and warm-hearted welcome, culminating in that banquet. He intended to propose the toast of Canada.

"You have a most wonderful country," he said. "Even those making the whole trip will be unable to grasp the size and magnificence of it." In speaking of Canada, he would like to include the Canadian people. Canadians he saw in England were the finest body of men he had seen anywhere. There was a great tie of sympathy between Canada and Australia, owing to the Great War. Both countries gave about the same number of their sons. Canada and Australia would always stand hand in hand for the Empire in time of trouble.

The toast was drunk to cheers and the singing of "Oh! Canada."

SIR GEORGE FOSTER, Minister of Trade and Commerce, said he was taken by surprise. He came all cocked and primed to answer the toast to the Government of Canada, instead he was answering the toast to Canada, which was a very different thing. They had heard a very salutary address from the Prime Minister. He had said things about the Press the speaker had never dared. [Laughter.] He, however, would say amen.

It was not the part of a host to boost his own country. It would deprive them of the pleasures of their tour. If he was to stuff them full of praise of Canada, they would make the tour on beds of ease instead of using their power of observation.

What the delegates had heard was nothing to what they would hear in the West. [Laughter.] "Prepare yourselves," said Sir George, "there is a great deal in it."

"My friend from Australia echoed the thought that struck Australians who came here to attend an Inter-Colonial Conference in 1894. They had said if Australia had some of Canada's lakes and rivers it would be the greatest country on earth."

Sir George had a high ideal for the British Empire. The Empire would continue in strength. The Empire itself was a league of nations. The League of Nations had a work to do. He dreaded to think what would happen if it failed. It could not fail. The League was the hope for the future of a world awfully tangled at the present moment. The peace and prosperity of the world depended on the League of Nations.

"You will go home to your own countries thanking your God Canada is in the Commonwealth of the British Empire," he said. This was also true of the other nations of the Empire.

"THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL"

SIR PATRICK MCGRATH, of Newfoundland, proposed the toast of the Governor-General. The record established by the Cavendish family generations ago was fully upheld by the present representative.

HIS EXCELLENCY thanked Sir Patrick for his "generous references to myself." The Governor-General had intended to visit Newfoundland this summer, but had returned to Ottawa to greet the delegates. He recommended his friends to visit Newfoundland. Coming to Canada as a complete stranger, he had received a true-hearted and Canadian welcome. The delegates would, he felt, always remember the welcome extended to them.

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS

AT THE

SECOND IMPERIAL PRESS CONFERENCE

HELD IN THE PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS, OTTAWA, CANADA

ON

AUGUST 5TH, 6TH, AND 7TH, 1920

FIRST DAY: WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 5TH, 1920

THE Second Imperial Press Conference was opened on the morning of Wednesday, August 5th, 1920, in the Railway Committee Room of the newly-erected Parliament Buildings at Ottawa.

There was a full attendance of delegates from Great Britain and the Overseas Dominions, including the following:

Representing the Canadian Press

Lord Atholstan, President, the "Montreal Daily Star," Chairman of the Imperial Press Conference Canadian Executive.

Mr. J. E. Atkinson, President, "Toronto Daily Star," member of the Imperial Press Conference Canadian Executive, also Chairman of the Ontario Committee.

Mr. J. R. Burnett, Editor and Manager, "The Charlottetown Guardian," Chairman of Prince Edward Island Committee.

Hon. Frank Carrel, President, "Quebec Daily Telegraph," Joint Chairman of Quebec City Committee.

Mr. C. F. Crandall, Editor of the "Montreal Daily Star," Hon. Secretary, Imperial Press Conference Canadian Executive.

Mr. J. W. Dafeo, Vice-President and Managing Editor of the "Manitoba Free Press," Winnipeg, Chairman of the Manitoba Committee.

Mr. W. R. Davies, "Renfrew Mercury."

Mr. W. S. Douglas, "Toronto Mail and Empire."

Mr. J. M. Eastwood, "Hamilton Times."

Mr. F. B. Ellis, President and Editor, "The St. John's Globe," Chairman, New Brunswick Committee.

Mr. J. M. Imrie, Manager, Canadian Daily Newspapers Association.

Mr. M. R. Jennings, Editor and Managing Director, "The Edmonton Journal," Chairman of the Northern Alberta Committee.

Mr. W. F. Kerr, Editor, "The Regina Morning Leader," Chairman of the Saskatchewan Committee.

Miss MacMurchy, Women's Canadian Press Association.

Mr. Oswald Mayrand, Managing Editor; "La Presse," Montreal, member of the Imperial Press Conference Canadian Executive.

Mr. J. B. McLean, "Financial Post," Toronto.

Mr. John Nelson, Managing Director and Editor of the "Vancouver World," Chairman of the British Columbia Committee.

Lieut.-Col. Parkinson, "Ottawa Journal," Deputy, Canadian Executive.

Mr. G. Fred Pearson, President and Managing Director, "Morning Chronicle," Halifax, Chairman of the Nova Scotia Committee.

Mr. P. D. Ross, President and Editor, "The Ottawa Journal," Treasurer, Imperial Press Conference Canadian Executive; also in charge of arrangements at the capital.

Mr. E. Roy Sayles, Manager, Canadian Weekly Newspapers Association.

Mr. W. J. Taylor, President, "The Sentinel Review," Woodstock, member of Imperial Press Conference Canadian Executive.

Mr. L. J. Tarte, "La Patrie," Montreal.

Major-General Sir David Watson, K.C.B., C.M.G., Managing Director, "The Chronicle," Quebec, Joint Chairman of the Quebec City Committee.

Senator S. White, "The Montreal Gazette."

Sir John Willison, Canadian Correspondent of "The Times," London.

Mr. J. H. Woods, Editor and Managing Director of the "Calgary Herald," Chairman of the Southern Alberta Committee.

Representing the Press of the United Kingdom

Viscount Burnham, C.H., Chairman of the U.K. Delegation.

Mr. Robert Donald, Chairman of the Council of The Empire Press Union.

150 THE IMPERIAL PRESS CONFERENCE IN CANADA

Sir Harry Brittain, M.P., Chairman, Arrangements Committee, Empire Press Union.

Mr. R. A. Anderson, "Irish Homestead."
Lord Apsley, "Morning Post."
Mr. R. J. Arnott, M.A., "Canada."
Miss M. F. Billington, representing the Society of Women Journalists.
Sir Robert Bruce, "Glasgow Herald."
Mr. J. T. Clayton, "Craven Herald," Skipton, President, the Yorkshire Newspaper Society.

Sir Emsley Carr, "News of the World."
Mr. D. Davies, "South Wales Daily Post," Swansea.

Mr. (now Sir) W. Davies, "Western Mail," Cardiff.

Mr. J. C. Glendinning, "Derry Standard."
Mr. J. D. Graham, "Wolverhampton Express and Star."

Mr. J. L. Greaves, "The Paper Maker."
Mr. Harold Harmsworth, "Western Morning News," Plymouth.

Mr. J. Harper, "Glasgow Record."
Mr. J. Henderson, "Belfast News-Letter."
Col. Sir Arthur Holbrook, M.P., "Portsmouth Times."

Mr. P. J. Hooper, "The Freeman's Journal," Dublin.

Mr. L. Howarth, "Yorkshire Post," Leeds.
Mr. Percy Hurd, M.P., "Canadian Gazette," London, and London Editor of "Montreal Star."

Mr. G. A. Isaacs, National Society of Operative Printers and Assistants.
Sir Roderick Jones, Reuter's.

Mr. Valentine Knapp, "The Surrey Comet," President of the Newspaper Society.

Mr. C. D. Leng, "Sheffield Telegraph."
Mr. J. S. Macdonald, "The Farmer and Stockbreeder."

Mr. T. McLachlan, "The Scotsman," Edinburgh.

Mr. William Maxwell, "Aberdeen Daily Journal."

Mr. John Mitchell, "Dundee Courier."
Mr. Percival Marshall, Chairman, British Association of Trade and Technical Journals.

Mr. J. B. Morrell, "Birmingham Gazette."
Mr. T. E. Naylor, Printing and Kindred Trades Federation.

Sir Frank Newnes, Bart.
Sir Gilbert Parker, Bart., P.C.

Dr. Ellis T. Powell, "The Financial News," London.

Mr. J. Sherlock, Official Reporter.
Mr. A. Sprigg, "Leicester Mail," Vice-President, The Newspaper Society.

Sir Charles Starmer, "Northern Echo," Darlington, and allied newspapers.
Sir Campbell Stuart, "The Times," "Daily Mail," "Evening News," etc.

Mr. L. Goodenough Taylor, "Bristol Times and Mirror."

Mr. E. G. Tong, Official Cinematographer.
Sir George Toulmin, "Lancashire Daily Post."

Mr. H. E. Turner, Secretary of the Empire

Press Union and Secretary of the Conference.

Mr. D. W. Vick, "Daily Mirror" and "Leeds Mercury."

Col. Ed. W. Watt, "Aberdeen Free Press."

Mr. J. D. Williams, "Cambria Leader," Swansea.

Mr. E. Woodhead, "Huddersfield Examiner."

Representing the Press of Australia

Mr. D. Braham, "Sydney Daily Telegraph."

Mr. W. Brennan, "Melbourne Argus."
Mr. Taylor Darbyshire, "The Melbourne Age."

Hon. C. E. Davies, M.L.C., "Hobart Mercury."

Mr. Hugh R. Denison, "The Sun," Sydney.

Mr. G. E. Fairfax, "Sydney Morning Herald," Chairman of the Australian Section of the Union.

Hon. Theo. Fink, "Melbourne Herald."
Mr. E. E. Edwards, "Brisbane Telegraph."

Mr. Walter Jeffery, "Sydney Evening News."

Hon. J. W. Kirwan, M.L.C., "Kalgoorlie Miner."

Mr. J. J. Knight, "Brisbane Courier."
Mr. A. Langler, "West Australian."

Major G. V. Lansell, "Bendigo Advertiser."
Hon. A. Lovekin, M.L.C., "Perth Daily News."

Representing the Press of New Zealand

Mr. H. Horton, "The New Zealand Herald."

Mr. J. Hutchison, "Otago Daily Times."
Mr. E. Abbey Jones, "Southland Daily News."

Mr. T. W. Leys, "Auckland Star."
Mr. J. Parker, "Wellington Post."

Mr. W. J. Penn, "Taranaki Herald."
Mr. P. Selig, "Christchurch Daily Press,"

Chairman of the New Zealand Newspaper Proprietors' Association.

Representing the Press of South Africa

Mr. R. Allister, "The Cape Times."
Mr. P. Davis, "Natal Witness."

Mr. B. H. Dodd, "East London Daily Dispatch."

Mr. C. D. Don, "Johannesburg Star."
Mr. R. S. Ward-Jackson, "Rand Daily Mail."

Mr. N. K. Kerney, "The Cape Argus."
Mr. N. Levi, "De Volkstem," Pretoria.

Mr. D. M. Ollemans, "The Friend," Bloemfontein.

Representing the Press of India

Mr. J. P. Collins, "Civil and Military Gazette," Lahore.

Mr. J. O'B. Saunders, "The Englishman."

Representing the Press of Newfoundland
 Sir Patrick McGrath, "St. John's Evening Herald."
 Hon. Alex. W. Mews, "St. John's Evening Advocate."
 Dr. H. M. Mosdell, "St. John's Daily Star."

Representing the Press of the West Indies
 Mr. H. G. Delisser, C.M.G., "The Daily Gleaner," Jamaica.

Representing the Press of Ceylon
 Mr. F. Crosbie Roles, "The Times of Ceylon."

Representing the Press of Egypt
 Mr. R. Snelling, "The Egyptian Gazette."

Representing the Press of the Straits Settlements
 Mr. Walter Makepeace, "Singapore Free Press."

Representing the Press of Malta
 Dr. A. Bartolo, "The Daily Malta Chronicle."

The following were Chairmen of delegations: Mr. G. E. Fairfax, Australia; Mr. T. W. Leys, New Zealand; Mr. R. S. Ward-Jackson, South Africa; Mr. F. Crosbie Roles, Asia and Near East.

ELECTION OF CHAIRMAN

Lord Atholstan called upon the meeting to come to order and elect a chairman.

"As chairman of the Canadian Branch of the Empire Press Union," he said, "I have been asked to call the meeting to order. The first business is the election of the chairman. In 1909 the Motherland delegates recommended and the Conference elected one of the Overseas delegates. The choice was a man whom we all loved and whose death we all deplore, the late Sir Robert Kyffin Thomas. I am sure we all agree it is now the turn of the Motherland to be represented in the chair. It would require a man of ability, experience, and tact, a man whose rulings will be respected, and whose selection will meet with general approval. I have very much pleasure in presenting the name of Lord Burnham.

"This nomination has been seconded by every member of the Canadian executive, but I suppose, as a matter of regular procedure, there must be some obvious demonstration of its being accepted. Of course, other nominations are in order, but I would ask those in favour of this nomination to kindly rise in their seats."

The proposal was unanimously carried, with acclamation.

Lord BURNHAM replied as follows: Your Excellency, Lord Atholstan, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is with great diffidence but with no less pride that I accept this high honour which has truly been thrust upon me. I feel myself the chair should have been occupied by the head of the Canadian delegation. However, Lord Atholstan, with his customary modesty, has yielded place to me, and I shall do my best to fulfil the duties of the position.

I believe that when a bishop-designate is presented to the Chapter of a British See at home, he always adds the words *nolo episcopare*—"I do not want to be a bishop." That is a mere form of words. He is elected just the same. [Laughter.] All I can say is that I will endeavour, during these proceedings, to show that sense of fair play which I honestly believe to be the essential characteristic of the newspaper Press of the whole Empire. [Applause.]

I have the honour to ask His Excellency to open the Second Imperial Press Conference.

PROCEEDINGS OPENED BY THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL

The DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE, Governor-General of Canada, who was warmly applauded, in declaring the Conference open, said:

In the first place, may I be permitted on behalf of the Government and people of Canada to extend to

this Conference a most cordial and hearty welcome?

You have already had a week or ten days' experience of Canada, but I can assure you that the general reception you have received is only an earnest and a forerunner of what you will receive throughout the rest of your long tour. We in Canada are deeply grateful and sensible of the high honour which has been accorded to the Dominion by having been selected as the meeting ground of this second Press Conference. We trust that your tour will be a pleasant and illuminating and interesting one.

We trust that during the course of your various peregrinations you will see something of that spirit which has either in peace or war done so much to place the Dominion in the position which it occupies today. I hope I may take it as a happy omen that almost one of the first sights you saw on reaching the shores of Canada was a shipload of plates manufactured in Canada out of raw materials coming exclusively from British Dominions and intended for transhipment to other great British Dominions overseas. [Applause.]

You will have opportunities—and this is a specially favourable time for it—of seeing harvesting operations in full swing, and I am glad that, although we may not have reached as high as in 1915, the general indications are that the yield of the harvest will be a satisfactory one.

It might, perhaps, seem an act of impertinence if I were to allude to paper or pulp. [Laughter.] No doubt you will approach the consideration of the manufacture, supply and—I say it with all diffidence—the price of paper and pulp with mingled feelings. [Laughter.]

I hope that your stay in this country will prove that in that great industry we are making valuable contributions to the supply which is

so much needed, not only in the Dominion itself, but throughout the world. But we in Canada are not merely going to take this Conference as an opportunity of advertising our own pastures and our own wares. We look to this Conference, in the conditions and under the circumstances in which it is meeting, as one in which we may get guidance and inspiration in dealing with the varied problems which we have before us. This takes my mind back to the time when the first Conference was convened in the Old Country in 1909. The success which attended that Conference certainly, in the fullest degree, justified its inauguration, and the work which was accomplished then has been the means of doing much to help and guide us through the critical and eventful years which have passed since then.

I need not refer in anything like a detailed manner to the events which took place during those memorable weeks in which you were in the Old Country. Lord Rosebery's speech at the opening meeting of the Conference will be handed down to future generations as one of the most brilliant efforts of the great man in the cause of Imperial unity and Imperial strength. You then had the opportunity, and although I was connected with the Press myself, but not in an official capacity, I had the opportunity of joining you, of witnessing the review which took place at Aldershot and the great naval pageant which took place at Spithead. Little did we think then that within a few short years those small but highly trained and efficient organizations were to be put to the supreme test. The way they have come through is a matter of history, but the work and the incidentals connected with your visit in 1909 proved, in the light of subsequent events, to be of the highest value in preparing and organizing the Empire for the great test which was shortly

to come upon us, and through which we have now passed. [Applause.] But it would be idle to pretend that we do not see ahead anxious, critical, and terrible days. We have to face facts as they are. But it is to you, gentlemen, that in these times we have to look, as I do, for guidance and inspiration. We must have faith in ourselves, we must have vision, and we must have confidence, and no body of men, either individually or collectively, are capable of having a wider and more far-reaching influence on public opinion than you have to-day. You are meeting with great responsibilities.

We are standing at the turning point in our history. We have proved our capacity under the stress and strain of war, and out of all the misery and horror of the war we shall be able, with God's help, to build up a civilization which will never allow such an outrage to be perpetrated again. [Applause.] But when we attempt, even cursorily as I am doing now, and in a very inadequate way, to survey the past, we can with confidence say that British institutions have stood the test. They have shown adaptability and ability to stand the strain. And equal with their ability to stand the strain of war will be their ability to prepare for what I hope will be the better times of peace. [Applause.]

My Canadian friends, I know, will pardon me, but one of the things to which we look forward as a result of this Conference is the awakening of a spirit of breadth and toleration such as we have never known before. And when I mentioned my Canadian friends just now, I was, perhaps, thinking too that we are sometimes inclined to place our local and almost parochial affairs possibly more in the limelight than the occasion calls for or justifies. More than ever it is for us at this moment to look to the solution of these many problems from the broadest standpoint, and to know

what is best for the whole is also best for the individual and the individual countries of the great British Empire. [Applause.]

This Conference will, I know, justify fully the high expectations which have been formed as to the work which will be accomplished. You have high ideals, and you will have no reason to regret that you have held your meeting here in Canada, and certainly we in Canada will always look back upon your meeting with feelings of the greatest pleasure.

If I may be permitted to digress for a moment, there is one subject on which I would like to touch. If you had met in this building a month ago you would probably have seen on my left Sir Robert Borden. [Applause.] Governor-Generals have no politics. One of the most brilliant and illustrious of my predecessors stated on a critical occasion that Governor-Generals, were fortunate in this, that, speaking in a political sense, they had nothing but political friends and they had no political enemies, and I therefore, naturally, do not look upon this as a party question. I take the greatest interest in the welfare and development of parties, but on the whole I do not interfere. I watch them with the greatest interest, and I can only say that it is the business of the Governor-General to see that whatever party may command the greatest measure of support in the House of Commons and in the country is the party from which a ministry is duly selected.

Sir Robert felt that he was entitled to ask for a rest, and as you are aware, about a month ago he formally handed in his resignation. His name will be handed down as that of a worthy successor of those Prime Ministers who have done so much to make this great Dominion what it is, and will find an honoured place in that list. We all regret deeply that Sir Robert Borden no longer holds the place he so long adorned in public

life, and we hope that his life will be long spared and he will be able to place his invaluable services at the disposition of Canada and the Empire.

We deeply miss Sir Robert Borden on this occasion, but I am quite sure that a warm-hearted and generous welcome will be extended to Mr. Meighen, who has undertaken the heavy responsibilities of the office of Prime Minister, and on whom the responsibility rests, but if I may be permitted to say so, I think, from what we all know of him, that Mr. Meighen is fully capable of carrying out these responsibilities in accordance with the highest and best traditions of his high office. I have now the honour and privilege of formally declaring this Conference open. [Applause.]

ELECTION OF HON. CHAIRMAN

LORD BURNHAM.—Now that your Excellency has declared the Conference open, may I be allowed to propose a resolution that I know will be carried by acclamation? In accordance with accepted custom I wish to move that the chairman of the Canadian committee which has received us throughout with such truly Canadian hospitality—Lord Atholstan—[applause]—be elected honorary chairman of the Conference.

The motion was passed with acclamation.

LORD BURNHAM.—I beg to ask the Prime Minister of Canada whether he will do us the honour to address us.

THE PRIME MINISTER OF CANADA

The HON. ARTHUR MEIGHEN, Prime Minister of Canada, said: Owing to my absence from the city I was not aware that the opportunity of addressing this Conference would fall to me so soon. My understanding was that I should await the opportunity until the dinner this evening. My first impulse is to

thank His Excellency, the Governor-General, for the very graceful and cordial reference to the personality, not to the political career, of the distinguished man whom I seek to succeed in the office of Prime Minister. Your Excellency recalled in the course of your remarks the first meeting of the Conference in England in 1909, and the address which was delivered at that time by Lord Rosebery. It was, indeed, a brilliant utterance. Looked back at from this distance it seems surrounded with the mystical light of prophecy. That was the occasion, if I remember aright, when he referred to the hush that had fallen over Europe, the ominous absence of all cause of friction or of war, accompanied at the same time by the feverish preparation for what could have no other end but conflict. I could not help recalling, when the reference was made, that in the same speech I think it was he said that he would best discharge the duty that was imposed upon him if he closed with two words. Those words were "Welcome home." From that, however, he proceeded to deliver one of the most graceful and eloquent speeches of his long career. For reasons that are only too obvious, I shall make no attempt to follow him, save in this, that my words to you are "Welcome to Canada." [Applause.] I know that as you pass through this country you will find no disappointment in all that you have been led to expect of the resources and the hospitality of our people. You will find the bone and sinew of this country very sound, with blood red and pure. You will not locate anything very unhealthy in the body commercial of Canada. Were I talking to a different assembly I might say something about the unsoundness of the body of political life. As you pass from point to point you will be given the keys to our cities, and our towns, and our homes, and possibly in some pro-

vinces there are cellars as well. [Laughter and applause.] The welcome that I now give to you on behalf of the Government, may I say on behalf of the people of the Dominion, as warmly as I can express it, will be translated into abundant reality as you continue your journey through this land. [Applause.]

LORD BURNHAM.—It is now my privilege to call upon the head of the Opposition in the Dominion House of Commons—Mr. Mackenzie King—to address you.

LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION

MR. MACKENZIE KING said:

It is indeed a privilege to have the opportunity, with the Governor-General and the Prime Minister, of extending to the members of this Conference a welcome, not only to our Dominion, but in particular to our capital here, this city of Ottawa. There have been some occasions in the recent past on which my friend the Prime Minister and I have not seen altogether eye to eye, and I should be perfectly frank in saying that those occasions will not be more rare in the future than they have been in the past. It is, therefore, all the more welcome to have a moment when one can not only cordially re-echo the sentiments which have been expressed so graciously, but add my congratulations as to the felicity of the utterance. May I, with your permission, extend my word of congratulation just one bit further. This is the first occasion since the elevation of my friend to the position of Prime Minister of this country that he and I have met together on a public occasion, and I should like to take this opportunity to convey to him my very hearty congratulations upon the distinguished position which he has attained, no less through his vast ability and industry than through the official act of His Excellency. [Applause.] In saying this

I do not wish to say that I hope to see him long in that position. I should be perfectly frank in saying that I will do my utmost for the sake of the country to make his tenure of office as brief as possible. [Laughter.] At the same time it is refreshing to recall at this moment that he and I are fellow graduates of the same university, that for three years we were contemporaries, reading much the same courses, and having much the same associations, and, I believe, secretly cherishing the hope that opportunity might be afforded us of devoting a portion of our life-work to the public service of our country. So I do, with great sincerity, extend my best wishes to him in the discharge of his very onerous and responsible duties, though I hope at the same time that it will not be very long before he exchanges the position of Prime Minister for that of leader of His Majesty's loyal Opposition. [Laughter.]

There can be but one attitude which anyone who has the privilege to represent the citizens of this country can have towards a body such as that which is assembled in our presence, and that is one of the most cordial welcome to our country and cordial appreciation of all that your gathering in Canada must mean. That appreciation expresses itself in a twofold manner. It expresses itself in the first place in an appreciation of all that it may mean to Canada to have its institutions, its resources, and, may I say, the aims, and purposes, and heart of its people, viewed in a sympathetic light by those who possess, as you possess, the great and powerful gift of interpretation of good or ill report.

On the other hand, it also expresses itself in a no less cordial hope that your visit to this country will not only be a source of pleasure and profit, but will also be a source of pride to the Canadian people, in the belief in the goodness of heart of

nations so that there can be associations of peace no less than for the frightful business of war.

One thought has come to my mind, not so much by way of criticism as of inquiry and of suggestion. It is as to why, in the description of this Conference, you have, if not substituted, at all events used, the word "Imperial" in preference to "British." I cannot but feel that the word "Imperial" carries with it, at any rate, so far as organization is concerned, an idea of centralization, and so far as method is concerned an idea of autocracy as contrasted with democracy, which is not wholly in accord with the spirit of our times, and with the spirit which has overthrown the imperialistic spirit that ruled the old world for so long. I cannot but feel that the word British has about it something suggestive of a true spirit, and that it brings with it the note of freedom, the suggestion of liberty, truth, equality, and fair play to all, and by having continually this association it enlarges and enriches everything which it touches with much the same idea. And may I suggest this, that it is equally all-embracing and world-encircling, and it has this merit over and above the word "Imperial" as applied to different parts of the British Empire, that it is distinctive. No other nation or group of nations on this globe can describe themselves as British nations. You may have other imperial entities. There is only one British entity, as there is only one British flag. For my part I would like to see the word British kept in all parts of the British Empire as a distinctive note of the peoples who are under the British flag.

You will see in this building and the course of its reconstruction a symbol of the life of our country at the present time. We have passed, in common with the world, through a great ordeal. This building has suffered, as the institutions and the

countries of Europe have suffered, an outward devastation, but you see arising from it something nobler and more splendid. You see in this building, with its different features, something that is expressive of our country's history, of its civilizing and commercial development, and of the building up of our political and other institutions. You have all this told here under the guiding genius of Mr. Pearson and his fellow architects in the construction of this wonderful building. You have also in its variety the note of harmony which comes with diversity, and which in a nation strengthens it by giving to it a many-sided life. We have in Canada different interests, origins, languages, and creeds. These things, rightly viewed, make for that more splendid variety and many-sidedness of life which give to our country a tone and harmony such as are expressed here. There is also the note which is expressive, not merely of what we have had in the past, but of what we hope in the way of greater achievement in the future. There is an old adage which says familiarity breeds contempt, but in more modern times there is a different interpretation which says that between strong men familiarity does not breed contempt but it breeds confidence. That is a truth which I hope will always come more and more to all of you as you see the peoples of this country and study their institutions. Whether we take one interpretation of the old adage or the other will depend not so much upon others as upon ourselves. If our aims are low, our vision narrow, and our minds mean, we will very soon, in studying the institutions of different peoples, come to have that kind of familiarity which breeds contempt. If, on the other hand, we are generous in our attitude, if we are seeking not for the worst but for the best in what we are studying, then we will not only enlarge the range of

our own vision, but also materially enlarge the strength of confidence in our own breasts.

It seems to me that this is the great mission of the Press—to interpret peoples to each other, and races to each other, and classes to each other, so that they may come to seek not the worst but the best that is in each other. That is the work that is called for to-day, as it has never been called for in the history of the world before. For in the last few years the Press has devoted a very large part of its space to fostering, not among the peoples of one country but towards enemies, that spirit of distrust and hate that breeds a lack of trust in one's fellowmen. But we have passed from the period of the war into that of peace, and it is for the Press, as far as possible, in their criticism of public affairs and of individual lives, not to stimulate distrust, and fear, and hate, but trust, confidence, and affection, and to seek to bind men closer together in the bond of common brotherhood. This is the message which I ask you to take away to the different parts of the British Empire, and, speaking not only to the British Isles, but to distant New Zealand, Australia, and Africa, and the great Dependency of India, and other parts of the British Empire that are represented here, that you will convey something of the generous, large, and noble-spirited nature of the Canadian people, of the aims which they cherish in common with their fellows elsewhere. And I hope that in the years to come, in the cabled descriptions which come from the other parts of the world, and from the British Dominions here, the note that will be sounded will not be one that will cause us to believe that the British Empire has deteriorated, but that it is the same splendid spirit that has animated the British peoples in the past. If the Press continues this work of convincing the peoples of the British Empire, so that

they may believe in each other's goodness of heart, then little more labour will be needed to give the British Empire an enduring and ennobling expression for all time. [Applause.]

THE CHAIRMAN'S ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

LORD BURNHAM.—Before our ceremony of inauguration comes to an end, I am sure that all delegates present would wish to express to His Excellency their appreciation of the honour which he has done us in coming here to-day and opening this Conference. [Applause.] A hundred and fifty years ago Dr. Johnson spoke of the dogged veracity of the Duke of Devonshire. At home we look upon the character of the Duke of Devonshire, may I say of the Dukes of Devonshire, as a national asset, and a great national asset. The name of Cavendish covers, and covers with credit, the best periods of British history. We have heard in England, and my Canadian friends will tell me if it is true, that in the long roll of distinguished men who have presided over the destinies of this Dominion there has been nobody who has earned higher esteem and won warmer affection than the Duke of Devonshire. [Applause.] We are highly conscious of the compliment which he paid to the Press in the eloquent words which he has addressed to us. He has fixed us with responsibility, but we are willing to bear it. [Hear, hear.] May I also say how grateful we are to the Prime Minister for his words of welcome. [Applause.] Before we arrived we received the most hospitable messages, not only from His Excellency, but also from the Prime Minister and many members of his Government, from the Lieutenant-Governors of every province of Canada, and from the Mayors of nearly all the cities and towns in

Canada. On behalf of the Conference I tender to all our hearty thanks.

Our warmest sympathy goes out to the predecessor of the Prime Minister, Sir Robert Borden, in his ill-health, and in all sincerity may I say how much we wish for his complete recovery to strength. [Applause.] Sir Robert Borden was one of the outstanding figures of the Great War. There is, it has been said, a courage in the Cabinet as well as a courage in the field. No man showed that courage more conspicuously than Sir Robert Borden. It was he who had the honour to be, I suppose, the first Dominions Premier to sign a great international treaty, such as the Treaty of Peace, and to establish the national autonomy in this war, in point of form as well as in point of substance, in a manner which can never be disputed. We can only wish to the present Prime Minister a career as successful, as dignified, and as honourable.

In spite of what Mr. King has been kind enough to say to us, we intend to stick to our title of Imperial Conference. [Applause.] This is the Second Imperial Press Conference. It is the first Imperial Press Conference to be held outside Great Britain. It is the first Imperial Conference of any kind to be held outside Great Britain. [Applause.] We are proud of the name of Britain, but we are not ashamed of the British Empire. [Hear, hear.] The British Empire stands for peace, justice, and liberty. It has nothing in common with the ramshackle, rotten empires of the past. It is a thing by itself, and it has its own credit and its own reputation. [Applause.] The reason we do stick to the name Imperial is because we embrace within our circumference nations and communities which are not British. [Hear, hear.] Lord Shaughnessy told me that there was a writer here who said that there were a great many British who

were not British enough to be good Canadians—[laughter]—but there are representatives of countries whose people, while they are loyal to the flag, and while they have made great sacrifices with us in the war, could not, perhaps, be named distinctively as British, while they do belong to the Empire. India is represented here to-day, and the colony of Malta is represented here to-day—[applause]—and we have also represented other places where we have, we hope, not only the voice of the Governments, but the voice of the peoples with us; and therefore when we talk of the British Empire we embrace them all within the firm grasp of our Imperial friendship. [Applause.]

We hope that we shall have an opportunity of seeing and learning much from our visit to Canada. I do not think that the Ministers who are here present doubt British friendship, but we want to clothe the abstractions of British friendship with the flesh and blood of personal contact and courteous acquaintance. We shall be all the better friends because we know one another. We refuse to consider even the promise and potency of this great Dominion, unless we also have a thorough grasp of the Canadian people. We of the Press have sometimes been called the live wires of the British Empire. [Laughter.] On board ship we did away with wires, but we had the continuous waves of wireless communication, and I know and believe that in the future, looking down the vista that is before us, the wireless waves of communication will mean, even more than the cables of the past, a great wave of Imperial understanding and friendship between every part of this great commonwealth of free peoples. [Applause.] I only hope that we shall have bestowed on us the grace and wisdom and understanding for which in every church in our country we

pray every Sunday. In the House, to which your Excellency and I belong, I do not say that we have always had that grace, wisdom, and understanding—[laughter]—but at least I hope that here and now we shall have the grace, wisdom, and understanding that may enable us at this Conference to take such steps and make such progress as will conduce to the happiness and welfare of the whole of the British Dominions, at home and overseas. I thank you, in the name of the Conference, for the honour you have done us, and I thank the Ministers of the Crown and the Leader of the Opposition for the great compliment they have paid us. We shall carry away the memory of their words, and I think that they will inspire us to the work which lies ahead. [Applause.]

The Governor-General, the Prime Minister, the Leader of the Opposition having left the hall, Lord Burnham took the chair, and opened the business of the Conference.

MESSAGES FROM THE UNITED STATES

THE CHAIRMAN.—I now call the meeting to order. Before proceeding with the business of the Conference I have certain telegrams to read. The first is: "Warm greeting of the 14,000 members of the National Editorial Association, United States. Expressing my personal regret not being able to attend Conference, and to convey this message, and asking that your representatives shall accept this as the expression of the desire of our association that the Conference may promote a better national understanding, and hope visit to Canada may be most pleasing and enjoyable.—Will Wilkie, President of the Editorial Association." [Applause.] We have also received this telegram: "Southern Newspaper Publishers' Association present their compliments to the great Press of Canada and the British Empire as a

whole, express their own desire to promote a better international understanding, and assure them that the newspapers of the south will work in harmony with their newspapers in securing world peace, and for general improvement in conditions affecting newspaper industry.—Marcellus Foster, President." [Applause.]

COMMERCIAL AGREEMENT WITH THE WEST INDIES

Before proceeding to the business on the agenda paper, I wish to move in three words a resolution that carries its own meaning:

That this Conference, representing the Press of all parts of the British Empire, tenders to the Government of Canada, and to the authorities of the West Indies, its warmest congratulations upon the completion of their agreement providing for better means of communication and improved trading facilities, which this Conference is confident will promote the prosperity of both great communities, and add to the solidarity of the Empire.

You have read in all the papers during the last few days a complete account of the international convention arrived at between the Dominion of Canada and the West Indian colonies. It helps each of the parties to it in the mutual benefits which it confers. Particularly as pressmen are we interested in the fact that it provides what has long been needed—a better system of cable communication between the West Indian islands and the Empire outside. [Applause.] I know that from time to time during the period in which I have held office as President of the Empire Press Union, I have had appeals from various islands in the West Indies—they are one of the most ancient colonies of the Crown—for the very facilities which are now to be given, as I understand, and therefore our congratulations both to them and to the Government of Canada, as newspaper men, are surely not out of place.

MR. GEOFFREY FAIRFAX ("Sydney Morning Herald"), Chairman of the Australian delegation, in seconding the motion, said:

I have very much pleasure in seconding this resolution. I am glad that I have been asked to do so, as I represent the newspapers out at the other end of the world. Of course it is to the interests of all of us that there should be the most intimate bonds between the various British possessions, and therefore I am very glad to hear that Canada and the West Indian islands are going to make one of those bonds closer than ever.

The resolution was passed with acclamation.

PROCEDURE OUTLINED

THE CHAIRMAN.—It is not my intention to make anything in the nature of an inaugural speech. You have already had eloquent ones from the Governor-General, the Prime Minister of Canada, and the Leader of the Opposition. I wish to make a business statement. The First Imperial Press Conference was held in 1909, and its history is on record. As a direct result ensuing from it we obtained a reduction of cable rates throughout the British Empire, and an increased supply of news and comment. We established in London the Empire Press Union, and afterwards we invited each of the self-governing Dominions to form its own branch, and we have now a network of branches of the Empire Press Union extending over the whole of the ocean commonwealth. They are autonomous, as they should be. They conduct their own affairs in their own way, and they are in no sense subject to or dictated to by the Empire Press Union of the Mother Country. We try to secure combined counsel and direction by means of constant communication with the various branches, and the council at home has upon its representatives

of every one of the Dominion papers that have special correspondents in London.

During the war we were able to carry out the behests of all the branches and of the central council, in securing what ought to have been given long previously—equal facilities for obtaining information from the departments of State, and equal facilities, so far as they could be granted in both Houses of Parliament, for the whole of the Dominions' Press. That work is far from complete, but it has been carried to a point which places the Dominions' Press in London in a far better position than it ever was in before. I am not going to labour these points. It was hoped that there would have been a second conference six years after the first, that is to say in 1915. For obvious reasons it could not then be held. So it has been postponed until this year, when we are meeting under such happy auspices in Ottawa. We ask you now to proceed to deal with the agenda paper, in which almost every subject of interest to the newspaper Press is dealt with, as you may notice, but if there is any other motion submitted that is relevant and cognate to the purposes of this Conference, I shall accept it as a subject of discussion. We are bound by no standing orders or formal by-laws, and I hope that I command your confidence sufficiently for you to feel sure that, in the discussion on every subject which is relevant to the great subject-matter with which we have to deal, we shall have perfect freedom of debate—[applause]—but in the common interest none of us—though I do not know that I ought to say it—wishes to hear long speeches. [Hear, hear.] Though I plead guilty in this matter, you can see that that is a sound maxim to adopt to guide us in our proceedings. We commence with a matter which is of vital concern to the Press. We shall have to-morrow afternoon a special

session to consider what some of you may have thought a little below the dignity of the Press some time ago, but it is not below our dignity any more than it is below our necessities. I refer to the supply of paper and paper-making material. We are to have the advantage to-morrow afternoon of hearing experts on the subject representing both the Canadian Press and the Canadian Government. We have also present a representative of the Marconi Company, who will make an authorized statement on the subject of wireless telegraphs and telephones. Therefore we have to deal with those matters which concern us primarily as newspaper men. I hope that it may be possible to have, as was the case with the first Conference, which was held in London, a free and informal discussion on many matters of Imperial interest, which do not arouse the passions of party controversy. Lord Atholstan, for example, at the first Conference was abundantly interesting on the subject of Overseas settlement and migration. I very much hope that he may feel inclined to bring it before this Conference again. I have now to call on the mover of the first resolution, Mr. Robert Donald, Vice-Chairman of the British Delegation, and Chairman of the Council of the Empire Press Union.

EMPIRE CABLES AND LOWER RATES

MR. DONALD.—I beg to move:

"That this Conference strongly recommends the Governments of Great Britain, of the self-governing Dominions, and of India, to increase cable communications and to reduce the rates for news messages, so as to ensure the fullest interchange of news and opinion within the Empire.

"Further, this Conference recommends that these Governments, in the interests of Empire unity, should make increased grants to cable companies and to the Pacific

Cable Board, enabling them to reduce tolls without operating at a loss; also that the Governments should lay down new cables, or enter into an arrangement with the cable companies to do so, under conditions which will safeguard the public interest.

"This Conference considers it essential that, where any Government assistance is given to the Press by way of cable or other services, such State assistance shall appear specifically in the estimates of public expenditure; and that the selection and editing of news and other matter circulated within the Empire should be in the control of newspapers and news-agencies, and should not in any way be subject to official influence."

The grievance which existed when the first Conference met in regard to cable deficiencies and charges remains, in spite of the progress we have made in the reduction of rates, and for several reasons. The war brought all parts of the Empire nearer to each other, nearer in sentiment and in brotherhood. It also knit closer together our community of interests, increased our desire to keep in touch with each other, and it is only through the newspaper Press that the advantage thus gained in the stress of war can be maintained. Yet the only means of quick communication that exist to-day are more restricted than they were before the war, as the cables are congested and in need of repair. The volume of business awaiting cables, not only for Press services, but for commercial and Government purposes, has increased enormously. It is the chief business of this Conference to use its influence to see that these deficiencies are made up with the least possible delay.

WORK OF THE EMPIRE PRESS UNION

The Press, judging by our experience in London, has succeeded in

wringing new concessions and privileges from the British Government. Their exclusiveness was broken down by persistent attacks upon them, led by our commander-in-chief, Lord Burnham, and gallantly supported by his colleague, Lord Riddell, and before the war was over they recognized that the good-will and support of the Press were essential elements in the life of a nation, and more especially in interpreting one part of the Empire to another. Before the war that most conservative of departments, the Foreign Office, did not recognize the existence of journalists. Through personal friendship newspaper men could obtain access to the Foreign Office—I have often met Lord Burnham there—but if we had sent a reporter or a correspondent he would not have got beyond the hall-porter. As a matter of fact, the Foreign Office had no facilities for giving information to the Press, no news department, no reference library, no intelligence branch. All this has been changed. It has now got an admirable intelligence branch, with experts of every country, in charge of one of the ablest men in the diplomatic service—Sir Wm. Tyrrell, who for many years was Lord Grey's private secretary. [Hear, hear.]

Next we conquered the Colonial Office, which was just as exclusive and as detached as the Foreign Office. I remember going with Lord Burnham as a deputation to see the Colonial Minister and the chief officials of the Colonial Office, in order to persuade them to receive special correspondents from the Dominion newspapers. While they were personally very amiable, they looked upon our proposal as in the nature of a revolution. It had not been done. They did not know what information to give. But we succeeded in breaking down the barriers and in opening the Colonial Office to the special correspondents

of the Dominions. Other sources of information were opened up, and Dominion correspondents were admitted to the House of Commons. All these privileges we mean to retain, and to increase them by others. During the war the Press, in the national interest, put up with the curtailment of cable facilities, and we have been exceedingly patient with the Government since. But now we mean to start upon an aggressive campaign. [Hear, hear.]

One of the few advantages which the war brought to civilization was the stimulus which it gave to invention and to science. Means of communication have been quickened. New inventions have been developed, so that regions far separated from each other are brought close together. Take the means of transportation. It does not require much stretch of the imagination to foresee that before long oil-driven ships will reduce the distance between England and Canada, while the Atlantic has already been crossed both by airship and aeroplane.

WIRELESS

Then take the wonderful progress made in wireless telegraphy, and the still more amazing achievements in wireless telephony. Our experience on the "Victorian" was almost uncanny. The human voice could be heard distinctly at a distance of 2,000 miles. Perhaps in no branch of science and invention has more progress been made during the war than in connection with wireless. The Americans, when they went to France, began erecting a huge wireless station at Bordeaux—by far the largest in the world. It has ten Eiffel towers, each 800 feet high. The French Government have acquired it for £600,000, and it will soon be in operation in conjunction with a similar station in the United States. But it is already out of date. The Americans adopted what was then

the best system for transmission, known as the Poulsen arc. This has already been displaced by the valve system, which is in operation at Chelmsford, and has now reached the commercial stage. The valve system gives a greater range with less power, and with far better results. It is through this means that the wireless telephone has been developed. When the waves were generated by electrical sparks, through the Poulsen system, they were intermittent. Under the valve system the waves are as a continuous ripple across space, carrying with them the dots and dashes, the usual code which the receiver transcribes.

This refers to wireless telegraphy. In the case of wireless telephony, the continuous wave to which I referred acts as the carrier. Upon it are imposed electrical equivalents of the human voice. The vocal sounds are superimposed on the carrier wave—an invisible bridge. Over this bridge, in this way, voices were heard distinctly on the Atlantic, 2,000 miles away from Chelmsford.

As a result of this and other inventions, the world has come out of the war altogether a smaller place, if not yet a better place, to live in. Space has been annihilated, and the one great disadvantage from which our Empire, spreading all over the globe, suffered is now being modified. The time is not far distant when editors will be able to speak to each other across the broad Atlantic. This is a fascinating subject, if one were to indulge in forecasts, but I will only say that travel by air and communication by air seem to be both in a state of transition, and great progress may before many years be made in both.

GOVERNMENT SUBSIDIES

I do not think it is necessary to go into details with regard to the reduction of telegraphic rates brought about by the action of the Empire

Press Union, more especially by the committee on cables, over which Lord Burnham presided. Generally speaking, we succeeded in reducing the rates by an average of about 50 per cent. Can we reduce them further? We express that wish in the resolution. In this world we must always ask for more than we are finally prepared to accept. I doubt very much whether we can get the charges reduced. We are now faced with increased operating costs, so that without Government assistance there is no chance of getting lower rates. That is the reason why in the resolution we recommend that in the interests of Empire unity Government grants should be obtained and, if necessary, increased. It was in the interests of national defence that the Government subsidized steamship companies. It has been subsidizing railroad companies in order to keep fares down, and it has also practised the same system in other directions. Probably you have some experience in Canada of Government subsidies of railways. While it may be altogether wrong for the Government to subsidize undertakings for which there are alternatives, there is not the same objection to making grants to cable companies. The resolution provides that if Government grants are received, they should appear in the public estimates. "No secrecy" is our policy. [Hear, hear.]

STATE OWNERSHIP AND CONTROL

You will observe that in the resolution we suggest that, in the absence of adequate facilities by private enterprise, the State should lay down new cables itself. This was a matter of expediency rather than of principle. When ten or more years ago the Atlantic cable companies formed a ring, the feeling in Canada was altogether in favour of State-owned cables. As far back as 1908 there was held in the Mansion House,

London, a meeting of eminent public and business men, including Lord Strathcona, High Commissioner, Mr. Lemieux, Canadian Postmaster-General, Mr. Fielding, Mr. Fisher, who had been Minister of Agriculture, and others. It passed a resolution inviting the Government to convene a conference "within the Empire for the purpose of concerting measures to lead to the wide recognition of the policy of State-owned and State-controlled cables subject to respect for private rights." Mr. Lemieux, speaking to the resolution, said that a State-owned cable across the Atlantic would at once lower cable charges of British newspapers and the Government by 50 per cent. That is the extent of the reduction which the action of the Empire Press Union secured. [Hear, hear.]

