TOPICS OF THE DAY

CONFEDERATION: HUMAN TO ERR: SUCCESS OR FAILURE? PAST AND PRESENT: WONDERFUL ACHIEVEMENTS: LORD LANSDOWNE.

BY the time this number of *The Dalhousie Review* is off the press, the Dominion of Canada—the first, in all respects, of the British Dominions—will have completed sixty years of corporate political existence. There are a few—a rapidly dwindling few—who, more or less dimly, remember that glorious summer day of July 1st, 1867, when Confederation came into effect. To them the intervening time may seem short, and as a tale that has been told. It is indeed a brief span in world history, but it is the average life-period of two generations, and very long in ordinary personal experience. It is only in glancing back to the beginning that it appears short.

The Fathers of Confederation have long gone the way of all the earth. Their children have mostly followed them. Even the third generation is growing old, and a fourth, which knows not either Jacob or his sons, has almost reached maturity. And yet, short though the time may actually be since Confederation, Canada is now one of the very oldest state organizations in the world. Not a country in Europe, with the exception of Switzerland and Holland, has escaped radical change of constitution or territory or both since 1867. Even the United States of America, the *doyen* in stability among the great nations, has widely extended its territorial jurisdiction and responsibilities, and is no longer the closely circumscribed area that it was sixty years ago. Canada, of course, has incorporated with herself provinces and districts not within her original political bounds; but these were all intended and included in the general plan of Confederation, whose aim was the complete unification of British North America as it is now unified, apart from Newfoundland.

Although so venerable in comparative constitutional age, Canada is still young in national experience. In that respect she is youthful enough to be discontented at times and in places with her achievements, or to be temporarily discouraged at her own future outlook. These, however, may be regarded as mere "growing pains", and on the whole as healthy and promising indications.

Sixty years is far too short a time for complete national recognition and adjustment in a political body made up of so many and diverse members. Complaints or heart-aches over lost local independence are natural among those who can still remember the days of complete provincial autonomy, or those to whom have descended the distance-hallowed traditions of those days. It is difficult to realize now for what pitifully small things those days actually stood, and how far they were from being a "golden age" for any province or part of Canada.

Before Confederation the older provinces of what is now the great Canadian Dominion, second in rank in the British federation only to the United Kingdom, were "the North American Colonies", and, like the famous literary "primrose by the river's brim", they were "nothing more"—to the Colonial Office at least. Some Englishmen of that time regretted that those Colonies had not been ceded to the United States in 1783; others, of the *statesman* variety, looked cheerfully and hopefully forward to getting rid of them as soon as possible. They were a "nuisance" to the Colonial Office at Westminster. They occasionally insisted on its attention. What the Colonial Office was at and before Confederation, its contempt for the Colonies and its methods of corresponding and dealing with them and their affairs, was strikingly, because most instructively, revealed by a former permanent head of that department of the British Government in an historical article published in one of the great London reviews some ten years ago. That article should now be reprinted by the whole daily press of Canada as a help to the realization by our people of what they escaped by means of Confederation.