The subject was discussed at the Imperial Conference in 1911, after the Press Conference two years previously had given the Government a lead. On that occasion, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Sir Joseph Ward, the Prime Minister of New Zealand, and Mr. Pearce, the Minister of Defence for Australia, were in favour of the nationalization of the cable companies, and indeed of an all-red route. Mr. Herbert Samuel, British Postmaster-General, was clever enough to side-track the resolution in favour of State ownership and control, which was then proposed. The resolution, which was proposed on his suggestion, simply said that, unless considerable reductions were made in transatlantic cable rates, it was desirable to consider at a subsequent conference the question of laying down a State-owned cable.

What is the position now? Are the cable companies going to supply the deficiency by private enterprise? Is the State going to control them, or is the State going to enter into the business itself? With regard to the action of cable companies, we have received a reply to a message of

inquiry from the chairman of the Eastern Companies, Sir Denison Pender. It states that these associated companies have, since the armistice, laid new main line cables between England and Gibraltar, Malta and Alexandria, also Aden and Bombay, Ascension and Rio de Janeiro. They are now manufacturing new cables for laying between Gibraltar, Malta, Madras, and Singapore. These will be completed next spring. The whole scheme, he says, will involve an expenditure of over four and a half million pounds. He adds that only nominal Press rates are charged over their system to chief British places abroad, ranging from threepence to sixpence, plus pay-outs to governments for transit and terminal rates, and no further reductions are contemplated at present.

The cables from England towards the East, leading to Australia, are entirely in British hands. The cables across the Atlantic are not. There is, I believe, only one exclusively British controlled cable across the Atlantic. That is the German cable which is now being operated by the British Post Office, but it has not yet been definitely decided whether Great Britain is going to receive it as part of its war indemnity. There has been no change in the Atlantic rates.

I said that whether the State should control or own cables is a matter of expediency. Personally, I am in favour of State control where it is practicable when we are dealing with a monopoly, but I think that the purchase of the cable companies' interests would be bad business just now from every point of view. Moreover, in the case of the Atlantic, if we lay down, as recommended ten or twelve years ago, a British and Canadian owned cable, we should be at the mercy of competitors, and with the present heavy capital expenditure the British Government will hesitate before it incurs the cost.

If we are lucky enough to receive the German line as a war indemnity, well and good. I shall be in favour of the State retaining and operating it. In the estimates which were given ten years ago for laying down State-owned cables, it was always shown that a very heavy loss would be incurred. If so, I think it is preferable in the present stage of development, and in the present state of British finance, to give subsidies to British companies so as to secure lower rates for Press messages. It may also be urged that it would be unwise to lay down more cables, in view of the great possibilities of wireless in the immediate future. Wireless, however well it may develop, will never entirely abolish cables, any more than the airship or aeroplane will get rid of trains. Moreover, we shall want all possible means of communication we can get, and we must regard wireless rather as a supplementary service than as an alternative one. The British Government can always control cable companies by imposing terminal conditions. We who are responsible for this resolution are, however, quite in favour of grants, which means that the Government auditors must practically control the finance of the companies, and that public interests must always be safeguarded. [Hear, hear.]

THE MARCONI SCHEME

If wireless were developed, as the Marconi Company is confident that it will be, it will act as a competitor with the cable companies, to compel them to maintain a high state of efficiency at the lowest possible charges to the public. I would like to state here that, under its scheme for a complete network of wireless communications round the whole British Empire, the Marconi Company states that it is prepared to be bought up at any time, on terms. Provided that the governments will issue licences granting it every

facility for the acquisition of sites, etc., and other conditions, it will erect stations and maintain them at its own cost. It will pay the Treasury of each government on whose territory the stations are erected a sum equal to 25 per cent. of the net profits earned by that section. On the expiry of thirty years the stations can become the property of the governments concerned, free of any payment. The company also undertakes to lower its charges to 33½ per cent. less than the rates of the cable companies. This seems to be a very fair offer.

I do not wish now to go into details of a new wireless scheme. I can only say that the whole system of wireless is in a state of transition, and new developments can best be undertaken by a private company which is prepared to take the risk. Were the Government to acquire wireless at this stage, there are no doubt difficulties ahead which would involve heavy expenditure. I do not think that any government would have the courage to face it. Therefore, I say, let private enterprise do the developing, and let the State reap the harvest. In this case the harvest will come to it without any cost, on the conditions the Marconi Company propose; but in the meantime, if governments are prepared to nationalize the system as a matter of principle, the Marconi Company is prepared to sell its undertaking at any time, on payment of what it has expended on the construction, plus 10 per cent. of the gross receipts for the remainder of the period of thirty years. The Marconi Company is no doubt able to make this offer because it practically controls the wireless system of the world, having acquired all the essential patents and entered into contracts for securing future inventions, whether coming from Great Britain, the United States, Germany, or elsewhere.

Our conclusion, therefore, is that all existing cable companies should be controlled in the public interest, and that new cables should be laid by the State. You will see that one of the proposals of the convention about to be entered into between Canada and the West Indies provides for the construction of a direct cable. There are other cases throughout the Empire where direct lines may be necessary, and where a company would not feel justified in embarking on an uncertain future.

The third clause in the resolution requires little explanation. It means that any grants given by a government to reduce telegraphic rates, either by land or sea, should appear specifically in the estimates of public expenditure, and be open for discussion in Parliament. The last clause of all requires no explanation whatever.

EASTERN CABLES

The position now is that a State-owned cable operates from Australia to Vancouver, and works a leased line to Montreal. Another State-owned line goes from London to Halifax. Arrangements should be made to bridge the gap, and then the all-red line would go half-way round the circle. The Eastern Telegraph Company has practically a monopoly of the traffic to the Near East, to India, the Far East, and Africa. It has not a complete monopoly to the Pacific, as Australia and New Zealand can use the Pacific-Atlantic route. An additional cable should be laid in the Pacific, and another in the Atlantic, owned jointly by Great Britain and Canada and Newfoundland. Then the Eastern problem remains. Now the Eastern Company informed the Empire Press Union that it would within five years reduce its tolls by one-fifth. The chairman has forgotten that undertaking. The governments of the Empire have always the whip-hand of the cable

companies, as they can impose landing and terminal conditions. I would like to see State-owned cables started in opposition to the Eastern monopoly. There is plenty of business for more lines, and no private monopoly should be allowed nowadays to strengthen its vested interests. We need not waste sympathy on the Eastern Telegraph Company and its associates. It waxed fat during the war. It made huge profits out of the Government. The cables were choked with official matter at 1s. 6d. a word. The casualty lists of Australia, New Zealand, and India, every initial counting as a word, represented a large revenue. The Government made a great mistake in not taking over the Eastern lines when war was declared. The cable routes were guarded by the navy, and the companies made rich by Government payments. Our policy should be to use all the pressure we can bring to bear on the monopolist to lower charges, and if we fail, then to resort to the policy suggested by all the governments of the Empire and put down a State-owned competitive line. The Chairman of the Eastern Company says that the charges for Press messages are nominal, from 3d. to 6d. per word. The terminal charges add from 10 to 20 per cent. to these figures. They are nominal only in this sense, that if a newspaper is in a hurry to get news it cannot use the company's Press tariff. Messages frequently take several days to reach Australia, and the ordinary rate of 3s. per word is paid, and for messages of greater urgency as much as 9s. a word. The policy of the Eastern Cable Company is not to give preference to Press messages. The most profitable business comes first. That policy would suggest that in the case of a new State-owned line Press messages should have the preference. I have received the interesting piece of information that cable costs from

London to Australia amount to half the cable tolls paid by the American Associated Press from all parts of the world.

The resolution favours new and increased subsidies to the cable companies and to the Pacific Board. The Pacific Board is now, I believe, making a good profit, and there is no need at present to subsidize the companies. If it becomes necessary to make grants in order to secure tolls low enough to meet our demands, then the governments will have to exercise some financial control over the companies. Another point should not be overlooked. News which passes through Canada to Australia, and from London to India, South Africa, and Australia, should be dropped on the way. [Hear, hear.]

INDEPENDENCE OF NEWS SERVICES

I need say little about the last clause of the resolution. We do not want a spoon-fed Press. The King in his message to Lord Atholstan expressed the wish that the Conference would uphold the freedom of the Press. It will not do so if Government departments select and edit the news. I am not enamoured of the present system under which the British Government pays cable tolls, so that a news-agency may send news, Ministers' speeches, etc., which would not in the ordinary way be justified on commercial grounds. It was necessary during the war, but lower rates is the best policy now, even if they would mean loss on State-owned lines and involve a subsidy to private companies. Selection of news should be free from all official influence. I may repeat what I once said in paraphrasing the saying of Fletcher of Saltoun, "I care not who writes the editorials in a newspaper, so long as I control the news." [Hear, hear.]

I think I have gone over the ground

covered by the resolution. Let us face this resolution in a bold spirit, pitch our claims high, and have confidence in our strength to carry them. This scattered Empire, each part interdependent on the other, should have a constant flow of news from British sources passing over the world, so that all dominions and territories can keep in closer touch with each other. No written constitution, no laws or intermittent conferences, or postal communications, can take the place of the daily continuous exchange of news, information, and opinion. You cannot unite the Empire at a shilling or three shillings per word. [Applause.]

"ONE PENNY PER WORD"

We have established certain principles as to the uniformity of charges for postal rates. There was a penny Imperial letter postage before the war, and a resolution will be submitted to you advocating a return to that rate, and the extension of a system of uniform charges to second-class mail matter. We have in Great Britain and other countries a uniform rate for internal telegrams, irrespective of distance. On the same principle, why cannot we have a uniform cable rate? Let us suggest something which will strike the imagination of the people and wake up our statesmen. Make our objective a penny or two cents per word throughout the British Empire. [Applause.] There is no difference in principle between carrying a letter 15,000 miles for a penny and in flashing a word over the cables at the same rate. I do not know if the Conference will accept this suggestion so far as to embody it in a resolution, but I am quite prepared to do so, so that the governments may know what we would like them to work up to. If we are desperately in earnest about Empire unity, a penny per word cable rate is the best way of advancing it. Whatever course we may adopt, we may be

sure that governments and officials will meet us with the same cry of cost, and they will demonstrate that our policy will involve them in loss. Perhaps we can offer them some suggestions. There is no better Empire investment than cheap cable communication. Dividends will take the form of strengthening the invisible bonds of union—an asset which cannot be measured in money. [Applause.]

MR. J. W. DAFOE

MR. J. W. DAFOE ("Manitoba Free Press").—I rise to second the resolution. There are some things expressed in it with which I am in very hearty agreement. We do not want, we cannot expect, any direct Government assistance in the carrying on of a service; anything which suggests Government control. But we should be quite justified in taking advantage, in the general interests of the people, of facilities for the easy and prompt transmission of news which the governments of the British dominions and colonies place at our disposal, and I can conceive no function of government more important or more necessary at this time than the provision of such facilities. In a small way we have had in Canada something akin to the general problem of the Empire in the matter of communication. Canada is divided east from west by a vast wilderness of 1,500 miles. I remember, many years ago, having a conversation in Winnipeg with a very distinguished Canadian statesman whom I had the honour of bringing over to the Conference, and who has honoured this Conference this morning, my friend Mr. Fielding. [Applause.] He said that the unity and solidarity of Canada were menaced by the existence of that break in communication between east and west. He said that if any newspaper in Canada would come forward to the Government with any reasonable pro-

position he would say for the Government of Canada that they would follow it up. To the discredit of the newspapers of Canada action was not taken on the proposition, but later on the Government took steps to bridge that gap of 1,500 miles by paying what was the equivalent of the mileage charge to the papers over that wilderness. It has been said that this is a subsidy which interferes with the dignity of the Canadian Press, but for myself—and I think I am as jealous as anyone of the dignity of the newspaper Press—I have felt that it was no infringement of our dignity, and that it showed a new realization of our responsibilities, that we were willing to accept the co-operation of the Government in this great business of making east and west Canada understand each other, and having this country linked up from Victoria to Halifax. [Applause.] But I will say this, that the grant, which is comparatively trivial in amount, has had the greatest possible effect, and I would suggest that for the Empire at large the same plan, with adaptations, could be adopted. We have had in Canada, for many years, a small subsidy for a cable service from England. The grant began some fifteen years ago. I do not think that we have been very happy in the fact that we have taken an actual subsidy. We would have very much preferred increasing our facilities. At our last meeting of the Canadian Press, in May this year, we had a proposition that the British and Canadian Governments were prepared to increase the subsidy considerably. The feeling of the meeting, with practical unanimity, was that it was not advisable to entertain the proposition, and it was definitely rejected. The amount was to be put up to fifty or sixty thousand dollars. It was formally submitted to us, and formally declined on the ground that we did not think it in keeping with the situation that we should take it,

because of the possibility of the feeling that there might be some particular obligation, for instance, as to propaganda.

It is very important that we should have a free discussion on this matter. We ought to realize our powers and responsibilities. We are here, representing the Press of the British Empire. It is our privilege to make the peoples of the British Empire understand one another. If they understand one another there is no question of the continued solidarity of the Empire. We have a right to confer among ourselves, and we have a right, without any undue pride, to go to the governments of the Empire who are associated with us in this work, and ask freely of their co-operation in this work which we have in hand. [Applause.]

SIR RODERICK JONES

SIR RODERICK JONES, Chairman and Managing Director of "Reuter's."—It is clearly agreed among all of us that greater cable facilities are required. We are all equally agreed that the facilities enjoyed at the present time are insufficient. That insufficiency is due to various causes. It is partly due to the destruction caused during the war, and the inability of the cable companies to maintain in proper repair the lines which in peace-time they would have kept in proper working order. Then we have the fact that the traffic on these lines, Press traffic, and to a much greater degree commercial traffic and Government traffic, has increased enormously since the armistice—Government traffic especially. I think that it is probably not so great as it was some months after the armistice, but it certainly is the case that in the Government departments—and I take it, with all respect, that the same is the case in the different parts of the Empire—the officials have got into the habit of sending letters by cable instead of

sending dispatches. The result has been that we of the Press—and I am sure those of the commercial community also—have suffered. Our messages have been delayed, because we all know that official messages take precedence of all other matter. Partly in consequence of representations, made I think by you, Mr. Chairman, and by the Empire Press Union, from time to time, the congestion has been diminished. Questions have also been asked in the House of Commons, which have had the result of diminishing the amount of official work, but the amount of commercial work does not diminish—fortunately, because the more commercial work there is the better from the point of view of the business and commercial development of the Empire. We cannot, however, hope for any lessening of the pressure on the cables. It is rather going to increase, especially to the Far East. There are great events happening in the East, or the beginnings of great events, not only in our Eastern Empire, but also in China, Siberia, and Japan. Those events are of enormous potential interest to us, not only in England, but throughout the Empire, and speaking for the organization of which I am the head—and we are probably the largest users of cables in the Empire, or one of the largest users—I have no hesitation in saying that it is an imperative necessity that the work of communication with the Far East, possibly more than with any other part of the world, should be increased, and as soon as possible. [Hear, hear.]

We start then with the assumption that the facilities are insufficient, that traffic is increasing, that the necessities ahead of us are greater than many of us at present can imagine, and on top of that, and quite rightly, we want as low a rate as possible. I do not know whether any of us are competent to say to what extent the rates can be reduced. I am not competent

to do so. I do not think that anybody, either the cable companies or the Government, can say precisely to what extent they can be lowered. The ideal of a penny rate put forward by Mr. Donald is, I think, a fine ideal. Unless we have some great ideal to aim at, we shall never attain anything. So I am one who will support Mr. Donald's suggestion that we should aim at getting a penny rate; but whether we get that penny rate now or in the near future is a matter of conjecture. I do not say that because I am pessimistic. I am far from being pessimistic. But in order that we should have attained something concrete, I would suggest that before this Conference adjourns we should select a small committee which, when those of us who reside in London return, should be directed then to take up this question with the Government and with the cable companies, discuss the matter fully, and so see to what extent increased facilities can be given and rates can be brought down. We shall be dealing with actual facts. We shall be able to get the facts from the cable companies themselves, and get certain information from the Government. Then we shall have something concrete, at some near date I hope, to place before the Empire Press Union as a body. [Applause.]

I do not think that I have anything else to say, except that personally I have very much pleasure in supporting this resolution. In regard to the subsidies, personally I feel very strongly that subsidies are the last thing to resort to. I do not say that we ought not to have subsidies at some time or other, but I do not think that they are a good thing. We ought to refrain from subsidies as far as possible in future. We all feel very strongly the necessity for having our hands absolutely clean. The independence of the Press, it is a truism to say, is very precious to us, and we should avoid any

expedient that might expose us to the charge, however unjust and unfair, which might imply that we were in any way under Government or any other influence. [Applause.]

THE CHAIRMAN.—We have an alternative resolution of the Australian delegation, which I think it would be convenient to have moved now, and both resolutions could be considered at the same time.

MR. G. E. FAIRFAX

MR. G. E. FAIRFAX ("Sydney Morning Herald").—I beg to move as an alternative resolution:

"That the Empire Press Union should use its influence to secure better, quicker, and cheaper facilities for dissemination of news by cable, wireless, or other methods throughout the Empire, the Government to assist in such provision. Such assistance, however, to be limited to providing increased and cheaper cable, wireless, and other facilities, all of which are declared to be essential to the strengthening of Empire relations."

Australia and New Zealand—I do not know if I should speak for New Zealand—are more actually interested in the question of cable facilities than any other of the Dominions. We are further away from great centres, and it takes longer to get the news, and we have to pay more for it. The majority of our delegates came from the West to the East. We travelled up to Vancouver, and, feeling the responsibility of our position, we did not spend all the time in amusement, but spent some of it in consultation, and prepared certain resolutions. We also consulted with representatives of New Zealand who were on board, and I think we had their support. When we met at Montreal we had a meeting of all the Australian delegates, and they confirmed what we had done. I may

mention that we wired these resolutions to Lord Atholstan as soon as we got to Vancouver, and asked him to put them on the agenda paper.

We feel very strongly on the question of cable facilities. As we have put in our resolutions, what we want is better and quicker service, and cheaper cable rates, and improved means of communication, including wireless and other means of getting news. At present, we emphasize the better and quicker rather more than the cheaper. At the 1909 Conference, and in 1918, when both Canadian and Australian delegates were in England, the matter was approached very much in the form in which we have it, either in Mr. Donald's motion or in mine. So I need not repeat anything that Mr. Donald and Mr. Dafoe have said; but I should make it clear that in the case of each of our motions we should add that a standing committee should be appointed to give effect to the resolution, the committee to consist of two delegates from the British Isles and one delegate appointed by each delegation, and the President, who is to be chairman. The two motions are practically on the same lines. I am proposing this motion with the unanimous authority of the whole of the Australian delegates.

MR. H. R. DENISON

MR. H. R. DENISON ("The Sun," Sydney).—I feel a peculiar honour in being asked by my co-delegates to second the resolution which has been put before you, because for some years past I have been intimately connected with cable work, having in the year 1912 established a second cable-service to Australia, which I think has been of benefit to the people of the Commonwealth as well as to those of other parts of the world. While I support this alternative resolution, I desire at once to disclaim any feeling of antagonism towards our British

colleagues in regard to their own resolution. The resolution which we have drafted was drafted after considerable thought. We are deeply grateful to our colleagues of the British Press for the powerful help which they have given the Dominions in the past in getting the reduced rates which we now enjoy, but we are not content. The average Australian is far from being a contented man, not that we are in a bad temper or anything of that sort, but that we desire progress, and progress in cable rates very naturally implies better service and reduced cost. We are out for that with all our strength, and we want you to help us. We are the farthest away from the centre of the Empire. Therefore we need reduced cost and better cable service if we are to keep our people properly advised of what is going on, not only in the centre of the Empire, but also in the various Dominions. [Hear, hear.]

There are some points in regard to cable business which I wish to put before you. The volume of business which existed before the war has practically doubled and trebled during the war and since, and it may surprise delegates to know that the Press of the Commonwealth of Australia has spent, during the last three or four years, over £100,000 per annum to keep the people of Australia advised of what is going on at the other end of the world. When we contrast the amount which we at the far-off end of the world, with only 5,000,000 people on our continent, pay for cables, with the sum, large in itself, which is paid by the great American Press, with its 100,000,000 people to serve, which only amounts to £200,000 a year, you will see that we are paying very dearly. [Hear, hear.] We want your help because we think that we are paying too much. We want your help for other reasons, for Empire reasons, because we, in common with other countries

of the world, are faced with that unrest, that Bolshevism, which is at large, stalking throughout the world, and we desire enlightenment, education, and knowledge, which can only be conveyed, and conveyed quickly, by means of cables, and cheap cables, to kill that superstition and that unrest which very largely proceed from the want of knowledge.

The Empire Press Union has done magnificent work in the past. [Hear, hear.] I will now, with your permission, place before you a statement showing how cable rates have varied since 1872. Of course I refer more particularly to the long-distance cables to India and Australia, and the various branches of that service which now exist. The Eastern Extension Company, who were responsible for the cable to Australia in 1872, established a cable rate of £9 9s. for twenty words. That rate lasted for about three years. Then in 1875 single word rates were brought into operation, and they fixed the rate at 10s. 8d. per word. In 1886 the company reduced the rate to 9s. 4d. a word for ordinary messages, and they brought the rate for Press messages down to 2s. 8d. per word. That was the first time that the Press was considered entitled to a special rate. In 1891 a conference of cable and telegraphic authorities was held in London, and a proposal was made then—I think through the Dominion representatives, but I am not sure—to reduce the rate to 4s. a word for ordinary messages, and 1s. 10d. for Press messages. This was agreed to by the company, on condition that the respective governments in Australia—this was before the present Commonwealth came into existence—should guarantee any loss which occurred over and above a certain rate of income which the company then enjoyed, and the respective governments were so anxious to give the people the benefit of cheap messages

that they all agreed. Though we all know how difficult it is where you have separate governments, separate trade unions, and other separate entities, to bring them into line, they were all so convinced of the necessity of this cheap rate that without one single exception they agreed to make up any loss which the company might incur and by that means to reduce rates. The States then guaranteed to the company half of the amount of the receipts of the previous year, which were £237,000. In 1893 it was found that the company were making a heavy loss. Why, I do not know. Presumably the rate had been fixed a little bit too low. The company then proposed to increase the rates, but they knew that they would lose the Government guarantee if they did so. They were just then on the point of constructing another cable out by South Africa and across to Australia, and naturally they wanted to encourage business. They agreed, therefore, on a rate of 4s. per word provided that the Government supported this new cable via South Africa. That was the happiest thing that the Eastern Extension Company ever did, and it was found that where one cable did not pay the two did. [Hear, hear.] They got their new cable out via South Africa to Australia, and immediately the rates came down from 4s. to 3s. 6d. a word.

MR. CROSBIE ROLES.—You are speaking of ordinary rates?

MR. DENISON.—Yes. We are interested in ordinary rates as well as in Press rates, because, after all, it is the public who support us, and the more public business they can get the cheaper we are likely to get our Press rates. Further on they reduced it again by another 6d., and they provided in the agreement that future reductions should be based on a fixed value standard, and that the rate should be reduced to 2s. 6d. per word when the revenue exceeded £330,000

per annum, in other words, when the previous revenue of £237,000 was exceeded by £100,000.

Since then absolutely nothing has been done. In 1909, I think it was, the Empire Press Union went for a reduction. I do not know whether they went particularly for a reduction for the public, but certainly they were able to secure a reduction from 9*d.* to 7½*d.* in regard to Press messages to Australia, and there it has remained to the present day. Since the start of the war the abnormal conditions created were a natural and very forcible excuse for abrogating the scheme, but during the past eighteen months the agreement has exceeded, not only £330,000, but has been over £500,000, and we therefore claim that we are entitled, under the agreement, to a further reduction, owing to the increased revenue of the company, which has been caused so largely, not only by the war, but by the ordinary requirements of civilization, and in particular of Australia. I know that I shall be pardoned if I stress Australia, because we are so far away that we feel particularly that it is necessary for the education of the proletariat and the common folk, that they should be kept in touch with great questions, especially great Imperial questions, and that cannot be done when you have to pay 7½*d.* a word ordinary rates, and, as was the case throughout the war, when we were actually paying to give our people information, something like 3*s.* a word, from day to day, because the cables were blocked with business.

MR. D. BRAHAM ("Sydney Daily Telegraph").—We are still doing it.

MR. DENISON.—We continue to do it, and we want to get busy on the subject. We are discontented. We want to cut the rates down to something like what Mr. Donald has claimed to be right, namely a penny a word. Some of us do not think that we shall get it for a great many years, but we may possibly get 3*d.* or

4*d.* a word for the public and 1*d.* a word for deferred Press, and deferred Press would only refer to news which is not exactly news—if I may so express it. It is a question whether we should not insist on the urgent rates being in the same proportion. Deferred rates, when charged to the general public, are half ordinary rates, but when we of the Press require a fast rate we are charged, not twice as much, but five times as much. That is a reform which we should advocate.

There are some points in connection with which saving might be effected. We had in 1919 a sub-committee of our Press Union formed to go into various matters in connection with cable facilities, and they brought forward a report which I do not think has yet been adopted by the Empire Press Union—perhaps Mr. Donald can tell me in regard to that—but which recommended certain things. I think that we ought to reaffirm the findings of that sub-committee, because they are so much to the point that I do not think we could better them. Having stated that immediate steps should be taken to improve the service, then it referred to the possible assistance that might be given to the companies. It also pointed out that a second cable should be laid down without delay, as part of the all-red scheme, to Norfolk Island. Then full use should be made of the ex-German Atlantic cable, because the Post Office is making very little use of it. It is also suggested that the deferred Press tariff should be resumed and extended as soon as possible to South Africa. The misuse of the cables by Government departments has been the greatest blot on the system during the last three or four years. The Government institutions so loaded up the cables with ridiculous Government messages that the cables absolutely broke down. Then the governments themselves prac-

tically increase our cable rates by their landing charges. Why should they impose any landing charges? The governments have not spent any money on the landing stations. They have no expense in the matter, and yet they are loading the Press and the public with one-fifth of the whole of the cable charge for what they call landing charges. The Empire Press Union should impress on the Government that, instead of overloading these cables with charges, they should help to improve the relationship of the different parts of the Empire by cheapening the communications which are so vital. [Hear, hear.] It seems to me that you are not going to vote on these resolutions in their present form. They can be slightly amended to bring them more into touch with each other, so that we might be unanimous in whatever we do, because in such a question the resolution of a Conference like this is half the battle.

THE CHAIRMAN.—I do not see why we should not adopt both resolutions and leave it to the committee, to be appointed, to unite them so as to embody the joint views of the different delegations. [Hear, hear.]

MR. DENISON.—I formally second the alternative resolution.

MR. PERCY HURD, M.P.—Would it not be desirable that a specific mandate should be given to this committee on the subject of this penny rate, and also a specific mandate to urge on the governments to relieve the cables of this government verbiage and superfluous stuff?

THE CHAIRMAN.—Certainly.

MR. T. W. LEYS

MR. T. W. LEYS ("Auckland Star"), Chairman of the New Zealand delegation.—The delegates of the New Zealand committee regard these two resolutions as quite a remarkable example of the uniform working of minds very far apart. I have very carefully read these resolutions and

feel that I could quite well support both, but I prefer the resolution of Mr. Donald, and from his remarks I believe that Mr. Denison has also come to the conclusion that the essential recommendations contained in Mr. Donald's message should be embodied in some common resolution. There can be no question as to the desirability of insisting upon the necessity of a State-laid cable. We in Australia and New Zealand would never have obtained the advantages which we now have but for the construction of the Pacific cable. I believe that even the hint of a second cable in the direction of the Eastern position would immediately bring down those rates which we are told cannot be reduced, and it would be a great thing if the Conference would endorse the claim for a cable for the Eastern portions of the Empire. The subsidy is the only element of Mr. Donald's proposal that I would have the least hesitation in supporting, but subsidies are not universal. We are subsidizing steamers, but it is a very dangerous policy. I urge that it should be a definite instruction to the committee, carefully to consider whether it is advisable to support the construction of State-owned cables.

The Conference adjourned until two-thirty o'clock.

AFTERNOON SESSION

(August 5th, 1921)

The Conference resumed at two-thirty o'clock.

SIR CAMPBELL STUART.—I have much pleasure in nominating Mr. H. E. Turner as secretary to this Conference. It is obviously desirable formally to appoint a secretary. [Hear, hear.]

THE CHAIRMAN.—Mr. Turner is the efficient secretary of the Empire Press Union of Great Britain.

Resolution passed with acclamation.

The discussion of the morning session was then resumed.

HON. THEO. FINK

THE HON. THEO. FINK ("Melbourne Herald").—Those who, like Lord Atholstan, attended the first Conference, will recollect that it was adorned by the presence of Sir Henniker Heaton, who, having secured his victory in the postal service, indicated that a penny a word rate should be our ideal. I would like to supplement Mr. Denison's account of the reduction of scales by reminding those who were not present at the first Conference that the first concession which that Conference secured was a reduction from 1s. a word to *gd.* a word. I had the honour, in co-operation with Sir Stanley Reed, of opening the discussion at that Conference by a resolution for the reduction of cable rates. The British Postmaster-General was present. The resolution was carried after a brief debate, the arguments used by the speakers being identical with those used now. We heard a great deal beforehand on the part of responsible Ministers about the desirability of maintaining within the Empire a free and full interchange of news. Sir Stanley Reed emphasized the fact that you could not cement the Empire at a shilling a word, and again we have to thank the members of the Press, because while the delegates were engaged in receiving British hospitality in the provinces, our British friends secured this reduction within ten days. [Applause.] I do not want to reiterate the necessity for reduction. It is not sufficient for the purposes of Imperial unity to send us bald and brief accounts of important happenings. We want to know what people think. That is especially important when the current subjects of news, and the current history of every day, are concerned less with battles and sieges related

to the immediate past than with the ordinary, industrial, and moral questions that agitate society, and which practically mean a continuous revolution.

We are a long way off in Australia. Canada is not so far, though Canada is not too near, and I imagine that the great social movements are not likely, more than any other movements, to get less rapid or less continuous as science and intellect become diffused. It is absolutely essential for us to be kept fully informed. We govern ourselves in our local affairs, but we are Empire citizens and must be thoroughly educated in Imperial affairs, and the necessity will be more vital in future than it has ever been before if we are to remain a great Empire, and because the influence of Great Britain and the Dominions on the civilization and the moral progress of the world is a very important factor. Sir Roderick Jones has suggested that the committee of the Union, or its Executive, should take charge of this resolution. It has been stated, in connection with Sir John Denison Pender's cable company, that during the period of the war they had made four or five million pounds of profits. How that corresponds with pre-war profits, I do not know.

MR. DENISON ("The Sun," Sydney).—They would not publish their balance sheets.

MR. FINK.—They are practically a public utility, and it may be very undesirable—I do not know enough to have an opinion on this question—that such a public utility and public necessity should remain in the hands of private citizens. We are not discussing that to-day, but it affects Empire thought, civil life, commerce, political institutions, and the relations of the Empire to different countries so much, that it is a matter far more important for the governments, as well as of the interests concerned, than many of the matters

which occupy and distract their attention. I am not prepared to say now whether investigation would bring out sufficient facts to enable us to say that all the money for new cable lines is to be paid while taxing the Dominions at the same high rates as to-day. It may be that representations may make them see the desirability of distributing the heavy expenditure, not on the cable tolls of the two or three years succeeding this, but over some long period, like the national debt, which might enable the companies to reduce their rates. That is a fact which I trust the executive will bear in mind; and if one of the functions of the Press is to give information, I have no doubt that the cable companies, like other companies, are fit subjects for the searchlight of discussion, after full investigation of the actual position. No government should have the full use of payments for sea routes or land routes in the Dominions without making a full disclosure to the citizens of the Empire of what they are making, and it is a question whether some of the huge gains, if there are huge gains by the State, should not be devoted to the practical relief of what business men in all parts of the world and in all concerns feel is an essential accompaniment of an extension of business.

MR. TAYLOR DARBYSHIRE

MR. DARBYSHIRE ("The Age," Melbourne).—I think that a sub-committee of the Empire Press Union should be formed to keep a watch on all cable matters in London. It should be a special committee of the Empire Press Union, a permanent one, on cables and cable communications.

There is the question of standardization of cable rates. At present the rates charged for Press messages, deferred messages, and full-rate messages are not properly propor-

tioned one to another. South Africa has proportionately much cheaper Press messages than Australia. I think it is rather important that we should have a fixed proportion for our Press messages. The case of the Eastern Company has been mentioned, and the promise to reduce the rates when the receipts exceeded £330,000 per annum, but we must not forget that all that was based on pre-war conditions. The revenue of £330,000 has not the same relation to working expenses as it had when the undertaking was given. That is another point which the committee will have to take up, and they will have to find out what proportion the revenue bears to the working expenses. Another point is the control of the Pacific cable. At present that control ceases at Montreal. If we in London commit our cables to an all-red route, we have to depend on an Imperial cable or an American cable to Halifax. From there there is a leased line to Montreal. The Pacific Cable Board handles it after that. It is very important that there should be single control. If we are to have an all-red route and keep our cables to it, we should certainly have a Pacific Cable Board operating in London in some way. At present they have an office in London, but it is only an advisory post. One of the ways in which this committee could be useful would be in keeping the Post Office department up-to-date. All of us, who have anything to do with cables, know that it takes a very long time to make an impression on the department.

MR. W. BRENNAN

MR. BRENNAN ("The Argus," Melbourne).—We appear all to have arrived at a conclusion as to what we want to say on this matter, and it only remains to decide the best way in which it should be said. There is a point of principle which may be

involved, even in the mere drafting of the resolution, and it has occurred to me that we ought to carry this resolution with the words employed in the draft originally submitted by the Australian section. It is more general in its terms, and that is why I suggest that the Empire Press Union should use its best influence. Whatever may be said about Government agencies in these matters, that is not the most important thing. The most important thing is to secure the service in whatever direction you get it, and I think that we ought to put that in the forefront of our request.

Too much stress has been laid on the part which the Government has played in increasing cable facilities. We have to remember that the private companies were in possession of the field a whole generation before the Government ever appeared in the matter; and if the Government did appear, its intervention would not be useful because it was the Government, but because it was a competitor. A great deal has been said about the disadvantage of Government assistance. We invoke the Government to come to our assistance, and, having invoked them, we do not know precisely where their intervention will end. We want to keep in the forefront our special desire for facilities and for rapid communication. Our experience of Government services during the war was that they were monopolized entirely for official purposes. If they get complete possession of the field, there is not the slightest reason to suppose that they will not use these wires for official purposes more frequently than ever. The great thing to get is more means of communication. We do not want monopolists of any kind, Government or private. The Government is already reaching out to take complete possession of the wireless system, and if the Government owned the only means of communication,

as is threatened in the case of wireless, I believe that they would place every possible obstacle in the way of development. We should press our desire to get increased facilities for cable and wireless in whatever form they come, and we should ask our committee to get those facilities. [Applause.]

I beg to move that the resolution should commence, "That the Empire Press Union should use its influence to secure better, cheaper, and quicker conveyance of news."

MR. PERCY HURD, M.P. (London Editor "Montreal Star").—I will second that if Mr. Brennan will accept the suggestion that it should open with a statement showing the imperative necessity for these things to be done. The resolution should state that we feel it necessary to secure forthwith better, quicker, and cheaper facilities for the dissemination of news by cable, and this Conference calls upon the Empire Press Union to use its influence to secure this end. Such a resolution would serve a double purpose. It would show the imperative necessity for this being done, and it would give a mandate to the Empire Press Union to do it.

Further discussion of this subject was adjourned until the following morning.

WIRELESS TELEGRAPHY AND TELEPHONY

MR. F. CROSBIE ROLES ("The Times of Ceylon"; Chairman of the Asia and Near East delegation).—I beg to propose:

"That this Conference is strongly of opinion that the principles should be at once established for providing the British Empire and the world with the advantages of wireless telegraphic and telephonic communication, and it urgently requests the Governments of the Empire to secure, by public or by

private enterprise, at an early date, adequate wireless services throughout the Empire."

The subject on which I am called upon to address you may conveniently be divided: first wireless telegraphy, and then wireless telephony. The original draft of this motion was prepared by the Asia and Near East Delegation, which extends from Hong Kong to Malta. We are greatly concerned about this matter. India is the pivotal country of Asia. The enormous commercial possibilities of Central and Southern Asia radiate from India; and India will increasingly focus the calamities or the benefits that will result from the movement of men's minds. Much even of the safety of India is wrapped up with the perfection and rapid utilization of the means of supercommunication. So it comes naturally to the memory that at our first Conference, eleven years ago, Mr. (now Sir) Stanley Reed, editor of "The Times of India," proposed, as Chairman of the Indian Delegation, a motion which was carried unanimously, and was, with other subjects, laid by a deputation before the Prime Minister of that day. The motion was:

"That this Conference urges upon the Governments concerned the desirability of establishing a chain of wireless telegraph stations between all British countries; because these are necessary, both for the cheapening of electrical intercommunications and for the safety of the mercantile marine."

How these last words, "the safety of the mercantile marine," stir us now, with the memories of the last six years! [Hear, hear.]

Before long, however, we became aware that the perfecting of wireless telegraphic communication, both in expeditious dispatch and in accuracy, would be much slower than Senator Marconi had himself declared to us;

but besides that a change of British Post Office attitude towards the Marconi Company and towards the carrying out of the contract for an Imperial change of high-power stations became evident. The breaking of the contract eventually cost the British tax-payer a sum equivalent to 2,500,000 dollars, with nothing to show for it. More than that, the Great War burst upon us without our possessing the stations which would have enabled the Allied world to maintain intercommunication overseas, had the cables been cut at the bottom of the seas. Some of us feel more than impatient with the condition of antagonism which continues to exist. We recognize that the disputants are not on the same level; and I for one say that the Marconi Company would have been better advised if it had submitted its case and its witnesses to the recent Government Committee. [Hear, hear.] We are forward-looking men, however, and we will gladly bury the past, if we can take the right steps *now*. Much was learnt in the war, but the advances made are being brought into our everyday lives much "too slowly." [Hear, hear.] Secrecy still surrounds the high-power station in Egypt, somewhere between Cairo and Suez. In India the public can make use of the wireless stations at Bombay and Calcutta only to communicate with vessels within about 300 miles of those ports. The stations cannot communicate with each other, I understand. The position east of India, Mr. Makepeace, editor of the "Singapore Free Press," who has only just joined us, has kindly undertaken to describe when called upon after the motion has been seconded. It will doubtless be appreciated that the seconder will deal appropriately with wireless telephony, for he was an easy first in the Telephonic Stakes on the good ship "Victorian." [Laughter.] I would point out that

we have no longer two terrestrial worlds, the old and the new. The new world is the air and the ether about and above us; and when we take flight into space it is little wonder that we encounter complications that are new to the human conception, and that provide enthralling problems for solution. We shall have to register, to apportion, and to allot these waves; to establish the freedom of the air as we explore it, and yet to copyright the messages that pass from the sender to numberless receivers. There is much to be accomplished, and the governments of the world need to be getting together, to settle how communications by air are to be harnessed. We cannot make real practical progress inter-Imperially until the British Empire and the other civilized countries have settled the conditions under which wireless telegraphy and telephony are to operate. It may be that there will be a pause of years before some of the immediate problems are solved; but recent experience warns us that accuracy in transmission without loss of speed, and privacy too, will be no greater miracles than the successes already achieved. [Hear, hear.] The vast strides made with the thermionic valve, in its applications, during the past five or six months, are such that we know not what a month, or even a day, may bring forth. How important it is that the governments of the Empire should confer together to decide how State and private enterprise can join in helping on both new methods of communication, and equally important that the governments should be assisted to right conclusions by public inquiry and the intelligent expression of public opinion, so that the foundations upon which these systems of great potentiality are to be built up may be rightly laid. We certainly can contemplate economies in cost that will render aerial communication

markedly cheaper than by cable. We know that the competition which will result will bring down cable charges; that would be but a common experience of everyday business life. It will bring nearer the attainment of that splendid conception of *id. per word* around the world. I therefore invite you to pass this resolution.

SIR CAMPBELL STUART

SIR CAMPBELL STUART ("The Times," London).—I am glad to have the opportunity of supporting this very important resolution, so ably proposed by my friend and colleague, Mr. Crosbie Roles, and I am particularly glad of the opportunity because, if I may say so, the subject of wireless communication cannot fail to be much in the minds—and in the hearts—of those who have just crossed many oceans. We who were passengers on the good ship "Victorian" were uniquely and historically fortunate, for in time of fog, 2,000 miles from the port from which we sailed, we heard by wireless telephone a concert in Essex—the first time such a miracle has happened in the history of the world—and in that connection I would like to-day to pay a tribute to the wonderful genius, constructive imagination, and almost uncanny vision of that great Italian sailor-statesman, Senator Guglielmo Marconi. [Applause.]

But there is one point, one very essential and practical point, to which I would like to draw the attention of the great inventor, and perhaps his representative, Mr. Burrows, will be able to enlighten us, and that is, speaking now as the representative of certain well-known journals in the Motherland, I desire to say that we have a feeling of diffidence towards news sent to us by a medium that might be tapped. [Laughter.] Although the outstanding characteristics of the Press towards each other are altruism, unselfishness, and

brotherly love, at the same time we occasionally like to get a scoop. Hence I feel the chief difficulty we have to contend with in wireless is "secrecy," and I would like, if it is possible, a little enlightenment on that subject. [Hear, hear.]

I second the resolution. [Applause.]

LORD BURNHAM

THE CHAIRMAN.—It is interesting to recall that one of the last and the most important meetings of the Conference of 1909 was held to consider this question. We then had the privilege of hearing Senator Marconi explain, so far as I know for the first time, to the newspaper Press, what wireless telegraphy could do. The Senator then thought that by August—he was speaking in June—he would be able to provide a service which would suffice for the needs of the Press. For various reasons the installation of wireless was delayed, and it was not for one and a half years afterwards that we were able to make any use or trial of the wireless system. An experiment was then made, but the service was not sure or regular enough to be of much use for news purposes. Since then many years have passed and things have altered, and the considerations which then applied ought no longer to debar the wireless service from operating. We have the advantage of having with us Mr. Burrows, manager of the news department of the Marconi Company, whom we had with us on the s.s. "Victorian." He will explain the system as applied to news services, and the facilities which are offered, and I will ask him to be good enough to answer relevant questions. Meantime, I think I may assure him of a hearty welcome. [Applause.]

MR. A. BURROWS

Mr. BURROWS (Marconi Wireless Telegraph Company).—I would like

first to express the appreciation of the management and myself of this opportunity for saying a few words on wireless in relation to news. I thank you for recalling the meeting of 1909, when Mr. Marconi spoke before your Conference. Some eleven years have elapsed since then. Half of that time has been spent in preparing material for and meeting the demands of the war, and naturally there has been some delay in the long-distance work. At the same time much progress has been made. Progress has been slow because experiments cannot be performed in a laboratory, nor can they be performed in a tank, as in the case of cable work, in which it is possible to put several coils of cable in a big cable ship, pick up the two ends, and test the cable as though it were laid across the ocean. Still, very considerable progress has been made. First of all, if you take a map of the world to-day, you will see that it is studded with wireless stations. Some of them are of moderate power, and a large number are of small power. They are to be found in the wastes of Alaska, down the wild Labrador coast, along the Arctic shores of Siberia, in the Arctic islands, in Iceland, and spread about the continent of Europe. These stations, generally speaking, are of moderate power, of anything from 200 to 500 miles active radius. There are also intermediate stations having a capacity of about 1,000 miles, mostly State-operated, and therefore little known to the world of commerce. Then come the really long-distance stations, which are used for trans-ocean work.

There are, at the moment, five transatlantic wireless routes. Three of the five are intermittent in character, the European stations being required for other purposes during a large portion of the twenty-four hours. I am referring to the French-Lyons, the circuit from Nauen in Germany, and the Stavanger-Marion circuit.

These are only in use part of the day. There are two other circuits which are operated at the English end by the Marconi Company. The first is the original transatlantic circuit, operating between Clifden and Glace Bay. The Glace Bay station was just visible to those who landed at Sydney the other day. That circuit has done good work—I will not say perfect work, because it has not. It was a circuit opened up in the early days of wireless, when we naturally got our stations as near together as possible. One weakness is that between London and Clifden, and between Glace Bay and New York and Montreal, you have long land wires of a highly vulnerable character, and considerable interruptions have occurred in those land wires. Also there is no disguising the fact that the apparatus put in ten or twelve years ago, though the most perfect of its kind at the time, is to-day obsolete. That apparatus is about to be replaced, but it has fulfilled a most useful function in giving data that could not have been obtained otherwise, data from the world as a laboratory. I wish to make it clear that I do not recommend this Clifden and Glace Bay circuit for Press work, because there is no point in disguising things which are not satisfactory. [Hear, hear.] I am going to tell you if they are not. For that reason I want you to go slow in the matter of wireless, and not to condemn it on what has happened in the past. It has also to be remembered that across the Atlantic there have been seventeen cables against one wireless circuit, and if there has been delay in your messages by wireless it is very difficult to judge how far that works out in proportion to the fact that you have seventeen channels working on the cable side.

The new wireless, if I may use such a term, is threatening to bring about a revolution. I am confident of it. How soon that revolution will be

applicable to Press work, I cannot say. But the new valve system of transmission that is coming along opens an entirely new prospect. It permits transmission over a far greater distance with the same amount of power. It permits of much sharper tuning, of operating under adverse electrical conditions, such as were impossible in the past, and furthermore, it permits the use of telegraphy and telephony by the same station, with this difference, however, that the range of telephony is not the range of telegraphy. Generally speaking, the station with a range of 1,000 miles of telegraphy can only do 300 miles by telephony. But under this new continuous wave system of working, in which valves are employed telegraphy, and telephony can both be accomplished. The little set carried on the "Victorian," which has an electrical capacity of about five horse-power, powerful as it is in relation to these other sets which had hitherto gone to sea, is but one-thirtieth of the power of a set which we are engaged in making at the present moment for the Clifden station. We shall soon have in that station wireless apparatus for these continuous waves, and then I think we shall be able to show you that what I am saying to-day is correct.

The question arises, what facilities will this new wireless afford for Press work? I do not want to touch on a controversial subject. I am not fit, personally, to discuss it, because I am one of the interested parties; but much depends, in my opinion, on the attitude adopted by the Imperial and local Governments to this private commercial enterprise, by the Dominion Governments, as well as others. The idea that wireless communication should be a State monopoly has had the result of holding up several wireless schemes which would not have failed to benefit the world, and the development of wireless

telephony has been even more keenly obstructed than was the development of the telephone. In 1879, in Great Britain, for instance, it was illegal for the first five years for the user of a telephone to read from a piece of paper. [Laughter.] It was a violation of the telegraph monopoly held by the Post Office. And other most extraordinary things happened, and extraordinary things are happening to-day, but I do not wish to go into details.

Under certain peculiar conditions wireless can now be used for operating only between two points. It can be used for the purpose of audition to several points. It was used in that way in so-called propaganda work in the war. Messages were deliberately sent out at a low speed from certain powerful wireless stations with the express hope that they would be picked up all the way round by neighbouring and distant countries, and of course a large number were. And it is that very service of wireless in propaganda work that has raised this question as to whether wireless can be applied to newspaper work, because of the need for secrecy. May I draw attention to the very great difference between the audition of a message at slow speed, with the express purpose that it shall be picked up, and the audition of a message at commercial speed, such as would be employed for news purposes for long distances. A message transmitted at above forty words per minute is unintelligible. The signals follow one another in such rapid succession that they go on practically as a continuous note, and wireless news, using high speed—and high speed will be generally used when the new valve transmission comes into effect—cannot be picked up in the way that is feared. At the moment, a high-speed phonograph record is used for the reception of the signals which are one note to the human ear. These are picked up on a high-speed

record and analysed by the use of special and costly apparatus, but this requires very careful adjustment, and, above all, a very large staff.

It was my business, during a great portion of the war, to be intimately associated with the translation of some high-speed wireless. There was one station we were watching. It required nineteen men to watch that one station. We have heard a great deal about tapping messages. I do not know that any newspaper office would consider it worth while to employ nineteen men with costly apparatus to listen for a scoop which may come through at any time, or may never come through during the next ten years. So far as commercial messages are concerned, they also would go at high speed, and similarly there is no risk of your messages being anticipated by your rivals. If your messages are sent slow then there is the risk, but for commercial purposes the messages will be sent at over forty words per minute.

Turn now to another case where there are advantages in sending news slow, so that it can be picked up at more than one point, and I can conceive that within the Dominions, and probably in certain localities within the British Isles, news of general interest, not concerning any individual newspaper, can be sent to advantage in such a way that it might be picked up simultaneously by a number of newspaper offices.

MR. DARBYSHIRE.—At low speed ?

MR. BURROWS.—Yes. It may be done either by low-speed telegraphy or telephony. A fortnight ago an experiment was made in this work in the United Kingdom by the Press Association using our long-distance wireless telephone at Chelmsford. It may be continuing now for all I know. At any rate, the first week of the experiment was the week in which we were crossing. On one or two occasions we were able on the ship to listen to these so-called Press messages.

They were, really, not at all news, but they afforded an opportunity for testing. My own personal opinion is that whoever was conducting the trial thought that he was still using the ordinary telephone, and must of necessity spell his words and repeat his nines and fives, but day by day those who are at the wireless telephone will realize the vast improvements in the transmission of inflections of the voice. There is no necessity for working so slow as was being done in those trials.

May I call the attention of the Canadian Press to the possibilities of the wireless telephone in their own country, particularly during the winter months, when I understand bad weather sometimes plays havoc with land communication? It is possible that a practicable scheme, involving long-distance transmission and simultaneous distribution, may be applied to Canadian newspapers with great advantage to them, and I am certain that the Marconi Company would be pleased to discuss those proposals with them if they are willing. My appointment to the news department of the Marconi Company is in the hope, first of all, that one or more of our schemes may take effect. If they do, it will be my business, as a journalist of some seventeen years' experience, to see that the interests of the Press are uppermost in our mind. [Hear, hear.] It will, for instance, be my business to see that you are told quite frankly whether a message can go through quickly or not, and if not to recommend a different route; and other journalists may be appointed for similar measures in other parts of the world. One thing I would like to make clear is that the appointment of journalists as links between the Press and the wireless does not in any way indicate that the Marconi Company are going to perform the functions of news-agents. I wish it to be strictly understood that the com-

pany are to perform the work of carriers. I should like to emphasize that, because of the notice given in Resolution No. 4, which might apply to such a position.

MR. DENISON.—You do distribute news?

MR. BURROWS.—Yes. We are still distributing wireless news because we are the only people in a position to do so. If the Press do not wish it, we stop instantly. It is not our intention to carry that on.

THE CHAIRMAN.—I understood that to be a war service.

MR. BURROWS.—That is a war service which will cease. Now, as regards the exchange of news between distant points of the Empire, how far we can go on with that depends on the position that is taken up in relation to the Imperial wireless system. If that becomes purely a State function, I have nothing more to say. If it is given over in any way to the Marconi Company, that is where my personal work will come in. The second proposal, for the establishment of special news transmitting stations in all European countries, is already the subject of negotiation. We could open a network of stations of moderate size, devoted primarily to news traffic, which could be operated on a satisfactory commercial basis, even allowing for the reduced rates on Press traffic, and we believe that the special facilities offered by such a system would be of great benefit to international journalism. The third proposal, for the local distribution of news, is one which, as I have already indicated, may require special treatment in different quarters. I have already referred to the Press Association tests in England. The result of these tests I do not know, but I am confident that if there are any technical weaknesses they can be easily remedied. It is necessary to conduct these tests, and make alterations

in accordance with the experience obtained. My only hope is that the matter will be put to the test by those who are journalists, and that we shall not be told to run away and play. Then there is the question of rates. There has been discussion to-day as to the rate of a penny a word. How soon that may come I cannot say, but the policy of the Marconi Company is to charge one-third less than the cable rate for a similar service. That policy is in vogue to-day in our transatlantic service, in which the rate is 8*d.* a word as against 1*s.* a word cable rate. I am given to understand that the company hopes to carry through that principle in all its work.

MR. DENISON.—Does that difference apply to Press rates?

MR. BURROWS.—It is intended to apply to Press rates when the circuits are capable of handling Press work as we desire. If any delegates have any questions to ask, I shall have much pleasure in answering them.

ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS

MR. T. W. LEYS ("Auckland Star," and Chairman of the New Zealand delegation).—With reference to the scheme outlined in the pamphlet, does not this contemplate an absolute monopoly to the Marconi Company for a long term of years?

MR. BURROWS.—The scheme provides for the gift of the whole chain of stations to the Government at the end of thirty years, and offers the Government 25 per cent. of the profits during the period of operation.

MR. LEYS.—During the thirty years the Marconi Company continue in operation?

MR. BURROWS.—Yes.

SIR GEORGE TOULMIN ("Lancashire Daily Post").—In the case of the development of wireless telegraphy, would the Government keep for itself certain wave-lengths or certain facilities for use in war, but which would greatly limit the facili-

ties for commercial and Press work in time of peace?

MR. BURROWS.—I can only answer that question again from the point of view of an interested party. The range of wave-length available for commercial use is, in our opinion as a wireless company, far too small, and the range of wave-length employed by the services, we say, is far too large. We do not consider that anything like scope is given for commercial development in the commercial wave-lengths which are at present available.

SIR G. TOULMIN.—Was that done, after consultation with you by a Government department, because we were in a state of war?

MR. BURROWS.—On that point I am not absolutely certain, but I believe that in the selection of wave-lengths we had no part. A certain number were put aside, and we were told that they were available for our use.

MR. DARBYSHIRE.—Up to how many thousand metres do the wave-lengths go?

MR. BURROWS.—The longest wave-length employed in the world to-day is about 18,000 metres, but there is no reason why it should not go further.

SIR FRANK NEWNES.—The pamphlet refers to division into different wireless groups. When will that be done?

MR. BURROWS.—We have not got permission yet. The Imperial Wireless Committee has suggested that this work shall be done by the State. That is not final, and has yet, I believe, to be discussed in the Houses of Parliament, and until sanction is given one way or the other, we cannot say where we stand, but our proposal is the one which suggests the five routes.

THE CHAIRMAN.—Pending the decision of His Majesty's Government at home on the report of the committee, all work is hung up?

MR. BURROWS.—Certainly.

THE CHAIRMAN.—And will be until the decision is made?

MR. BURROWS.—I assume so, except in relation to the portion upon which the Post Office is now engaged.

MR. N. LEVI ("De Volkstem," South Africa).—Is it possible to avoid the necessity of having extra cables by having additional wireless facilities?

MR. BURROWS.—I would not suggest that for one moment in these days. What may happen in other days I would not like to predict, because progress in wireless is so rapid that it would be unwise to predict, but at present I consider that there is room for both.

MR. DONALD

MR. DONALD.—The Marconi Company have produced a comprehensive scheme for a complete wireless system throughout the Empire, and also one for Europe. I think it was Mr. Leys who wanted to know whether the company had a monopoly, and Mr. Burrows said the company were to present this system to the State in thirty years; in the meantime giving it 25 per cent. of the profits, and carrying all Press matter at one-third less than ordinary rates. But one condition which was not mentioned was that the Government should give the company every facility for obtaining stations and licences. The Marconi Company could not work for a moment without licences. It gets those privileges, moreover, outside the Empire, and carries on a very big business, perhaps not on the same conditions as within the Empire. I think that I am right in saying that it has got a monopoly. The attitude of the British Government on wireless has been very unfortunate. The business has been muddled from beginning to end. After the long controversy between the Government and the Marconi Company, a departmental committee

was asked to bring out a comprehensive scheme, and it has produced a small peddling scheme which is of no use at all. The system it proposes is already obsolete, and, moreover, there is apparently no intention of competing with the cable companies. One of the chief officials of the companies, speaking last year on this question of the competition of cables and wireless, said that were the Government the owners of the wireless stations the rates charged would be altogether within the discretion of the Government, and if it proved that the wireless stations were withdrawing such a large proportion of the cable traffic as to imperil the financial stability of the cable companies, the competition would have to be restricted through the rates. So this foreshadows no competition between a Government wireless system, if we had one, and the cable companies. That does not suit us at all. [Hear, hear.] Wireless will not supersede cables for many years to come. The volume of business to be carried throughout the world, particularly the British Empire, will be quite enough to keep all the companies going and the wireless too, but the urgency of this matter is the influence which it may have on the British Government and public opinion.

MR. MAKEPEACE

MR. WALTER MAKEPEACE ("Singapore Free Press").—May I ask you to withdraw your minds for a moment from all these discussions of wavelengths and rates, and support this resolution on purely Imperial grounds. I do so on the specific ground that in the outer marches of the Empire, which we represent in the Indian and the Pacific Oceans, you can hardly, even if you study the map, imagine the isolated position of the British Crown colonies, mostly in the Indian Ocean. From Ceylon to Singapore is 2,000 miles. From Singapore to

Hong Kong is 2,000 miles. From Singapore to the north point of Australia is 3,000 miles. From Singapore to Manilla is something like 6,000 miles. To the south of us, within 400 miles, lie the great Dutch possessions of Java and Sumatra, with their 49,000,000 native inhabitants. I ask you to support these resolutions on the ground that, if Britain is going to hold her own in these outer marches of the Empire, it is necessary to carry on the work of spreading Empire news and doing Empire work. Therefore I ask this Conference to support the resolution on the general ground, and also on the specific ground, that in Singapore you have an ideal place for sending a service of news which I do not think would benefit the newspapers one scrap, but which I firmly believe would benefit the Empire. [Applause.]

LORD BURNHAM

THE CHAIRMAN.—Before I put the resolution I wish to thank Mr. Burrows, and also to thank the Marconi Company for having sent him here. It has been a great advantage to have his explanation and authoritative declaration, and I feel, so far as the home country is concerned, it would be a perfect scandal if, owing to personal antagonisms and differences, we are deprived of the benefit of a cheap and easy system of wireless communication throughout the Empire. Owing to political complications, we have already suffered enough in this respect. [Hear, hear.] We have no concern with the personalities of the question, but we are concerned with this principle, that the Government should get busy—to use Mr. Lloyd George's phrase—or rather those who are acting in their place should get busy and give us the equipment which we require, and I hope that this resolution will be understood in that sense by the Government at home, particularly by the Postmaster-General, and also

those who are responsible in like manner in the other Dominions of the Crown.

DR. BARTOLO ("The Daily Malta Chronicle").—Is a committee to be appointed to see that this resolution is carried out?

THE CHAIRMAN.—This resolution will go to the same special committee of the Empire Press Union.

SIR G. TOULMIN

SIR G. TOULMIN ("Lancashire Daily Post").—I desire particularly to emphasize the point as to providing full facilities for private enterprise, because we find difficulties with the Government departments whenever we endeavour to take advantage of these new inventions. Mr. Burrows has referred to the experiments which were being made as we left by the Press Association. I saw only one day of the experiments, but I understood that we were interfered with by certain Government regulations as to the means we could adopt locally for receiving the messages from Chelmsford. We should indicate very strongly to the Government that they should not simply use the telegraphic service for the purpose of securing revenue, but that they should have a broad conception of their duties in controlling the system for the benefit of the public. I beg to move that before the words "private enterprise," the words "full facilities for" be inserted.

MR. KNAPP ("Surrey Comet"; President of the Newspaper Society).—I beg to second the amendment.

Amendment agreed to.

MR. T. W. LEYS

MR. LEYS.—In New Zealand the Telefunken system has been operated under the amalgamated company. I do not think that anyone could take exception to the wording of this resolution. We all feel that the fullest facilities should be given for

the establishment of some satisfactory system of wireless. At the same time it would be lamentable if it went forward by this resolution that the Imperial Press Conference desired to back up this Empire monopoly on the part of the Marconi Company for thirty years. Wireless is only in its infancy. There are great improvements being made. I cannot speak as an expert, but the wireless operators I have spoken to, not only in New Zealand but on board ships, say that the Telefunken is a better system than the Marconi. This may be an error on the part of these operators, but we should guard ourselves against backing up any invention for the next thirty years against the Telefunken or any other system. Let us have every facility for making use of this splendid invention. My sympathies are with Marconi to this extent: he was responsible for developing an idea which had been discovered long before he brought it into practice. For this he deserves credit, but do not let us appear to be backing up any system, whether Telefunken or Marconi, which will prevent the British Empire from getting the fullest advantage of any system that may be developed in any part of the world.

MR. DONALD (addressing Mr. Burrows).—Is it not a fact that the

Marconi Company have acquired the Telefunken rights for the British Empire?

MR. BURROWS.—That is so. The question whether the Marconi or the Telefunken is the better system is not one that I am going to enter into in detail, but certain operators prefer the Telefunken note. It is very much higher than the Marconi note. It is said that many Telefunken operators have been driven into lunatic asylums by its note. It is all a matter of opinion.

THE CHAIRMAN.—The question certainly does not arise. I will now put the resolution, as amended, to the Conference:

“ This Conference is strongly of opinion that steps should at once be taken to provide the British Empire and the world with the advantages of wireless telegraphic and telephonic communications, and it urgently requests the Governments of the Empire to secure by public, or by full facilities for private enterprise, at an early date, adequate wireless services throughout the Empire.”

The resolution was passed unanimously. The Conference adjourned until Friday, August 6th.

SECOND DAY OF THE CONFERENCE

ADDRESS BY THE POSTMASTER-GENERAL OF CANADA

PRESS RELATIONS WITH GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS CENSORSHIP DEBATE

SECOND DAY'S PROCEEDINGS

(August 6th, 1920)

The Conference resumed its sittings on the morning of Friday, August 6th.

Lord Burnham presided, and there was a full attendance of delegates.

THE CHAIRMAN.—We are favoured this morning with the presence of M. Blondin, the Postmaster-General of Canada, and perhaps he will be good enough to address the Conference. [Applause.]

M. BLONDIN

M. BLONDIN.—It is a great honour and pleasure to me to join in welcoming you to this capital of the Dominion, both those of you who come from afar, from the British Isles and from the Overseas Dominions, and also those of you who are my own fellow-countrymen. You have come from all over the world, brought here by a common interest in a great Empire and a great profession, the ideals of which are the same, and can be summed up in these three words—justice, freedom, self-government—[applause]—and, if I mistake not, one of your main objects is to promote greater harmony in the British Commonwealth. If you have that spirit, it is not necessary for me to say that we receive you as brothers in the task of bringing a better understanding among the races and nations

of the Empire, and we are willing to co-operate to the full extent that lies in our power. [Applause.]

You would be surprised if I had brought with me this morning the letters which I have received expressing deep regret at the fact that your passage through the province of Quebec was so quick. It has been a great disappointment to my people over there, and they look upon it as an act of justice that you should go through again, and that you should make a strict investigation, because they feel in their minds and their hearts that they have nothing to fear from any kind of investigation that you can make. They feel that when you leave, it will be with the same friendly feelings as those with which you met. [Applause.] Speaking as a French-Canadian, I trust that the more you become acquainted with our past history, and with our present conditions, the more you will find in our achievements a source of confidence and hope for the success of your worthy efforts. To those who may entertain some anxiety for the future, as to possible destructive conflicts of nations upon religious grounds, I would say, "Look fifty years back in our history. Consider the difficulties we have overcome, and then judge the future by the past." [Applause.] The fathers of the confederation launched and worked their bold venture in an

atmosphere of unimaginable dissensions. They had to conciliate two races that had been taught practically to hate each other in the course of the interested conflicts of daily life. Yet look outside this building, which stands as a sentinel-symbol of their doings, and see what they have done in less than an ordinary lifetime. The evil atmosphere which existed then exists no longer. We have our difficulties, but there is nothing in them to be compared with the difficulties which the fathers of the confederation had to face here. That evil atmosphere exists no longer, and all hearts beat as strongly at the notes of "La Marseillaise" as at those of "God Save the King." [Applause.] And France, which one day had to leave these shores, has come back, no longer to fight bloody battles, but to inspire both races with the fraternal spirit. [Applause.]

One last word. If you listen to the voice coming from the great heart of Quebec, as well as from the plains of the west, you will hear a key-note which was never so high in the Canadian sky, and which calls from everywhere for a better understanding in order to complete the great work of confederation. I feel that I would be trespassing if I were to go into details of Canadian history to show the large part which the French-Canadian statesmen and the French-Canadian people have taken in the long efforts and the parliamentary battles which brought self-government to this country, and finally the present constitution. By their teachings and their exertions these men have left, deeply rooted in the French-Canadian heart, a profound attachment to British institutions, which we deem to be the sacred safeguard of all our liberties. We look upon the British Empire, with one of the heroes of South Africa, General Smuts, as the greatest organized body of nations for the preservation and advancement of liberty and

freedom in the world, which, as he put it, does not stand for uniformity, standardization, assimilation, or denationalization. We say with him, and with every Briton, that even nations who have fought against you look to you, and feel that they and their interests, and language, and religion, and all their national interests, are as safe and as secure under the British flag as those of the children of your household and of your own blood. [Applause.] The British Empire is, in one respect, like imperial Rome. She alone clasped the conquered to her bosom and made them to be one of her household, after the fashion of a mother rather than of an empress. She called her vassals citizens, and she linked together far distant regions in a bond of law. [Applause.]

I know that your time is fully taken up. I would have liked to go into details. All those questions of an altogether different order which you have been discussing yesterday, you have to discuss again to-day. The only thing I can do is to assure you that we are with you in every effort that you make to bring an improvement into the present state of affairs. I am sure that you will continue to receive Canadian hospitality wherever you go. I know that you are going back to Quebec, but I want you to understand that the people of Quebec are very anxious to have you come to their homes, that you may go out and report to the world what they are, and in leaving you let me ask you to count the people of my race as among your most warm friends and well-wishers. [Applause.]

M. BLONDIN THANKED

THE CHAIRMAN.—We are all very grateful to M. Blondin for his most kind and touching address, and recognize that in the matters which we have been discussing we have his utmost good-will. May I, on behalf

of the Conference, assure the people of Quebec that there was not in our minds the least intention to pass them over, but it had been arranged by our hospitable committee—and we were in their hands—that we were to wait three days on our return at Quebec, and only to spend one day when passing through to the west. But it was far from our intention to spend less time in Quebec than elsewhere, but rather to spend more time there, and after the Conference is over I hope to be able to see something of the beauties and resources of the Province. I know one other delegate, at least, who is going to do the same. [Applause.]

I have to announce to the Conference, with deep regret, that one of the Canadian delegates has passed away. It is only proper that a resolution of sympathy should be moved by one of his Canadian colleagues.

DEATH OF MR. ALFRED MILLER

MR. PRESTON ("Brantford Expositor," Ontario).—I am sorry to have to inform you that there is a vacant chair at this Conference. Last night Mr. Alfred Miller, Editor of the "London Free Press," passed away. Mr. Miller was one of the Canadian journalists who visited Great Britain in 1918, upon the invitation of the British Government. He was a man of high ideals, and a bright light in journalism, and his untimely passing at the age of forty-nine is deeply to be deplored. I wish it to be an instruction on the part of the Conference that the secretary should send a telegram of sympathy to Mr. Miller's relatives.

MR. FAIRFAX.—I beg to second that resolution.

THE CHAIRMAN.—I would like to express my deep personal sympathy with the family of Mr. Miller. I had the pleasure of meeting all those journalists who came over in that year, and also presiding at more

than one entertainment. They were an able and earnest body of men, who came with the sincere intention of doing everything they could to promote Imperial solidarity, and they used their opportunities well.

Members of the Conference signified their sympathy by standing up in their places, and the resolution was passed in silence.

PRESS RELATIONS WITH GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS

THE HON. THEO. FINK ("Melbourne Herald").—I beg to move:

"That this Conference affirms that Press and all news services be, and remain, independent of Government or official control; and that the privileges secured during and since the war be maintained."

As the representatives of the Australian Press who came with me through Vancouver, including the Chairman, represented a majority of the Australian delegates, we gave consideration to what has been happening in the newspaper world and the world of public life, and this resolution is put forward at their request. Though this may not appear to some of you as so directly concerned with the immediate and pressing interests of newspapers as some of the other subjects which we have been discussing, it is important that this Conference should place on record its affirmation of what is, after all, the great principle underlying newspaper life and activity. [Hear, hear.]

With reference to the privileges that have been secured, I am desired by the special correspondents in London to take the opportunity of expressing on their behalf their very great sense of gratitude and appreciation of the continuous service of the Chairman, who is President of the Empire Press Union, in helping

to secure those privileges, and, above all, in helping to extend their facilities and usefulness. [Applause.] The Dominion correspondents, I know, are most emphatic that this public recognition should be given, because we all know how busy Lord Burnham is, and they bear testimony to the fact that he is at all times ready to break off his important engagements and to put himself and his services at their disposal, in order to clear away difficulties and secure privileges. I make this statement, knowing very well how every word which the Dominion correspondents have said represents the actual position. [Applause.]

I am not going into details, because the working journalists, of whom I am not one, though I have all my life been interested in the Press and what it means, are aware of the facts. Mr. Donald has dealt with the recognition of the full status of Dominion correspondents, and the more respectful attitude of the powers that be towards representatives of the Press; but it does occur to me that there is a time, particularly after a great war, when the forces of official reaction are greatly to be feared. There may be evidence after the war of that tendency, and we in Australia feel particularly that it would be a great advantage if this Conference would place on record that the improved status of the Press and its services in the war should be recognized, as they are by the public, by public men, and still more so by the public departments. [Hear, hear.] I have reason to think that it was largely owing to the influence of Lord Burnham and his father that at the last Conference opportunity was taken, on the part of the Imperial authorities and responsible men, to take into their counsels the newspapers of the Dominions, with a view to making them allies in the important issues that were about to be determined or

were likely to arise. The result was that, apart from the hospitality which we received then, which our Canadian hosts are endeavouring successfully to emulate and surpass, apart from the Governmental ceremonies, such as reviews, naval displays, and exhibitions, which were arranged for our information, opportunity was given, by intimate talks with public men and Ministers, to secure that unofficial persons should be made missionaries of the real cause at heart. That was an expression of confidence which seems to have been, in the first instance on the outbreak of war, entirely revolutionized by the censorship. The question of dealing with the Press was regarded as something that was to be determined entirely by officials and military people, and the great question of securing the support of the citizens was not regarded as a matter to be considered at all.

We know what your troubles were in England as to the censorship. In Australia and other parts of the world, the administration of the censorship was ludicrous. It was irritating, and it was blasted with official stupidity from day to day. [Hear, hear.] Although the exigencies of the war demanded some system of censorship, we do hope that our executive, should such a contingency occur again, will see that the necessary supervision of news will be in the hands of men who understand the responsibility of newspaper work by reason and experience, and that it will be recognized that a man is no less a patriot because he is a newspaper editor or proprietor. There does appear since to be evidence of attempts at reaction in this and other respects, and the man who has had control during the war, and has been able to decide as to the food supplies of nations, or matters connected with the Press, is not anxious to let go his authority. That applies to newspapers as well

as to other things. We are suspicious of the new mushroom growth of official publicity departments, or of any attempt at propaganda, and therefore we regard, in the light of Greeks bearing gifts, all suggestions of providing stereotyped official news, even for nothing, and I think that a great deal of news, particularly towards the end of the war, when it was largely tinged with party politics, found its way into the wastepaper baskets of the Australian editors.

To-day the necessity for a free Press, free both as to news and as to the expression of ideas, is greater than ever. There is very little distinction to-day from the period of war, so far as the lives and activities of humanity are concerned. The result of the great convulsion practically leaves the nations of Europe a broken world. The reaction resulting from that produces unrest in business, industry, and thought. It is true that at every period there is a silent revolution going on, but it is more true to-day, because the pace of social reform has been speeded up. There was never a time when the forces of society required more strengthening by a courageous discussion of news in the public Press. Parliamentary influence is said to be waning. It is difficult to know how democratic government is to be carried on without Parliament. It would be most unfortunate if throughout the Empire, as in some parts of it, that perpetual antagonism between Parliament and responsible Ministers on the one hand, and the Press on the other, were to be carried on. That may be an inevitable condition of party politics, but the newspapers, apart from party politics, must open their columns to a full circulation of diverse views. That cannot usefully be done if there is any suspicion of newspapers at all. [Hear, hear.]

I do not know whether in the old countries, as in the new, there is

growing up in the minds of the industrial classes great suspicion of what is known as the capitalistic class. I think that everything should be done, by our separation from official or political control or assistance in the matter of the publication of news for which the Government pays, to clear the newspaper world of this suspicion, because many newspapers become—or some of them do—as the phrase is, a rich man's plaything, and whenever rich men's playthings are engineered by "editors," no doubt that suspicion, which is a very growing factor in industrial strife, will increase, and with it the newspapers will lose a great deal of their authority. So far as keeping classes close to one another is concerned, I see nothing of hope except in the freest interchange of views and rival ideas. It is well, therefore, to recognize that if, in these great organs in Australia or anywhere else, there is only one type of information, and there is the perpetuation of one attitude towards all schemes, then that will encourage class war and develop it in new and increasing bitterness.

I noticed, with a great deal of interest, the reasons given by Mr. Daffoe as governing the rejection of a Government subsidy by the newspapers of Canada. All those things should be regarded, if not with very great suspicion, at any rate with very great care. In fact, my resolution is a declaration of freedom, that there must not be any attempt in the direction of official or bureaucratic control to limit the reception of what may be called departmental news, and there must be the freest possible interchange, so as to keep the public mind well supplied on all matters relating to public interest. There is no hope of progress or stable society unless, at all events, secret diplomacy between governments and newspapers is relegated to the dark ages. [Applause.]

MR. D. BRAHAM

MR. D. BRAHAM ("Daily Telegraph," Sydney).—It is a great pleasure to me to have been chosen by the Australian delegation to second this resolution. All pressmen in Australia feel this principle to be most important, and they take this, the first opportunity after our war experience, of showing the official and the politician, who used or misused the powers that were given to them during the war to interfere with us in every conceivable way, that now that the war is over we do not intend to stand it. [Applause.]

That is the general purpose, but it aims specifically at various schemes for Government control of news-agencies that have been put forward from time to time. We in Australia wish to declare very emphatically that we wish to associate ourselves in every way with what Mr. Robert Donald said in 1918 on this subject. I have been chosen to say a few words on this point because I have been a working journalist all my life. I have had a different experience from most of you. I lived the greater part of my working life, not in the British Empire, where there was freedom of the Press. My work as a journalist and newspaper correspondent was done in Germany, Russia, and Turkey. In all those countries, in different degrees, the Government controlled the telegraphic agencies. They attempted, in various degrees, to censor, gag, and bully the Press, and through their bureaux of foreign affairs, their ministries of interior affairs, and in other ways, they manipulated, and manufactured, and distorted public opinion. I saw that system in full working order, and I am filled with the greatest alarm when I see suggestions made that the Government in England should adopt methods some of which resemble those that were in operation in Germany, Russia, and Turkey. I

oppose them strongly. I think them profoundly immoral, and apart from that, they are absolutely unsuccessful. They could not be anything else. [Hear, hear.]

The excuse given was that you must manufacture and control public opinion, and avert the great danger of revolution. What occurred? In Turkey they carried the system furthest. In Turkey the revolution came first. The next was Russia. In Russia they did not carry these methods so far as in Turkey, and, though the revolution came, it came later. In Germany there was never so much interference with the Press, but there was exactly the system that Lord Beaverbrook and others wish to see established in the British Empire. There was a subsidized and controlled news service, which distorted and misrepresented public opinion. We know that the one thing more than another which helped us to win the war, and helped Germany to lose the war, was that public opinion in Germany could not trust the Government. The methods adopted in those countries were not successful in averting revolution. More than anything else they precipitated revolution. Seeing that they carried these things to such lengths in Turkey, Russia, and Germany, we must not trust merely to those who say that British Ministers are different and would not do these things. We hope that they are better, but we must remember that opportunity makes the thief. We gave an opportunity during the war to politicians and officials to control the Press. I do not know what is your view here, but we in Australia saw those powers given for an express purpose, with the express assurance that they should not be used for any other purpose than preventing information from reaching the enemy, and we saw them misused for every conceivable purpose, personal, party political, economic, and any other purpose which to the

person in charge seemed sufficient at the moment. Do not give any more opportunities. [Applause.] We saw also, when they could not attain their objects by direct censorship, when the free Press of Australia on two occasions went into open revolt, and told the Government that they would shut up if this were carried on any longer, they then resorted to regulations. In England, I understand, at the present moment there is proposed legislation—the Official Secrets Bill—which directly menaces the freedom of the Press. Do not allow such powers to be given to officials and politicians who are eager to seize every opportunity to curtail our liberties. We have seen how, during the war, these opportunities were misused, and we must be vigilant to prevent anything of the kind occurring again. [Applause.]

MR. WALTER MAKEPEACE

MR. MAKEPEACE ("Singapore Free Press").—I am sorry to find myself opposed to this resolution. There are good reasons why it does not appeal to the Crown Colonies and Dependencies in the Far East. We are asking the Government to contribute large sums of money for the betterment of cable services. In another resolution we are asking them to bind themselves not to interfere with what is passing over those cables. So it seems to me to be like the old saying: "In matters of commerce the fault of the Dutch is giving too little and asking too much."

MR. FINK.—If the Government carry a letter, should they be allowed to revise it? [Hear, hear.]

MR. MAKEPEACE.—Letters are not distributed to the public, and it is in that respect that we differ from you in the Colonies and Dominions. There are more millions than you count hundreds and thousands. You are asking the Imperial Government to subsidize a telegraphic service, and that the news should be published

among millions, with results that may easily be disastrous. I speak feelingly, because in our part of the world we have not the enlightened body of readers which you have in the Dominions, and which weighs so well the balance between what is right and what is wrong. Our millions do not recognize what is right and what is wrong, and if we ask the Government to help us in the matter of cable rates, we ought at least to say to the Government, "If you choose to send us a service, we retain our own discretion to use it or not."

We have had columns of matter sent from England to the Straits Settlements and the Far East. Much of it has been exceedingly useful, but we were not compelled to use it. That was within the discretion of the editor. The point I wish to bring before the Conference is, that before you commit yourselves to the general principle that a Government-controlled service should not be used, you should consider the difference of circumstances between self-governing colonies, people who speak English and are accustomed to judge between one party and the other, and the millions to whom it is most essential that Imperial news should at least be trustworthy. You may trust to the discretion of editors of papers in the Crown Colonies, the decision as to whether it should be published or not.

The parallel with foreign countries does not hold. Mr. Braham has mentioned Turkey, Russia, and other countries in which Government communications were used for the purpose of influencing public opinion. That is perfectly true. But he does not give our Government credit for working with more honest and worthy motives than the Governments of those countries. I can only say that our experience has been that while the Government which has had cables under its control may at times have taken one colour or

another, on the whole we have had honest and impartial service. I say, therefore, that the case of the Crown Colonies, and the outer marches of the Empire, is somewhat different from that of the self-governing Dominions. [Applause.]

AN AMENDMENT ACCEPTED

MR. H. R. DENISON ("The Sun," Sydney).—This proposition commends itself to all of us, but the facts referred to by Mr. Makepeace are strong. In order to clear the matter up I would suggest as an amendment, after the word "that" in the first line, to insert the words "whatever assistance be given by the Government in the interests of the more extensive dissemination of Imperial news." This would mean, that if the Government chose to do a certain thing they could do so, and it would meet the case of the Crown Colonies and those who require assistance.

MR. R. S. WARD-JACKSON ("Rand Daily Mail," Johannesburg).—I beg to second the amendment.

MR. FINK.—I accept it as part of the substantive resolution.

MR. R. SNELLING ("Egyptian Gazette").—I am prepared to agree to the proposal only so far as English-speaking self-governing Dominions are concerned. To pass the motion in its original form will only stultify the Conference, because it is absolutely irreconcilable with the conditions of the vast Oriental countries in the British Empire. I speak after many years' residence in Egypt, and as one acquainted with the work of our great pro-consuls, Lord Kitchener and Lord Milner. The proposal is absolutely contrary to any government carried on in these Oriental countries.

DR. AUGUSTO BARTOLO ("Daily Malta Chronicle").—I cannot agree with the suggested amendment. I come from a country which is not one of those countries to which Mr. Snelling has referred. It is a very invidious distinction to make. It

should be left to the discretion of editors to publish certain items, and if this discretion is recognized the situation will be saved; but to make a discrimination between English-speaking and non-English-speaking nations means disaster, especially in those countries like my own, which, though not English-speaking, are strongly attached to the British Empire.

MR. N. LEVI ("De Volkstem," Pretoria).—As the only representative of a Dutch newspaper at this Conference, I associate myself with what has been said by Dr. Bartolo. Apart from that, I have something else to say. While I am certainly in favour of the greatest freedom, and associate myself with the definition of the Empire given this morning by M. Blondin, who said that it represented liberty and justice, you must bear in mind that in time of war you will always find some journalists, I am sorry to say, so far forgetful of the responsibilities imposed upon them as to wish to publish anything that would constitute good news, without regard to the military exigencies, and if they were to be left entirely free in time of war, incalculable harm might be done from a military point of view. The point might be covered by the insertion of words such as "except so far as purely military exigencies in time of war require." I am as much opposed to the abuse of censorship as anyone else, but we must take into account purely military exigencies.

The Chairman put the first amendment—to insert the words "whatever assistance be given by the Government in the interests of the more extensive dissemination of Imperial news"—and it was carried with six dissentients.

A SECTIONAL AMENDMENT REJECTED

MR. SNELLING.—I propose as a further amendment, after the words

"official control" to insert the words "as regards the Dominions and self-governing colonies."

MR. MAKEPEACE.—I beg to second the amendment.

MR. DENISON.—That leaves out Great Britain.

THE CHAIRMAN.—We are a Dominion too.

MR. CROSBIE ROLES ("Times of Ceylon").—I must oppose this amendment. It would be most unfortunate if in this resolution we showed a distinction between self-governing colonies and Oriental countries. [Hear, hear.] We must not do that.

The amendment was put. Two delegates voted for it, and it was declared lost.

WHEN CENSORSHIP IS INEVITABLE

MR. LEVI.—I beg to move, after the word "control" to insert the words "except in so far as purely military exigencies may render military censorship necessary in time of war."

MR. DONALD.—I beg to second that.

MR. J. J. KNIGHT ("Brisbane Courier").—That is getting back to the original position. It was under the guise of "military exigencies" that the authorities, in Australia at all events, introduced the system about which Mr. Braham complained so bitterly, and about which we all feel so strongly. In Australia, under the guise of "military exigencies," the censorship was used for political purposes, in a most improper and dishonest way. Every word said by Mr. Braham is borne out by our experience, and this amendment only takes us back to the original objectionable position. [Hear, hear.]

THE CHAIRMAN.—It should be remembered that if there were a war, it would be difficult to conceive a government of any strength which would not take action.

SIR G. TOULMIN ("Lancashire Daily Post," U.K.).—The objection that is made is covered by the inser-

tion of the words "in time of war," and everything imposed on the Press in time of war should be dropped in time of peace.

MR. DAFOE ("Manitoba Free Press," Canada).—I am strongly in favour of this amendment. It may be true that in time of war the powers of the censorship are abused, but I could not conceive the resulting damage of a policy of go-as-you-please. Much of the trouble which we had in Canada arose from the automatic application here of what might have been all right in England. Some things were done which may have been very foolish, but I am not prepared to take the responsibility of saying that because of these things I want to have the whole thing changed. After all, during the war there was a disposition to point out the errors of generals and statesmen, but my opinion is that when you are in a fight you must do as aboard a ship, and trust the captain.

MR. DARBYSHIRE ("The Melbourne Age," Australia).—If we accept Mr. Levi's amendment, we put ourselves in a cleft stick. We object to censorship over a self-governing Dominion. We objected to the censorship in the last war because of the way in which it was applied, and if we insert in this resolution the admission that censorship is necessary—though we all admit that it is—we should be met, when we objected in the next war, which I hope will not occur, with the statement, "When the Governmental censorship was imposed, you agreed to it yourself." I cannot imagine any government not imposing a censorship in time of war, and we had better leave it at that.

MR. WOODHEAD ("Huddersfield Examiner," U.K.).—It seems to me that we should be carrying out a work of supererogation to adopt the amendment. We should be helpless in the hands of any government in time of war. Whatever resolution we pass, the Government will deal

with news in war-time. We do not wish to interfere with the powers of the Government to prevent seditious matter being sent over the cables which might have an injurious effect. That interferes with our British idea of freedom of the Press. Our principle is to allow things to be stated according to the discretion of the editor; but the circumstances in the case of a colony where the same degree of civilization does not prevail as in our own country, and where you have what may be called a subject population, may be such that you would not desire to interfere with any power on the part of the Government to prevent seditious matter being cabled. That is a point which we might settle.

SIR CAMPBELL STUART ("The Times," London).—We are now attempting to solve this question in the light of exigencies in which our decision, whatever it is, will not matter at all. Meantime, I am sure that we should weaken our case by passing this amendment.

MR. KNAPP (President, The Newspaper Society, U.K.).—I agree entirely with what Mr. Woodhead and others have said. I also thought that Mr. Levi was rather less than fair in his references to journals which during the war-time were willing to use any sort of news.

MR. LEVI.—I distinctly said that there were some journalists who were so far forgetful of their responsibilities. I was certainly very far from making any general reflection on journalists. I should be including myself if I did so, but in my own Dominion, in particular, there are journalists of that class.

SIR A. HOLBROOK, M.P. ("Portsmouth Times").—I do not know whether the wishes of the Australian delegates would be met, in this case, by adopting a plan similar to that which was adopted in the home countries during the war. I had the honour of serving on an Admiralty

and War Office Press committee, which was formed prior to the war, the object being to deal with war news in order that information might not be published which might be of benefit to the enemy. That committee met during the war, periodically. Sometimes it was summoned specially by telegram to deal with very important matters, and I think that we ought to recognize that in case of war the Government should have the power to exercise control as to the publication of news. During the Russo-Japanese War the Japanese lost two first-class battleships, and no one knew of that until the war was over. If that news had been published it would have had a very serious effect upon the progress of the war. We in the home country lost a first-class battleship very early in the war. There was a special conference of the committee called at once, and though some members of the committee, Press representatives, were of opinion that no good service could be performed by the non-publication of this event, we decided unanimously not to publish the news.

MR. DENISON.—It was known everywhere, and we had pictures of it.

SIR A. HOLBROOK.—It was not published in England, though I saw it in the Canadian Press. The effect of the non-publication in England—I have it on good authority—was such as to create doubt in the minds of the Germans as to whether or not they had sunk the ship. They were not quite certain that they had. That was told me by a German pressman during the war. We ought not to do anything at this Conference which would in any way tend to lessen the power of the Government to exercise control in times of emergency. If in Australia, or other self-governing Dominions, some committee were formed on which there were representatives of the Army, the Navy, the Air Force, and the Press, that would meet the object in view.

MR. E. E. EDWARDS ("The Brisbane Telegraph").—We in Australia have had a test of the censorship, and though we did bear with it as regards military and naval matters, we have had it saddled upon us ever since the war, and it is still with us. We do not wish to have a censorship started legitimately and carried on illegitimately.

LORD APSLEY ("The Morning Post," London).—You cannot refer to a time of peace and a time of war. There are some twenty-two wars going on at the present time. You cannot say that the world is now at peace, and remove the censorship until the next war, but I think that any Government which is a strong Government is going to take care that matters of national importance are censored when the country is in danger and a censorship is required. That is the Government's business, and unless the Government does it it is not a Government. If the government abuses those powers, it is a case for the people to take action. So I would suggest that it would not strengthen our case to put in the amendment which has been suggested, and that this motion, as it stands, will meet the case perfectly well.

MR. ANDERSON.—("The Irish Homestead," Dublin).—Any form of censorship is not complete but only partial, and tends to do more harm than good. That was particularly the case with regard to the sinking of the battleship that has been referred to. I happen to know that the censorship in that case gave rise to the belief in the minds of a great many people, that the Press and the Government between them were concealing a great national disaster. It is a wrong principle. We know perfectly well that while papers at home were loyal to the censorship, there were papers in other parts which published all the news and were purchased wherever they could be got.

MR. P. SELIG ("Christchurch Press," N.Z.).—I do not think that New Zealand should give a silent vote on this motion. This matter of cabling, in which New Zealand, like Australia, is very much interested, was discussed at meetings of two associations—at a meeting of the United Press Association, of which I am a director, and at a meeting of the Newspaper Proprietors' Association of New Zealand, of which I am chairman. The supplying of cablegrams by the Government was, on the whole, opposed in New Zealand. We are certainly jealous about the independence of the Press, as I take it most of us here are and will be. We came to the conclusion that, though the Government was sending this matter they could not compel us to publish it. After a free and lengthy discussion, it was decided that those newspapers that wished to publish statements sent them could do so in so far as our association was concerned, with this qualification, that it had to be put up under a heading showing the source from which it came.

I am against Mr. Levi's amendment. So far as censorship is concerned, I think that that is on a somewhat different plane from the motion as amended, and could, if necessary, be dealt with, I take it, separately from this motion. In times of stress, such as we have gone through, I do not think that there can be any serious objection to censorship up to a certain point. There was a great deal of objection taken to censorship in New Zealand, but after consultation with the officers in charge our opinions were somewhat modified, and these objections were not so strong. With regard to official messages, since I came to London I have heard, on good authority, that in connection with a certain matter one side was suppressed. That is a thing we do not want to tolerate in New Zealand.

The amendment proposed by Mr. Levi was put, and declared lost.

The original resolution, with Mr. Denison's suggested words incorporated, was put and agreed to unanimously.

CABLE FACILITIES. RESUMED DISCUSSION. RESOLUTIONS AMALGAMATED

♦ MR. DONALD.—Since our meeting yesterday I have had the opportunity of consulting our Australian and Canadian friends, and we have agreed on a form of words for the resolution on cable facilities, which meets the object that we all have in view, and reconciles all differences of opinion, chiefly with regard to modes of expression, which existed. The first clause (a) remains the same, and our Canadian friends have drafted another form of resolution (b), which is much better expressed than anything that we have on the agenda paper. It reads:

"(b) This Conference strongly recommends the Governments of Great Britain and Ireland, of the Dominions, and of India, to encourage the development of cable, wireless, and other facilities for the exchange of news and opinions within the Empire, and to assist in securing reduced rates for such intercommunication; such assistance to appear specifically in the estimates of public expenditure, and to be so directed as not to affect the quality of the news service supplied, or the freedom of the newspapers so served."

That, I think, is admirably worded. There is a very slight alteration in (c). After the word "educating," we have put in "public opinion." Following the example of the King, in his telegram to Lord Atholstan, we have omitted the words "irrespective of distance," and instead of the word "uniform," we have put

the words "reduced to a charge of one penny per word." It now reads:

"(c) This Conference is of opinion that the full utility of cable and wireless communications, as a factor in educating public opinion, and in maintaining a good understanding between all peoples of the Empire, will not be attained until rates are reduced to a basic charge of one penny per word for Press messages throughout the whole of the British Empire."

This form of words expresses what we mean much better than what was submitted yesterday, and I beg to move the resolution in its amended form.

MR. G. E. FAIRFAX (Chairman of the Australian Delegation).—As the mover of the original resolution, I deem it an honour to be asked to second it in its amended form, and I have very much pleasure in doing so. When the original motions were framed, we had not the advantage of a conference with others. We have now discussed it very carefully, and it is now in a much better form.

The resolution as amended was adopted unanimously.

IMPROVED CABLE AND WIRELESS COMMUNICATIONS WITHIN THE EMPIRE

MR. P. D. ROSS ("Ottawa Journal," Canada).—We have passed a resolution in general terms on the subject of cable and wireless communications, and we presume that that resolution will be taken hold of by the Empire Press Union, and that steps will be taken to press it upon the various governments concerned. I have a very vivid recollection of what happened at the last Imperial Press Conference. We sent a delegation to wait upon the Imperial Government with a recommendation about cable communications. That recommendation was definite and

short. It was that the British Government should take into consideration the laying of an all-British cable, a Government-owned cable, across the Atlantic. That had been the subject of our discussion for some days, and we were unanimous about it, and considered it most important. The cable rates were very high. The cables were all in private hands. We wanted the Government to lay a cable, and to charge us tolls sufficient to pay the cost of that cable service. And we were able to point to the Pacific cable, which even at that time was a financial success, and we were able to say to the Imperial Government, "We come here with the authorization of the Post-master-General of Canada, Mr. Lemieux, to say that the Canadian Government are prepared to take the matter up with the Imperial Government and pay part of the cost." This was a thing which was simple, direct, and specific. I happened to be the spokesman of the delegation which waited on the Imperial Government, and when we had stated our case Mr. Asquith told us that the Government would take our request into consideration, and when he stated that in very courteous and diplomatic words, he asked had we anything further to say. I said on behalf of my fellow delegates, "We have this to say. We know that members of governments are always under heavy pressure, and more or less forced to the daily consideration of fresh matters. What we ask is—you will pardon my saying so—that you do not consider this matter two years from now, or a year from now, or six months from now, but take it into immediate consideration." Mr. Asquith promised us that he would do the best he could. That was eleven years ago. [Laughter.]

If we are going to make any rapid progress, or any reasonable progress, in our efforts for better cable and wireless communication within the

Empire, we had better arrange now the manner in which we propose to proceed, and with all deference to what the machinery of the Empire Press Union may be and what it is going to do, what I suggest is, being in ignorance of what other machinery there is, that we should pass the following resolution:

"That with a view to improving cable and wireless communications and inter-Imperial news service within the Empire this Conference suggests that each delegation shall press upon its own Government the initiation of negotiations with the neighbouring Governments of the British Dominions for such improvement of cable and wireless communications between them as will be to their mutual interest and advantage."

Having decided what we want to do, let us go to our own Governments at once and ask that Government to communicate with the Government of the next country, and if each Government does that we shall probably get some action taken shortly. Of course it is possible that the Empire Press Union may take stronger action, but meantime, I move this with the hope that something may be done.

MR. NELSON ("The World," Vancouver, Canada).—I have very much pleasure in seconding the motion.

THE CHAIRMAN.—I strongly recommend this resolution, because I do not exaggerate our power in the Empire Press Union, and it will be very helpful if each delegation will take these steps.

MR. PERCY HURD, M.P. (London Editor "Montreal Star").—I would suggest that each delegation should communicate with the Empire Press Union, so as to co-ordinate their efforts and get mutual support.

THE CHAIRMAN.—That is a very good idea. I would suggest the

addition of the words "information as to any action taken by delegations in this connection to be communicated to the Empire Press Union."

SIR ROBERT BRUCE ("The Glasgow Herald," Scotland).—I beg to second that amendment.

The amendment was agreed to unanimously.

The resolution as amended was agreed to unanimously.

NEWS CARRIERS

SIR ROBERT BRUCE.—I beg to propose:

"That this Conference confirms the principle that no news carrier, whether by cable or wireless, should be concerned directly or indirectly with the collection and distribution of news."

This principle has been already recognized. Some words that fell from Mr. Burrows yesterday carried the matter a step further. In explaining what the resolution means, I should perhaps put it in this way. The mechanical transmission of news should be kept separate from the collection, compilation, and editing of news. [Hear, hear.] I think I am right in saying that many years ago, owing to the pretensions, shall I say, of certain cable companies, who aspired to be the producers of news as well as the carriers, it became necessary to found some of our great Press associations. The matter has been brought to an issue recently by our experience of the Wireless Press, Ltd. No newspaper man will deny that to the Marconi Company we owe a debt of gratitude which it is very difficult to repay. [Hear, hear.] During the war I do not know how we could have got on without the tapping of enemy news by the Marconi people, but when after the war we were informed that the Wireless Press, Ltd., were prepared to give a news service as well as to act in conjunction with Marconi as carriers,

that was another matter altogether. I am glad to think that some of us did not subscribe to their service from the beginning. But that matter is past. We have no feeling with regard to it one way or the other. But I understand that Marconi, Ltd., have now informed certain of their large subscribers that Marconi has gone out of business as a producer of news, and, therefore, what I am asking you to do is to confirm a principle which has been acknowledged. [Hear, hear.]

MR. JOHN NELSON ("The World," Vancouver).—I have very much pleasure in seconding the resolution. I do not think it necessary to labour the arguments, because the principle will be unanimously indorsed. It should not be necessary to say that the qualifications that make an individual or a company efficient carriers of news do not make them efficient collectors or compilers of news, and there would be danger in any non-journalistic organization intervening between the source of the news and the medium through which the news is disseminated. It is something of which we should be very jealous indeed. If it were permitted, the old adage might very well be adapted, and we might say, "Leave me the compiling of the news, and I care not who distributes it." We have had a brief experience of this in conditions which were very favourable, and the experience is one which we are not disposed to repeat. [Hear, hear.]

There is one other phase which has been suggested by the pertinent remarks of Mr. Braham. Things that concern pressmen universally in the Empire are the menacing conditions in public life and the unrest that characterizes the present time. This takes two forms. One form is disregard of or dislike for Government, and coupled with that I am sorry to see frequently a distrust of the Press. I can conceive

nothing which would foment that distrust more than that a feeling should get abroad that the integrity of our news sources can be in any way impaired by commercial organizations, or that officialism might scent or colour our news supply. [Hear, hear.] For that reason, taking the national viewpoint as well as our technical craft viewpoint, I have great pleasure in supporting this resolution. [Hear, hear.]

MR. W. BRENNAN ("Argus," Melbourne).—It happens sometimes when we pass a resolution of this kind, that it applies to something which was not in our minds when we passed it, and I would like to know whether this may not go further than we intend. I was down in New York doing some things with which you gentlemen are more familiar than I am, and I found a great organization like the New York "Times" acting as distributor of news for many of the papers of America, or parts of America. It has its own leased lines. One of the Australian agencies carries news from the London "Times" office.

SIR ROBERT BRUCE.—That is no different from those of us in the provinces who control our own private wires.

MR. BRENNAN.—In a modest way we have got private wires between Sydney and Melbourne.

THE CHAIRMAN.—Many of us have got private wires between London and Paris, or London and other places. It is certain that the resolution is not meant to apply there.

MR. BRENNAN.—If we are quite certain that we are not closing a door against ourselves, I am satisfied with drawing attention to the matter.

THE CHAIRMAN.—I think it quite clear that "news carrier" is not meant to apply to the transmission of news through newspaper offices at all.

MR. NELSON.—We object to the news carrier being a news distributor,

but there cannot be much objection to the news distributor being a news carrier.

The resolution was passed unanimously.

MEMORIAL FROM ST. GEORGE'S SOCIETY, TORONTO

THE CHAIRMAN.—A deputation from the St. George's Society of Toronto wishes to present to the Conference a memorial of an important character. As he is not a delegate, I must ask the chairman of the deputation to confine himself to reading the memorial.

MR. KINGSTON (Toronto).—"It is a great privilege to be allowed to come before this Conference. Perhaps, before reading the memorial I may tell you how it comes to be presented. Our society decided to bring before those of you who come from the old land the matters referred to in this memorial. We appointed a special committee which ascertained, as well as it could, the facts. After doing that they called into council the other patriotic clubs and societies of Toronto, and I am glad to say that we obtained their hearty co-operation. This memorial, therefore, represents England, Scotland, Wales, and parts of Ireland, Canada, and every one of the Dominions."

The memorial expressed the wish that British publishers should push the sale of British magazines and newspapers in Canada, and that the news service between the Mother Country and the Dominion was misleading as well as inadequate. It concluded as follows:

"The attitude of Great Britain is not accurately or impartially represented in the news. Short extracts from speeches in Parliament are often given which totally mislead the public as being the key to a whole debate, and when the British papers subsequently appear with a full report of the discussion, it is often seen that some trivial reference to the

United States has been forced into prominence quite unjustifiably. What we desire is not a rose-coloured description of British progress or an untrue statement of her policy, but a fair, honest account of *what goes on*, not only in Great Britain, but also on the Continent affecting British interests, so that we may judge for ourselves without being obliged to gain our first impressions through United States spectacles.

"As for inter-Imperial news, it is practically non-existent. We hear almost nothing of what is going on in Australia, in South Africa, or other parts of the Empire. If it is a matter of vital consequence that the British Empire should be strongly cemented, we know of no matter which is of greater importance than that the news which we get of your activities, and which you get of ours, should come through our own British medium, and not through a foreign one as at present.

"We earnestly ask you to acquaint yourselves with the facts of this situation, and to appoint a committee to investigate and report on this matter. It is well to remember that the influence of the Press is strong enough, if well directed, to educate the public of the British Empire to the necessity for solidarity of Imperial unity and the maintenance of the Britannic Commonwealth."

The memorial was signed by the following:

JAMES NICHOLSON, Chairman of the Committee.

R. F. LINPART, President, St. George's Society of Toronto.

JNO. W. GAMBLE-BOYD, Secretary, St. George's Society of Toronto.

D. A. CAMERON, President, St. Andrew's Society of Toronto.

JNO. HEWART SHERFF, Secretary, St. Andrew's Society of Toronto.

FRANK TODD, Secretary, Irish Protestant Benevolent Society of Toronto.

DAVID J. PROCTOR, Supreme Secretary, Sons of England Benefit Society, Toronto.

F. J. COOMBS, Past President, Empire Club of Canada.

A. H. CHAMBERS, President, St. David's Society.

THE CHAIRMAN.—We are very much obliged to Mr. Kingston and the great societies which he represents, for having drawn attention to these matters. They shall have our careful consideration. [Applause.]

EMPIRE PARTNERSHIP

THE CHAIRMAN.—I will now call on Mr. John W. Daffoe to open a discussion on Empire Partnership.

MR. JOHN W. DAFOE

MR. JOHN W. DAFOE ("Manitoba Free Press," Winnipeg).—In opening this discussion I do not propose a resolution, because I do not claim to speak for anyone but myself and those who agree with me. [Laughter.] Those of us who were privileged to be members of the First Imperial Press Conference will remember that a somewhat similar subject occupied a great deal of our time. In fact, it occupied two-thirds of our time. It is a significant fact, showing the change that has taken place, that to-day we are discussing Empire partnership while eleven years ago the discussion turned upon Empire defence. There was a note of warning and apprehension running through all the discussion at the first Conference. There was one word mentioned over and over again—the word Armageddon. In Lord Rosebery's famous speech, to which so many allusions have been made, the word occurred, and Mr. Stanley Reed, of India, in arguing for unity of naval control, said that the Armageddon of the world might be fought at Cape Horn. He was not so far

astray, seeing what took place at the battle fought later near the Falkland Islands. Mr. Balfour was still more accurate as a prophet when he said that the naval Armageddon would be fought in the waters of the British islands. [Hear, hear.] But among the prophetic speeches made at that Conference, that of Lord Roberts took first place. I made a reference to this the other day. Since then I have looked up Lord Roberts's words. He followed Mr. Haldane, as he was then, who said that the plans which were in process of completion would guarantee the Empire a strong defence in twenty years. Lord Roberts said that he thought twenty months would be more in order, and he used this language: "A shot fired in the Balkan peninsula might produce an explosion which would change the fortunes of every remotest colony of our Empire." That was the most remarkable example of prophecy that the Conference could have produced. [Hear, hear.] Many other speakers at the first Conference felt in view of the imminence of the danger and its gravity, that the time had arrived for formal engagements with regard to measures of defence and the creation of machinery to bring that defence into action, and more than one resolution of this character was submitted to the Conference. They were not, however, forced to a vote, because there were others who held contrary views, who believed that the policy was not in harmony with the evolutionary trend of events in the British Empire, and that the methods proposed were not of a practicable character. That view simply reflected similar differences of opinion throughout the Empire. In all the Dominions there were two well-defined groups in reference to the question of Imperial organization. One was the school of Burke, who placed very little reliance on forms and a great deal of reliance on spiritual ties and the bonds of

blood. The other might be called the school of Hamilton, who held that sentiment was very well but not very practical unless set forth categorically as obligations, with some agency available for their immediate application. So there was no decision reached by the first Conference. The discussion between these two views went on in this particular Dominion with a great deal of acrimony, and the most desperate parliamentary struggle that this building (the Canadian House of Commons) ever saw was waged over that principle. This went on until the voices of the disputants were drowned by the drum-beats calling the armies to the field.

LESSONS LEARNED IN THE WAR

The war settled one thing at the very outset. The Germans knew all about the British Empire. They were a practical people, a hard-headed people who believed nothing that they could not measure and handle, and they regarded the British Empire as a political anachronism, a hoary imposture. Here was a supposed empire, yet there was no emperor barking at the colonies, and no colonies goose-stepping in awe before the All-Highest. [Applause.] It was quite obvious to them that at the slightest touch of the mailed fist the whole Empire would dissolve. So they applied the mailed fist. We are here from all parts of the Empire, and we all tell the same story of what happened on August 4th, 1914. [Applause.] We saw all these invisible and intangible ties become bonds of steel and adamant, that held us one and indivisible through the unimaginable strain of the Great War. There was never any flinching throughout the great struggle. The war is over not quite two years; and already the lessons of Gallipoli and Flanders are growing dim to some. Because the bonds that bind can no longer be visualized as marching

armies, there are those who are actually worrying lest the peoples of the Empire may drift apart.

As the war proceeded statesmen of the Empire met from time to time and made what were regarded as decisions of great moment, affecting the Imperial policy and the future of the British Commonwealth. But what they did was to meet and take cognizance of decisions that had already been made by events. In this class we might put the resolution of the Imperial War Cabinet in April 1917, which will always be regarded as a great landmark in the constitutional development of the British Empire. The meaning of the resolution is perfectly plain. But if there was any doubt about it, General Smuts, who, I imagine, was the joint drafter of the resolution, though it was moved at the Conference by Sir Robert Borden, made its meaning clear; yet it was accepted with complete unanimity. In the following year there were two very remarkable applications of the doctrine laid down in that resolution. One was the virtual creation—it is a matter of record—in the summer of 1918, of an Imperial Council of safety and defence, which was made up of the Premiers of the British nations and of no one else. The other was the Conference between the Overseas members of the Imperial Cabinet and the Admiralty, followed by the declaration of naval policy by the Dominions, which was an amplification and expression of the general Imperial policy which had been decided the previous year.

PEACE CONFERENCE RESULTS

Then came the Peace Conference, where the Dominions asked for and obtained representation. That carried in its train a large number of consequences of the first order. So far as Canada was concerned—I do not know whether the same practice was followed in other Dominions—our representatives in Paris were

appointed by the King as Canadian plenipotentiaries on the authority of an order-in-council passed by the Dominion Government. Attendance at the Conference implied the signing of the Peace Treaty by representatives of the Dominions. This carried with it the necessity of the Dominion parliamentary approval before Canada was subject to it, and it carried with it as well the necessity of our entering into the League of Nations in full membership, with all that that meant in modification and change in our international relations. [Hear, hear.] I was in London, attached to the Canadian delegation, when the momentous decision to ask for representation at the Conference was made, and I do not imagine that the future was altogether foreseen as to the very great consequences that followed from that decision. But the Dominion Premiers had no alternative. It was a case where the decision had been made by events. When the Conference met in Paris to make peace, and to provide for a future world which would be better than the one which had been broken to pieces by the war, it was out of the question that the great British Dominions should make a fugitive and intermittent appearance in the Conference chamber, to which relatively insignificant nations belonged as of right. [Hear, hear.] The war had shown that we are nations, not in name but in fact, because no country which was not a nation animated by a determination to maintain its institutions intact could have achieved what we achieved in Canada, and what Australia achieved, and what New Zealand achieved. [Hear, hear.] Our entrance into the Peace Conference was not the result of the deliberations of statesmen, but was the recognition of a state of affairs which had been brought about by the Great War.

As a result of these decisions and changes, a general principle has

emerged which governs all Imperial relations between the self-governing British nations. That is the principle that the British countries are nations of equal status, joined in a partnership of consent. [Applause.] Equality does not permit of qualification. You are equal or you are not. The next step which I presume will be taken by the constitutional conference when it meets shortly will be to make that equality a matter of formal affirmation. I believe—and if I had time I think that I could give very powerful reasons for that belief—that it is desirable that that definition should be made with the least possible delay. I read a speech recently by General Smuts, who, in difficult circumstances, is fighting the battle for Empire in the hottest corner of the British Empire at present, in which he said that the need for this formal change was vital and pressing, and I imagine he knew what he was speaking about. I could, I think, demonstrate that we cannot go forward with any large schemes of co-operation until the present somewhat indefinite status is cleared up and replaced by an understanding which will make clear, not only to ourselves but to the outside world, that the British Empire is a partnership of nations of equal status, united in a partnership of consent. [Applause.]

It might be said that these decisions which have been made meant the victory of one school of Imperial thought over another, but, as I have tried to make clear, I do not think that men consciously were responsible for these decisions. The complexity of circumstances, the exigencies of the war, political expediency, what could be done, and what could not be done—in a word, Destiny—simply vindicated principles which had been enunciated by Burke with matchless lucidity as those which for this generation were the principles which should be ap-

plied. I know very well that there are people who are disturbed in their minds about this. They are people for whom I have the greatest admiration. They are devoted to British institutions; but they cannot get it out of their minds that if we are free to separate we will separate, though no formula could keep us together if we wanted to separate. [Hear, hear.] That is the kernel at the heart of the whole question. These people say, "If it is a partnership by consent what will happen if that consent ceases?" Of course, if the consent ceases no constitution could keep us together. They think that the condition of dependence, which is our condition, should be continued; they are quite unable to realize that the true alternative to this status is not independence but interdependence. [Applause.] I ask these people to look at some pages in our own history to quiet these apprehensions. Canada solved the constitutional problems and fought the battle of self-government for all the British Dominions, and the most significant period in Imperial history is covered by the ten years in Canada which began with Lord Durham's report, and ended with the instructions which were issued by the Colonial Office to Lord Elgin when he came to Canada as Governor-General. The constitutional documents covering those ten years throw a strong and encouraging light on this problem which we are now considering.

CANADA AND RESPONSIBLE - GOVERNMENT

The difficulty at that time was the difficulty arising from the application of responsible government. Lord Durham, who was the author of the phrase "responsible government," recommended responsible government, and the British Government conceded it in principle under the Act of 1840. But when it came to the practical application they flinched at

the issue, and they had strong support from a very influential body of opinion in Canada, who represented the very best classes of the people, but who happened to be quite wrong on this particular question, though they were quite sure that they were right. I think that it is the people who have all along been perhaps suspect in their Imperialism who have kept the British Empire together. The objection of the British Government to responsible government was put in a form which could not be answered and never has been answered—How can a British Governor be responsible and obedient to a locally elected legislature if its policy should differ from the policy of the Imperial Government which he represents? There was no answer logically, and when finally, after ten years of turmoil, the British Government threw up its hands and sent Lord Elgin out here with instructions, not as in the case of his predecessors not to recognize responsible government, but to accept it in its fullest terms, it was accepted in England as a matter of course that it was the prelude to the early separation of Canada from England.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier, in a speech on Imperial questions, said that the attitude of Canada towards England, say from 1850, for the next twenty years, was the attitude of Ruth: "Entreat me not to leave thee." Those were the days when a Prime Minister of England in the House of Commons—Lord John Russell—took great credit to himself, because in making the colonies—and he was referring specially to Canada—fit for independence England would have the consolation of saying that she had contributed to the happiness of the world. Lord Elgin, who was Governor-General of Canada at the time, wrote a letter in which he made some very satirical remarks about this statement, saying, "Wherefore this foreboding? I should be led to

imagine that the prospect of these sucking democracies, after they had drained their old mother's life blood, leaving her in the lurch and setting up as rivals, just at the time when their increasing strength might render them a support instead of a burden, is one of the most cheering which has of late presented itself to the English imagination." [Laughter.] Those were the days when Disraeli wrote to the Foreign Secretary, "These wretched colonies"—looking at Canada all the time—"will all be independent in a few years, and are a millstone round our necks." [Laughter.] Those were the days when the permanent head of the Colonial Office addressed a letter to the Duke of Newcastle, who had just returned from a tour in Canada as the confidential adviser of the Prince of Wales, who had come to Canada and been received with marks of loyal regard. Sir Henry Taylor writes to the Duke of Newcastle—"As to our American possessions, I have long held and often expressed the opinion that they are a sort of *damnosa hereditas*; and when your Grace and the Prince of Wales were employing yourselves so successfully in conciliating the colonists, I thought you were drawing closer ties which might better be slackened if there were any chance of their slipping away altogether." Sixty years after that another Prince of Wales came to Canada; the ties had not slackened much in the meantime, though we had had responsible government all the time and self-government had been widening all these years. [Applause.]

THE TIES THAT BIND

What are the considerations which make for the unity of the Empire? Every influence that operated in August 1914 is in full vigour to-day. All those spiritual ties, the common flag, the common language and literature and laws, which we had in August 1914, we have still. This

is the morrow of the war. We are all exhausted by the strain and labours of the terrible sacrifice, and there is a temptation to disparage what the war meant to us; but no one who has any imagination or any knowledge of human nature, or has read history with discernment, can question that the result of such a war, fought for such a cause, won by the valour of citizen soldiers, must mean a permanent enrichment of all the basic qualities of citizenship, and must permanently reinforce the foundations upon which the Commonwealth rests. [Applause.] Those memories of the war are common to us all. Therefore all we had before the war in the way of sentiment and spiritual ties is enormously strengthened to-day. We have, therefore, the heritage of the past and the common sacrifice of the present to unite us. More than that, we have the common aspirations of the future. [Hear, hear.]

I know that it is rather the custom to speak of the war now as simply a great catastrophe, and to say that the world is as it was before the war only worse; but I believe that looking back through the perspective of the years we shall see that the war was a great turning point in human history; and does mean a definite break in the old order. The characteristic of the old order which I believe is passing away, though it has not passed away and is dying hard, was the aggrandizement of peoples, nations, in a military sense or in a commercial sense. It was the nation which was first, and everything was for the glory of the nation and those persons who were more intimately connected with its government. The new order is for the enlargement of individual life, and the bettering of the life of the common people of whom Lincoln said that the Lord must love them since He made so many of them; and this common ideal by which the

British Dominions are animated will give us a new bond of union which will reinforce those historic ties which have proved their enduring worth.

In a future dedicated to such tasks can we not count upon the friendship and co-operation of that great sister-nation kindred to ourselves, with the same blood-strains, who are of us by virtue of their past and of their common sacrifice in the defence of Anglo-Saxon civilization? In the ampler air of the new day, the break in the historic continuity of their association with the kindred English-speaking nations will appear a very little thing; and the fact that they express their national views and policies in a different form of government, a matter of no consequence at all. May we not, then hope, that in the society of English-speaking nations, in whose solidarity the hopes of the race and perhaps the future of the world are bound up, an honoured place may be found by the side of the Motherland, now first among equals, for the great Republic of the United States of America. [Applause.]

SIR GILBERT PARKER

THE RIGHT HON. SIR GILBERT PARKER, Bt., P.C.—I have listened, as everyone of us has listened, to Mr. Dafoe's powerful and stimulating speech with the very deepest interest. I am sure that you will be glad to know that I shall make a very brief speech. I find nothing in Mr. Dafoe's speech to controvert or criticize. He has had a large experience in Canada. He is a very important figure in the West of Canada—[hear, hear]—and I think that we are extremely fortunate to have had him here and to have heard his address this morning. I am bound to say that I was only asked to speak about an hour ago, and therefore, in one sense, I am unprepared. In another sense I am not unprepared. The point has always been to me one of the very greatest interest, and

everything that concerns it a matter of the very greatest anxiety. That anxiety disappeared in 1914, when Canada and the other Overseas Dominions rallied, not behind, but by the side of the Mother Country. [Applause.] Mr. Dafoe says that the Empire is a combination of nations by consent. Of course it is. It has never been anything else. When Mr. Bonar Law, a few weeks ago in the House of Commons, made the statement that not a gun would be fired if one of our Overseas Dominions decided to leave us, people were surprised. Why were they surprised? There never was a time when any other principle was behind the British Government. If Canada should say to-morrow "we shall go," not a gun would be fired to prevent her from going. But the freedom that Canada has had, the constitution that Canada has had, and, above all, the constitution that was given to French Canada in 1759, the greatest that was ever given in the history of the world, has kept her faithful to the Empire, and it has had the same effect in Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa. [Hear, hear.]

I opposed responsible government in South Africa because I thought that Mr. Lyttelton's Bill was better. Dr. Jameson said to me that he feared that the South African people would not be able to administer according to British ideas in so short a time. After the success of the South African Government, I wondered if I had made a mistake. Meeting Dr. Jameson in Hyde Park one morning, I said to him, "I sometimes feel I have made a mistake in opposing responsible government in South Africa when it was asked for." He said, "You have made no mistake. I have known Botha for many years. I could not tell what line he was going to take. Botha has proved a trump." Those were his words to me, and Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman, when he granted responsible

government to South Africa, did what I thought a dangerous, but what was a very great and powerful deed for the British Empire. [Applause.] It is because of that that I do not believe that South Africa will ever leave the Empire. South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, Newfoundland—why should they leave us? Mr. Dafoe said we are partners by consent. Of course we are. What more does Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, or Newfoundland want?

We were addressed yesterday morning by Mr. McKenzie King. How many of you know that Mr. McKenzie King is the grandson of the rebel William McKenzie of 1837? It must not be forgotten that the rebellion of 1837 was not wholly French-Canadian. The grandson of that rebel is a loyal patriot, as devoted to the Empire as any man who ever lived. One grandson of the ex-rebel of 1837 wrote a letter in the London "Times," which ought to be read in every school of the Empire. If that rebellion of 1837 was justified—and Lord Durham's report proves it—the revolution of the United States in 1776 was justified. No one disputes that now. It must never be forgotten regarding that revolution that every important Minister, every important public man in England, Burke, Fox, Pitt, all objected to that revolutionary fight. Now Mr. Dafoe has given us a view of the future, so splendid and so stimulating, that we should be mad if we did not believe that every one of our Overseas Dominions will remain where it is, faithful and loyal. [Hear, hear.] Mr. Dafoe said that Disraeli made a statement regarding the Overseas Dominions which we deplore. It must never be forgotten that in that speech at the Crystal Palace in London, just before the Queen was made Empress of India, he recanted every critical word he had said in the past. If we are all going to be judged

by every statement we have made in the past, I am afraid that many of us would have to disappear from public or private life. It is the virtue of public men when they recant, and recant publicly as Disraeli did. We owe to Disraeli, to Lord Beaconsfield, a larger spirit, a great Imperial spirit, which Mr. Dafoe has so splendidly put before us to-day. [Applause.]

SIR HARRY BRITTAIN

SIR HARRY BRITTAIN, M.P.—I am following two very old and brilliant friends, who are the leading masters of the subject which we have before us to-day. I do not propose to follow them in the higher flights which they have taken. I am merely here for the purpose of putting forward, not any resolutions, but simply a suggestion for you to think over, and one which I hope will meet with your approval. After the First Imperial Press Conference eleven years ago, I remember talking to Mr. McKenna, who was then First Lord of the Admiralty, who told me how enormously the discussions at that Imperial Press Conference had helped the defence committee which immediately followed. And as that first Conference was able to give such an effective lead in matters of defence, so perhaps we also may be able to give a lead by many of our suggestions to the constitutional conference which will shortly follow. My suggestion deals with that important matter of machinery which is to bring together the constituent parts of the Empire. I have before me an interesting little article written in 1915, which says that Empire settlement, and preserving the ties with the Motherland, consists in evolving a method by which a nation, acting through its representative Ministers under the Crown, will have a close and permanent share in the management of the external affairs of the Empire. That is taken from a small book written by a distinguished

colleague in the House of Commons, Mr. Percy Hurd. [Applause.] Meantime, if we could contrive machinery to bring together every constituent part of the Empire in a satisfactory manner, something will be gained.

Decisions have to be taken continuously—some important and others apparently unimportant—by the Foreign Office on British affairs abroad. It is physically impossible at the present for the Colonial Secretary to consult with the Dominions on all these matters before many of them are decided, in addition to which the points are apt to be so numerous that the Minister, diffident in troubling the representatives of the Dominions with a mass of what seems to be unnecessary detail, and yet there may be among certain of these details matters which, though unimportant apparently in London, would be of considerable interest to some specific part of the Empire. Accordingly, for this and for very many other reasons which have been frequently discussed, it is very advisable that there should be a direct representative of the Government of each of the Dominions at the capital, who would meet regularly with British Ministers particularly affected. All would then have an opportunity of learning without delay, and at first hand, everything in connection with the points previously referred to. [Hear, hear.]

If the Dominion and Home representatives were unanimous as to a certain line of action being taken, action would follow, but if there were not unanimity there would, of course, be no desire to bind any section of the Empire which might differ as to the line to be followed. In other words, no part of the Empire should feel that it was forced under pressure of a majority vote to carry through any point to which it took objection. I venture to suggest that perhaps the most effective co-operation would be gained if these repre-

representatives of the Dominion Governments were to be fairly frequently changed, so that they would be in touch with the latest movements in their respective countries, and not, owing to a lengthy absence from home, run the risk of being out of touch with general opinion; it should, in fact, be a *permanent committee* with a *relay attendance*, which would have the effect of giving the best and most up-to-date consideration to every question as soon as it arose, in so far as it affected any section of the British Empire. [Hear, hear.]

I throw out that simple suggestion.

I do not put it forward with the object of having a resolution passed, but I would like to hear expressions of opinion, and also to have it considered by individual members in their individual capacity.

SIR GEORGE TOULMIN

SIR GEORGE TOULMIN ("The Lancashire Daily Post").—I do not propose to deal with proposals in regard to definite steps to be taken. My position is to hear what our friends in the Dominions wish, and to consider the various propositions put forward, rather than to originate any. We must approach all these matters with very great deliberation, but I have been profoundly moved by the statesmanlike utterance with which this debate was opened. One of the objects with which we came to the Conference was, if possible, to get into touch with the soul of Canada, and get into community of thought and spirit as citizens of the world. We are all citizens of the world. We are citizens of an Empire. Then we are citizens of our own section, citizens of our own country. We have all a great duty to perform. The method of carrying it out is rather secondary to the great spirit in which it shall be carried out. I have always accepted the condition laid down by the opener of this debate—that the British Empire

must be a partnership; partners by consent. We cannot hold men of our own race down by armed force or by economic laws. They must be free, but we hold out both hands to them and ask them to join with us in the citizenship of the Commonwealth—there is no question of overlordship or suzerainty.

I can see no reason why the King's supreme court of appeal should not, like the assizes, travel in Australia and Canada. It is not a question of overlordship. It is a question of having the very highest powers that can be developed, in order to decide questions that may arise between one Dominion and another, or between ourselves and any Dominion. And we do desire the fullest experience of the franchise of the widest commonwealth which the world has ever seen by the citizens of every one of our Dominions and Dependencies. You remember St. Paul's conversation with the Roman governor, and St. Paul's proud reply, "I am free born." All Canadians and Australians are free born at the present time, and I cannot imagine them confining themselves within the narrow limits of Canadian or Australian citizenship, any more than I can imagine a British citizen deliberately saying, "I shall not be a citizen of the Empire but only of my own country." I cannot imagine anyone from Australia, Canada, or New Zealand, not being satisfied with the citizenship of the British Commonwealth. What remains, of Rome, except the system of Roman law and their highroads? But there is a great system of British law, which is superior to Roman law. But law develops and expands, and I profoundly hope that our system will include the experience of Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, India, and the other races joined together with us, so that British law may develop, as freedom broadens slowly down from precedent to precedent, with the experience

of every section of the Empire, until it becomes the highest human interpretation of Divine justice. [Hear, hear.] As to constitutions, we shall slowly fashion out an unwritten constitution which will give full life to every citizen of our widespread Empire, and to every citizen of the Empire the answer of the British Press should be, "Walk with us, and share our ideals for the highest good of the world." [Hear, hear.]

THE HON. J. W. KIRWAN

The HON. J. W. KIRWAN ("The Kalgoorlie Miner," West Australia).—As Mr. Dafoe has said, the Empire could not hold the Dominions by force. If any of the Dominions wished to cut the painter it could do so, but that fact makes the Dominions all the more ready to remain part of the Empire. The freedom that is given to the Dominions binds them closer to Great Britain than if tied by firmer constitutional bonds. The first idea that was entertained by British statesmen of past generations was that the British colonies should be used for the profit of the Motherland. That policy cost them the American colonies. The next idea of British statesmen was to view the colonies as an encumbrance, or at least with indifference. One great statesman said that colonies were like fruit: when they ripened they dropped off. That notion no longer exists. Today Great Britain and the Dominions regard each other with mutual affection, and consider their continual unity a source of common safety and common advantage. [Applause.] Mr. Dafoe was also quite right in urging equality of status for all parts of the Empire, but the logical deduction is equality of responsibility, and equality of expenditure and effort in the matter of defence. One direction in which the Dominions can help the Empire is in sea defence. The sea is the heritage of all; it is the Empire's first line of defence;

it is essential to keep open our ocean channels of communication. Once the command of the sea is lost there is an end of Empire partnership and of the Empire itself. Personally, I have always favoured Dominion navies. These navies would be adjuncts of the British navy. When an Australian navy was first advocated, it was not encouraged in high places, but it was the only way that the Australian people could be got in those days to contribute to the general naval defence of the Empire. A contribution to the Imperial navy was unpopular. However, the Australian navy was built, and when war was declared it automatically passed under the control of the British navy. It policed the Southern Seas. The "Sydney," one of the cruisers of the Australian navy, sank the "Emden." [Applause.] The presence of the battleship "Australia" in Australian waters deterred Von Spee's German squadron from visiting Australia and bombarding our ports. The Australian navy has fully justified its formation, and should encourage those Dominions who desire equality of status to bear their share of Empire defence by maintaining navies of their own. In all these matters the power of this Conference is immense. As a matter of simple fact, this Imperial Press Conference, and the last Imperial Press Conference, are more important than the Imperial Conferences of Government representatives that occasionally meet in London. There are few statesmen in the world. Pressmen only too well know that most rulers in the world of politics are not statesmen, but politicians. [Hear, hear.] Politicians are the mere creatures of public opinion. It is not egotistic to say that public opinion is largely formed and guided, as well as interpreted, by journalists. If this Conference desires governments to pursue any course of action, it is not

difficult to create the necessary public opinion, and politicians are always ready, sometimes too ready, to obey public opinion. Therefore, it must be recognized that this Conference has the power, if it so wishes, to strengthen Empire partnership by fostering public opinion along the right lines, and so Imperial Press Conferences are more powerful than any other Imperial Conferences, Governmental or otherwise. [Hear, hear.] This discussion is reminiscent of the First Imperial Press Conference, where we heard so many excellent addresses from Imperial statesmen. The one note sounded at that Conference by Lord Rosebery, Lord Roberts, and others, was the danger of a great war and the need to prepare for it. What we were then told was, "Keep your eye on Germany." These were not the exact words, but publicly and privately that was what was meant. The warnings issued impressed us all. The journalists who attended the Conference constantly repeated the warnings within their various spheres of influence, and when the war cloud burst the Empire was not as unprepared as it otherwise might have been. Now the Empire is called on to deal with the problems of reconstruction, but we should not live in a fool's paradise and think that wars are a thing of the past. We should safeguard what we have got, and strengthen Empire partnership for the promotion of the people's safety, prosperity, and happiness. [Applause.]

The discussion ended at this stage; and the Conference adjourned for luncheon.

On resuming Mr. F. Crosbie Roles presided in the absence of the Chairman.

POSTAL RATES (NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS)

MR. P. D. ROSS ("Ottawa Journal").—I beg to propose:

"That this Conference recommends that postal rates within the Empire for newspapers and periodicals should not exceed the lowest rates in force between any foreign country and any part of the Empire."

This is a resolution as to which there will be no difference of opinion. In each of our respective countries we practise this principle. We put a newspaper or periodical into the Post Office at Ottawa, and whether it goes across the river to Hull, or goes 2,000 miles to Vancouver, or 1,500 miles to Halifax, we pay the same rate, because it is recognized that it is in the political, social, and commercial interests of the country that we should make this distribution as cheap as possible and uniform in cost. I can see no reason why that principle should not prevail in the British Empire, except it be in reference to the question of cost. We do not consider the question of cost in our own countries. Why should we consider it for the Empire? There is no argument in cost when it is a question of the public good. I think that in the past we were all perhaps a little narrow-minded about expenditure, whether it was a matter of national, provincial, or municipal expenditure. We were always holding up economy. We thought we could not afford things. We ought to have passed out of that frame of mind now. This world went into a war which cost an absolutely unimaginable amount of money. The world was able to stand it. It was all waste expenditure from one point of view, a waste of that which might have been used for better purposes materially. We know, of course, that it was not waste, because it was used for a great moral purpose. But so far as material considerations are concerned, we threw thousands of millions into the war, and we are getting on all right. So if we had

any useful purpose ahead of us, national or social, I do not think that we ought to bother our heads about the cost, but only as to whether the expenditure is justifiable expenditure. Surely, in the interests of the British Empire, there could be no more justifiable expenditure than that on postal rates, which would enable the printed word to travel through the British Empire without obstruction. If I want to send a newspaper to the United States, it does not cost a quarter what it costs to send it to the British Isles. We should be able to send it all over the British Empire just as cheaply as we can send it to any part of the continent. [Hear, hear.]

MR. C. D. LENG

MR. C. D. LENG ("Sheffield Daily Telegraph").—I content myself with seconding this resolution. We all appreciate and understand the principle of cheap communication between the Home Country and our Dominions. At home in Great Britain our Post Office, instead of helping us, impedes us. There appears to be some central body there employed looking through newspapers, and we are constantly told "This paper does not contain sufficient news to go through the post as a newspaper." I happen to be specially interested in a sort of weekly magazine that had, before the war, a very large circulation in all parts of the world. Most of those copies went through the Post Office, and we were being continually pulled up on this question of what is news and what is fiction, and what is imagination. For years and years we have been playing at this silly game with the Post Office. It does not appear to me to matter very much if a paper weighs two ounces, whether it contains news, scientific articles, or articles on house-building. That is certainly news to people who

have not much information on the subject. I hope that we shall ginger up the Post Office, and get some life into the other departments that have so long blocked the way.

MR. PERCIVAL MARSHALL

MR. PERCIVAL MARSHALL (British Association of Trade and Technical Journals).—On behalf of the trade and technical Press of Great Britain I have very great pleasure in supporting this resolution. In every development of Empire trade, the greater the facility and freedom given to the business Press of the Empire to circulate in all British Dominions and in all colonies, the more the Empire will tend to greater prosperity. Mr. Donald told us yesterday that the influence of the Empire Press Union had been sufficient to break down the inertia of the British Foreign Office and the Colonial Office. We at home, who have approached particular Government departments with regard to increased facilities of any kind, always found that particular Government department one of the hardest to move. There seems to be some opposition in the Post Office to anything which savours of progress. The Postmaster-General has always been proud of the fact that the Post Office is one of the few Government institutions which have paid their way, and he is very reluctant to accept any proposal which would in any way diminish the profit arising out of his department. It would be a good thing if we could impress on the British Post Office some ideas with regard to business management. We heard yesterday where a cable could not be made to pay, two cables proved profitable. The same principle applies to the Post Office. Certain rates may not pay, and yet with a larger carriage of mail matter lower rates might pay. [Hear, hear.] The Post Office took over the tele-

phone service some years ago in Great Britain. Those of us who live in Great Britain know the result. If some commercial enterprise, instead of the Post Office, were to take over the distribution of the British mails, I think we should be able to get a reduction of rates without very much difficulty, and if the Empire Press Union and the Press emphasize to the Postmaster-General the extreme importance of the greatest possible facilities being given in this matter, we shall have accomplished an exceedingly good work. [Hear, hear.]

• FURTHER DISCUSSION: THE RESOLUTION CARRIED

MR. J. B. MACLEAN (Canada).—I have always strongly supported this policy in the Canadian Press. As you are aware, the Canadian Government did make a reduction in order to encourage the circulation of British publications in this country. Though some of them may compete with us, I have always believed that the more British publications that are read in Canada the better it is for those of us who publish magazines, business newspapers, and other periodicals.

THE CHAIRMAN.—How much is your postage, compared with the United States?

MR. MACLEAN.—At the present time it is exactly the same. We pay the same rate of postage on all our publications—including dailies, weeklies, and monthlies—to England as we do to the United States. It is suggested that the United States pays less. At the present time the United States is paying, I am not sure, it may be one and a half cents a pound, plus a zone rate. In Canada at present we are paying a quarter-cent per pound weight for papers going to the United States and Great Britain. On the first of next year that will be increased to three-quarters of a cent per pound, and will apply to all papers going to Great

Britain and the United States, and in the year following the rate from Canada to Great Britain and the United States will be one and a half cents a pound.

MR. LEYS ("Auckland Star," N.Z.).—It will probably surprise the delegates to this Conference to know that it was New Zealand which initiated that great reform, the universal penny post. That is to say, a letter sent across the street to a neighbour pays exactly the same price as a letter sent to Canada or Timbuctoo. Speaking of publications, we publish a Christmas number, a mass of pictorial matter. We have had that number stopped, exactly as Mr. Leng describes, in the Post Office, because it had not on the front page, or any other page, an indication that it was published on a certain date, and therefore by some technical regulation of the Post Office it did not come within the designation of a newspaper. I can imagine the folly of subsidizing these pictorial numbers, sending them far and wide, advertising the beauties of the country and promoting emigration, but you cannot get into the minds of the postal officials that there is anything to be considered except keeping up the postal rate. That is the brick wall that we are up against. We have protested by deputation, letter, petition, by every device known to the British constitution. We have failed to break down this exceedingly stupid system. I hope that the resolution of the Conference will go home to the hearts of the postmasters all round, and especially to the heart of the Postmaster-General. [Hear, hear.]

The resolution was put and carried unanimsously.

Mr. Ross, as Vice-Chairman of the Conference, took the chair, in the absence of Lord Burnham, as soon as the resolution which he had proposed had been disposed of.

TRAVEL SCHOLARSHIPS

Mr. J. P. COLLINS ("Civil and Military Gazette," India).—I beg to propose:

"That a Committee of the Empire Press Union be appointed to confer with its Overseas sections, and with all universities within the Empire which provide courses of journalism, in order to frame a scheme of travel scholarships within the Empire for young journalists of proved capacity."

This proposition is, in its way, a corollary to Lord Apsley's, in so far as it provides opportunities for younger members of the craft. It is no novelty, for I urged it twenty years ago at meetings of the Institute of Journalists, and in those days there was no Empire Press Union, with world-wide influence, to take the matter up. Sir Charles Dilke, in his book "Greater Britain," upheld the wholesome principle that Members of Parliament should qualify themselves for discussing Imperial questions by visiting and studying the British Dominions—[hear, hear]—and as Sir Charles himself admitted readily, in conversation with me years ago, there was no less obligation on conscientious and serious-minded journalists. Hitherto young members of the profession, who wanted to acquaint themselves with men and matters overseas, have had to take the first chance that offered of employment on a particular paper for a term agreed upon, and there have been cases of positive distrust shown where these enterprising spirits have shown a natural disposition to pass from one Dominion to another and broaden their horizon. I hope that if members can enlarge the scope of the resolution they will do so, so that it may pass with unanimity, for without some such measure in the direction of professional training and the interests of our younger colleagues, the Conference stands in danger of

being branded as an assembly of materialists absorbed in the consideration of cables, and postage, and pulp. That is to say, matter rather than men. [Hear, hear.]

Mr. J. J. KNIGHT ("Brisbane Courier," Australia).—Without pulp and paper there would be a slender chance for writing.

Mr. COLLINS.—The day may come when we may have to find an alternative to paper and print, but there will never be an alternative to well-trained men. [Hear, hear.] I hold no brief for universities, except that they develop aptitudes and discipline the faculties; moreover, they often tap the best supply of the right human material. As more and more of our home and Overseas universities are instituting courses of journalism, they are bound in time to effect some kind of transfer or co-ordination of professorships, if not of scholarships, and the Empire Press Union surely affords here the best source of assistance and advice. Sweden, with scant resources and no dominions of her own, instituted years ago an admirable system of travel scholarships for her students, by endowing them with £150 a year for three years, and arranging facilities for them to study foreign conditions and comparative peoples around the world. If Sweden had the spirit and initiative to do this, surely the incentive for us is a thousand times greater, especially in the profession of the Press. [Hear, hear.] The conditions of to-day are hostile to many of the older provincial British papers, which were notoriously the best training-ground the Press ever had, and the day of Empire development is coming when the best post-graduate course will be a round of the newspapers in the Dominions. The leaders of the profession at home have actively helped the news course of journalism at London University, and I believe there are many owners and editors of

Dominion papers who would welcome picked novices—not necessarily university graduates—from the Homeland and other Dominions, so as to give them an insight into practical Empire affairs. I hope that women will be included in the scheme, and that members will support it, so that, in Meredith's words, we may "keep the younger generation within hail." [Applause.]

* Miss M. F. BILLINGTON ("Daily Telegraph," London, representing the Society of Women Journalists).—I cordially endorse what Mr. Collins has said as to the application to women of this system of travel scholarships, but I will keep any remarks that I want to make on the subject until we are discussing the question of interchange of staffs. Meantime, I thank Mr. Collins on behalf of women journalists for having so well raised the subject in their interests. [Hear, hear.]

DR. A. BARTOLO, B.LIT., LL.D.

DR. AUGUSTO BARTOLO ("Daily Malta Chronicle").—I support this resolution. I think that the degree of mutual understanding among the various parts of the Empire still leaves a great deal to be desired, probably owing to the vastness of the Empire. I support it also because of two resolutions standing in my name, which are to be brought before you to-morrow. One suggests bringing into line, as far as possible, the curricula of universities in different parts of the Empire. If this resolution is passed, the committee of the Empire Press Union, charged with carrying it into effect, should be asked to communicate with the congress of the universities of the Empire which is going to be held in London next year.

DISCUSSION

MR. R. J. ARNOTT ("Canada").—Mr. Collins referred to universities

providing courses of journalism. I am not quite sure to what extent he applied his reference to universities in the Overseas Dominions, but apparently only one or two universities in the Mother Country provide this course.

MR. DARBYSHIRE.—London does.

MR. ARNOTT.—That would restrict the sphere of operation of this resolution. It might with advantage be made wider. A great many journalists, who served with the forces in the war, have availed themselves of the opportunities which they had of studying at Oxford and Cambridge and the Scottish universities on Overseas scholarships. If the resolution were wider in its scope, it would be an advantage.

MR. J. J. KNIGHT ("Brisbane Courier").—Reference has been made to newspaper proprietors who make a hobby of running newspapers. However the other delegations may be composed, the Australian delegation includes a large proportion of working journalists, who have graduated in the school of experience, and I think that they may take the credit of being sincere in the cause of journalism. As to this motion, I think that the matter is one which should be left to journalists themselves to improve their position. Having graduated in the school of experience, I have unfortunately developed somewhat, and may be regarded as belonging now to the other class; but I would ask Mr. Collins if he does not think that it is the duty of journalists in the various countries to move in the direction of interesting the universities and scholastic institutions in those countries in the subject-matter of which he has spoken. When we find them doing that, then I think that the Imperial Press Conference can be appealed to with advantage to carry the matter a little further. My own experience in my own country is that modern journalistic unionism, if I may use

the term, if not engaged in the manufacture of prigs, is certainly not turning out many prodigies, and, as for the work that is going on in so-called schools of journalism, I think that the carrying of this motion will rather tend to increase the evil that at present exists.

MR. ROSS.—Resolution No. 9, which we are now discussing, depends to a large extent on Resolution No. 8. I think that perhaps, in view of the discussion on the subject of paper supply, we had better adjourn for the present the discussion of these resolutions, as we can take them up later.

Lord Burnham, having returned, took the chair.

THE NEWSPRINT SITUATION

ADDRESS BY MR. JOHN M. IMRIE

THE CHAIRMAN.—I think that in dealing with the question of newsprint supply, it would perhaps be for the convenience of the Conference that we should first hear the experts who are here, at some inconvenience to themselves, as we are very anxious to hear what they have to say.

MR. JOHN M. IMRIE, Manager of The Canadian Daily Newspapers Association, Toronto, who was received with applause, said:

I appreciate the honour of being asked to address this Conference on the newsprint situation. I do not pose as an expert, but I have had occasion to study certain phases of the situation, and I shall be glad to give you an assembly of the facts as they have presented themselves to me. [Hear, hear.]

The newsprint situation in Canada is so closely related to and affected by the newsprint situation in United States that any intelligent discussion of the former must include consideration of the latter and the use of figures covering supply and demand in both countries.

RELATION BETWEEN SUPPLY AND DEMAND

The present demand in Canada and United States is about 600 tons per day in excess of the combined production. Part of that production is not available for use in North America, as 400 tons per day is exported to other continents. On the other hand, approximately 80 tons per day is now coming into United States from Norway and Sweden. Therefore, treating Canada and United States as one unit from a supply standpoint, the demand exceeds available supply by approximately 900 tons per day, or 270,000 tons per year. That disparity would be much greater but for the fact that 300 tons per day is being produced temporarily on machines that have been diverted from other grades of paper because of the highly profitable prices now obtainable for newsprint in the spot market in United States.

EFFECT OF EXCESS DEMAND ON SELLING PRICES

These conditions have created a seller's market as regards price. Whereas newsprint was selling as low as \$35 per ton at the mill in 1916, present contract prices, except in the case of three mills, are at an average rate of \$120 per ton for the second half of 1920. Newspapers without contracts, or with contracts for insufficient supply are, in effect, bidding against each other in the spot market for what little tonnage is available there. Individual sales in the spot market have been made at as high as \$360 per ton, but current prices for the bulk of the sales are around \$250 per ton.

Large newspapers with contracts at \$120 per ton for 85 per cent. of their requirements could pay \$250 per ton in the spot market for the other 15 per cent. and get off with an average cost of \$140 per ton. And with advertising offering in unpre-

cedented quantities, or faced with the competition of a newspaper that has an ample supply, many publishers have been willing to increase their average cost to that extent in order to secure 100 per cent. of their requirements.

In Canada newsprint prices were under judicial control for the three years ending April 1920. For the first eleven months of that period the price was \$50 per ton; then, during the early part of 1918, it was \$57 per ton. An increase to \$66 per ton went into effect on July 1st, 1918, and another increase to \$69 per ton became effective December 1st, 1918. That price remained in effect to December last, when the publishers and most of the manufacturers got together, composed their differences, and agreed upon a price of \$80 per ton to July 1st, and the lowest export price thereafter.

As the Canadian consumption is less than 15 per cent. of the domestic production, Canadian newspapers on the whole have not had as great difficulty in securing supplies as the newspapers of the United States. There was extreme difficulty on several occasions in Manitoba and Saskatchewan. In January all the daily newspapers of Winnipeg were suspended for five consecutive days, while other newspapers in Western Canada were on the verge of suspension. Subsequently, in June, 25 per cent. of all the daily newspapers in Canada were facing the possibility of suspension after July 1st, owing to inability to secure any assurance of supply after that date, even at current contract prices for export to foreign countries. The trouble then was largely confined to three mills. Two of the three later agreed to continue supplies, and other manufacturers stepped in at great inconvenience to themselves to take care of the Canadian customers of the third mill.

It is generally recognized and

frankly admitted that present contract prices bear little relation to cost of production. Reports of the Government Auditor under the recent Newsprint Control indicated that during the latter part of 1919 production costs in the more efficient Canadian mills were running around \$50 per ton. December last is the latest month for which audits were made, and undoubtedly there has been a substantial increase in cost since then. But present prices are such as to take care of all increases in cost and yield hitherto undreamed-of profits to the manufacturers. I am not saying that in a spirit of complaint. Canadian publishers agreed last fall to pay the current export prices after July 1st. They are good sports, and will not welch on their agreement.

CONSUMPTION BY U.S. SUNDAY NEWSPAPERS

The development of the Sunday newspaper was an important factor in the increased consumption in United States. The term "Sunday newspaper" has quite a different meaning in Great Britain and United States. In Great Britain it is possible for one to buy a Sunday newspaper that is a *newspaper*. In United States, if one desires a Sunday newspaper he must accept with it a heterogeneous mass of illustrated pages, fashion plates, automobile supplements, book reviews, magazine sections, etc., aggregating in some cases as many as 150 or 160 pages.

PARTIAL DEPENDENCE OF U.S. ON IMPORTED NEWSPRINT SUPPLIES

But certain factors, in addition to increased domestic demand, have operated to bring about the partial dependence of United States on imported newsprint supplies to which I have already referred.

The first of these was, that as a

result of wasteful cutting and lack of adequate fire protection or any measure of reforestation, the pulpwood forests of the Eastern States are rapidly approaching exhaustion.

Another factor was the growing differential in production costs in favour of competing mills in Canada. As the pulpwood forests of the Eastern States became more depleted, cutting and driving costs increased, and power and water difficulties were multiplied. Canadian mills, on the other hand, had large supplies of raw materials at their doors. As far back as 1911 that differential in production costs in favour of Canadian mills, according to the Tariff Board of United States, was \$4.50 per ton—equivalent to about 15 per cent. of the then current production cost in United States mills.

These two factors acted as a deterrent on the extension of existing mills or the establishment of new mills in United States. As a result, production in 1919, notwithstanding the diversion of machines from other grades of paper, was less than 6 per cent. in excess of 1913 figures—an average increase for the six years of less than 1 per cent.

GROWTH OF PRODUCTION IN CANADA

The development of the newsprint industry in Canada during the past ten years is quite a different story.

The Provincial Governments, having jurisdiction over the pulpwood forests of Canada, have encouraged development by leasing Crown Lands and water powers at nominal rates, by establishing fire protection systems, by building reservoirs at head waters, and by certain regulations as to the cutting of trees.

About ten years ago the Governments of Ontario, Quebec, and New Brunswick amended the regulations covering leases of Crown Lands, so as to prohibit the export of pulpwood cut on such lands, except in the form

of pulp and paper. Up to that time Canada's exports of pulpwood to United States had greatly exceeded her exports of pulp and paper to that country. In 1908, for example, the exports of pulpwood were 900,000 cords, while the pulp and paper exported to United States represented only 250,000 cords of pulpwood. Since then the situation has been reversed, until in the last fiscal year the exports of pulpwood were 840,000 cords, while the pulp and paper exported to that country represented over 2,000,000 cords.

These various factors contributed to a rapid development and expansion of the Canadian Newsprint Industry. Production increased from 150,000 tons in 1909 to 350,000 tons in 1913, 608,000 tons in 1916, and 808,000 tons in 1919. The production in 1920 will be almost 900,000 tons. These figures include certain quantities of newsprint used for paper-hanging.

EXPORTS OF PAPER AND PULP FROM CANADA

Members of this Conference will be interested in the ultimate disposition of this enormous production.

The latest official figures of exports are for the twelve months ending March 31st, 1920. During those twelve months approximately 100,000 tons were consumed in Canada and 713,625 tons were exported. 23,564 tons went to the United Kingdom, 32,173 tons went to Australia, 10,526 tons went to New Zealand, 4,226 tons went to British South Africa, and 629,152 tons went to United States.

Comparing this distribution of exports with the figures for the last fiscal year preceding the war, the exports to the United Kingdom show an increase of over 300 per cent., those to Australia an increase of 150 per cent., those to New Zealand an increase of 20 per cent., and those to British South Africa a decrease of 40 per cent. The increase in exports to United States was 460 per cent.

Canada also exported during the last fiscal year 339,382 tons of mechanical pulp and 430,096 tons of chemical pulp. Of the mechanical pulp 202,269 tons went to United States, and 96,911 tons went to the United Kingdom. Of the chemical pulp, United States received 341,535 tons, and the United Kingdom received 42,308 tons. The exports to the United Kingdom compared with 1913 figures show an increase of 30 per cent. in mechanical pulp, while exports of chemical pulp were practically nil during the years 1913-16.

After discussing various palliatives for the present situation, Mr. Imrie said :

The real solution in my judgment lies in such an increase in production as would eliminate the spot market and create a surplus supply. Coupled with this there should be adequate measures of pulpwood conservation and reforestation. Most Canadian publishers would welcome such measures, even although they would involve increases in newsprint prices for a time. They would effect economies in the long-run and ensure continued supplies.

Mr. Imrie pointed out that in the new mills which were being erected in Canada and the United States, provided the existing machines running on newsprint were retained on that grade of paper, then the aggregate daily newsprint capacity on January 1st, 1922, will be 3,604 tons in Canada and 4,976 tons in United States—a total of 8,580 tons, or 2,574,000 tons per year. That would represent an increase over present aggregate daily capacity of 995 tons per day, or approximately 300,000 tons per year. That increase is only 10 per cent. more than the present excess of demand over available supply in Canada and United States.

If the present excess demand were to fall away to any appreciable extent, there would be withdrawn

from the market part or all of the 300 tons per day now being produced temporarily on machines diverted from other grades. If that were not sufficient to maintain an excess of demand over supply, the manufacturers of this continent could easily do so under present conditions by yielding to the pressure for newsprint from other continents.

THE REAL SOLUTION OF THE PROBLEM

Mr. Imrie continued: A solution of the situation, and a means of providing for future pulp and paper requirements of the British Empire, are suggested by the general topic of to-day's discussions at this Conference—"Empire Partnership." There should be a partnership in pulp and paper development between Canada and the other parts of the British Empire—Canada providing the pulpwood and water-power and her people joining with the people of the United Kingdom and the Overseas Dominions in providing the capital for the development of those natural resources.

With a few notable exceptions British capital, which has been such a factor in other phases of this country's development, has played no part in the development of the Canadian pulp and paper industry. It has been stated by parties who should know that 75 per cent. of the capital invested in that industry is American capital.

While appreciating to the full the benefits to Canada through the development of her pulpwood resources by American capital, the Governments and people of this country would welcome most heartily and co-operate in their further development through an Empire partnership such as I have suggested. And in promoting and themselves entering into such a partnership, the publishers of the Empire would be adopting what seems to be the only

means of ensuring their future pulp and paper supplies. For I would like to emphasize this point: That serious as the present situation is, it will assuredly become more serious as time passes, and the pulpwood forests of the world are further depleted and production in United States diminishes.

Such a partnership would be a most profitable investment, as well as an assurance of supply. I will not occupy your time by going into that phase of the matter, but to those who are interested I would be glad to submit facts and figures that I am sure would convince the most sceptical.

This Empire partnership should be undertaken without delay. While Canada's pulpwood resources are vast, they are not by any means inexhaustible, and the more easily accessible areas are rapidly being acquired. One of Canada's leading foresters, Mr. Clyde Leavitt, has computed that, apart from annual growth and without allowing for further development, the commercially accessible areas of pulpwood in Quebec represent only 52 years' supply, those of Ontario only 67 years' supply, and those of Nova Scotia only 30 years' supply. Available supply in British Columbia is probably sufficient for a longer period at the present rate of cutting, but I have not at hand definite figures for that province.

A VISION OF AN "EMPIRE INDUSTRY"

And so, in considering the present situation and future prospects and looking for a solution of both of these and of the difficulties confronting the newspapers of the United Kingdom and the Overseas Dominions in regard to pulp and newsprint supplies, I see as in a vision a series of pulp and paper industries springing up in the pulpwood forests of this country, controlled by British and

Empire capital, sending their product to every part of the Empire, ensuring continued supplies for the Empire Press, creating another bond of interdependence, and strengthening the community of interest and unity of purpose and action, among the component parts of the Empire. The opportunity is there; I commend it to your investigation, your consideration, and your action. [Applause.]

THE CHAIRMAN.—We are all grateful to Mr. Imrie for his address, which is of great interest to us. [Applause.]

MR. A. DAWES

MR. DAWES, the Secretary of the Canadian Pulp and Paper Association, who was also in attendance, then addressed the Conference. He said:

Canada's present annual production of newsprint paper, in which you may be presumed to be especially interested, approximates to 870,000 tons, of which not more than 120,000 tons are needed for domestic consumption, whilst the remainder is exported, in greater part to the United States, and in a smaller proportion to the United Kingdom and to other British Overseas Dominions. Prospective new establishments and expansions of those now in existence, some of which are now well under way, promise a large increase of output in the immediate future. Some of the more optimistically inclined go so far as to predict that within the space of three or four years from now Canada will be producing more than double its present output of newsprint paper. While I am not prepared to endorse, without reserve, this somewhat sanguine forecast, there is no gainsaying the fact that the industry is going ahead very fast, and that it would increase still more rapidly were the British paper-machine manufacturers able to meet expeditiously all the demands now being made upon them from this side of the water.

EXPORT TO AMERICA

I have already been asked why, with the demand in the United Kingdom so great as it is to-day, and with every incentive, from both a business and patriotic point of view, favourable towards better trade relationships within the Empire, so large a proportion of our pulp and paper products finds a market in non-British countries and so small a proportion, comparatively speaking, within the Empire.

A comprehensive and satisfying answer to this question is not easy to formulate. Before the war, of course, the United Kingdom's reliance for imports of pulp and paper was largely centred on Northern Europe. Canada found her distance from the British market an almost insuperable barrier, while at her door existed an available market, made easy of access through the enactment of tariff laws especially designed to favour that market.

Then, too, there comes in the question of the source of the capital employed in carrying on the industry, Canada still having to look beyond her own borders for much of the wherewithal with which to develop her resources. A recent study of the sources of capital employed in building pulp and paper mills in Canada indicates that between three-quarters and four-fifths of the total amount so employed has been derived from the United States. Production naturally, other things being equal, favours the source of the capital required to produce. Shipping difficulties also, for a time, tended to restrict transatlantic exports of pulp and paper, but these have now been swept away.

THE PULPWOOD AREAS

So far as the pulp and paper industry is concerned, Canada is divided into three separate zones, or territories—the East, embracing

particularly the Provinces of Quebec, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia; a Central Section, taking in the extensive mills in Ontario; and the far West, represented by the big mills of British Columbia. Eastern Canada, so far as the United Kingdom is concerned, is the logical field to enlist your special interest. The other districts entail a land haul of from one to two thousand miles in extent before their products can reach the Atlantic seaboard. Freight rates impose a practically insurmountable obstacle to the shipment of paper from these districts to Great Britain. British Columbia's production finds its natural market across the Pacific, Central Canada's nearer at home, but there is no good reason why British newspaper publishers, and British papermakers too, for that matter, should not draw upon Eastern Canada for a large proportion of their supplies.

The Province of Quebec is generally regarded as being the best off in the extent of its pulpwood resources. It also enjoys the advantage of being the most readily accessible to the British market. This province is estimated to possess 75,000,000 acres of unlicensed Crown lands still available for exploitation, in addition to 45,000,000 acres of licensed Crown lands, and 6,000,000 acres of privately owned lands, containing spruce, balsam, poplar, and jack pine, suitable for papermaking. These combined lands are estimated to contain some 360,000,000 cords of pulpwood. Not all of it, of course, is at present commercially accessible, but enough is accessible to supply the pulp and paper requirements of the United Kingdom for generations to come, if and when the capital is provided for their development. Quebec also possesses the water-powers necessary to the operation of the machinery needed to utilize this vast store of raw material. The province, furthermore, is controlled and governed by

enlightened laws that operate to the best interests alike of the Commonwealth and of the interests seeking to make use of its natural wealth.

It is, of course, known to you that Quebec, as well as most of the other provinces, requires that pulpwood cut from the Crown lands, under licence, shall be manufactured into pulp or paper within Canada. This we regard as a very reasonable and natural requirement, tending to promote the welfare of the province, to provide employment for its people, and to give the Commonwealth some slight, if still inadequate, return for the consumption of its resources. This policy, as you may have heard, has led to some controversy of late with certain of our neighbours to the south, the merits of which it is not necessary to discuss here, except to say that neither Canada nor Quebec has any reason whatever to shun the fullest investigation into the question by anyone who may be disposed to examine the facts with an open mind. Quebec offers abundant opportunity to British capital in her vast undeveloped resources. The other Eastern provinces mentioned, while less abundantly provided with raw material from Quebec, are no less ready to welcome the British investor, and to help him in making their natural resources available to the Empire's needs.

THE PRICE OF PULPWOOD

The price of pulpwood is the controlling factor in the price of newsprint. Wood has advanced from a pre-war price of from \$5 to \$6 a cord to as high as \$15 and \$20, and even higher. It is pointed out by an authority in the trade that the newsprint industry of Canada is really the growth of a decade, but that it has made such marvellous strides in that brief period as to necessitate the going back to forest areas so remotely distant from the

mills as to require from two to three years for recent cuts of logs to reach the manufacturing plants, which originally found their raw material at their very doors. Coincident with the growth of the paper-making industry, there occurred in Canada a brief period during which the lumber industry stood practically still, so that it became feasible and more profitable to utilize the saw-logs to make pulp instead of lumber. The revival of the demand for building material, and the rapidly rising cost of lumber, tend to the discouragement of a recurrence of such a condition, in spite of the fact that pulp and paper prices are now at levels that were not even dreamed of two or three years ago. All indications—the high price of labour and the enormous increases in the cost of transportation, in addition to the increased cost of wood—point, according to this authority, “to a continuation of present high costs of production and high prices for products for some time to come, as it is hardly possible for new capacity to overtake the entire demand for paper products in the next five years; and with normal increase in consumption, even if the present abnormal demand subsides, there must be another period of balance before there is very much actual overproduction.”

RELATIONS OF PRESS WITH PAPER-MAKERS

In conclusion, on behalf of our Association, I bespeak better and closer relations between the Canadian paper-makers and the Empire Press. This can be brought about to the advantage of both, by an interchange of information applying to conditions governing both interests. There should be, in my opinion, a joint committee on standardization, whose business it would be to work for the elimination of all those things which tend to waste and inefficiency, both in the manufacture and in the

use of paper, and for the adoption and encouragement of those things which ensure greater production and stricter economy in the use of the finished product. There ought to be some sort of co-ordination between the building of new printing presses and the building of new paper machines, so that one would serve to meet and off-set the requirements of the other, instead of the present haphazard method of building and installing printing machines without adequate assurance as to where the supply of white paper to keep them in operation is to come from.

There are many other ways in which the paper-maker and the publisher can work together, and I am here to say, on behalf of the Canadian paper-maker at any rate, that we welcome such co-operation, and are willing to do whatever lies within our power, not only to bring it about, but to make it effective when once it is inaugurated.

The Canadian Pulp and Paper Association adds its welcome to the great number already extended to this gathering of distinguished journalists from all parts of the Empire. It bespeaks for you a profitable and enjoyable Conference, and extends to your members, both as a body and as individuals, the hospitality of its members wherever, in your journeying through the country, you may reach a community in which our industry is represented. [Applause.]

QUESTIONS.

MR. P. SELIG ("Christchurch Press," N.Z.).—Can you tell us why Australasia should be charged, while paper is under control, almost 100 per cent. more than paper is sold for in Canada, and not only while paper was under control, but since the control has been removed?

MR. DAWES.—That is really a merchandizing problem, with which I am not directly concerned, but I

may say that the price fixed in Canada does not represent even a fair return to the manufacturer. I am sorry to have to touch on a controversial subject, but all the time we were selling paper to Canadian publishers at the controlled price it was below the price at which it went to the United States, and below the price we could have obtained elsewhere, and this difference amounted to a subsidy of one and a half million dollars during the period of control.

MR. DAVID DAVIES ("South Wales Daily Post," Swansea).—You have treated present conditions as if they were going to be permanent: that is to say, that America is to continue to draw the bulk of the Canadian supply. But I think that the figures in the book that has been issued show that America drew the bulk of its pulp from Scandinavia?

MR. DAWES.—That is perfectly true. Before the war the United States drew a great deal of its pulp from Scandinavia. Before the war Canada produced 250,000 tons of sulphite pulp. To-day it produces 650,000 tons, of which 400,000 tons is for sale. In other words, Canada has taken up the slack which was left by Canada's inability to ship to the United States, and we intend to hold it.

MR. DAVIES.—When British people are asked to develop this business in Canada they would be bound to inquire as to whether these conditions are going to continue.

MR. DAWES.—Yes. It is generally understood that Scandinavia has reached the height of its production. I was told by some prominent Scandinavians that while they could keep up the present production through their excellent forestry arrangements for an indefinite period, they could not increase their production. Therefore, as the world's consumption of sulphite increases, there are only two places from which it can come. One is possibly Russia, if it ever gets

going again, and the other place is Canada. It is generally supposed that the increase of newsprint ranges between 8 and 10 per cent. per annum. It will involve a mass of figures to work out how many tons of sulphite will be required to meet this, but the consumption of sulphite is going up by leaps and bounds in the United States. I have here a diagram which shows that in January the production of sulphite in the United States amounted to 140,000 tons. This has been steadily going up every month with a few seasonal dips. The amount in the mills has been steadily mounting, but the stock in hand has been steadily declining.

MR. A. LOVEKIN, M.L.C. ("Perth Daily News," Australia).—Is there any obstacle to the export of paper from Canada? For instance, I understand that the mills' f.o.b. price to-day is 3½ cents, and the f.o.b. ship price is 13½ cents. Are there any difficulties in shipping which would cause so great a difference in price?

MR. DAWES.—I think that 3½ cents must be an error, and that it must be 3½ pence.

MR. LOVEKIN.—I got that figure to-day.

MR. DAWES.—It cannot be correct, because the market price to-day is 5½ cents at the mill.

MR. THEO. FINK, M.L.C. ("Melbourne Herald," Australia).—If Canadian paper-makers are so anxious to promote the paper business in the Empire, why will they not sell direct to the paper users and the publishers of other parts of the British Empire? Why do they insist on selling to us through selling export agencies which put on 300 per cent.?

MR. DAWES.—That is again a merchandizing question into which I cannot go. I always understood that the selling export agencies which are used in the United States were formed for the purpose of economy.

[Laughter.] I have been in the merchandizing business, and I know something of what I am saying. I know that for years there was a tremendous amount of waste. If a man with a concern in London sends out travellers, that is paid by yourselves. There was a duplication of effort under the old system, and it is to the advantage of every body to cut out that.

MR. FINK.—We are paying more. •

MR. LOVEKIN.—I think I was quite right when I said 3½ cents was the price at the mill. We in Australia cannot even go to the first man, that is the Canadian exporting company, and buy a shipload of paper, because the Canadian exporting company will not sell it to us. They say, "We have an agent in Australia or New Zealand, and if you want to do business you must do it through that agent." When we come to the agent there is another loading of the paper to pay to the agent. There are two heavy loads between the mill and us, which brings paper to us in Australia at the present time up to sixty or seventy pounds a ton.

MR. C. D. LENG ("Sheffield Telegraph").—Is there any prospect of importing pulp from British Columbia through the Panama Canal to England?

MR. DAWES.—Yes. Shipments have been sent by way of the Panama Canal.

MR. LENG.—Is it likely to increase?

MR. DAWES.—It can only be possible at the present high prices of pulp. If prices were to drop it would not be a profitable proposition in comparison with the eastern provinces.

MR. LENG.—It might prevent little pangs on the part of some of our distant delegates if they know that we are paying 13 cents in England for our paper at the present time.

MR. NELSON.—Is it a practical proposition to ship paper from

British Columbia to England at the present time?

MR. DAWES.—Not to ship paper, but it is to ship pulp.

THE CHAIRMAN.—We are very much indebted to Mr. Dawes for attending here. He is in a different position from any other speaker, because he represents a trade which derives its profits from the industry with which we are connected. Therefore it would not be fair to ask him to deal with us as he would with a gathering of paper-makers or pulp-makers. On the other hand, I may say, as far as I know, there is not much probability of getting together a committee of paper-makers and publishers to standardize the sizes. So far as our country is concerned, the question was raised during the war, but it was often raised before. It is a question of the habits of our people, the tastes of the public, which have grown up during years, and it would not be fair to hold out any prospect, so far as Great Britain is concerned, of such a committee being formed. I do not say that that would apply to the other Dominions. The reduction of size, where it takes place, is accomplished by agreement between different classes of papers, and that has been done during the war, and might be done again, but I doubt if it is possible to do it through a committee.

MR. J. J. KNIGHT

MR. J. J. KNIGHT ("Brisbane Courier," Australia).—I beg to propose:

"That the question of paper supplies being of vital importance to members of the Empire Press Union, steps should be taken to ensure adequate supplies throughout the Empire; and that a Standing Committee be appointed to give effect to the above, such Committee to consist of two

representatives of the British Isles and one delegate appointed by each delegation, and the President, who is to be Chairman."

I make no apology for submitting for discussion the subject-matter of my motion. Not only do I claim no apology is needed for its introduction, but I doubt whether it is really necessary to adduce any argument in support of it—any argument why it should be broached or why it should not be pushed to such a conclusion as will secure to us overseas an adequate supply of that which is vital to our very existence—nay, I think I may say one of those things most vital to the existence of the nation itself. [Hear, hear.] I go further and say, with all humility, but with the strongest of convictions, that however important cable communication, cable rates, wireless, and all of the other questions submitted and discussed, and unquestionably properly discussed, may be, they are, after all, but of secondary moment to us as practical men to that of news-print. [Hear, hear.]

DIFFICULTIES OF AUSTRALIAN PRESS

So self-evident, indeed, is the importance of the question that I shall not unduly stress it, and my remarks will consequently be brief. But you will naturally expect to hear from me some of the reasons which have prompted me to place a matter before you which calls for neither apology nor argument. Those reasons may be reduced to three.

The first is that I am an Australian, and I make bold to say we in Australia have suffered, and are still suffering, more than any other part of the Empire from this paper shortage. The second reason is its essential necessity to the very existence of the nation, the promotion and development of national unity. My third is that this Con-

ference is being held in Canada where we can speak first-hand, as it were, with a country whence has sprung our trouble, which is the principal source of supply, and where, I trust, we can best enlist practical sympathy and earnest support of men who can, if they will, help us to go on living. [Hear, hear.]

Let me explain. I have said we Australians have, and are, suffering to a greater degree than our confrères in any portion of the Dominions. Do you know that some of us have been down to the last ounce of paper? This has not been because of any lack of foresight in ordering or in paying too great a regard to the question of price. We have ordered, but supplies have not materialized even at £90 per ton, or, to reduce the figure to your money standards, with five dollars to the sterling, 450 dollars per ton. When I left Australia the price was more than 500 dollars per ton, with no undertaking to deliver, but with demurrage and other charges added. Some of us have even given open orders without any definite undertaking as to delivery on the part of the agents.

All of us have turned down business and have reduced sizes; I myself have cut down circulation by 25 per cent., have utilized white waste by printing my weekly publications on the flat, and since we were notified as far back as June last that no further paper could be shipped to us after that date for the rest of the year, I think you will appreciate the force of what I have said with regard to our past difficulties and our anxiety as to the future. [Hear, hear.]

You will say, perhaps, or some of you may think, that, after all, this is a business matter; that there is no sentiment in trade. And this brings me to my second reason. Now, although I have been travelling seven weeks to meet this delegation, I, with my colleagues from Australia

and New Zealand, have only just joined up. But while travelling we have been reading, and since we have met you, have been listening to you propounding the doctrine of Empire solidarity, of the ties of blood and kinship, of the silken bonds that bind, and much besides. I agree with you in every word you have uttered, but I do ask you to translate these perfectly patriotic and proper sentiments into a practical manifestation of your ideals. In a word, I ask you, and particularly our Canadian co-delegates, to help us, and thus assist materially along the lines which make for national unity.

I do not desire to go too closely into the questions of how this shortage of newsprint within the Empire has been brought about—those have been amply given by Mr. Imrie this afternoon—beyond asking you to study closely, by way of example, the figures concerning, say, American production and consumption. I know, of course, that war interfered with the production of newsprint and annihilated stocks. I know, too, and so do you, that the conditions which bared the market do not exist to-day, or, at all events, not to anything like the same extent. Yet our supplies have dwindled until they have temporarily ceased, and the cutting off of those supplies from Canada has enabled Scandinavia to demand and obtain any price its mills may demand. Make no mistake, I am not asking you to assist us in an effort to secure *cheap* paper, but I do ask our Canadian friends to help us in getting reasonable supplies. If the plea for a wider patriotism and a development of Empire trade and national unity means anything more than mere words, then I claim that the Empire's reasonable demands from Empire sources should be met before the needs of outside countries, however near, are considered. I listened to your Prime Minister's ominous warning

that war clouds, black and dense, still hovered over this great Empire of ours. I make no boast, but I do suggest that one of the best means to prevent the bursting of those clouds will be found in seeing that the Empire Press has a fair share of that commodity which, if it did not win the war, materially assisted in the achievement. I present my motion in the firm conviction that the speeches delivered during the tour are its greatest recommendation, and the belief that it will commend itself to the careful consideration and whole-hearted sympathy of this Conference, and particularly of those delegates of the Canadian section. [Applause.]

MR. T. W. LEYS

MR. T. W. LEYS (Chairman of the New Zealand Delegation).—Since we arrived, as Mr. Knight has told you, we have been looking around us, and I must say that we have all been amazed at the apparent superabundance of paper that must be available to Canadian newspaper proprietors. Here is an ordinary issue of the "Calgary Daily Herald." It consists of twenty-six pages. Calgary is a city of 70,000 people. Neither of my friends, Mr. Fairfax and Mr. Fink, both of whom come from cities of 700,000 or 800,000 people, would dare to issue a paper of twenty-six pages in the ordinary way on Friday, for very soon they would not know where the next issue was to come from. I have Mr. Dafoe's paper here. It is printed very much on the same lines. We have long ago, at the dictation of the Canadian paper manufacturers, cut out page advertisements, no matter what price may have been offered us. It does seem to me that something might be done in a brotherly way to cut down even Canadian papers. If you look at an ordinary issue of the "New York Sun," such as I got on the stall this morning, you will see that New York,

with its millions of population, is satisfied with a paper of eighteen pages. We ask that these doctrines of goodwill should be interpreted in some effective acts.

The statements made by Mr. Imrie and Mr. Dawes were very true, but at the same time they were very shocking. It was shown that there has been an enormous increase in the export of paper from Canada to the United States, while the export to Australia and New Zealand, and, I understand, also to England, has been restricted in an extraordinary way. I confirm what Mr. Knight has said. At the present time every newspaper in New Zealand, and, I believe, in Australia also, has signed contracts to accept paper from the agents of paper-makers in this country, which mean acceptance practically at any price. It is not because we have been unwilling to pay the price or because the supply of paper is not available. It is because for some reason preference has been given to the United States. Would not it have been possible for the paper manufacturers to have ascertained the definite requirements of Australia and New Zealand, and to have set aside a sufficient quantity of paper to supply the reasonable requirements of our populations? There was no sort of coercion, except in mills owned by American companies, to send such an enormous amount to the United States, and to leave us in the position described by Mr. Knight, when we were sometimes down to barely one issue of a paper, and had to eke out supplies from Canada by paying extortionate prices to Scandinavia.

In New Zealand we are in an exceedingly unfortunate position. We have given to this country a preferential duty in order to develop trade between New Zealand and Canada. We have got a subsidy for the steamship companies that connect the two countries. We have also

given a preferential duty on paper which represents 20 per cent. A low-priced article like a newspaper cannot pay 20 per cent. Therefore we are absolutely restricted to Canada. We cannot go anywhere else. If the paper-makers of this country expect to retain the advantage, and expect our Government to continue to retain the duty of 20 per cent., which is a preference to them, they must assure us that we can get sufficient for our very modest requirements. I have here recent statistics which show that the production of paper in the United States for the first three months of 1920 showed an increase of 31,731 tons, or over 6 per cent. Yet we know that the paper position to-day is infinitely worse than it was at the beginning of the year. The mills have produced a larger amount, but it has been badly distributed. Owing, also, to the inflation of the huge Sunday papers that have been referred to, the very existence of our newspapers has been threatened. Thousands of pounds' worth of advertisements have been cut out. It has been said that advertisement rates cannot be raised. It has not come to that yet. In our experience we have had to raise them so as to compel advertisements to be reduced in volume. I am told that some of the newspapers in Canada do not pay. I do not wonder. Lord Northcliffe has shown that the smaller paper rightly managed is a paying concern, if the advertisement rates are adequate and news is proportionately condensed. Therefore I would urge as a practical proposition that the paper manufacturers of Canada should allot their paper to their customers on more equitable lines, and that they should ascertain the reasonable requirements of such countries as New Zealand and Australia, where all the newspaper proprietors are ready to satisfy them on these points. I would urge on

our Canadian colleagues that they should unite with us in doing all they can to secure a better distribution of the very large supply that is available for export from this Dominion. [Hear, hear.]

MR. P. D. ROSS

MR. P. D. ROSS ("Ottawa Journal," Vice-Chairman of the Conference).—So far as the present condition of the paper market and the production of the Canadian mills are concerned, all of us are in the same position now. The paper production of our continent is in a few hands, as Mr. Imrie showed you. These fix the price of paper. They concede no favour to Canadians as compared with anyone else in the world, except that we get the benefit of not being charged any exchange rate which manufacturers can obtain from the United States. Our manufacturers are giving us that and no more, and they are doing that of their own free will. It would be well to disabuse our minds of the idea that there is any favour being shown except the exchange favour. We in Canada have proceeded on the basis, in our contentions for some years past with the manufacturers, that Canadian newspapers are entitled to some preference over outsiders, for the reason that the newsprint manufacture in Canada was built up on protective customs duties, which we newspapers paid for many years. We were paying as part of a national policy which established a great industry. But while that industry was being established, we paid not only for it, but for years we paid more to the Canadian manufacturers of paper than the price at which we could have imported paper from the United States, had there been no customs duties. That was the position of every newspaper published in this country. Therefore we hold that it is reasonable that we Canadian publishers should get some prefer-

ence over any outside industry. We paid for what we are getting.

As regards the difficulties which our Australian, New Zealand, and English friends are experiencing in getting paper, do not again let us blame too much our Canadian manufacturers. I do not know of any reason why a Canadian manufacturer should wish to sell paper at a less rate to a foreigner, to the United States or a European country, than to Australians or New Zealanders. I doubt very much whether they ever had any wish to do so, except, maybe, taking advantage of special circumstances arising from recent conditions. I think if you are paying 13 cents a pound in Australia or New Zealand for Canadian paper and we are paying 6 cents, surely the difference must be in freight rates. I do not think it is the fault of the manufacturers. I do not know, but I should not imagine that a Canadian manufacturer would wish to stick a New Zealander or an Australian for a higher price—

MR. KNIGHT.—£75 f.o.b.

MR. LEYS.—The present freight rate is £7 10s. to New Zealand.

MR. ROSS.—So far as the spot market is concerned, they are paying in the United States probably as high a price as in Australia, but certainly a large part of the excess price you are paying is freight. As regards the spot market and the conditions that have produced it, Canadian and American manufacturers have been anxious to protect their old customers, and to sell at a not unreasonable rate; but when they were asked to do more they say, "Why should we not do what we can for those who have been dependent on us; but there is the spot market where we can get three or four times as much, but we are not going to take on new contracts."

MR. KNIGHT.—No, but we ask them to keep their existing contracts.

MR. ROSS.—There was a time when most of us, if we had foresight, would

have asked our mills for long-term contracts and would have got them. In some cases that was done, and the mills would probably have stuck to that, and probably, if the Australian or the English publishers had had the foresight to ask for a contract at the time some years ago, they would probably have been all right.

MR. LENG.—The war killed all contracts in England.

MR. ROSS.—During the war you could not get ships at all. Our manufacturers were not able to ship to English or Australian customers. They were not going to refrain from selling their product to other customers. Once they started to do that they were not able to take you on again.

MR. J. L. GREAVES

MR. J. L. GREAVES ("The Paper Maker").—I naturally have listened with great interest to the various speakers this afternoon. Reference has been made to a "certain selling agency." I know the facts. It is a limited company in which the paper-mill owners are practically the shareholders, and they say, rightly or wrongly, that the company is used to avoid the cost of selling in various parts of the world. Whether that is the true explanation it is not for me to say. With regard to Mr. Leys' observations, it seems to me that the only possible means by which his suggestion can be carried into effect would be by rationing, and that would be difficult in practice. I do not know how you are going to put any pressure on American consumers of produce to cut down their journals, assuming that they are prepared to pay for the paper a price that will appeal to the paper mill more than the price you are prepared to pay, by direct or indirect means. It is a fact also that the explanation of the paper going to the United States is that it is a very convenient market, and the facts

that the capital of these companies is controlled to a large extent on the other side, and that the rate of exchange at present represents a substantial profit, are also reasons for doing business with America as against Europe to-day.

But apart from that, there is a world shortage. I know that some years ago a big American corporation had a large agency in London, and they were very pleased to take orders in London; but they are not sending us any to-day, and are not likely to send us any. It is true that in Sweden, Norway, Canada, America, Finland, Germany, Austria, Holland, Belgium, and France the old system of pulp- and paper-making has been turned upside down. A large number of these countries formerly supplied Great Britain, and America is now in the market to buy.

WOOD-PULP SUBSTITUTES

I have been asked my views with regard to substitutes. Ten years ago I assisted at the Society of Arts, with your lordship in the chair, with Mr. Phillips, when we dealt paper-making fibres within the Empire. Seventy fibres were touched upon. I would further suggest that any gentleman at all interested in the subject should get into communication with the Principal of the Imperial Institute, and he will get exact information going back twenty years. There is scarcely a fibre that has not been dealt with exhaustively and elaborately. There you can see in cases almost every fibre that ever was heard of, in all stages from raw material to completion, and can examine the finished article and consider the most important factor which is generally lost sight of—the yield. Then, again, we hear of peat. For twenty-five or twenty-six years peat has been dealt with in all its aspects and some thirty patents have been taken out. Large plants have been put up, but up to now the only

use of peat practically has been in the filling of brown papers, and I am not quite sure that that is in use to-day. It is said that there is some method of dealing with peat pulp, but its qualities are very poor, and there are other considerations which put it out of the market. Fifty years ago Mr. Routledge collaborated with the then curator of Kew Gardens, where was grown almost every plant with fibre that was considered to be suitable for paper. They did discover one very important thing—the value of esparto. They carried their investigations further than they had ever been carried before, but as far as I know practical paper-makers with whom I have come in touch are quite satisfied with the possibilities of wood pulp so far as they can see ahead. In this connection it is important to remember that the Harmsworths have spent £1,500,000 in Canada and Newfoundland. They have had several years' experience of all sorts of conditions. They have erected one of the best mills in the world, and they are now spending £750,000 in acquiring wood pulp in the province of Quebec. When I left London I saw in the papers a prospectus setting out in detail that they are taking over the land, which convinces me that they are perfectly satisfied, so far as they can look ahead, to put their faith in the ground wood pulp.

CANADIAN OUTPUT

You will be pleased to hear that the Canadian output of paper is growing very rapidly. I was also pleased to hear that the best machines running to-day came from Lancashire, and that one of the best mills in Canada was laid out by an English firm in competition with the Swedes. They are putting down a duplicate of four machines more, exactly the same as those previous four which have run with very great success, and that concern is sending about 800 tons of

good paper, very nearly as good as any Sweden ever made, to England every month. There is a gentleman in this room who, I believe, holds the medal in America for statistics. On the subject of American consumption of paper I have been told that forty years ago American citizens consumed 3 lb. of paper per head. Since then the population of America has doubled, and they are now using 36 lb. of paper per head per annum.

MR. FREEMONT SPICER.—In 1880 I spent three months collecting dependable statistics in the consumption of newsprint paper in the United States, with this result: with a population of 50,000,000 it was found that the annual consumption per capita was just a fraction over 3 lb. per year. Statistics are available now without the slightest difficulty, and last year, with a population of 100,000,000, the consumption per capita was a little in excess of 36 lb.

MR. GREAVES.—These figures are so startling that the potential demands from America do not appear to be likely to be less in the future. Therefore, being in a position to see both sides of the fence, and being a buyer of paper myself and not a maker, I get a little information from the stable occasionally—[laughter]—and the only possible solution that I can see is to produce more pulp and more paper somehow. This is a world question, and wherever it is produced it is bound to have an effect on the whole. [Hear, hear.] We did not realize that fully until the war. On the subject of certain Scandinavian relations I heard some strong comments. There is no doubt that the idea of producing paper within the Empire is a splendid one, and I do not see any reason why we should not do it. [Hear, hear.] British paper-makers and paper users learned some hard lessons during the war. We in Great Britain had un-

friendly neighbours on whom we had to rely for pulp, and paper to-day must be influenced by economic and political expediency, geographical position, and general surroundings. If we entertain the idea of producing paper within the Empire, we must bear that in mind generally, and the map will show us what that means. It is perfectly true that Canada does possess, even on to-day's rate of development, and a little more, fifty years' supply, and it is quite possible that in developing that Great Britain will take a major share. [Applause.]

LORD BURNHAM

THE CHAIRMAN.—It is quite evident that there is a real case of hardship in the case of Australia and New Zealand, on which I think they might apply to Mr. Dawes. It is not only a question of price, but the fact that they are starved in the matter of supply. I should have thought that, in spite of the fact he mentioned—that 75 per cent. of the capital invested in Canadian paper-making concerns is American capital—it might be possible for his association to see to it that there is an increase of allotment for the purposes of the necessary Press of Australia and New Zealand. He is not able to give you an answer on this, but I would ask him to bring it before the board of his association to see whether it is not possible, having regard to the board's policy—I am not pressing him—to allot a proportion such as will enable the necessary Press of both these great countries—which, I can answer for myself, is admirably conducted—to work with fair efficiency. The fact is that they cannot get the paper at any price. I should have thought that that was a commercial proposition. If that is put before the paper-makers of Canada a certain amount which is put on the spot market might be appropriated for Australasian consumption. [Hear, hear.] I make that

appeal to Mr. Dawes. I am sure it will have the general endorsement of the Conference, and we hope that his directors will consider it. [Applause.]

MR. DAWES.—I will be very happy to place that before our directors.

THE RESOLUTION CARRIED

The resolution was put and passed unanimously.

MR. R. ALLISTER ("The Cape Times," S.A.).—You have mentioned that Australia has been very short of paper. Since the war, as was mentioned by Mr. Imrie in his statement this afternoon, South Africa is getting less by 40 per cent., whereas New Zealand has had an increase of 30 per cent. I would suggest that South Africa might be included in the recommendation. [Hear, hear.]

THE CHAIRMAN.—South Africa only consumes a small amount, but its position must be considered, though from the point of view of paper consumption the question of South Africa is not a big one.

SIR CAMPBELL STUART.—When is the committee referred to in the resolution to be appointed?

THE CHAIRMAN.—I take it that it stands referred to the Empire Press Union. It will be impossible to do real committee work on this journey. In London the facilities will be much greater. I can assure the other delegations that all the efforts will be co-ordinated. [Hear, hear.]

POSTAL RATES (LETTERS)

SIR GILBERT PARKER

The Rt. Hon. SIR GILBERT PARKER, Bt., P.C.—I beg to propose :

"That this Conference is of opinion that there should be cheap postal rates for letters throughout the Empire, and members undertake to press this reform upon their respective Governments."

The word "cheap" has been substituted for "uniform," which is in the resolution as it appears on the paper. Uniformity of postal rates is not so important as cheapness. We heard this morning the Postmaster-General's admirable address. The revenue from the Post Office service in England is £25,000,000. In Canada it is £5,000,000. The enormous postal rates in England are doing great harm to the Empire overseas. Take the case of a farmer in West Canada who wants to write ten letters. He has to choose whether he will pay 30 cents for ten letters or 15 cents for five. I think most farmers would say, "I won't write ten letters, I will only write five." But every letter he writes from this country to England is a missionary of Empire. I was talking to Mr. Selfridge on May 24th last year, when I went to address 1,000 of his employees. I said, "What is the method of success of your business?" He showed me a plan on which every department of the business was indicated. He showed me departments that did not pay, but he said "I keep these departments alive because it suits my whole business, and when I have a deficit in this department I make the whole of the rest of my business pay for it." That is the view I take of the Government. I do not look on Government departments as separate businesses. They are all one business—[hear, hear]—and if there is a loss on one department the other departments should make up the deficit. If there is one department of state which is of value, outside the Foreign Office and the Colonial Office, to the whole Empire, it is the postal department, and if it does not pay directly in itself it pays in the great services that it does to the Empire. [Applause.] I do not think that we ought to regard the failure of our postal service to achieve financial results in a single year as injurious to the whole business.

That is why I ask the delegates to ask for a reduction of the postal rates. The services rendered by the Post Office are so immense that they cannot be overestimated. The Government may say that they will lose. Perhaps they will lose on the individual department, but they will not lose on the whole, and therefore I ask the Conference to approve of the resolution that the postal rates be not increased, but decreased to the old penny rate which was established first in 1840. Then Henniker Heaton secured the penny rate for the whole Empire, and we cannot overestimate the value of that. Why, then, should we increase the rate beyond that? It may be that the English Post Office will increase beyond the twopenny rate. Of course, the wages of postal employees and the cost of carriage has gone up, but that ought to make no difference. The population of our Empire is increasing enormously in our Overseas Dominions, and if we keep to the penny rate, or reduce to the penny rate, we may be sure that the revenue outside of cost of wages and transport will not be decreased; but even if it were decreased, the service to the Empire would be so great that we ought to urge it upon our Government and not listen to the reply that it would mean a reduction of revenue. [Applause.]

SIR FRANK NEWNES, Bt.—In the absence of Mr. Percy Hurd I second the resolution. The principle laid down is quite sound. Rates should not be based merely upon considerations of commercial return. The communication of people with each other has a very far-reaching effect. Every encouragement should be given to this idea, not only in our professional, but in our private capacity. Nothing will keep the Empire together more than easy and frequent communication between all sections. [Hear, hear.]

SIR CAMPBELL STUART.—I would

suggest that we should amend the resolution by saying "each delegation undertakes," instead of "members undertake." Something might also be added about given notification to the Empire Press Union. [Hear, hear.]

THE CHAIRMAN.—I may recall that in the House of Commons thirty-three years ago I seconded Mr. Henniker Heaton's motion in regard to Imperial penny postage. The arguments advanced against that proposal were exactly those that are urged now, for an increase of rates. While I admit that circumstances are a little different at present, I believe that economy in this matter would be cheese-paring, and the worst form of saving that could be adopted. [Hear, hear.] I hope that this resolution will lead to the question being taken up in the House of Commons, and pressed on those grounds by way of motion first and then on the estimates. If that is done in the British House of Commons, I would like to see it done also in the other Parliaments.

MR. T. W. LEYS ("The Auckland Star," N.Z.).—Everybody must agree with the wisdom of the resolution, but there are difficulties. We were the first people in the world to adopt the uniform postal rate. We charged a penny all over the world, but the finances of the war have laid a very heavy burden on the Dominions. In New Zealand alone it amounts to about £80,000,000. Taxation has had to be increased in various directions, and there has been a surtax of a halfpenny upon the postal rates.

THE CHAIRMAN.—It has been suggested that the resolution be amended by inserting "delegations" instead of "members." I will see that appropriate words are drafted and incorporated in the resolution so as to co-ordinate the work of the delegates with the work of the Empire Press Union. [Hear, hear.]

While the next subject was being discussed, the motion was redrafted, after which—

THE CHAIRMAN said:—Perhaps the Conference would adopt the resolution in this form:

“This Conference is of opinion that there should be cheaper postal rates for letters throughout the Empire, and the various delegations undertake to urge their respective Governments to take appropriate action; the Empire Press Union to be advised by delegations of any measures they may take to this end.”

Carried unanimously.

WIRELESS AND CABLE RATES

SIR RODERICK JONES

SIR RODERICK JONES (Reuter's).—I beg to propose that a committee in London, consisting of the president, two representatives of the British Isles, and one representative of each of the Overseas delegations, take the action requisite under the resolution passed by this Conference regarding cable and wireless.

SIR CAMPBELL STUART.—I beg to second the motion.

MR. LEYS.—In what way are the representatives of the Overseas delegations to be nominated? Are they to be nominated to sit in London?

THE CHAIRMAN.—We have a body of correspondents representing each Dominion. They generally select their representatives on the committee. If it were desired that the branches of the Union should select them instead of those who are members of the council in London there would, I think, be no objection.

SIR RODERICK JONES.—I deliberately put in the word “delegations” so that it should be within the function of each delegation to appoint its own representative from time to time, because I imagine that this committee will have a great deal of work

to do which may extend over many months.

THE CHAIRMAN.—It will not quite work if you say “delegations.” They are scattered over a big area; but the machinery of the Empire Press Union, which is not a delegation, would come in, and in each case the Empire Press Union sections in the Dominion could select their own delegates. [Hear, hear.]

MR. J. P. COLLINS (“Civil and Military Gazette,” India).—Is one member enough for each delegation? If a man has a busy day, sometimes he cannot attend a meeting, and perhaps there should be two for each Dominion.

SIR RODERICK JONES.—In that case we could have four from the British Union, and two for the others.

THE CHAIRMAN.—I am disposed to agree with Mr. Collins, and to say that we should have four from the Mother Country and two for each Dominion, and I think that it would be convenient if in each case the representatives were appointed by the Empire Press Union of the Dominion. But so far as getting to work is concerned, I think we might begin to get to work by the representatives in London appointing them. When we get back this committee will be formed, the council of the Empire Press Union will be called together, the British members will elect their four, and each body of the Dominions generally will elect their two afterwards. I think it is a fair thing that the names should be sent out at once to the different branches of the Empire Press Union. [Hear, hear.]

MR. F. CROSBIE ROLES (“Times of Ceylon”).—As the delegations are here they might like to name their representatives.

MR. LEYS.—We are so isolated in New Zealand that we might not meet for six months.

MR. CROSBIE ROLES.—You could meet to-night.

Resolution put and passed unanimously.

TRAVEL SCHOLARSHIPS

CONCLUSION OF THE DISCUSSION

Discussion of Mr. Collins's resolution, in reference to Travel Scholarships, was resumed.

HON. J. W. KIRWAN ("Kalgoorlie Miner," Australia).—I am particularly interested in the proposal to establish scholarships for journalists, as I am a member of the governing body of one of the Australian universities, where courses for journalists have been established. The university I refer to is in my own state, and is the University of Western Australia. Its existence is largely due to the exertions of a gentleman who was well known to many present, the late Dr. Hackett, or, as he subsequently became, Sir Winthrop Hackett. He was my colleague at the First Imperial Press Conference in the representation of the western part of the Australian continent. He was a journalist of great distinction, and a high-minded and able public man, whose death must be deplored. As a journalist and as a Member of Parliament he persisted for years in his efforts to establish a university in Western Australia. Many thought it was premature, but ultimately he succeeded, and the university came into being in 1912. [Applause.] He became the first chancellor, and persuaded me to become a member of the first senate. It is a peculiar coincidence that this university, which owed so much to a great journalist, should several years after his death be the first Australian university to establish a course for journalists. The course has only been in existence for a couple of years, and it is perhaps premature to pass a definite opinion as to its results, but the classes are extremely popular with young journalists who are able to attend them.

They are largely attended, and some of the students attending them told me that they derived considerable advantage from them. While cordially approving of the resolution, I think it is too restricted, and needs an addition. The resolution as it stands refers only to scholarships, whereas I think the Empire Press Union should assist, in that and any other way it thinks fit, the higher education of journalists. I would suggest that the words be added to the motion: "and take such other steps as may be necessary to further the movement." The resolution would then authorize the Empire Press Union to help in any way it thought best the higher education of the cadets of our profession.

THE CHAIRMAN.—I should add that the University of London has recently established a faculty for commercial degrees, and journalism is included in the general scope of that movement. Considerable funds have been already subscribed. [Hear, hear.] I believe that I am the titular head of the journalistic department. I hope and believe that it may be possible to get the University of London, if they approve of the scheme of this resolution, to set up appropriate machinery. I will take an amendment to add words providing that we should take steps to encourage the movement, due regard being had to the interests of women journalists.

MR. LEVI ("De Volkstem," S.A.).—I would suggest taking out the words "within the Empire" after the word "scholarships." That would mean that while the journalists would be taken only from countries within the Empire, the travelling would not be confined to countries within the Empire. Mr. Collins quoted the case of Sweden, which has sent young journalists beyond her own borders. For instance, young journalists might pick up something of advantage in

America, although I do not want to Americanize our journalism.

MR. COLLINS ("Civil and Military Gazette," India).—I am willing to accept the amendment. So far as America is concerned, if they wish to exchange travel scholarships with us it would be a good thing.

MR. LEYS.—I think that the words "within the Empire" had better be left out.

THE CHAIRMAN.—I think that that would be specially appropriate with a view to establishing better relations with the great republic.

SIR GEORGE TOULMIN.—I beg to second Mr. Levi's amendment.

Amendment, after "scholarships" to leave out the words "within the Empire," agreed to.

Amendment made, to add the words "and to take such other steps as may be necessary to encourage this movement; and that in this connection due regard be had to the interests of women journalists."

Resolution, as amended, carried unanimously.

DISSEMINATION OF EMPIRE NEWS

THE HON. A. LOVEKIN

HON. A. LOVEKIN ("Daily News," Perth, Western Australia).—I rise, sir, to move the following resolution:

"That, as Empire interests need a greater dissemination of knowledge concerning the Empire, this Conference urges the Council of the Empire Press Union to take such action as may be practicable to ensure the interchange and publication of a larger volume of Empire news, apart from political propaganda, by the newspapers associated with the Empire Press Union than at present pertains."

This motion contains little more than a request to the Council of our Empire Press Union to consider and determine how and by what methods

a better interchange of news and views can be made between the several entities which make up the Empire. Hence it will not be necessary for me to occupy more than a few minutes of your time to present it. Although I have no doubt but that my sentiments will be largely shared by most of the Overseas Dominions, I am only entitled to present an Australian viewpoint, leaving it to the representatives of other Empire outposts to speak for themselves.

It has often been declared that our Empire is a series of interdependent entities, bound together by the crimson thread of kinship. May I dissent from this dictum? I should feel very nervous indeed as to the future if I thought it were a fact that this mighty and glorious Empire was merely hanging together by a thread—whatever its colour—whatever its composition. History, from time immemorial, teaches that something stronger than blood relationship is necessary for both national and domestic happiness. [Hear, hear.] No better illustration of this is to be found than that of 1914, when monarchs, closely related by blood, waged the most terrible and relentless of wars known to mankind. We see also that blood relationship among families frequently fails to promote that peace and happiness which it should do. In my view, therefore, if we desire Empire unity, Empire accord, and lasting friendships, we must substitute for the thread something which will bear a greater strain.

We need an unbreakable bond of friendship, affection, and good understanding. We see the effect of such a band in this great Dominion of Canada, where two distinct races live together in perfect amity, in complete trust of one another, and in common understanding. This has only been brought about because the representatives of the two races have been brought together and have

learnt to know each other intimately. [Hear, hear.] In the same way we, the members of this delegation, although of one race, have, by personal contact, learned to appreciate one another better, and in many cases we have formed friendships which will never be severed. I know, for my part, that I have developed an admiration and love for our Canadian friends which nothing but personal contact with them could have brought about. I now know them. I understand them better than ever before, and to an extent that there shall be no possibility of misunderstanding them in future. All this goes to show that friendship, mutual understanding, and complete trust must be the basis of all ties. And what applies to the individual equally applies to the nation.

Some entities of the British Empire are not blood relations, neither do they speak the same languages; but they are nevertheless part of us, and as such part are as loyal and true to us as we are to them. It is this friendship, respect for one another, and trust for one another which forms the bond which holds us together, and it is this bond which my motion seeks to strengthen. I desire that each entity shall be kept in touch with every other entity so that we may know each other and understand each other. Together we have unbounded resources. We are not only interdependent entities of a great Empire, but we are a great self-contained Empire, which can supply the whole of its own needs and to spare. But if we wish to hold this position, we must see that we do not become estranged by reason of neglect of one another or lack of sympathy with one another.

The Press can, with perhaps some little sacrifice to itself, do real Empire service in keeping the several entities in touch with each other and in touch with its own people. It can help to promote trade and intercourse.

It can exercise an influence which will ensure that Empire peoples, when changing their domicile, shall migrate to Empire and not to foreign lands. [Hear, hear.] I saw the "Aquitania" leave Liverpool a few weeks ago. Forty-seven per cent. of her emigrant passengers were British born. They should have come to this fair land of Canada, or have gone to Australia, or some other British entity, and not to America.

In 1901 the King, then Duke of York, visited Australia. In 1920 the present Prince of Wales has paid a visit to that great Commonwealth, where he won the hearts of the people and engendered a spirit of loyalty in the young and rising generations. But a period of nineteen years elapsed between these visits—an altogether too long interval. In my forty years' sojourn in Australia I only remember two visits from your statesmen. We cannot know one another well enough, under these conditions. Empire solidarity is likely to suffer in consequence. When we come to the heart of the Empire, as we often do, we turn to your papers, but rarely see an item of Australian or Overseas news except some sensation or misinterpreted telegram. You are not only failing to help us, but are neglecting your duty to the Empire. To put the matter from another viewpoint, I hold you are not studying your own interests. In Australia we have, speaking in round numbers, 850,000 English-, Scotch-, and Irish-born subjects. Each of them has, I should say, at least five relatives and friends left in the old land—over four million friends and relatives all interested in Australia. Surely these are worth catering for to some extent. We have already agreed to a resolution having for its object the more complete interchange of telegraphic news. My motion seeks to go further by asking you to consider whether by your writings you cannot promote

trade and intercourse to a greater extent than at present ; whether you cannot influence more frequent visits of members of the Royal Family ; whether you cannot insist that your statesmen shall obtain on the spot knowledge of the Empire outposts ; and whether you yourselves, by the insertion at intervals of letters from Overseas correspondents, cannot help to maintain an extended interest between all Empire lands and the Mother Country. By so doing you will be rendering a service of incalculable value in maintaining the solidarity of the Empire. [Applause.]

SIR RODERICK JONES.—I beg to second the resolution.

THE CHAIRMAN.—My experience in presiding over many conferences during the war showed me the great desirability there was for greater publicity of Dominion news in the British papers. Therefore we ought

to make it our object to secure if we can the purpose of this resolution.

Resolution carried unanimously.

SIR CAMPBELL STUART.—I might suggest that perhaps the British delegates and the Overseas delegates might telegraph to their respective Governments such resolutions as they have adopted at this Conference. That would be an immediate step, and could be followed up.

MR. LEYS.—Some of the proceedings of the Conference have been cabled for publication in the Press, but not to the Governments.

THE CHAIRMAN.—I suppose that each delegation would decide for itself.

SIR CAMPBELL STUART.—I only made the point in case any delegation might think that business was being delayed.

The Conference was adjourned until Saturday, August 7th.

THIRD DAY OF THE CONFERENCE

PROCEEDINGS ON SATURDAY, AUGUST 7TH, 1920

The Conference resumed its deliberations at 9.30 a.m. on Saturday, August 7th.

Lord Burnham presided, and there was a full attendance of delegates.

COMMERCIAL LAWS, NATURALIZATION LAWS, AND UNIVERSITY CURRICULA WITHIN THE EMPIRE

DR. A. BAROLO, B.Lit., LL.D. ("Daily Malta Chronicle").—I beg to propose:

"That with a view to further strengthening the bonds of Empire, the Imperial Press Conference submits:

"(i) To the Empire Trade Conference meeting in Toronto in October next the advisability of bringing the commercial laws of the various Dominions as much as possible into line and possibly evolving a Code of Commercial Laws for the whole Empire.

"(ii) To the Imperial Conference meeting next year the necessity of standardizing the Naturalization Laws of the Empire, and requiring identical qualifications for the attainment and recognition of Imperial citizenship.

"(iii) To the Congress of the Universities of the Empire meeting in London next year the advisability of harmonizing the curricula of the Universities of the Empire, as far as possible, and consistently with the exigencies and requirements of each, in order to render possible or facilitate the interchange of lecturers and students."

This resolution is intended, and I believe is calculated, to strengthen the bonds of Empire. It is a subject in which I have always taken a keen interest, although I hail from an island which, ethnologically speaking, is not of your kith and kin. During the last few years, and especially since the war, the British Empire has undergone a very marked and, indeed, marvellous development. The British Empire is nothing like what we knew it to be in our younger days. Imperial unity, which until a few years ago was a mere aspiration, has become an accepted fact. [Applause.] This development has become so complete that Imperial statesmanship has not had time to look things in the face and provide the necessary machinery to deal with the complex conditions arising out of this situation. Not that I mean that the constitution of the Empire should be dealt with by hard and fast rules. Quite the contrary.

I believe that development is possible because the British constitution has followed in the main the lines which resulted in the constitution of the Mother of Parliaments, which for centuries has been the wonder and envy of every civilized country throughout the world. And if this constitution has been able to emerge triumphant from the fiercest of ordeals, it is because its great elasticity has enabled it to adapt itself to the exigencies of the moment. It has developed itself particularly during the last century, which has been described as a century of constitutional reform.

At the same time, I believe that certain fundamental principles should

be more or less clearly defined. The admission to Imperial citizenship, which stands as the basis of our Imperial unity, should be more or less uniform throughout our Empire. In the course of one of the finest addresses which it has been my fortune to listen to, Sir Robert Bruce quoted Professor Pollard, of London University, who gave the essential characteristic of the British Empire as distinguished from the jerry-built Empire of Napoleon, and another Empire which has often been contrasted with the British—the Roman Empire. The rule and conduct of the Romans was to level down, as it were, everybody and everything that came in their way, so as to establish uniformity of laws, rule, culture, and civilization. The Roman laws succeeded only when the Romans were brought into contact with inferior races, but it was different when they came across peoples who were either their superiors or at least their equals. When the Roman legions overran Greece the Romans themselves came under the influence of Greek civilization. The same thing occurred to a lesser extent in the island of Malta. In our island we enjoyed the blessings of civilization and the arts of peace centuries before Rome emerged from barbarism, and we have found that the British Empire does not clash with nationalism, but goes hand in hand with it. They are mutually complementary. The Prime Minister of Canada, in addressing us the other day, said in effect that nationalism is the very basis of imperialism. That, I think, is true, and as it should be. There never can be a great imperialist unless he is a great nationalist. I do not know a citizen of the Empire who does not love his people, and who does not point with feelings of pride to his language, his creed, and his country. That is why I take a place, however humble, in the ranks of those who are not afraid of the phrase "British Empire." [Hear, hear.]

But we must not grasp at the shadow. We must not allow words to blind us as to real meanings. Our Empire is directly opposed to the jingoism, militarism, and autocracy which characterized other empires whose only object was to trample underfoot other civilizations, and to destroy that great heritage of liberty and justice of which the British Empire has been the greatest and noblest example. [Applause.] Therefore, if any weakness exists in our system, and any danger lurks in our constitution, it is not that imperialism may retard national development, but rather the other way about—that an exaggerated sense of national individuality should stand in our way and endanger our Imperial unity. It has been said that we are all one family; but a very happy family of brothers and sisters may have divergent views. They may be separated by oceans, but at bottom there is always the all-powerful, all-conquering link of affection which in the hour of trial makes them stick together. If there were ever any doubt about that it was dissipated by the late war. [Applause.] But if our Empire unity is to stand, we must make personal sacrifices.

I come from an island where the sense of nationality is very strong. What is true to-day may not be true to-morrow unless we take steps to be sure that we shall always be animated with the Imperial spirit. A great many of the proposals which have already been passed by this Conference are calculated to achieve that end. This proposal is equally effective in that direction, and even more so, for it is based on sentiment which is a particular advantage. The sentiment of Empire is a factor of importance in shaping the destinies of mankind in general and of the British Empire in particular. Coming to the first section of my resolution, uniformity of laws would be good for the world, but I am afraid

that it is absolutely impracticable. I happen to be a practising barrister, and I come from a land where the laws are entirely different from yours. But it is not the same with commercial laws. Trade is one of the essentials of the British Empire, and it would be promoted greatly if such a proposal as I make were carried into effect. As to the second portion of my resolution, I think that it should not be conceivable that a man can be a British subject in one place and not be a British subject in another place under the British flag; yet I could quote many instances to show that this has been the case, but perhaps I had better not. It was sometimes difficult to achieve Roman citizenship, but the Roman citizenship followed a man wherever he went, and we remember the reply of Paul, *Civis Romanus sum*. On the third portion of the resolution, it would merely be uttering platitudes to dwell on the influence of educational culture. It is not my intention to suggest that any part of the Empire should force upon any other part its citizenship, or code of commercial laws or education, but only that those who are concerned should consult together so as to establish uniformity of systems as far as is compatible with the exigencies and requirements of each part of the Empire. [Applause.]

MR. R. S. WARD-JACKSON ("Rand Daily Mail," S.A.).—I beg to second the resolution.

MR. LEVI ("De Volkstem," S.A.).—I am entirely at one with Dr. Bartolo in the objects which he wishes to attain, but I think that it would be better to leave out the references to the various conferences that are to meet, and to begin the different sections with the words "the advisability," "the necessity," and "the advisability."

DR. BARTOLO.—I accept that suggestion.

MR. LEVI.—Then on the question

of citizenship, the great majority of us in South Africa, whether English or Dutch, have certain objections with regard to the conditions of citizenship in a general way. We would not expect some parts of the Empire to recognize as their citizens some of the natives of Cape Colony who have no citizenship, because in the arrangements for the Union there were certain reservations made. Those natives of the Cape who had citizenship were allowed to retain it, but the specific reservation was made that they should not be able to retain it in other provinces of the Union. There may be citizens in some parts of the Empire whom we in the present state of affairs could not accept as citizens, and I would like to see in section (ii) of the resolution all words after "Empire" left out.

MR. LANGLER ("West Australian").—I beg to second that amendment.

DR. BARTOLO.—I am willing to agree to that.

MR. WARD-JACKSON.—I may mention that I seconded this resolution for the purposes of discussion. In reference to Mr. Levi's remarks, I may point out that what he takes exception to is the franchise, and not the citizenship. The franchise is not the question which we are discussing, and as regards the Imperial citizenship of natives of South Africa, nothing takes away from that.

THE CHAIRMAN.—Civic rights may not be so widely existing, but persons without them may be citizens all the same.

MR. TAYLOR DARBYSHIRE ("Melbourne Age," Australia).—Would standardization of the naturalization laws imply that citizens in one part of the British Empire would necessarily be admitted to any other part of the British Empire? That might give rise to trouble.

DR. BARTOLO.—I do not want to enter into that vexed question. I am dealing only with matters of principle. My contention is that if a

person is a British subject in one part of the Empire he should be a British citizen in every other part, without interfering with the right of every self-governing community. For instance, at Malta we had a case of a naturalized Australian who was a Russian originally. He could not be looked after by the Russian consul, and I was very much surprised to hear from the British authorities that he was not a British subject, but only a naturalized Australian. If one is a British subject, at least in all fundamental rights, one should be recognized as a British subject in all parts of the Empire; but I do not want to interfere with the rights of the self-governing Dominions to make their own laws with regard to franchise and admission.

Section (i) of the resolution was passed unanimously.

SECTION (II) POSTPONED

MR. J. J. KNIGHT ("Brisbane Courier," Australia).—With regard to section (ii), perhaps it could be made clear that citizenship does not involve the matter of franchise. I would suggest the addition of the words "subject to the constitutional laws of the various parts of the Empire."

MR. LEVI.—That will meet my point.

DR. BAROLO.—I will accept that amendment.

MR. T. W. LEYS ("Auckland Star," N.Z.).—We are dealing with a very large question in a hurried manner. This question affects us in a very serious way. We are menaced by Asiatic immigration, the immigration of undesirable Britishers from India and other places, and the matter wants more consideration than the Conference can give to it, and I would ask the Conference to pause before passing this resolution.

HON. THEO. FINK ("Melbourne Herald," Australia).—I would support that appeal. We should make

ourselves ridiculous if we dealt with this important subject without having in the first instance a full authoritative statement upon it and a full discussion. This question is one of our difficulties in Australia, and is absolutely vital, and if not dealt with properly may threaten the existence of our Commonwealth and of New Zealand, too.

SIR GILBERT PARKER.—I strongly support what has been said. It would be extremely dangerous to deal with such an important matter. It is one as to which there should be the advice of jurists and also a full debate. We are not qualified to deal with this question.

DR. BAROLO.—I accept the suggestion to postpone this subject, but I would point out that it is one of great importance.

Section (ii) of resolution was postponed.

Section (iii) of resolution was passed with one dissentient.

LETTER FROM SIR AUCKLAND GEDDES

THE CHAIRMAN.—Sir Harry Brittain has received an interesting letter from Sir Auckland Geddes, British Ambassador at Washington, dated July 29th, in which he expresses regret that he will not be able to be with us. He says: "I hope that the Press Conference will have the success which it deserves. It would be impossible to overrate the importance of journalistic unity within the Empire, at this moment more than ever before." [Hear, hear.]

MESSAGE FROM SIR GEORGE FENWICK

MR. LEYS.—I wish to repair an omission. I was requested by Sir George Fenwick, chairman of the Union in New Zealand, to convey to you his good wishes and the hearty support of all of us in New Zealand. [Hear, hear.]

THE CHAIRMAN.—We are very much obliged to Sir George Fenwick. Sir George Fenwick was one of the original members of the first Conference, and attended that Conference many years ago in London, and we look on him as one of the leaders of journalism in New Zealand.

MESSAGE FROM PREMIER OF NEW ZEALAND

• **MR. J. HUTCHISON** ("Otago Daily Times," Dunedin).—I have a message from the Prime Minister of New Zealand, conveying his best wishes for the success of the Conference.

THE CHAIRMAN.—We are equally grateful to Mr. Massey, whom I have the pleasure of knowing very well, for his good wishes, which are heartily reciprocated.

I have now the greatest pleasure in welcoming to the Conference one of the veteran statesmen, not only of the Dominion of Canada, but of the whole Empire—Sir George Foster. [Applause.] He is one of the great authorities on the subject on which he is to address us, and we are delighted to have this opportunity of hearing him. [Applause.]

EMPIRE TRADE

SIR GEORGE FOSTER

THE RT. HON. SIR GEORGE FOSTER, G.C.M.G. (Dominion Minister for Trade and Commerce), who was received with applause, said :

I feel that I shall fail utterly to realize the anticipations raised by such a generous tribute. I am here this morning because I was invited, and because it is a very great pleasure to have the opportunity of being with you. As the Chairman has said, I have seen fairly long service. My first political and public sentiment was worked upon at the time of the canvass for the confederation of the different provinces of British North America, which now form, with the additions that have been made, the present Dominion. As a youth I

was attracted to that programme by the fact that it appeared to me that it would give real unity and consolidation to the British Empire, known as it was then, more than fifty years ago. From that time forward my sentiments have been very strongly enlisted upon the same lines. The period between fifty years ago and now has been a period of magnificent purpose, and what has been achieved is the foundation for future progress and development along the same lines. And so it continues from year to year. [Hear, hear.]

It is a circumstance of great note that a body like this should be visiting Canada at the present time. There are scarcely any bounds that can be set to the achievements of a united and a high-minded Press in this Empire of ours. Its opportunity for mischief is as boundless as is its opportunity for good, and that should make us as pressmen feel our responsibilities as directors of public enterprise, and feel them according to the powers with which we are entrusted. It is particularly grateful to me that a body like this, with such possibilities and principles, should have placed in a firm position as it has to-day the question of Imperial trade, because over and above all other things which you have discussed so ably, it is fairly open to be asserted that the matter of Imperial trade is not by any means the least, if it is not one of the very greatest in its ultimate power for the union and development of the Empire, and of the peace and prosperity of its widely scattered citizenship. If this Imperial Press Conference can unite itself behind this idea of Empire trade and development, and pursue it consistently for twenty-five years, this Empire of ours, which has made such advances, will make a further advance, surpassing any that has ever been made in any similar period of time. [Applause.] There-

fore I am specially grateful that this subject has been placed high at this Conference. I believe that it merits that place, and if it merits that place it should be kept there by the advocacy of the united Press of the Empire. I have no objection to the term "Imperial trade." I do not baulk at the adjective. It grows on me. There is a compelling power in it. It sends me forward with an impulse and buoys me up with a hope of largeness and greatness, which is implied within the term. I do not ask for the term to be changed for any aggregation of arguments, however formidable they may be. It is a term which includes all. Stick to it! [Applause.]

CANADA'S RECORD

It would be well to tell you what Canada has done along this line of Imperial trade, because I think that her position is a strong one, and we may well take as an earnest of what she will do in the future what she has done in the past. There are many ways by which Imperial trade may be developed and strengthened. One of them is by the method of preference between the different parts of the Empire. Canada has been a pioneer along that line. In 1879 Canada gave the United Kingdom a preference of 33½ per cent. on imports coming from the United Kingdom. It gave it without compensation and without demanding compensation. For thirty-three years the United Kingdom has had that advantage in the Canadian market. But we did not stop there. A few years later the West Indian Islands applied to us, on account of the peculiar position in which they were placed in the matter of sugar development, and Canada gave the same British preference to the West Indian Islands and the West Indian administration on the mainland. And that also was given without compensation asked or received.

In 1907 the British preference of 33½ per cent. was extended to British India, Ceylon, and the Straits Settlements. Since then it has been extended to New Zealand and South Africa. In 1912 the first-fruits of that policy were reaped, and the West Indian Islands made an agreement with Canada by which they recognized, a certain number of them, the preference we had given and met it by a preference of 20 per cent. upon selected classes of articles exported from Canada. Not all the West Indian Islands came into that agreement. Jamaica, Bermudas, Bahamas, and British Honduras stayed out. But from 1912 to the present time that has been working. Only a few days ago a second conference with the West Indian Islands administration took place in Ottawa, and as a result we entered into an agreement by which all the islands and their dependencies and colonies in the West Indies have affirmed that principle of preference, and have granted, not to a selected list of articles, but to all the products of Canada, a preference varying from 10 per cent. in the case of the Bahamas to 50 per cent. in the case of the larger islands administrations. The lead given by Canada without compensation asked has had the inevitable reaction which has been shown in the United Kingdom a few months ago, when the principle of preference was recognized and an actual preference upon certain articles was granted to colonial products, Canadian products included. But Canada has not even stopped there, and in 1913 orders in council were passed by the Canadian Government giving the same British preference to every British protectorate, colony, and dependency the whole world over with the exception of Australia and Newfoundland. So that to-day Canada gives a British preference of about one-third upon its duties to every British dominion and colony throughout the world

with the exception of the two I have named. That is a fair record for Canada in the matter of preference, as a line along which Empire trade can be developed. [Applause.]

MEANING OF IMPERIAL TRADE

Imperial trade takes place between individuals in communities, between the provinces in a nation, and between the nations one with the other in the Empire itself. Imperial trade is not, therefore, to be defined as trade organized and nationalized by governments, but it is the Imperial trade aggregated through the individuals, the communities, the provinces, and the nations which compose the Empire. There would be dangers ahead if governments undertook to police and control trade, and use that as propaganda, in the world dangers and difficulties such as to-day present themselves to our minds. Other nations will do the same. To force other nations behind a certain commercial propaganda would be a great incentive to differences, possibly to wars. I therefore take it that we agree that Imperial trade is simply the aggregation of the trade of the different nationalities that compose the Empire conducted along individual community or associated lines. I think that we ought not to limit the elements or factors of trade. We are so apt to look on trade as the interchange of the surplus of different individuals, associations, or countries on the lines of bales of goods or inanimate bundles of materials. My definition of trade goes wider, further back, and deeper. Trade is the interchange of surplus products, but it ought not to be confined to the material. Going back there is a very important element to export and import which has always influenced and worked in all our countries, and that is the man-power, the mentality, the spirituality, the intellectuality which is transported in large quantities from one

to the other, and from no country has it been more profusely exported than from the United Kingdom. So if you look at trade as the interchange of surplus commodities on that wider scale, we get back to a very important foundation—that is, the direction of the emigration which goes from our different countries and the direction which it takes and where it spends itself.

MIGRATION

Looking at the history of Great Britain, one cannot help but deplore that those islands in the north-east have for the last fifty years been exporting to every quarter of the globe that man-power, that mentality, that spirituality, that spirit of trade and development which is unfathomable and not measurable, which we cannot weigh up or calculate, but which has been of immense importance in the general development of the world. In so far as that has been conserved within the limits of the Empire itself it has been of untold good. In so far as it has betaken itself to foreign countries it has been a power maleficent rather than beneficent. Great Britain went to the trouble of making numerous important inventions or developments, and then handed them over to Germany for their fulfilment. Then when the struggle came, all that power, given in that way, was sent back in the form of bullets and bombs at the very heart of the British Empire itself.

I am not so bigoted as to say that British man-power, capital, or enterprise should restrict itself within the limits of the Empire, but I do go so far as to say that the Empire has the first call upon all that material of very great worth and importance—[applause]—and that if that first call had been answered in the fifty years that have passed we would scarcely know ourselves in this Empire of ours, so great would have

been the development and improvement within its bounds. I want to connect inevitably and irrevocably emigration and trade. Then there is this point, of which we do not think often enough, which we do not keep before ourselves as we should, to be looked at every morning, to be thought of every night. What is the strength of our Empire? What are its opportunities and its trusts? It is a world-wide Empire. There is no kind of climate, soil, or humanity which is not more or less comprised within its limits.

UNLIMITED RESOURCES

The astounding and great thing about the Empire is that there is no other which has such vast dimensions, and holds within its bounds, as forming part of its strength, so many products necessary for the comfort and convenience of man. All productions of all climates and temperatures are available for interchange—to an enormous extent—within the limits of the Empire itself. We have all degrees of labour, from the raw unskilled native labour up to the most competent skilled labour, to be woven into the woof and warp and texture of Empire civilization. The possibilities of development are almost impossible to grasp. We have to study them to become convinced.

All that estate is in trust. What right have we to keep fallow lands within this Empire, when the world's needs are so great as they are to-day? If those things are within our estate, it is a trust to develop them, it is our duty to develop them. We have reached a most important time in our history, when it is our duty to throw ourselves into the development of our estate, and add so much to the happiness and well-being and material and other power of the Empire itself. I think that trade ought to be idealized. They call me something of an idealist. I do not find fault with

the appellation. I wish we all had more of it. It would not hurt the Imperial Press Conference a bit even if it had more idealism than it has. I believe that it has much, but I hope it will have more. We must not allow trade to become a mechanical thing. We must hold it up as a God-given purpose.

THE BASIS OF TRADE

The first trade took place away beyond our ken when two neighbours found themselves with a surplus of somewhat different articles, and so one neighbour said to the other, "I will exchange a certain portion of my surplus that I do not need for a certain portion of your surplus that you do not need and we shall both be better off thereby." That was the first trade. It meant service. Two men served each other by giving to each other. Both exchanged their surplus. The world progressed and it became so that this individual barter could scarcely go on, and community barter took its place, and somebody then stepped in as a middleman to carry out these individual operations to the benefit of both parties. He rendered a useful body of service between the two. Without labouring the point, we have now got to a period of time when trade sometimes forgets that it has a God-given mission to perform, service to humanity, and confines itself to giving service simply to itself—humanity be hanged so that it makes its dividends and its profits. That is where trade can be maleficent, and it has been wonderfully so.

It is a vital fact that trade is service, and its only ground of being is that it gives service, and to a certain extent unselfish service. That will make trade a benefit to humanity as a whole. Get back to the idea of service. My point is this: you cannot make trade without a return to the country and a return to humanity. I trust that I have made

this clear, but I will try before I leave it. One man, living in London, says, "I must get up a company and trade, for the purpose of making dividends. We will get up an organization and trade wherever we can get substantial profits. We can get the best profits in a foreign country, and we will send to a foreign country." And so he goes into trade with the idea of profit simply, and he may make his profits. But there is another idea. That is this: that the man who starts an industry or trade is a product of nationality. He is there because the nation has borne, nurtured, protected him, kept him up, to that point, and he cannot forget that and do his duty. Consequently it seems to me that trade must keep a national tag to it. It must keep the national service in view, it must keep in mind the nation from which it has sprung, and as the dutiful child gives service to the parent that has made its existence possible and brought it up to its present position, so it must make a return. [Applause.] That is why I think we should keep nationality in view when we come to this matter of trade.

THE ASSET OF CHARACTER

There is no nation in the world so well fitted to put itself to the task of Empire development as the peoples who make up this great Empire of ours. We have the capital, the organization, the inventive power, and the inventions as the result of that power. We have organization reduced to a system. We have efficiency of the very best. But we have something as an asset which underlies all that. It is the spirit of the race, the spirit of adventure, of dealing with distant lands, of pilgrimages to the farthest corners of the world, of breaking into the places that are unknown and questioning what may be there, that fine spirit of adventurous enterprise and pluck

and courage which is the basis of our traditional history, and to a large extent of whatever prosperity we have enjoyed. That is an asset which, put behind what I have stated, gives us a driving force which, if we put our minds to it, can make the worst places of the Empire bloom as the rose, and can bring forth for the service of the men of the Empire, and of the world as well, the untold treasures which lie there waiting to be unlocked to go out on their mission of happiness and prosperity. Let us not forget that asset nor the obligation which the possession of such an asset places upon us.

Sometimes men are more cosmopolitan than cosmopolitanism itself. I am a cosmopolitan. We all are, or should be, but I hold that before I can help my neighbour I must be in a position to stand alone myself and put forth an effort, and that I am preparing myself in the best way to be helpful to my neighbour when I am developing myself to the greatest extent possible. Translate that into nationality, and I believe that it is a fair thing to say that the nation which believes in itself, which has an ideal, which is actuated by principle, which looks upon a prospective future, has, if it believes in itself, the right to make itself as fit as possible to build upon its own lines, within its own borders, not simply as selfishly helping itself, but as fitting itself to become more helpful to the great population of nations and to the great race to which we belong. [Applause.] A strong nation anywhere in the world is better, other things being equal, than a weak one. We do not need to go far to see examples of that at the present moment. It is a proper thing for this Empire, with its privileges and its opportunities, to put itself in a position as strong and as developed as it is possible for it to do, so that it may go forward in its helpful rôle in the civilization of the world in

co-operation with other nations, in the general work of human advancement. It is a duty which it owes to itself, and it is a duty which it owes to the world as well.

I have imposed my random observations upon you. The thought sometimes comes to me that were I a world wizard, a world genius, and had I the wisest instruction and the best principles and the highest ideals and world power, I should take the whole of this British Empire of ours and put its unrivalled extent and resources under the greatest development that is possible; and if I had the supreme power of dictating to those beneficent forces and applying them to that wide expanse for one quarter of a century, I can see the picture hung up, the future course of history, contrasting gloriously even with the entrancing picture of to-day. We have the wizard. He cannot be to-day embodied in anyone, but we have together the powers that such a wizard might exercise, and if we do become—we are not now—a wise and sane democracy, and apply ourselves to the task, we may—those of us who live—realize that picture that I have but faintly outlined; and the people who live for the next twenty-five or fifty years will see in the progress of our Empire an advance forward and upwards and downwards in heart sentiment and spirituality which we need quite as much, and more, than we do the material advancement. For if it is the spirit and character of the man that sustain him, it is equally true that it is the spirit and character of the nation, and naturally also of the Empire, that will sustain it. [Applause.]

THE DANGERS OF PEACE

These are troublesome times. When the shadow of 1914 and its menace gathered about us we knew we were in for trouble, but not to what extent. We were plunged into a war for what we considered to be

truth, justice, and right. We went through with it, faithful to our pledges at the beginning. We came out of it. We conquered a peace, and we have now attained for ourselves in this great broad world a position where the clouds are as threatening and the menace quite as great, where the possibilities for disaster or for coming out fairly well seem to be about evenly balanced. I say this not to be pessimistic, but to brace up our minds as we braced ourselves for the five years' contest in actual warfare, and for the two more years of actual contest in getting back to the readjustment that is normal, and to the condition that humanity must retain if it is to go forward and not backward. We need that strong flame of patriotism in our hearts now as much as we did in any period of the war. Let us tend it. Let us bring to the sustenance of it all the powers of human effort, all the strength that can be got from Above to do this Empire work which I have described. It is a work which will test its vigour and its quality even more than the war has tested it in the past. We were able for the test of war. We are able for this other test that I have spoken of. All that we have to do is to make up our minds and persevere in unity of purpose and co-operation of effort. [Applause.]

SIR GEORGE FOSTER THANKED

THE CHAIRMAN.—I shall have the cordial assent of all here present when I tender our sincere thanks to Sir George Foster for his eloquent address. I have been much struck by the concluding portions of his speech. We will pay due heed to his words. I thank him on his own behalf, and I also thank the Government of Canada for the great courtesy and the great warmth with which they have been pleased to welcome us to their capital city. [Applause.]

MESSAGE FROM MR. CRERAR

Mr. P. D. Ross ("Ottawa Journal"; Deputy Chairman).—I have received a wire which I should have read to you earlier. It is from Mr. Crerar, the leader of the Farmers' Party. He says: "Very much regret cannot accept invitation to say a few words of welcome to Imperial Press Conference. Hope deliberations will be productive of much good."

THE CHAIRMAN.—We shall send to Mr. Crerar our hearty thanks for his good wishes. [Hear, hear.]

THE EMPIRE PRESS UNION
LORD BURNHAM

THE CHAIRMAN.—We must now turn to our own concerns. This Conference is not, of course, a meeting of the Empire Press Union, or of any of the branches of the Empire Press Union. At the same time, at the cordial invitation of our kind hosts, this Conference has been convened by the Empire Press Union. The Empire Press Union was the outcome of the First Imperial Press Conference. It embodied its results in a concrete and personal form. It would be regrettable if, as a result of this Conference, the Empire Press Union were not to be vastly strengthened and put on much wider foundations than those on which it even now rests.

The Empire Press Union was formed immediately after the first Conference, with my father as president of the home section, and then in every self-governing Dominion a section of the union was formed. These sections are entirely autonomous, in no sense dictated to by the central section. On the other hand, there was constant communication, and, so far as we could arrange it, there was co-ordination between the work done by the various sections. I would like to take this opportunity of paying a tribute to the memory

of our first secretary, Mr. Marston, who worked very hard for us, and who died in consequence of the hardship of military service for which he was not physically fitted. We were constantly in touch by letter with the other branches.

We have a council which sits regularly in London, upon which we have the full number of members permitted by the articles of association, including representatives and correspondents of the Dominion journals who are members of the union. For a long time, I fear, Canada was rather conspicuous by its absence, but that was mended during the war, when the necessity for our work was demonstrated, and when it was seen that the Empire Press Union afforded the best facilities for the collection of news from the Government departments. We started by obtaining access to the Houses of Parliament. Then we had the co-operation of our Canadian colleagues as representatives of Canadian newspapers in London. Naturally enough, newspapers throughout the Empire wanted something more than a mere sentimental expression of sympathy, and wanted to be sure that the Empire Press Union was doing work of actual practical importance for the newspaper Press. I think that we have demonstrated that in many ways. I want now to appeal to the Press of all the Dominions, so that an effort shall be made to see to it that after our Conference there is not a single paper of importance throughout the Empire which shall be unrepresented, not only in our Union, but so far as possible by virtual representation on our council. [Hear, hear.]

Of course, the same principle of autonomy must always obtain. Each Dominion runs its own show. There is no attempt at control by the centre. That is well understood throughout, and should be the very principle of our being. On the other

hand, I believe that we should be wanting in strength and comprehensiveness if we did not include the weekly papers and periodicals. It does not follow that in every Dominion it need be the same. In Canada, for example, there has recently been a separation of daily and weekly journals, for reasons of internal economy into which I do not probe. It might be suggested that it would be possible to have another branch in order to cover the weekly and periodical Press. It may be advisable to do the same in England, because so far as our internal organization goes we have our federations and newspaper proprietor associations of daily papers, and another for weekly papers and periodicals. So it may well be that a double line is the best course to be pursued. But the reason we ought to embrace the weekly periodical Press is that everybody knows that the main circulation of British papers in Canada must be the weekly periodical Press and not the daily Press, which is obviously out of date when it arrives on these shores every week. We want the whole forces of the Press combined for a good purpose, and I do not believe that it can be attained in any other way.

We must ourselves be the first to admit that it is the personal touch and acquaintance which make for good. We always talk in our journals of the human interest of a story. We know what human interest means in our work. Therefore should it not be the same in our organization? I am able to give you information which shows what our Union ought to be, apart altogether from trade interests. I have often acted as chairman of the Empire Parliamentary Association. It is a body which represents practically every Member of Parliament except some small cliques of men who are, for reasons into which I need not enter,

determined to keep outside any common organization. It includes Members of Parliament of all the assemblies included within the Empire. We have offices and rooms in the Palace of Westminster in London, and any Overseas Member visiting England can now obtain personal parliamentary facilities which were not in existence before. Prior to that a Dominion Member of Parliament coming to England went to the Colonial Office. Perhaps after waiting some time he saw a clerk, who might or might not be rather bored by his presence, but could not help him. He had no parliamentary facilities, no personal facilities. He often went away somewhat disgusted with his reception. What is good for Members of Parliament is good for journalists and newspaper men. At the present time a Member of Parliament going to England has not only a place to which he can go for all information, but every facility that can be given him is placed at his disposal. If he wants to examine into any question, the resources of the association are placed at his disposal. He is generally entertained in some way by the association at public and private dinners, and he has the opportunity of expressing his views to his fellow legislators. Of course we are not legislators, but the Empire Parliamentary Association is a model which we might well follow. We ought in London to have adequate rooms and offices where representative men bringing proper credentials—that is always necessary in a profession which has no bounds clearly defined—could come and be received. We have no premises at all adequate where they can resort if they want to see papers or obtain all those personal facilities which they would be able to command if we were able to provide them. We might, for example, be able to facilitate them in matters of

travel in the United Kingdom. I have always found that the officers of our municipal corporations are ready to encourage in every way enterprises of that sort. I can make myself responsible for the statement that the mayors of our provincial cities will always be ready to receive accredited newspaper correspondents, and do all they can to make their visit to their towns interesting and profitable, because it is in the nature of good business as well as a manifestation of Imperial friendship. Then we may be able to arrange for personal courtesies and matters of that sort, which we cannot do now with our limited accommodation. [Hear, hear.]

That means that newspapers must be prepared to make a larger contribution to the association. It would be a great misfortune if this great Conference were to end without our making up our minds that we must enlarge both the foundations and the circumference of the Union. We do not want to interfere in any way from the home branch of the Union with the other branches. That is the last thing that we wish to do. There are sometimes difficulties in getting them together because of the great distances which separate towns in so many of the Dominions. It does not follow that it can be done to-morrow, but I do not want this Conference to come to an end without substantive steps being taken to place the Empire Press Union on foundations which will last for all time, and also will be so strong as to be a fabric in which we can all find a homelike welcome, and have just the sort of advantages and opportunities which newspaper men visiting London in the first place may want, and which we may equally require when we of the United Kingdom may pay a visit to the various Dominions of the Crown, not only on behalf of the journals which we represent, but also personally. I now beg to call on the Vice-

Chairman of the British delegation, Mr. Robert Donald, to move a resolution.

MR. ROBERT DONALD

MR. ROBERT DONALD (Chairman of Council of Empire Press Union).—After the very lucid and comprehensive review by our Chairman of the origin, work, and functions of the Empire Press Union, and the need for its extension, I will confine myself to a very few remarks concerning the resolutions which I wish to put before you. We regard this Conference as the Parliament of the Press, and in some sense the Empire Press Union as its executive authority. We come, therefore, before you to ask authority to get the scope of our work enlarged and our utility increased. The Empire Press Union was formed rather hurriedly at the end of the first Conference. I believe that I was responsible for christening the baby. It has done very well up to now. I now place before you the means proposed to carry out the plan which the Chairman has outlined to you. The first resolution is:

“ This Conference is of opinion that the time has arrived when the scope and activities of the Empire Press Union can usefully be extended to provide for admission to membership of the weekly Press, and of magazines, and of technical and trade journals, both individually and through their respective federations or societies; also news-agencies and other organizations directly concerned with the collection for publication in newspaper form of information of a literary, technical, or trade character of inter-Imperial concern.”

I think that that very well covers what the Chairman had in mind when he was describing the

changes we contemplate. The next resolution proceeds :

" This Conference therefore requests the Council of the Empire Press Union to take in hand the revision of the constitution, with the appropriate alterations of the Articles of Association and of the By-laws, including the fixing of a lower annual subscription than that in force for daily newspapers, except in the case of federations or societies ; and to provide for representation on the Council of these additional interests to the limit of one-third of the total membership of the Council."

The Council has hitherto been confined practically to daily newspapers. The resolution proceeds :

" This Conference recommends other alterations in the By-laws, namely :

" (a) That more than one section may be formed in any principal country provided there is a clear divergency of interests between the daily Press and other responsible publications, but without providing for separation into different sections of publications belonging to the same category."

In Canada it may not suit your present arrangements to include weekly and other periodicals in the same section of the organization with the daily Press, and that provision is introduced to provide for two parallel organizations working side by side. The resolution also provides for :

" (b) Each branch to be entitled to elect its own members and associates."

Up to now the election of members and associates has always had to be referred to London, and that is often very inconvenient. The proposal proceeds :

" It is further requested that the Council of the Union shall circulate the amended constitution when drafted to the various existing sections for consideration and comment, it being understood that each section shall have the right to determine whether it shall accept the larger constitution, or leave the new interests to form their own section."

That carries further the principle of Home Rule as it were within the Union, leaving the sections full liberty of action in their own localities. The resolution continues :

" It is the hope of this Conference that the Press of every country in the Empire will seek to promote the cardinal objects of the enlarged Union, and that the new constitution may be brought into active operation by June 1st, 1921, or as soon after as may be possible.

" This Conference pronounces in favour of holding Conferences at fixed intervals of four years, and only by general agreement in consultation with all sections should any Conference be advanced or postponed."

We ought to have a fixed period of meeting so that we may work up to it and make our plans accordingly. The present constitution makes no provision for meeting at all. In the ordinary course it would have been at least six years before the second Conference had there been no war. We think that the limit of four years is very reasonable, and not too great a tax on our time. Continuity will be maintained by a meeting every four years, and meantime our work will develop itself, and the Empire Press Union, under the new proposals, will help in co-ordinating all our efforts. [Applause.]

SIR HARRY BRITAIN, M.P.

SIR HARRY BRITAIN, M.P.—
When a subject is introduced by

Lord Burnham and seconded by Mr. Donald, there is not much left to be said by a third speaker. I have been asked to second this somewhat lengthy resolution, I imagine, owing to the fact that I was largely responsible for drawing up the original constitution, which was of necessity drafted somewhat hastily, to be discussed and accepted by as many delegates from the Dominions overseas as possible before they returned to their homes. Every delegate will realize that the Union in London is only too anxious to carry out in every possible way any suggestions or alterations in absolute working accord with our colleagues and friends in every part of the Empire. The suggestions which are now put before you are the result of very careful consideration of matters to which the Council in London, when representatives of every part of the Empire were present, has given its attention. I agree most cordially with Lord Burnham in that I should like very much to see the Union developed, in addition to the whole of the technical side, on the lines of the Empire Parliamentary Association, of the executive committee of which I have the privilege of being a member. I do think that that is of enormous importance. We must be able at home to hold out the right hand of friendship to those who come to visit us from the ends of the Empire, and to show them not only something of public life, but what, in my opinion, is more important, something of the private life of the people among whom they come. [Hear, hear.]

As to the time when these conferences should be held there was nothing specific put into the rules, but the first understanding was that they should be triennial. Then it was considered that that was too frequent an interval at which to expect the attendance of the leading newspaper men from every part of the Empire.

Then the period was jumped a couple of years. Subsequently some of those who were advancing in years suggested that this second period was a little too long, and four years was then suggested. I think that that was more or less agreed to by all on the "Victorian," including representatives from all parts of the Empire. We greatly wish, as a result of this second Conference, to make this Union the association which links together the newspapers of every part of the British Empire. For that reason I have the greatest possible pleasure in seconding the resolution. [Hear, hear.]

MR. P. D. ROSS

MR. P. D. ROSS ("Ottawa Journal"; Deputy Chairman).—I would like to bear testimony to the value of organization among newspapers, and to tell you very briefly what it has done and how valuable it is. We started in Canada half a century ago with the Canadian Press Association. At that time it was chiefly a sentimental and social affair, such as possibly the Empire Press Union was at the start, and it continued so for some time. Nevertheless, we grew to know each other, and eventually we made it more of a business undertaking, and it speedily became very valuable to us in our business. For a time we moved along with a low annual subscription for each member. But by and by we secured a paid manager of our affairs and central management, and the association began to be valuable in the way of developing advertising, and distributing information among us all as to important future matters, and what we were doing in our various districts. Then finally this association, which first comprised all our Press, daily, weekly, and trade, became so large that we found it a little unwieldy, particularly as the interests of the three classes in the

association diverged a little in detail, and we eventually, recently, not exactly separated, but set up three distinct associations for daily, weekly, and trade publications.

In the daily association is included all the daily newspapers in this country. We have a head office and a general manager, who gives his whole time to our business. We assess the cost of our services upon the newspapers in proportion to their circulation, and the subscriptions which some of the larger newspapers in Canada are paying amount to \$1,000 a year, which we may translate into £200. The newspapers with a slender circulation pay less. But nobody grudges this large subscription because we are getting business value. [Hear, hear.] The daily newspapers of Canada are all perfectly satisfied that it is good business, and they are paying cheerfully the large subscriptions that are asked.

As an illustration of the value of organization I may mention that we have been engaged recently for three years in this country in contending for newsprint at a price which would give the manufacturer a profit, but would not be burdensome to us. In his very interesting address yesterday Mr. Dawes stated that our contest with the mill men had cost something like \$1,500,000. I was not clear at the time whether he meant that they could have made that much more money out of us if we had not struggled or whether he meant that the manufacturers were at that loss. If he meant that the newsprint manufacturers incurred that loss out of Government control during the last few years he is mistaken. What we wanted Government control for was to get Canadian newsprint at a fair profit to the manufacturers. We never asked anything else. But the position was that our manufacturers, owing to the conditions which the war

established, were taking very large profits from the newspapers of Canada as well as from those of America and Australia, and we in this country took up the cudgels for ourselves and asked that our own manufacturers should not charge us more than a fair profit, and that that fair profit was to be established by a Government audit of the expenditure of the cost of the mills and the manufacture. That was the principle which prevailed all through until the control was recently abolished. But had we in this country been compelled, as we should have been but for Government control, to pay the same price for our paper as was paid by our American friends, I think that it would have meant an added cost in the three years to the newspapers of Canada of from two and a half to three million dollars. That came out of our organization. [Hear, hear.]

We have our Canadian Press Association. Through that we were able to set to work at once with our machinery to protect ourselves, and this was worth from two to three million dollars to us in three years. [Hear, hear.] Without an effective and efficient organization we should have had to accept paper on whatever terms the newsprint manufacturers chose to impose. I do not believe that without our organization our object could have been effected. This illustrates what mutual co-operation and organization mean. And if at any future time there were a need for the same action, we should still have the necessary organization with a central paid management as able as we can get. You cannot pay a good man too much as the head of your association, and you should make every effort to make the Empire Press Union as effective an organization for the good of all of us as you possibly can. [Hear, hear.]

TIME FOR CONSIDERATION
DESIRED

MR. R. S. WARD-JACKSON ("Rand Daily Mail," S.A.).—I have every desire to facilitate the business of the Conference, but I do think that to ask us to pass this resolution, which has only been read out once, and which affects the whole basis of our constitution, at this moment is not reasonable. We have a council in which I have the utmost confidence—

MR. ROBERT DONALD (Chairman of Council of Empire Press Union).—It is exceedingly difficult to follow a resolution of a constitutional character like this, even though I interpolated some explanatory remarks, but this does not commit you to anything. It is a general instruction. You will be fully consulted before anything is done. The Empire Press Union will only be guided by the opinion of the different sections to proceed. It is a thoroughly democratic constitution. We need not be alarmed about any changes being hurried through before we are consulted fully and our agreement obtained.

THE CHAIRMAN.—This Conference, though composed largely of members of the various branches of the Empire Press Union, is not entirely so composed, and it could not have the power to alter the constitution. These would be recommendations made by this Conference. They must come up for consideration at each branch, which will determine its assent or propose an amendment to the reconstruction. But it is most desirable that the idea should be ventilated here and the proposal adopted. Each section should then consider it in detail on the return of the different delegations.

SIR JOHN WILLISON (Canada).—What is the constitution of the Empire Press Union now?

THE CHAIRMAN.—Strictly speak-

ing, daily papers only. Any paper having its representative in London has the right to nominate its representative, subject to the number of the Council being twenty. That might have to be altered. Each branch in each Dominion is autonomous in its own affairs. The council of the home section is the central council. The paper must be a daily paper, and the ordinary subscription is five pounds.

SIR JOHN WILLISON.—In the organization of the Union you exclude from membership the editorial writers, those who have much to do with the interpretation of opinion in the Dominions. It does seem to me that a change should be possible by which we can open membership to special correspondents and editorial writers.

THE CHAIRMAN.—They can and do already come in. The Union is primarily and essentially a union of newspapers. Each newspaper nominates its representative. On the other hand, Dominion special correspondents can be associate members, but it is only fair to say it has to be on the nomination of a newspaper. The newspaper is the unit, and not the individual. A paper can nominate a correspondent as an associate member of the union.

SIR JOHN WILLISON.—I have never found an associate membership of any particular advantage. For twenty-eight years I was the editor of Canadian newspapers. I was first editor of the "Globe" and then of the "Toronto News." For ten years I have been correspondent in Canada for the London "Times." When I ceased to be editor I became ineligible for membership of this association, and, of course, I resigned.

THE CHAIRMAN.—You can be nominated, of course. I think that Sir John Willison has performed a great service, in calling attention to this matter, and that the status of associate members might be further

considered. We do contemplate that associate members at home should get a very distinct benefit from our wide organization. They would get the facilities which we should be able to place at the disposal of members. They would be eligible at home if they were correspondents of Dominion papers in London, and London correspondents in this country would be equally eligible on our nomination. We are not amending our constitution now. We are considering a resolution with a view to the constitution being amended. I hope that all these matters will be considered. I hope that there will not be too great delay, but that each section, as soon as it can get together on the return of the delegations, will deal with the matter.

SIR JOHN WILLISON.—I hope that the Conference will understand that I was not criticizing, but was merely calling attention to the point.

MR. ROBERT DONALD (Chairman of Council of Empire Press Union).—We in London accept the special correspondents of Overseas newspapers as fully accredited members, and what we do under the constitution can be done in Canada or anywhere else.

EXTENSION OF MEMBERSHIP WELCOMED

MR. SELIG ("Christchurch Press," N.Z.).—I am exceedingly glad that this question has been brought up. To-day no doubt you have received a letter, of which I have a copy in my hand, from our New Zealand chairman, Sir George Fenwick, in which he refers to some amendment of the constitution. Having this before you in the committee that will be set up to consider this matter, you will take these representations into consideration?

THE CHAIRMAN.—Certainly.

MR. SELIG ("Christchurch Press," N.Z.).—I refer to what are called associate members. So far as New

Zealand is concerned—a branch which I think you will admit is fairly strong for a small Dominion—we are perfectly satisfied with what has been done by the Empire Press Union, and wish to express our thanks to the London council for the work they have done, and for the kindness extended to members of that section when they have visited London periodically. With regard to the work of the Empire Press Union and its benefits and the benefits of association, I can endorse the views set forth by Mr. Ross. I have had the privilege, during the last thirteen years, of being chairman of the Newspaper Proprietors' Association of New Zealand. I am also a director of the Press Association, so that I can speak with some experience of the benefit we derive from organization; but I do, in all humility, suggest that the time has arrived when our constitution should be strengthened and widened, and the results of our deliberations should be as definite as possible. I have no doubt that the results of this Conference will be in every way definite and satisfactory to the profession and the members of this body. I do not think that the scope or privileges of associates should be as wide as those of, say, proprietors, but that is a detail which the committee which is to be set up will take into consideration. So far as New Zealand is concerned, if there is any increase in the subscription, which we think is absolutely necessary, we shall be very glad to support it. [Hear, hear.] We are all satisfied that the Empire Press Union has done, and can do, great good for the papers of the Empire, and we shall take our fair share, not only in helping on the work, but in supplying the means necessary to carry it out.

HON. THEO. FINK ("Melbourne Herald," Australia).—I support most cordially the movement for broadening the basis of our organization, sub-

ject to all necessary provisions for preventing the submerging of the daily Press. Mr. Ross's statement has made quite clear the enormous amount of good that can be done by an organization, but it must not be an organization meeting every few years, as we are meeting now, because our resolutions, though valuable, may tend to be of a debating character, leaving the whole work upon a central executive. I think that, whereas there should be periodical meetings in different parts of the Empire, there should also be one at least every two years, and I do hope at least once a year a meeting in London without the burden of hospitality or the expense of travel, so that everybody may resort to the annual meetings for the purpose of definite discussion.

THE CHAIRMAN.—We have an annual meeting there and anybody can attend.

HON. THEO. FINK.—But there should be an annual conference of this dignified character, except in those years when for reasons of greater policy we meet in some distant Dominion, and the work of the year should be reviewed. Questions of policy as well as of business should be considered there, just as we have discussed them at the first and second days' meetings of this Conference. As to finance, it is obvious that we cannot have a powerful organization at three or four guineas a year. If the Empire Press Union is to have the same weight as many of the less important trade or business organizations, it means a great deal of financial support, with a staff of highly paid and efficient men, and it means a building, whether rented or purchased. Without that we shall not have the same influence in relation to our important occupation as many minor and purely gain-seeking organizations.

MR. PERCIVAL MARSHALL (British

Association of Trade and Technical Journals, England).—May I express on behalf of the trade and technical papers of Great Britain their very cordial approval of the spirit of this resolution? Of course, it is not possible at this moment to pledge oneself entirely to the whole of the resolution, but on the point of broadening the membership of the Empire Press Union there would be cordial support from the trade and technical papers. It is not generally known how large a section of the Press of the Empire is represented by trade and technical papers. In Great Britain alone there are at least three hundred papers representing business, commercial, and technical interests. In the whole of the Empire I am quite sure—though I have not the exact figures—there are at least five hundred such papers, and in view of the very sympathetic way in which this resolution was introduced, the members of the Conference will agree that the Empire Press Union cannot claim to be representative of the Press of the Empire if this large and very important section of the Press is omitted from its membership.

MR. VALENTINE KNAPP (President, the Newspaper Society, England).—May I say how immensely gratified we of the weekly Press of Great Britain are that it is possible to be included in the Empire Press Union?

MR. P. D. ROSS ("Ottawa Journal"; Deputy Chairman).—In reference to the difficulty raised by Sir John Willison, the position in the Canadian Daily Newspaper Association is that the newspaper is the member. We have no restriction upon membership other than that all the employees of any newspaper in our association can come to our meetings and talk and take part in them, but they cannot vote. Each newspaper has one vote, and that vote is not affected by the assessment. Some newspapers pay an assessment

of \$1,000 a year, and some pay an assessment of \$100. The paper which pays the largest subscription is supposed to get the largest value out of our association, but it has only one vote.

MR. PRESTON ("Brantford Exportor," Canada).—May I say a word or two in support of the proposal? The suggested development of the Empire Press Union would be a very good thing, not only in the larger aspects that have been referred to, but also from the point of view of journalists from the Dominions visiting Great Britain, or of those from Great Britain visiting the Dominions. Canadian journalists visiting London do not always feel entirely at home. Some years ago, on the occasion of my first visit to London, having heard a great deal about the "Thunderer," I wanted to visit "The Times" office, and I wrote a letter to the manager of that paper, asking if I might have that great privilege, and received a stereotyped reply to the effect that unfortunately this privilege could not be granted. Later, in 1911, it was my fortune as Canadian representative at the Delhi Durbar to have letters of introduction. I visited a distinguished man and sent up my card. I was told he was away, and I left my card. Nothing happened. Nobody cared about a visitor, I did not present any further letters, but I was somewhat disappointed. I am glad to say that to-day a somewhat wider spirit prevails, thanks to the Empire Press Union, and the next time I go to London I shall feel very much at home.

SIR ROBERT BRUCE ("The Glasgow Herald").—I cordially support the proposal. Unfortunately, some members have not had an opportunity of studying the text, and I would suggest that, while passing this resolution to-day, steps should be taken to have it printed and circulated among the delegates.

MR. T. E. NAYLOR (Federation of Master Printers and Allied Trades).—The resolution aims at revising the constitution of the Empire Press Union. The presence of Mr. Isaacs and myself at this Conference raises the question in our minds as to whether, if this resolution is passed, the council will consider or are likely to make provision for the representation or affiliation of organizations representing what are sometimes called the mechanical departments. I take the opportunity of thanking the council for the invitation extended to the Printing Trades Federation. Not only do we appreciate the spirit in which that invitation was sent, but we are also mindful of the courtesy extended to us by every member of the delegations.

I am not suggesting that it is advisable so to widen your constitution as to admit representatives of the trade unions as such. I would not go so far as to suggest that, because I appreciate the difficulties, but I do submit with all respect that the relationship existing between the trade unions in the Old Country and the proprietors of the newspapers does open up considerations as to whether or not it might be advisable to secure some form of closer co-operation. That may be brought about, supposing some provision were made for representation of trade unions on the Empire Press Union. I have heard in the course of my inquiries on the journey so far that there is not exactly the same sort of friendship and cordial co-operation between the Newspaper Union in Canada and the newspaper proprietors in Canada as one would wish to see; and if it were possible to bring together the representatives of each and every one of the Dominions throughout the Empire, at a conference similar to this, far from it being likely that any undesirable matters might be introduced into the discussion, I think that it is quite

possible that the influences which would be exercised would be instrumental in promoting greater peace and concord throughout the whole of the Dominions. The council of the Empire Press Union might take into consideration ways and means for securing representation of the kind if it be possible.

MR. ALFRED LANGLER (the "West Australian").—I endorse the proposal submitted by Mr. Donald, and my colleagues from Australia also approve of the spirit, at least, of the proposition, but I hope that when the next Conference is held provision will be made for more ample time to be devoted to the business of the Conference than has been found possible on this occasion. Several delegates have discussed this with me and seem to share this view.

MR. LEVI ("De Volkstem," S.A.).—On behalf of the entire Dutch newspaper Press in South Africa I thank very heartily those who are responsible for this resolution. The Dutch population in South Africa is very scattered, and not congregated in large cities. They cannot support many newspapers, and it is not possible for these papers to be represented. The Dutch newspaper Press will be very glad to avail itself of this opportunity.

MR. ALFRED SPRIGG (the "Craven Herald"; Vice-President, The Newspaper Society, England).—On behalf of the daily newspapers connected with the Newspaper Society in England, I have every sympathy with the proposal put forward. Several times members have told me when they come to London they are anxious to see not only London but some of the work in the provinces. Now that we are extending our operations, and hope before long to have an enlarged office in London, I feel sure that if this scheme is carried through, members who visit the Old Country and who desire to get into touch with provincial news-

papers will find that this movement will facilitate them, and secure them a cordial reception in any part of the country to which they may go.

SIR PATRICK MCGRATH (the "Evening Herald," St. John's, Newfoundland).—On behalf of my colleagues in Newfoundland I cordially endorse the proposal, and I would ask that we should be given powers to form a branch in our Dominion. At present, under the constitution, Canada and Newfoundland are regarded as one branch.

SIR CAMPBELL STUART ("The Times," London).—I desire to say how much in sympathy I am with the resolution. If the Empire Press Union ultimately carries out its aims, it will deal in very large measure with those matters in relation to visitors from overseas to which Mr. Preston referred. I desire also to express my very great sympathy with the suggestion made by Mr. Naylor, and so far as I am concerned, I shall give it every consideration.

EFFECT OF PASSING THE RESOLUTION

THE CHAIRMAN.—I may explain the exact position as it will be if this resolution is passed. The resolution will stand referred to every section of the Empire Press Union for consideration. We shall ask each section to consider it as it thinks fit, either in committee or in full session—that is not our affair—and then to send its report to us to endeavour to co-ordinate the whole for the common benefit. I am only expressing the views of the other delegations, as well as our own, when I say that it is with great pleasure we have had in our company the two representatives of the two great federations of mechanical workers in Great Britain. Their presence has been most agreeable, but apart from that we think it a distinct advantage, and each section will consider carefully whether some provision ought not

to be made in our constitution whereby the mechanical workers can be represented in some way. [Hear, hear.]

The experience of Mr. Preston shows to my mind what was lacking in the past. He complained of what was really personal neglect, though I do not think that any individual can be made responsible. You all know the busy state of our lives at home, and these matters ought not to depend on the goodwill of an individual. There ought to be some organization, such as our Empire Parliamentary Association, which would render his unfortunate experience impossible in the future.

MR. R. S. WARD-JACKSON ("Rand Daily Mail," S.A.).—I am sorry to vote against this resolution, but I could not feel that I was doing my duty to everybody concerned if I voted for it without knowing exactly what it means.

THE CHAIRMAN.—It is not binding. It will be the vote of this Conference, and stand referred to each section of the Empire Press Union. You retain your powers of amending or even rejecting it in the South African section; but this is not theoretically a constitutional conference. It is the Empire Press Union, sections in every Dominion that will have to settle the matter.

SIR ROBERT BRUCE ("Glasgow Herald").—I am very much with Mr. Ward-Jackson in this matter. I think that the resolutions should be circulated.

THE CHAIRMAN.—We have not had quite sufficient time for full discussion, but I should very much regret if the Imperial Press Conference separated without passing such a resolution. It would be ineffective and ineffectual if it did, and I would ask the Conference for an expression of opinion. The whole thing is elastic. It is not and could not be binding, but it is valuable as an expression of opinion.

MR. R. S. WARD-JACKSON ("The Rand Daily Mail," S.A.).—That resolution would be binding on the council.

THE CHAIRMAN.—We cannot bind the council. We are not constitutionally empowered to do so. We are an informal gathering, though virtually representative. We cannot amend the constitution, which has to be done by a body qualified for the purpose. There are present many gentlemen who are not members of the Empire Press Union, but it is better to have those general resolutions considered by the Conference as a whole. I give this ruling. It is an expression of opinion and not a binding resolution. As an expression of opinion it will be forwarded to each section of the Empire Press Union. The gentleman who acts in the capacity of secretary to the Imperial Press Conference is also secretary to the central section of the Empire Press Union.

DR. A. BARTOLO ("Daily Malta Chronicle").—I desire to associate myself with the spirit of the resolution. I am deeply sensible of the honour of finding our Press among the Press of the Empire. Though we have a small Press, we have taken the Press of the Empire as our pattern, and we shall try more and more to shape ourselves according to their high standard.

The resolution was put and carried, with three dissentients.

INTERCHANGE OF NEWSPAPER STAFFS

LORD APSLEY

LORD APSLEY (the "Morning Post," London).—I beg to propose:

"That this Conference is of opinion that much benefit would result from the provision of opportunities for the interchange of members of staffs of British and Dominion newspapers, with the object of increasing the efficiency

with which information from different parts of the Empire is handled, and as a means of exchanging ideas regarding newspaper organization."

I think that this proposition speaks for itself, and needs no long speech in its defence. I only propose this as a principle, and not as a plan, and will touch but lightly on some of the more obvious difficulties which can perhaps be dealt with by a committee. I am not altogether clear myself as to which committee should discuss this later on. I would myself like further light on this matter, but there will be much in all these resolutions on the agenda to be discussed by committees concerned. Our council possesses very considerable influence. It has a certain amount of political influence in the House, because of the enormous amount of public opinion which it represents, and it has influence both in the Old Country and in the Dominions, in the Houses of Parliament, the council chamber, and at Prime Ministers' breakfast tables—[laughter]—and other places where great decisions are made. Then we have also the power of initiating private enterprise through the medium of the Press. It is chiefly with that that I will deal in this resolution. Rome was not built in a day, and the British Empire is an example of great things started by private enterprise. Afterwards they are brought together, concentrated, and become public organizations.

The idea is familiar to some of you. It was adopted very largely in the army. When units from the Dominions came to the front, and even later from foreign countries, as soon as they arrived they were requested to send officers to be attached as *liaison* officers to British units. In the same way they had officers from British units attached to them. I had military service as *liaison* officer for a month with the

New Zealand mounted brigade. This system of *liaison* had a great advantage in establishing intercommunication of ideas and principles throughout the army. It is now proposed that staffs of Dominion papers should arrange to send members from the editorial or the managerial side to be attached to some other paper in the Mother Country or the other Dominions overseas. When you gentlemen go home such a system might be started in a small way, and later on there might be a collective effort, and it could be done through a central organization. Some papers have already done this to a certain extent. On the paper which I represent, the "Morning Post," we have had members from the Dominions on the staff. Our editor, Mr. Gwynne, has travelled in every part of the British Empire, and is thoroughly familiar with the conditions practically in every part of it. On the other side, Mr. Colvin is returning from South Africa now. I think that other papers are doing so too. Conceivably some of the papers may object to lose some of the more valuable members of their staffs, even though for a short time. That was always one of the first questions that were raised in the case of the army. The authorities were very diffident in sending their best subalterns, but after the system had been in operation for a short time the advantages were so great that it came to be realized that these men were among the great assets of the army.

Another difficulty is the trade unions. We have two representatives of trade unions with us, and I would like very much to hear their opinions on this subject. To me, mutual aid is essential to democracy, and if we go against the principle of helping each other as best we can—and this is one of the best ways in which we can advance that principle—we go against democratic

forces. Trade unions are strong supporters of democracy, and I have no doubt whatever that they will be the first people to come forward to settle some of the difficulties, technical and otherwise, that may arise. The advantages are so obvious that I will not go further into them. This is a question of advantage to the Empire as a whole. A system of interchange would bring all classes together and make them familiar with each other. It is said that familiarity breeds contempt. But that does not apply to the family. The members of a family are, and always have been, familiar, and that does not cause contempt. The British Empire are all one family. We have always been familiar with each other, and you cannot by such familiarity breed contempt. It will be an advantage to our young men to go out and see other countries, and when they come back we shall be all the better for it even though we miss them for a time. Then we shall be getting new blood into our organizations, and new ideas will come in, all to the good. This is the principle which is proposed here, and afterwards it can be dealt with by committee. [Hear, hear.]

MR. R. S. WARD-JACKSON

MR. R. S. WARD-JACKSON ("Rand Daily Mail," S.A.).—I second the resolution for the sake of the principle involved and not for the sake of the precise steps which are here recommended. No doubt a great deal more information and exchange as between the Press of Great Britain and the Press of the Dominions is most desirable. The very wide terms of this resolution commit you to very little, except the expression of an opinion on the principle, and I think that it should be supported. As to the benefits which would be derived by the individual parties concerned, by a young Scottish list, say, being sent out to

Australia for six months, or another one being sent out here for even three months, and another to South Africa for three or four months, I do not think it easy to exaggerate, and if it were at all possible to put it into force you would succeed in getting together, as between the different parts of the Empire, a considerable number of young journalists with experience both of Dominion politics and conditions and those of the British Isles. They could be of great value, and would help us to deal with Imperial questions that may arise later very much better than now. The resolution is worthy of more serious consideration. It does not commit you to any serious step, but it does lay down a principle of great usefulness.

The discussion was adjourned until after luncheon.

WOMEN JOURNALISTS' CLAIMS

On resuming after lunch, Miss M. F. BILLINGTON (Society of Women Journalists, England) said:

I beg to move, as an amendment, the addition at the end of the resolution of the following words:

"That due regard be had to the interests of women journalists in this connection."

I ask the Conference to affirm the principle that women should enjoy equality with men in this direction, on the ground that labour and industrial questions will certainly demand more and more attention, and that in dealing with such problems as will affect women workers the knowledge that women will gain through such interchange of experience will be of mutual value to the Mother Country and the daughter lands. [Applause.]

MISS MARJORIE MCMURCHY (Canadian Women's Press Club).—I beg to second the amendment.

I have to thank the members of the Imperial Press Conference for the

kindness and consideration which women writers have received from them in reference to newspaper work. I am quite sure that their position in this matter has only to be mentioned to ensure that it will be looked after properly. Every woman must realize that the opportunities and responsibilities of women in journalism have increased so greatly that any training such as would be given by this scheme would be extremely useful. In this respect, experience which would lead to an acquaintance with politics and economics in different parts of the Empire would be of extreme value in helping the economic position of women, and I hope that that may result from system of exchange of staffs that is now contemplated.

THE HON. J. W. KIRWAN

HON. J. W. KIRWAN ("Kalgoorlie Miner," Australia).—I hope the principle favoured by the ladies who have just spoken will be affirmed in the resolution. In these days of advancement it is not conceivable that such a principle would be opposed by the Conference. I would also like to say that Lord Apsley's resolution, so far as it affects journalists, is on the lines of the resolution passed yesterday regarding university courses for journalists. An interchange of staffs could not fail to be of great advantage to newspaper men and to help towards a better understanding of Imperial affairs by newspaper men, and correspondingly by newspaper readers. [Hear, hear.] In the matter of applying the principle Lord Apsley favours he referred to visits to the Dominions of three or six months' duration. That to my mind is not long enough. A man who visits an Overseas Dominion for a short period may form quite an erroneous impression of it. Much depends on the season he may visit it in. The country that is a garden in spring or summer may be a

barren wilderness at another time. [Hear, hear.] A short visit may give a journalist that little learning that is a dangerous thing. Much longer periods than those mentioned by Lord Apsley are essential to a good knowledge of a country. Another thing is that events move very rapidly in the Overseas Dominions, especially politically. The position changes constantly. What is fresh to-day politically or otherwise in the new countries of the Empire may be out of date and the position wholly changed in six or twelve months. However, these are matters of detail that would no doubt be safeguarded against, and do not detract from the value of the proposal, which should be carried unanimously. [Applause.]

THE CHAIRMAN.—There was nothing in the original resolution that precluded women from participation in any scheme that might take shape, but as this is one of those occasions on which it is desirable that no doubt should arise, I think it well that there should be this definite statement.

The amendment was agreed to.

THE CHAIRMAN.—When the question of the exchange of staffs was considered recently at the Newspaper Conference in London, it was thought useless to propose a shorter period than six months, and that it was preferable to provide for visits of a year.

The resolution, as amended, was agreed to unanimously.

INCOME EARNED WITHIN THE EMPIRE

MR. H. HORTON

MR. HORTON ("New Zealand Herald").—I beg to propose:

"That with a view to stimulating the development of the resources of the Empire after the war, this Conference affirms the desirability of all Governments

making the first reduction in taxation apply chiefly to 'income earned within the Empire.'"

After the eloquent address of Sir George Foster, who ably covered, fortunately for myself, the ground involved in this resolution, there is still the necessity of in some way affirming the principle. The war has concluded. We have heard a lot on the subject of winning the peace. Winning the peace means developing the Empire with the men and the money available, and I believe that if we encourage the investment of money within the Empire, the men will follow the money. Sir George Foster said he thought that Canada had done a big thing when it had imposed a preferential tariff on manufactured goods. I believe that this principle of giving encouragement to the investment of capital is a better way. It starts with the industry before the goods are manufactured. I imagine a fence placed around the boundaries of our far-flung Empire. Everything established in the way of industry inside that fence is of value when you come to the time of danger, and everything established outside that fence is a potential source of danger.

I may give one instance. Ten years ago we lent several millions to Turkey. Those millions were used in employing men and in purchasing railway material. Those men and that material were used against us in the war. Suppose that that money had been spent in developing the Empire instead of developing a potential enemy, we would have employed men in the Empire who would have rallied round the flag in time of danger. The war is over, and we do not want to repeat those mistakes. Trade within the Empire is always a benefit. If money is lost in exploring or mining or the development of our colonies, it is not all lost. Part is spent on wages.

But if it is invested in wild-cat schemes outside the Empire, that money may have gone for ever. Great Britain prides itself on its Overseas trade, but that can be made more secure by placing it within the bounds of Empire. We want to do something practical for the Empire. We have had very high ideals placed before us, and I believe that, if we affirm some principle of this nature, it will work for the well-being of the Empire. In our Dominion we gave what assistance we could in the war. Our produce was sold not at its highest value. Our farmers knew that they could not get the highest value paid for their produce, but they did it purposely. They did not want to embarrass the Old Country in her time of difficulty. The other Dominions came forward and helped with men and food and in every way they could. In principle we are a great wealthy Empire, but apart from the sentiment of the leaders, who would naturally invest their money in the Empire, there is no encouragement at the present time in a direct form for the investment of our money within the British Empire. China and Japan, and any other foreign nation, if they can offer as good security, can go to London and obtain equal facilities for borrowing money. I have no personal interest in this because New Zealand does not want to borrow money. At the present time money is cheaper there than in the Old Country, but I think that Africa and Canada and many of the great Dominions should have some slight encouragement from outside when they want financial assistance.

I believe that if the Old Country as well as the Dominions could see their way to adopt this principle, it would be a good thing. If there were tariffs within the Empire, those tariffs could be made to work in a preferential form for the betterment of trade. By affirming this principle I do not think that we are

entering into the region of politics. This is a matter which will be before the Imperial Conference, but it is brought forward to-day because I believe that if we wait for the Imperial Conference we shall be losing valuable time.

MR. C. D. LENG ("Sheffield Daily Telegraph," England).—I have much pleasure in seconding the resolution.

THE CHAIRMAN.—We are nearing the close of the Conference, when there is not time for a long discussion. There is no doubt a great deal to be said for giving a preferential reduction of taxation on income earned within the Empire. But there are many business men here, and they will see the difficulty in having different rates of taxation on different classes of income, and not according to assessment of amount, but according to the country in which the income originated. I would like to hear a little more as to the means by which this differentiation might be effected. The question of preferential rating for incomes earned within the Empire is very difficult, because incomes are not separated in that way. In our country the incomes from different investments are all lumped together for the purposes of taxation. I foresee difficulties, and I would like to have them considered before we pass this resolution.

OPPOSITION TO MOTION

MR. T. E. NAYLOR (Federation of Master Printers and Allied Trades).—I was surprised to see this resolution on the agenda paper. It is one which, if recognized as admissible for discussion, is likely to open up many controversial questions of a legal and political character. I have listened carefully to what Mr. Horton has said in support of the resolution, but he has evidently not considered the economic principle at stake in a resolution that seeks, by a system of preferential taxation, to impose protection upon certain forms of invest-

ment. Naturally it becomes a question for every delegate as to whether he is in favour of protecting any kind of interests within the Empire against the interests that exist outside the Empire.

I am one of those who believe in free trade, free trade in the interchange of commodities and the investment of capital. The resolution suggests that the Empire is injured by the investments of its citizens in enterprises outside the Empire. Mr. Horton referred to the question of export and import trade, but if you seek to restrict the opportunity of investment, and to apply such a resolution, undoubtedly you restrict the whole free operation of the natural laws of supply and demand in relation to the investment of capital, and you thereby cut down the export and import trade of the country. Because if it means anything at all, the preferential treatment of income derived from investment within the Empire naturally makes it more difficult for enterprises to exist in any form outside the Empire, and it seems to me that the resolution defeats itself.

What would the position of the British Empire be to-day if we were in the past to have adopted the principle of making it more difficult, as naturally it would be in this case, to invest British capital in enterprises abroad? The whole question of interproduction between nation and nation, free interchange of commodities, the production of those things that are most needed for a community to make it as contented as possible, represent to my mind, for natural and other reasons, what we should seek to protect. But apart from the pros and cons of the argument, I think that the resolution in itself is dangerous, because if the Imperial Press Conference expresses an opinion on the question of taxation in any form whatever, then it is only a short step to the consideration of fiscal

policy, and there is certainly an element in this resolution that inevitably brings a fiscal question into the discussion. I suggest, therefore, that it would be better if this resolution were withdrawn rather than that it should be put to a vote, so that this Conference may not have to consider a proposition which raises such important political and fiscal questions.

MR. ROBERT DONALD (Chairman of Council, Empire Press Union).—While I have a great deal of sympathy with what Mr. Horton has in view, I feel that it is not a practical question for us. This Conference cannot decide it. But I am also concerned with what I may say is the larger aspect which Mr. Naylor has just touched on. It borders very much on the fiscal question. I hope that this Conference will not do anything that raises a note of discord. There is notice of a resolution given in by Sir John Willison, which I will oppose to the utmost, because it raises a question of increasing the fiscal burden of Great Britain. This is a matter which we should not touch. We should not rake up an acute political question. I hope that Sir John Willison will withdraw his proposals. I have pleasure in endorsing Mr. Naylor's remarks, and I would appeal to Mr. Horton to withdraw his resolution.

SIR GEORGE TOULMIN ("Lancashire Daily Post," England).—I shall be very glad to second that appeal.

THE CHAIRMAN.—Perhaps Mr. Horton may feel, after what has been said, that it would be unwise to go further. I allowed this resolution to be put forward because we have had discussions which dealt with those questions, but it does not pertain to the matters which we have come specially together to discuss.

HON. J. W. KIRWAN ("Kalgoorlie Miner," Australia).—I would suggest that it should be dealt with in the same way as one of Dr. Bartolo's

resolutions—that is, that it should be adjourned.

MOTION WITHDRAWN

MR. H. HORTON ("New Zealand Herald").—I think that possibly there is much debatable matter in this resolution, though I feel that the sympathy of the meeting is with me. I would think it a pity if the resolution were not passed unanimously, or if it were defeated, and in the circumstances probably the best thing to do would be, with the consent of the Conference, to withdraw the resolution.

The resolution was withdrawn by consent.

Sir John Willison (Canada) was called on, but was not present, and the resolution of which he had given notice was not moved.

THE PRESS AND POST-WAR PROBLEMS

MR. JOHN NELSON

MR. JOHN NELSON ("Vancouver World").—We have reached the closing hours, almost the closing moments, of a conference that will, I think, remain a very vivid and delightful memory to all of us. We have travelled together for over a week, sharing the discomforts of travel, and the warm and perhaps rather exacting hospitality of the Canadian people. For several days we have been conferring together, and have passed a number of resolutions involving our common interests. We have not, I hope, overlooked the courteous act and the civil word.

THE CHAIRMAN.—Hear, hear.

MR. NELSON.—We have paid proper tribute to our common King and to one another.

"We've drunk to the King, God bless him,
We've drunk to our native land,
We've drunk to our English brother
And we hope that he'll understand."

If I do not pursue the quotation,

Mr. Chairman, and add that we've drunk as much as we're able, it is perhaps because of statutory rather than physical limitations. [Laughter.]

Our Chairman has already said that this Conference has no mission. Yet I fancy we feel that it would fail of its purpose and of its best results if, as newspaper men, we did not all return to our prosaic tasks with a deeper sense of our responsibilities and a larger and better conception of how they should be discharged. It therefore seems proper that in our closing moments we should give some thought to "The Press and its Relation to Post-War Problems."

That is a very large order, and I am not going to tax your patience by attempting to exhaust so comprehensive a theme. I shall only attempt a bare outline of the subject. It seems to resolve itself under two heads. The first is our duty to the world at large, and to the solution of its vexed problems. The other is the more intimate responsibility we bear to that great community of kinsmen who are represented here.

With respect to our world obligations, it has seemed to me that they can be broadly embraced under two axioms. They are the outcome of the cataclysm of world war in which old relationships broke down; in which diplomatic obligations failed, and in which men lost faith in one another, and in a directing Providence. Following that war we have entered into a new era, where peoples are striving for self-determination, and classes for self-expression; where great masses are exercising new, wide, and terrible powers; when direct action is urged in place of the slower forms of self-government; when the masses suddenly find themselves clothed with powers they have not previously exercised; and when democracy is finding expression in many new and sometimes rather weird forms. It would seem to be

the part of all good citizens, and especially of those whose influence is multiplied in the Press, to speak the healing word, and to attempt the simple task of restoring the old good feeling between nations and individuals. [Applause.] And it can be best expressed in a just emphasis of the primary virtues of Good Faith and Good Will. [Hear, hear.]

In its working out the problem will present itself to all of us in different forms and ways according to our circumstances, but in dealing with it we, as pressmen, might do well to keep this in mind—to omit from our columns that which is churlish, to chronicle that which is kindly, to look for good motives and forget those that are bad. Personally, I do not believe that there is any problem between men or nations which will not yield to the invincible influence of goodwill. [Hear, hear.]

When we come to a discussion of what, after all, concerns us perhaps most deeply—namely, what contribution we can make to the solution of these post-war problems within our own Empire—I am not going to give my own views, but those of that wonderful man whose speech at our first Conference has been referred to repeatedly in this, although delivered eleven years ago.

In his rectorial address at Glasgow in 1900 Lord Rosebery drew a picture of what our Empire might have been had Pitt not accepted a peerage, and by leaving the House of Commons lost both his sanity and his authority, the whole resulting in the loss of that newer thought and virile strength which, as a daughter, the United States would have brought to Imperial counsels. He pictured how, ultimately, when Americans became the majority, the seat of Empire would have passed solemnly across the Atlantic and Britain would have become the historical shrine and the European outpost of a world Empire. Well, Mr. Chairman, the United

States withdrew, but we remained. And if our Legislative Parliament has not yet crossed the seas to this side, it may not be without significance that the Parliament of the Press has.

But in the course of his address Lord Rosebery defined the obligations of Empire in words which may well be carried away as a closing impression in this gathering. He said:

"There is not a close in the darkest quarter of Glasgow or a crofter's cabin in the Hebrides which is not a matter of Imperial concern quite as truly in its proportion and degree as those more glowing topics to which that adjective is too often limited. [Hear, hear.]

"Our Empire is not founded on the precedents associated with that name. It has often used the sword, it could not exist without the sword, but it does not live by the sword. War and conquest can fill the lives of but a part of the nation; a sane and simple duty to the Empire may well inspire the whole." [Applause.]

If we wanted a formula, Mr. Chairman, upon which we might unite, we could not have a better one than that. Out of the experiences of the war has come to all of us, no matter what may have been our views ten years ago, a realization of the fact that empires founded on the sword, or on results achieved on the battlefield, and on these alone, cannot endure. In all our plans and policies for the future the life and welfare of the common man must remain the compelling consideration. [Hear, hear.]

Years ago, far out on the Pacific coast, I heard Lord Milner say that when he considered this Empire and its tasks he did not feel like waving a flag or beating a drum, but like going into a corner to pray. When a man of his cast of mind, in the days long before the war, held that view, it is worth our while to adopt it in these days of pressing post-war problems.

Before concluding, I would like, as one of those who shared abundant British hospitality at the First Imperial Press Conference, to say how pleasant it is to all of us to welcome you to Canada. It is particularly pleasing to hear emphasized again and again that suggestion of a family. That word is very grateful to our ears. Some of us have tried hard to find some appropriate word of welcome to match that "welcome home" with which you thrilled us eleven years ago. But, Mr. Chairman, let the word stand. If, as Lord Atholstan said the other night, you welcomed us to the land of our fathers, we are welcoming you to the land of your sons. This is our land, but we shall be bitterly disappointed if before this tour closes you do not describe it as your land. In the words of last night's song, it is my land, but because it is my land, it is thy land. [Applause.]

VOTES OF THANKS

THE CHAIRMAN.—We have listened to a charming speech which makes us realize how all good things come from the heart. We deeply appreciate the reference made to old friendships as well as to new friendships. I do not know that there is any member who wishes to continue this discussion. We all recognize that there has not been a speech made either by our hosts or by members of our own delegations in which there has not been immediate and direct relation to all the post-war problems. We cannot give the time of a legislature to statutes and formal motions, but we have freely expressed ourselves, and I am glad to say with common goodwill, on practically all the questions that arise, though we have not been able, by reason of time, to deal with them in detail. Though there has not been consideration of the question that has now been put before us in a somewhat clearer form, we can say

we have not in any way ignored from first to last the great general question of the common interests and the destinies of the Empire. [Hear, hear.]

I think now that the time has come for those formal resolutions with which it is only proper to acknowledge the kindness with which we have been received here. I do not mean to reiterate and elaborate what has been said on so many occasions, but I have pleasure in moving from the chair :

“ That this Conference expresses its cordial thanks to Lord Atholstan and the Canadian Branch of the Empire Press Union for the all-embracing arrangements in every feature of this memorable visit to Canada, and to all those whose voluntary aid has been generously applied in receiving and entertaining without stint the Overseas Delegations. It also highly appreciates the great services of the Canadian Pacific Railway and the Canadian Pacific Ocean Services, and of their officials.” [Applause.]

I will ask one of the Australian delegation to second this motion. After all that has been said about the perfection of the arrangements for our hospitality, to say anything further might spoil the force of this resolution.

MR. G. E. FAIRFAX (“ Sydney Morning Herald ”; Chairman, Australian Section, Empire Press Union).—I quite agree that anything one might say in reference to this resolution is very apt to take away from its fullness, but I cannot help saying, as Lord Atholstan’s name has been specially mentioned, that the kindness which I have received from him, and not only from him, but from every Canadian I have met, has been overwhelming. They have treated me as an old friend, and I felt as if I had known them for years, and to all,

including all the officials and everyone connected with this trip, I can only say what I seem to have been saying ever since I landed in Vancouver—I thank you. [Applause.]

The resolution was carried by acclamation.

THE CHAIRMAN.—I beg further to move :

“ This Conference places on record its obligations to the Government of Canada for permitting the meetings of the Conference to be held in the new Parliament Buildings of Ottawa, and to the various departments of the Government which have supplied information and provided transportation through the National Railways, and other facilities which are contributing so much to the great success of the tour of the Dominion. It also cordially thanks the Provincial Governments and the cities and towns throughout the country for their hospitable welcome and unlimited courtesies.” [Applause.]

There again I can only just allude to what I had an opportunity of saying at the banquet given by the Government and elsewhere : how much the official recognition of the Government has added to the dignity and usefulness of our Conference. I will ask the Chairman of the New Zealand delegation to second the resolution.

MR. T. W. LEYS (“ Auckland Star,” N.Z.).—This resolution cannot be carried in any other way than by acclamation. We have travelled in these splendid trains provided by the railways, but we have also experienced the cordial reception given to us by the Government of the Dominion. It was a great honour that the Governor-General should have set aside some important engagements in order that he might open our Conference. The fact that the representative of our King has done that has stamped the importance of our

Conference, and stamped the importance of our organization as an Imperial organization—Imperial in the widest sense—and there has been a very great advance in the history of the Empire Press Union. [Hear, hear.]

The resolution was carried by acclamation.

TELEGRAM FROM THE LORD MAYOR OF LONDON

THE CHAIRMAN.—I have received a telegram from the Lord Mayor of London as to the terrible conditions that exist in Central Europe. His Lordship says:

"As member our appeal committee ask you to invite consideration by conference of Imperial movement dealing appalling conditions disease distress war-stricken areas Europe. Typhus most imminent peril. International movement afoot through initiative League of Nations and League of Red Cross Societies. Imperial War Relief Fund patron His Majesty body chosen by League Red Cross to lay appeal before peoples Empire. Whole Empire invited act together in great humanitarian effort. Canada Australia New Zealand acting through Governors-General. Africa working same direction leadership Smuts, India Crown Colonies dependencies approached through Secretaries of State. Will editors place need and appeal before Empire giving stirring lead public opinion.

"EDWARD COOPER,

"*Lord Mayor London, President.*

"RICHARD CAVENDISH,

"*Chairman Imperial War Relief Fund.*"

We do not need any incentive to make us realize the appalling conditions which prevail in middle and eastern Europe and make us determined to do all we can to mitigate them. I dare say that the Canadian

papers will be good enough to accept this telegram as coming from the Lord Mayor, to give it publicity, and to urge support of the fund. [Hear, hear.]

OVERSEAS SETTLEMENT

In reference to the question of migration within the Empire, I know that Lord Atholstan is very keenly occupied and concerned with this matter. I was asked by the Chairman of the Overseas Settlement Committee of His Majesty's Government to draw attention to the last report of a body which now deals with all that concerns emigration and settlement. The Overseas Settlement Committee has taken over the functions exercised in regard to emigration by the various departments of state, except those in reference to ships and cognate subjects exercised by the Board of Trade; but they in no way conflict with the powers exercised in the Dominions, and the agents-general of the various states and provinces, who, of course, use their own discretion and act according to the instructions of their governments; but about a year ago the Overseas Settlement Committee was constituted, and one of its first acts was to obtain from Parliament provision which enabled every ex-service man to be transported to any part of His Majesty's Dominions free of cost within a limited period of time. Other things have been done in order to facilitate the settlement overseas of persons who desire to do so, but the system, so far as it has gone, is explained in the report which has been circulated and which every member of the Conference, I understand, has had an opportunity of reading. Perhaps the best way we can serve the purpose in view is to inform ourselves of the views of those who are concerned and of the opportunities that exist for carrying them into effect. We have heard a great

deal from the moment that we landed in the Maritime Provinces as to this being the land of opportunity, and of what those who come from the Old Country may expect. I do not think that it is necessary to have a formal debate, because it is the observation of facts that is desired, and you will be able to see for yourselves what are the conditions and prospects of the country; but I have been asked specially to draw your attention to this subject, and any information that you may require can be obtained from the Overseas Settlement Committee and will be freely placed at your disposal.

VOTE OF THANKS TO LORD BURNHAM

MR. JOHN NELSON ("The World," Vancouver).—I beg to move:

"That this Conference places on record its deep indebtedness to Viscount Burnham for the able and impartial way in which he has presided over its deliberations."

I have been asked to move this resolution by the members of the party, any of whom would have esteemed it a privilege to have submitted it to the Conference. It is most fortunate that we have had as the head of this Conference a man whose public life touches at so many angles almost every phase of activity. In his municipal, parliamentary, and newspaper activities our Chairman has acquired an experience which has been invaluable in the work of this body and in its relations with every form of our public life. The effect has been to give to our deliberations much authority and influence. [Applause.] I have therefore much pleasure in moving that the hearty thanks of this Conference be extended to Lord Burnham for the precision with which he has guided our counsels, for the courage with which he has curbed the unruly, for the patience

with which he has suffered the wearisome, and for the unflinching tact, courtesy, and skill with which he has presided over this Conference. [Applause.]

MR. R. S. WARD-JACKSON ("Rand Daily Mail," S.A.).—I am more than glad to have the opportunity of saying one word in support of what Mr. Nelson has said. I do not think that any conference could be presided over by a chairman with a greater degree of ability and never-failing tact. [Applause.]

MR. E. WOODHEAD ("Huddersfield Examiner," England).—On behalf of the back benches, may I add one word as to how much we are indebted to Lord Burnham. We have been able to hear every word which he said, and if we could say as much for some of the other delegates this Conference would have been even more interesting and instructive to some of those who sit on the back benches.

MR. P. D. ROSS ("Ottawa Journal"; Deputy Chairman).—I have much pleasure in putting this resolution. I am not going to add anything to what has been said, but on behalf of the Canadian delegation may I just give a hearty encore, and say that we hope to have the pleasure of a further conference presided over by Lord Burnham.

The resolution was carried by acclamation.

THE CHAIRMAN'S REPLY

THE CHAIRMAN.—I am indeed grateful to you. I believe that this Conference has proceeded successfully, but I must disclaim any merit for the control of its proceedings, because it has worked itself and controlled itself. In the House of Lords, to which I belong, there are no rules of procedure. We keep our own order. It is the same in this Conference. We keep our own order. It has been a very high honour for me to be in

the chair, one that I shall recollect all my life, and to have had the opportunity during this Conference of renewing many old friendships and making many new ones, which I hope will last the length of my life. I think we all look forward to the next Conference, when we may meet again, perhaps not in Canada, but in another of the Dominions of the Crown. I am sure that there is nothing which will give us all more pleasure than to see one another again. [Applause.]

VOTE OF THANKS TO CANADIAN PRESS

MR. ROBERT DONALD (Chairman of Council, Empire Press Union).—I beg to move :

“That this Conference accords to the Press of Canada its hearty thanks for the able co-operation given in recording the proceedings of the Conference and the many notable events of the hour.”

We are indebted to our colleagues of the Press of Canada, and particularly to Mr. Ross, for making arrangements for this Conference and for the hospitality which we enjoy while in this city. They have taken the greatest care to see that the arrangements worked without any hitch, and the least we can do is to express our thanks for what they have done. [Applause.]

SIR ROBERT BRUCE (“Glasgow Herald”).—I have much pleasure in seconding the motion.

The resolution was carried by acclamation.

MR. ROSS.—I thank you very much for your kind vote of thanks. I think that you owe the reception here, such as it has been, to the very generous and unrestrained anxiety of the Canadian Government to give you a hearty welcome. From the start there was nothing that was suggested to the Government that

they did not readily fall in with, and in reference to all the preparations that have been made here, in whatever has been done the Dominion Government gave us an absolutely free hand. As for myself and my fellow-Canadians, we are in this thing because we are British. Sir John Macdonald, one of the great statesmen to whom the confederation was due, chose as his war-cry at one of his elections, “A British subject I was born. A British subject I will die.” That is the feeling of Canadians, and for every man coming from any part of this dear old Empire we have a warm heart. [Applause.]

MR. J. J. KNIGHT (“Brisbane Courier,” Australia).—I may be distinctly out of order, but I would like to join in this expression of thanks to the Canadian Press for the admirable way in which they have recorded our proceedings and given us perhaps more publicity than we deserve. Their publicity has been very much appreciated. They not only have reported our speeches in some cases at very full length, but they have recorded events and given us points which help to make our journey very pleasant.

SIR GEORGE TOULMIN (“Lancashire Daily Post,” England).—I also would like to express our gratitude for the fact that from the moment of our entry into Canada the Press has paid us such great attention. We are all deeply grateful for the way in which it has done its work in connection with this Conference.

THE CONFERENCE DECLARED CLOSED

THE CHAIRMAN.—I must also endorse this tribute to the Canadian Press. [Applause.] I have now the honour to declare this Third Session of the Imperial Press Conference closed.

GARDEN PARTY AT RIDEAU HALL

The official functions in Ottawa came to an end with a Garden Party given in honour of the delegates by the Governor-General and the Duchess of Devonshire at the viceregal

house, Rideau Hall. Besides the visitors there were among the guests members of the Dominion Government, other public men, and leading officials.

PRESENTATION TO LORD AND LADY BURNHAM

Before the delegates separated an opportunity was taken by them of showing their appreciation of Lord Burnham's services by presenting to him and Lady Burnham a moose-head. The "Ottawa Citizen" (Aug. 9th) gave the following report of the presentation:

A most happy interlude in the proceedings of the Imperial Press Conference occurred at noon on Saturday, when a magnificent mounted moose's head was presented to Viscount and Viscountess Burnham by the delegates to commemorate the convention in Ottawa.

Mr. Robert Donald, chairman of the Empire Press Union, made the presentation, and he was supported by Sir Emsley Carr and Sir Robert Bruce. Lord Burnham replied in extremely fitting terms. He was taken by surprise.

Mr. DONALD, in making the presentation, said:

I occupy a most enviable position to-day. It is my privilege, through the accident of being vice-chairman, to express to our noble Chairman—and I use the word "noble" not in a parliamentary or social sense, but in reference to his nobility of character and his splendid qualities as a man—it is my privilege to express to him our feelings of admiration and gratitude for his leadership on this memorable mission. I know I will fail to express in words all that we feel in our hearts. I have some consolation in thinking that while any of you could do better, none of you could do full justice to the subject.

From the time we landed at Sydney, Lord Burnham has done the right thing and said the right thing, and we take this opportunity of telling him that and paying him a tribute, as at no other time on our tour will there be so many delegates present. For the rest of the journey we are confident that he will live up to the high standard he has set. We are proud to have Lord Burnham for our friend and our leader. It is not an easy task to shepherd a lot of newspaper men, but Lord Burnham has endeared himself to us all, and I am sure he has also endeared himself to our Canadian colleagues and the Canadian people. He has shown rare tact, judgment, and courtesy of the highest order. His speeches have well expressed our sentiments and have been statesmanlike utterances.

We all appreciate the sacrifices he has made in giving up nearly two months of his busy life to our service and to this mission. It would be impossible for me to tell you all about Lord Burnham's manifold activities in the public service, but however pressing other demands are upon him, his chief devotion is to the Press. He is prouder to be one of us—a newspaper man—than to be anything else. No one could render more disinterested service on behalf of his fellow-workers or be more tireless in the interest of the Press than Lord Burnham has been. Lord Burnham is a many-sided and large-hearted man. In directing the newspaper which he owns, he maintains

its high traditions and also its standard of excellence and enterprise.

Mr. Donald concluded by saying :

I associate with this presentation Lady Burnham, as without her devoted help Lord Burnham would not be able to carry out all his responsible public duties. Her presence on this visit has been an added pleasure to us all. Will you, Lord and Lady Burnham, accept this token of our affectionate esteem, friendship, and gratitude, and we trust that it will always be a reminder of the increasing attachment of old friends and of many new ones, and that you will accept it also as a souvenir of one of the most memorable gatherings in the history of the Empire."

SIR EMSLEY CARR spoke of the sterling qualities of Viscount Burnham as a newspaper man, and said

they all recognized the great work which Lord and Lady Burnham had done on this tour.

LORD BURNHAM was received with loud cheers when he rose to reply. He said that words could not express all the gratitude that he and Lady Burnham felt. He spoke of its unexpectedness, adding that this was not a testimonial where in reality the recipient was the author. The tour through Canada had been a great expedition. Nothing could enlighten and sweeten the Empire more than bringing together in close and brotherly conclave the Press. The moose-head would find a resting-place in his country home, where his father had welcomed the first Imperial Conference. He again thanked them from the bottom of his heart.

LAST DAYS IN QUEBEC

LORD BURNHAM AND FRENCH CANADA

It had been originally intended to hold a business meeting of the Conference at Quebec on the return journey, but the work was completed at Ottawa; the last official function, however, took place at Quebec, when the party was entertained by the Provincial Government, with the Prime Minister, the Hon. M. Taschereau, in the chair. In proposing the health of the visitors M. Taschereau said :

M. TASCHEREAU

Le distingué interprète de votre pensée, lord Burnham, déclarait à Montréal, jeudi dernier, que vous désiriez terminer votre séjour au Canada en prenant intimement contact avec la province de Québec. Vous êtes en ce moment au cœur même de notre vieille province. Et comme vous êtes venus d'outre-mer non pas tant pour vous enquerir des avantages commerciaux qu'offre

notre pays que pour mieux connaître le peuple canadien, et incidemment peut-être pour vous faire une idée plus nette du rôle que les Canadiens-Français sont appelés à jouer dans l'accomplissement des destinées du Canada en fonction de la mère patrie, vous me permettrez d'évoquer des souvenirs que renferment les annales de notre capitale et qui sont d'une haute signification historique.

Il est particulièrement intéressant pour les éminents journalistes que vous êtes, de savoir que Québec fut le berceau du journalisme canadien, et qu'une lutte héroïque fut entreprise à cette époque lointaine en faveur du gouvernement constitutionnel et des institutions britanniques dont vous êtes aujourd'hui si justement fiers. Le "Canadien" parut à Québec en 1806. Le format de ce journal hebdomadaire était de 18 pouces par 14, soit environ la

moitié d'une page de nos grands quotidiens. En passant, puis-je noter que vous avez là sous indiqué un excellent remède à la crise du papier. Parmi les trois principaux rédacteurs du "Canadien" se trouvait mon grand-père. Or, en 1810, pour avoir défendu à l'encontre de sir James Craig, des principes qui sont actuellement à la base de vos convictions politiques les plus sacrées, il fut jeté en prison avec Bédard et Blanchette, et y passa trois mois entiers. Les motifs qui animaient mon aïeul se révèlent dans le fait que, peu de temps après, il commandait le régiment de Beauce, et se battait vaillamment à Châteauguay, à titre de colonel, pour arrêter l'invasion américaine. Vous avez là un simple exemple de la fidélité de la race canadienne française envers l'Angleterre et de ce qu'elle a su accomplir, de multiple façon, pour conserver notre pays à la Couronne britannique. Pendant votre trajet de près de huit mille milles à travers le Canada, vous avez presque constamment suivi la frontière d'un pays qui nous est étranger au point de vue national, mais qui n'en parle pas moins, la même langue que la majorité des habitants du Canada. Vous est-il alors venu à l'esprit que l'une des deux grandes races dont est issue la nation canadienne forme, par sa langue et ses traditions, un rempart contre l'invasion d'une mentalité et d'un mode d'existence qui éventuellement laisseraient très peu de différence entre ce qui distingue actuellement les Etats-Unis et ce qui caractérise le plus grand Dominion de l'Empire.

"Le choix bien arrêté des Canadiens-Français et leur influence, a-t-il dit, contribueront fortement à empêcher l'annexion du Canada aux Etats-Unis." Puis-je ici rendre hommage à sir George Toulmin pour avoir compris la solution du problème canadien aussi bien que du problème impérial, en déclarant à

Truro que les liens qui unissent les diverses parties de l'Empire se fortifieront non pas dans l'uniformité mais dans l'union. Je présume que la même pensée inspirait lord Burnham quand il disait, dans son remarquable discours de Sydney, que "jamais plus qu'à cette heure les parties distinctes et distantes qui composent l'Empire sont-elles nécessaires les unes aux autres."

Ainsi entendue l'union trouvera ses plus fervents partisans chez mes compatriotes, et Québec contribuera à l'union et à la gloire de l'Empire ce que notre vieille province a de meilleur en elle, c'est-à-dire sa puissance physique et son énergie morale que lui ont conservées nos traditions nationales.

En ces jours de malaise général, pareilles traditions jouent un grand rôle dans la vie économique d'un pays. A plusieurs reprises j'ai eu récemment l'occasion de signaler que la population agricole augmentait dans notre province alors qu'elle diminuait dans presque tous les pays. Il y a cinq ans, notre province ne comptait que 10,500,000 acres de terre en culture; aujourd'hui c'est 15,000,000 acres. Nos industries profitent au même degré de la stabilité de notre peuple. Nos produits manufacturés représentaient, en 1915, \$388,000,000; cette année notre statistique les évalue à un milliard.

Le développement de nos ressources naturelles se poursuit rapidement. L'industrie de la pulpe et du papier à laquelle vous vous intéressez tout particulièrement—je comprends que plusieurs d'entre vous partent ce soir pour visiter notre magnifique région du Saguenay—a pris un merveilleux essor. Contre un rendement, en 1915, de 1,300,000 cordes de bois de pulpe évaluées à \$8,300,000 nous aurons cette année 2,500,000 cordes d'une valeur de \$62,500,000.

Nous avons des forces hydrauliques incalculables à mettre au service de

cette industrie, et l'utilisation de ces forces est une œuvre à laquelle le gouvernement actuel projette de se consacrer. Au lieu des 442,600 chevaux vapeur que nous comptons en 1915, nous n'en avons pas loin d'un million en 1920. Grand'Mère et La Tuque sont des noms canadiens qui sont déjà venus à vos oreilles, de même que le barrage de La Loutre. D'ici votre prochain voyage nous aurons multiplié le nombre de ces noms caractéristiques.

Pour former les spécialistes que requièrent tous ces domaines de l'activité humaine, nous nous efforçons d'améliorer notre enseignement technique. Comme vous le savez probablement, Québec n'a pas toujours joui de la réputation que notre province mérite, et je crois avoir entendu dire entre autres choses que nous étions arriérés au point de vue de l'instruction publique.

Or, non seulement des écoles techniques d'une haute valeur scientifique, mais nos universités Laval et de Montréal ambitionnent de se mettre graduellement au niveau des universités d'Europe. Nos octrois à l'instruction publique ont augmenté en cinq ans de \$1,782,000 à \$2,146,000, tandis que le peuple de son côté portait ses contributions de \$9,681,000 à \$14,700,000.

Voilà, quelques-uns des progrès qu'a réalisés notre province au cours de ces cinq dernières années. Puis-je m'adresser à vous, messieurs, qui avez la mission à titre de journalistes, de répandre la vérité, pour vous demander de faire connaître, à votre retour en Europe, ce qui se passe réellement dans la province de Québec. En contribuant à mettre fin aux légendes qui ont été répandues sur notre compte, vous aurez rendu service à votre pays, puisque ce sont autant de préjugés et de sources de malentendus que vous aurez endiqués, et nous n'en garderons qu'un meilleur souvenir de votre passage au milieu de nous. [Applause.]

LORD BURNHAM

Lord Burnham in reply said :

Nous vous sommes tous très reconnaissants pour votre courtoise hospitalité. Nous sommes ici dans la plus ancienne province du Canada, celle qui est canadienne par excellence. Le peuple de votre pays devient de plus en plus fier de sa nationalité et de ses communes sympathies. Nous retournons chez nous convaincus de l'intensité du patriotisme canadien.

On nous a admis dans l'intimité de nombreux foyers pour qui une bonne récolte signifie non seulement l'aisance mais signifie encore un grand service rendu aux vieux pays qui ne disposeront pas du ravitaillement nécessaire.

C'est avec des yeux pleins d'espoir que vous envisagez l'avenir. Vous possédez la détermination qui a su rendre vos immenses pouvoirs d'eau les esclaves de vos industries. Doué d'une force gigantesque, le Canada entend s'en servir à la façon d'un géant. Il va sans dire que j'entend parler ici d'un colosse du nouveau monde et non d'un titan de la vieille Europe. Vos forces énormes sont acquises à tout ce qui peut améliorer le sort commun de l'humanité.

Le succès national dépend de l'union étroite des deux entités ethniques qui composent le Canada. Chaque race devrait oublier les faiblesses de sa voisine pour en se rappeler que de ses qualités. Je parle dans le pays qui a reçu maintes fois la semence féconde du sang des martyres de l'église catholique. Depuis le grand conflit et la plaie bolschéviste, nous réalisons davantage les actes héroïques accomplis par vos pionniers.

Le courage invincible que vous manifestez à l'heure actuelle nous aide à mieux comprendre la valeur des âges passés. C'est de la vieille cité de Champlain que sont partis ces groupes d'explorateurs indomp-

tables qui ont introduit dans les solitudes américaines les premiers rudiments de la civilisation. Ce sont là autant de précieuses traditions qui sont à la base d'un patrimoine national.

Telles sont encore les traditions que les races anglaise et française entourent d'un égal respect. Le Canadien-Français est un rempart contre la dissolution des coutumes et des habitudes consacrées par les siècles. Votre race lance pour ainsi dire ses racines dans ce sol que vous

avez le secret de si habilement cultiver, quelque rugueux qu'il puisse être en certains endroits. En Angleterre j'ai l'honneur d'être le président de la Société Anglo-Française qui tend à promouvoir par tous les moyens possibles la bonne entente entre vos deux mères patries. De cette union dépend le bonheur de l'Europe de même que la prospérité du Canada est inséparablement liée à une mutuelle sympathie entre le Canadien-Français et l'Anglo-Canadien.

SOME MESSAGES OF WELCOME RECEIVED UPON LANDING IN CANADA

The following is a selection from a very large number of messages of welcome received by the delegation upon landing at Sydney :—

The Duke of Devonshire, Governor-General of Canada :

On behalf of the Government and people of Canada I offer you all a most cordial welcome on your arrival in Canada, and hope you will have a most pleasant and satisfactory tour. I am looking forward to meeting you at Ottawa when you assemble there for the Conference.

The Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen, Prime Minister of Canada :

On behalf of the Government of Canada I cordially welcome the delegates to the Imperial Press Conference to this Dominion. I invite you to make during your visit an investigation of Canadian resources and conditions as complete as the time at your disposal will permit, and assure you an hospitable greeting and a warm appreciation of the high purpose you have in mind from the people of Canada. The store of information which you will acquire of this country and which through you our people will learn of other parts of the Empire cannot fail to be of great advantage to all.

The Hon. P. E. Blondin, Canadian Postmaster-General :

I desire to convey to you and to the delegates of the Imperial Press Conference a warm welcome to Canada along with my cordial best wishes, and hope that the coming Conference will be productive of the most beneficial results to the Empire as a whole as well as to the Press, which is one of its most distinguished agencies for good.

The Hon. Sir J. A. Lougheed, K.C.M.G., Minister of the Interior :

As Minister of the Interior, charged with the administration of the natural resources

which come under the Federal Government, I beg, with the other members of the Government, to extend to you a cordial welcome to Canada and to offer to the Imperial Press Conference delegation every facility to enable your members to secure a knowledge of the vast natural resources of the Dominion and the importance to the Empire of their development.

The Hon. R. W. Wigmore, Minister for Customs and Inland Revenue :

Kindly convey sincere regrets to delegates on my inability to be present at the welcome to be extended to you by the winter port of Canada. I hope that your trip may be both profitable and pleasurable, and am looking forward to meeting you in Ottawa.

Mr. E. W. Beatty, President of the Canadian Pacific Railway :

I desire to convey to the members of the Empire Press Union the most cordial greetings of the directors and officers of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, in the care and on the lines of which many of the members of the Union will be during their coming trip through Canada, and to express the hope that the Conference will be profitable and your trip enjoyable and informing. Nothing could, I think, conduce to a clearer understanding of this country's position and its problems and its potentialities than the visit of your members at this time.

The Rt. Hon. Sir Charles Fitzpatrick, G.C.M.G., Lieut.-Governor, Province of Quebec :

Heureux de souhaiter au nom de la province de Québec la plus cordiale bienvenue aux délégués de la Conférence Impériale de la Presse. Espère que de votre passage dans notre province et à travers notre pays résulteront des fruits abondants de connaissances exactes et de relations plus étroites entre le Canada et la Grande Bretagne.

**The Hon. Sir James A. M. Aikins,
Lieut.-Governor of Manitoba :**

The Government and people of Winnipeg and Manitoba, speaking for the centre and heart of our nation, are happy because the Imperial Press delegates now visit Canada. It means for the present the pleasure of personal acquaintance, of giving and glean- ing information, and for the future better understanding and a strengthening of those soul ties which hold together in easy bond, but firmly, the peoples of the Motherland and Canada.

**The Hon. Sir Richard Stuart Lake,
Lieut.-Governor of Saskatchewan :**

I desire to extend a most cordial welcome to the delegates to the Imperial Press Conference, and trust that their visit to Canada will be an unqualified success.

**The Hon. William Pugsley, Lieut.-
Governor of New Brunswick :**

Welcome! I hope that some day no great newspaper of the Empire will have at its head any man who is not personally acquainted with every country under the British Flag.

**The Hon. McCallum Grant, Lieut.-
Governor of Nova Scotia :**

As Lieut.-Governor of the first settled province of Canada, and the first to enjoy the benefits of British representative government, I bid you a most warm and cordial welcome to Nova Scotia. In this portion of Canada nearest to the Motherland you will find a free people prospering under British institutions and proud of their British traditions. One and all they warmly greet you, and greatly will they desire that your stay here may be pleasant, and that you and your party will carry away with you happy memories of your brethren overseas.

**The Hon. Murdoch McKinnon, Lieut.-
Governor of Prince Edward Island :**

On behalf of the people of the Province of Prince Edward Island I cordially welcome your Lordship and distinguished confrères to Canada. I regret that owing to the late arrival of your steamer your intended official visit to this province has been abandoned, but sincerely hope that at least some of your delegates will find time at the conclusion of your official programme to come here in September. With best wishes for a successful tour, I am, etc.

**The Hon. Robert George Brett, M.D.,
Lieut.-Governor of Alberta :**

The citizens of Alberta learn with much pleasure of your intended visit to this

province. In my own and on their behalf it will be a great pleasure to extend to you and the other delegates a very cordial welcome.

**The Hon. Col. Edward Gawler
Prior, Lieut.-Governor of British
Columbia :**

On behalf of the Province of British Columbia allow me to extend to your Lordship and the distinguished ladies and gentlemen accompanying you a very hearty welcome to Canada. I feel confident that the bonds now existing between the Motherland and this vast Dominion will be greatly strengthened thereby, and that incalculable good will accrue from your presence here.

**The Hon. L. A. Taschereau, Prime
Minister of the Province of Quebec :**

Permettez moi de vous souhaiter la bienvenue au Canada dans cette belle langue française pour la survivance de laquelle l'Empire britannique a fait se genereux effort au cours de la grande guerre. Nous somme heureux que vous preniez votre première impression du Canada à Quebec où vous pourrez constater ce que trois siècles de labours de fidélité aux traditions et de saine démocratie ont pu realizer au point de vue du progrès de la stabilité des institutions de la vraie liberté.

**Sir Lomer Gouin, K.C.M.G., late Prime
Minister of the Province of Quebec :**

I am greatly pleased to send you a cordial message of greeting and welcome to our shores, sincerely trusting that your visit to Canada will prove enjoyable to yourselves and helpful to your work as moulders of public opinion.

**The Hon. Charles Stewart, Premier of
Alberta :**

People of Alberta welcome Imperial Press delegates to Canada, and eagerly await their arrival in the province to prove it by more than words.

**The Hon. W. E. Foster, Premier of
New Brunswick :**

Canada feels honoured by the visit of the Imperial Press delegates.

**The Hon. George H. Murray, Premier
of Nova Scotia :**

As Premier of Nova Scotia I am proud to welcome you to the corner-stone Province of Canada. Though your visit is all too brief, you will readily learn that Nova Scotia, by virtue of her great natural resources and her strategic position, is the

potential Britain of America. We possess as a grand heritage the glorious traditions of the Motherland. We have laid our foundations on the surest principles of British justice and freedom. You come to us as we enter upon a period of great development. On behalf of the peoples of Nova Scotia I extend to you the most cordial greetings.

The Hon. W. M. Martin, K.C., Premier of Saskatchewan :

Saskatchewan sends heartiest greetings to the Imperial Press delegation in the confident belief that their visit to Canada will prove not only of great interest and profit to the Dominion, but also to Great Britain and the Empire at large. Saskatchewan will be proud to give the delegates a welcome second to none in warmth and sincerity, and is looking forward with much pleasure to their arrival in the West.

The Hon. John H. Bell, K.C., Premier of Prince Edward Island :

Prince Edward Island sends greetings and joins with other provinces of Canada in bidding you a cordial welcome. We regret that your official visit does not extend to the garden of the gulf, but we hope to see your party about September after your official visit to Canada has terminated.

The Hon. T. C. Norris, Premier of Manitoba :

Please accept and convey to delegates to the Imperial Press Conference hearty greetings and cordial welcome to Canada of Government and people of Manitoba. We look forward with keen anticipation to your visit to this province.

The Hon. John Oliver, Premier of British Columbia :

British Columbia bids you welcome. We shall look forward with pleasure to your visit to our province.

The late Mr. M. R. Jennings, President of the Canadian Daily Newspapers Association :

The Canadian Daily Newspapers Association extend to Lady Burnham and to yourself and to each member of the party individually a hearty welcome. Notwithstanding any perplexities of the Conference, any anxieties you may feel through prolonged absence during critical days, and any arduous features of your extended itinerary by land, we hope you will share in some degree, at least, the pleasure and advantage which our membership confidently anticipate from your visit to Canada. Once again most cordial greetings.

Mr. W. F. Bullock, New York :

Representatives of British Newspaper Press resident in United States desire to join most heartily with their Canadian colleagues in welcoming all members of Imperial Press Conference on arriving at Halifax. They greet the captains of Fleet Street and the master journalists of the British Commonwealth in the confident belief that their visit and reception in the great Dominion will help to cement the ties of affection and mutual interest which link every section of the Commonwealth with the Mother Country. W. F. Bullock, of "London Times and Mail"; P. Whitewell Wilson, "London Daily News," Vice-President of Association of Foreign Press Representatives in United States; Percy S. Bullen, "London Daily Telegraph," Secretary and Treasurer of Association of Foreign Press Representatives; A. Maurice Low, "London Morning Post"; J. W. Harding, "London Daily Chronicle"; Warren Mason, "London Daily Express"; T. Walter Williams, "London Daily Mirror"; S. J. Clarke, "London Daily Telegraph"; Reginald Wilson, "London Times and Mail"; W. J. Hernan, "London Westminster Gazette"; John Foster Fraser, "London Evening Standard"; F. Douglas Williams, of Reuter's Agency; W. W. Davies, representing Australian Press Association; L. Graham, "London Financier."

RESOLUTIONS OF THE SECOND IMPERIAL PRESS CONFERENCE (CANADA, 1920)

CANADA AND THE WEST INDIES

Carried by acclamation.

1. This Conference, representing the Press of all parts of the British Empire, tenders to the Government of Canada, and to the authorities of the West Indies, its warmest congratulations upon the completion of their agreement providing for better means of communication and improved trading facilities, which this Conference is confident will promote the prosperity of both great communities, and add to the solidarity of the Empire.

CABLE AND WIRELESS COMMUNICATIONS

2. (a) That this Conference is strongly of opinion that it has become necessary to secure forthwith facilities for the better, quicker, and cheaper conveyance of news throughout the Empire, and calls upon the Empire Press Union to take immediate steps to attain this end.

(b) This Conference strongly recommends the Governments of Great Britain and Ireland, of the Dominions, and of India to encourage the development of cable, wireless, and other facilities for the exchange of news and opinion within the Empire, and to assist in securing reduced rates for such intercommunication; any such assistance to appear specifically in the estimates of public expenditure, and to be so directed as not to affect the quality of the news service supplied or the freedom of the newspapers so served.

(c) This Conference is of opinion that the full utility of cable and wireless communications, as a factor in educating public opinion and in maintaining a good understanding between all peoples of the Empire, will not be attained until rates are reduced to a basic charge of one penny per word for Press messages throughout the whole of the British Empire.

3. This Conference is strongly of opinion that steps should at once be taken to provide the British Empire and the world with the advantages of wireless telegraphic and telephonic communications, and it urgently requests the Governments of the Empire to secure

by public or by full facilities for private enterprise, at an early date, adequate wireless services throughout the Empire.

4. That with a view to improving cable and wireless communications and inter-Imperial news service within the Empire, this Conference suggests that each delegation shall press upon its own Government the initiation of negotiations with the neighbouring Governments of the British Dominions for such improvement of cable and wireless communications between them as will be to their mutual interest and advantage; information as to any action taken by delegations in this connection to be communicated to the Empire Press Union.

5. That a Committee be appointed in London by the Empire Press Union, consisting of the President, four representatives of the British Isles, and two representatives of each Overseas delegation, to take action requisite upon the resolutions adopted by the Imperial Press Conference (Canada, 1920) regarding Cable and Wireless Communications.

POSTAL RATES (LETTERS)

6. This Conference is of opinion that there should be cheaper postal rates for letters throughout the Empire, and the various delegations undertake to urge their respective Governments to take appropriate action; the Empire Press Union to be advised by delegations of any measures they may take to this end.

POSTAL RATES (NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS)

7. This Conference recommends that postal rates within the Empire for newspapers and periodicals should not exceed the lowest rates in force between any foreign country and any part of the Empire.

DISSEMINATION OF EMPIRE NEWS

8. That, as Empire interests need a greater dissemination of knowledge concerning the Empire, this Conference urges the Council of the Empire Press Union to take such action as may be practicable to ensure the interchange and publication of a larger volume of Empire news, apart from political propaganda, by the newspapers associated with the Empire Press Union than at present pertains.

INDEPENDENCE OF NEWS SERVICES AND MAINTENANCE OF PRIVILEGES

9. This Conference affirms that, whatever assistance be given by the Government in the interests of more extensive dissemination of Imperial news, the Press and all news services be, and remain, independent of Government control; and that all the privileges secured during and since the war be maintained.

NEWS CARRIERS

10. This Conference affirms the principle that no news carrier, whether by cable or wireless, should be concerned, directly or indirectly, with the collection and distribution of news.

PAPER SUPPLY

11. That, the question of paper supplies being of vital importance to members of the Empire Press Union, steps should be taken to ensure adequate supplies throughout the Empire, and that a standing Committee be appointed to consist of two representatives of the British Isles, one representative appointed by each Overseas delegation, and the President, who is to be Chairman.

INTERCHANGE OF STAFFS

12. This Conference is of opinion that much benefit would result from the provision of opportunities for the interchange of members of staffs of British and Dominion newspapers, with the object of increasing the efficiency with which information from different parts of the Empire is handled, and as a means of exchanging ideas regarding newspaper organization; and that due regard be had to the interests of women journalists in this connection.

TRAVEL SCHOLARSHIPS

13. That a Committee of the Empire Press Union be appointed to confer with its Overseas sections and with all Universities within the British Empire which provide courses of journalism, in order to frame a scheme of travel scholarships for young journalists of proved capacity, and to take such other steps as may be necessary to encourage this movement; and that in this connection due regard be had to the interests of women journalists.

COMMERCIAL LAWS—UNIVERSITY CURRICULA

14. That, with a view to strengthening further the bonds of Empire, this Conference affirms:

(a) The advisability of bringing the Commercial Laws of the various Dominions as much as possible into line and possibly evolving a code of commercial laws for the whole Empire.

(b) The advisability of harmonizing the curricula of the Universities of the Empire, as far as possible, and consistently with the exigencies and requirements of each, in order to render possible or facilitate the interchange of lecturers and students.

ENLARGEMENT OF THE EMPIRE PRESS UNION. QUADREN- NIAL CONFERENCES

15. This Conference is of opinion that the time has arrived when

the scope and activities of the Empire Press Union can usefully be extended to provide for admission to membership of the weekly Press, and of magazines, and of technical and trade journals, both individually and through their respective federations or societies; also news-agencies, and other organizations directly concerned with the collection for publication in newspaper form of information of a literary, technical, or trade character of inter-Imperial concern.

This Conference therefore requests the Council of the Empire Press Union to take in hand the revision of the Constitution, with the appropriate alteration of the Articles of Association and of the By-laws, including the fixing of a lower annual subscription than that in force for daily newspapers, except in the case of federations or societies; and to provide for representation on the Council of these additional interests to the limit of one-third of the total membership of the Council.

This Conference recommends other alterations in the By-laws, namely:

(a) That more than one section may be formed in any principal country provided there is a clear divergency of interests between the daily Press and other responsible publications, but without providing for separation into different sections of publications belonging to the same category.

(b) Each branch to be entitled to elect its own members and associates.

It is further requested that the Council of the Union shall circulate the amended Constitution when drafted to the various existing sections for consideration and comment, it being understood that each section shall have the right to determine whether it shall accept the larger Constitution, or leave the new interests to form their own section.

It is the hope of this Conference that the Press of every country in the Empire will seek to promote the cardinal objects of the enlarged Union, and that the new Constitution may be brought into active operation by June 1, 1921, or as soon after as may be possible.

This Conference pronounces in favour of holding Conferences at fixed intervals of four years, and only by general agreement in consultation with all sections should any Conference be advanced or postponed.

VOTES OF THANKS

Carried by acclamation.

16. This Conference expresses its cordial thanks to Lord Atholstan and the Canadian Branch of the Empire Press Union for the all-embracing arrangements in every feature of this memorable visit to Canada, and to all those whose voluntary aid has been generously applied in receiving and entertaining without stint the Overseas

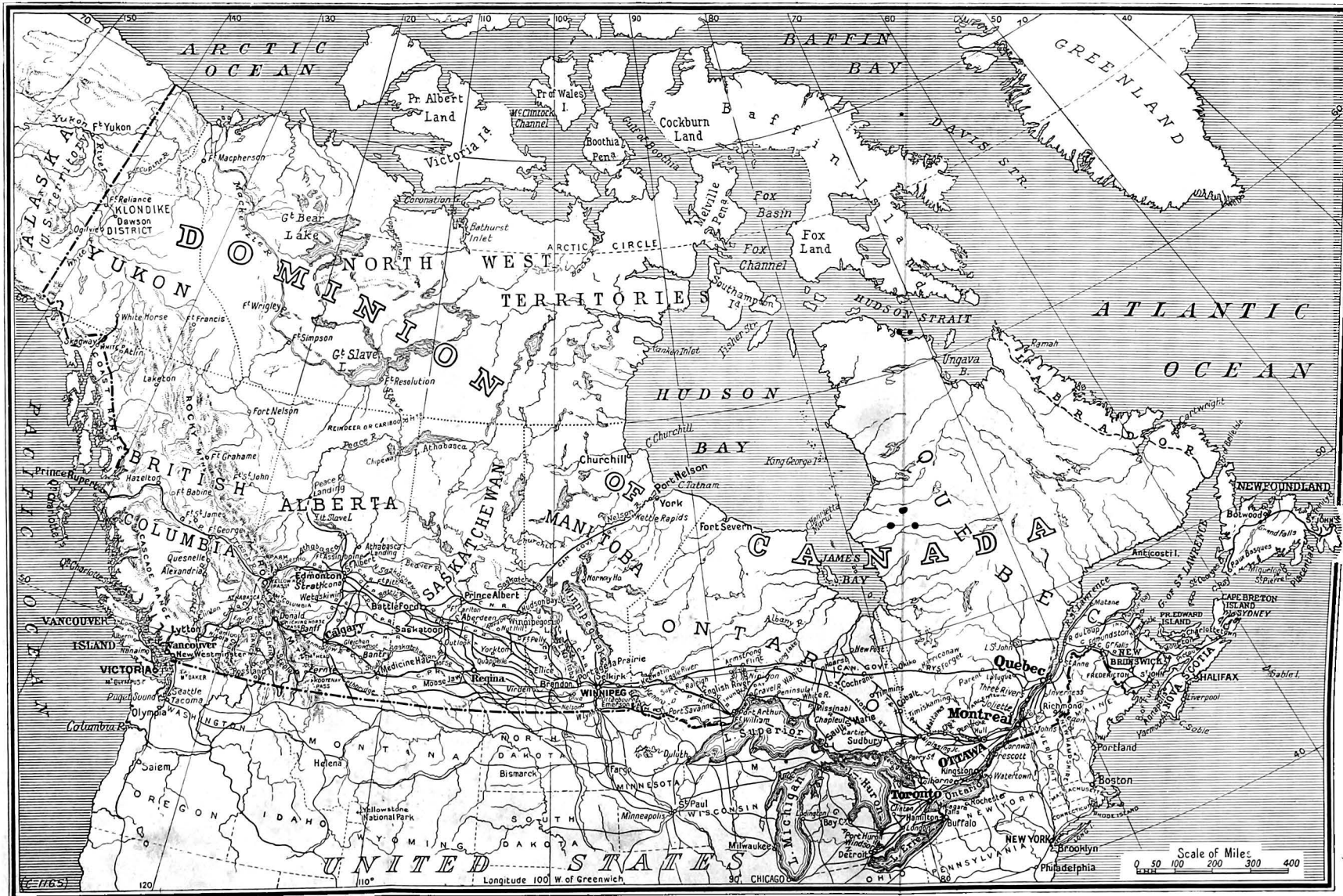
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Delegations. It also highly appreciates the great services of the Canadian Pacific Railway and the Canadian Pacific Ocean Services, and of their officials.

17. This Conference places on record its obligations to the Government of Canada for permitting the meetings of the Conference to be held in the new Parliament Buildings of Ottawa, and to the various departments of the Government which have supplied information and provided transportation through the National Railways, and other facilities which are contributing so much to the great success of the tour of the Dominion. It also cordially thanks the Provincial Governments and the cities and towns throughout the country for their hospitable welcome and unlimited courtesies.

18. That this Conference accords to the Press of Canada its hearty thanks for the able co-operation given in recording the proceedings of the Conference and the many notable events of the tour.

19. That this Conference places on record its deep indebtedness to Viscount Burnham for the able and impartial way in which he has presided over its deliberations.



From "The Times' Book of Canada," by courtesy of "The Times."
At end]

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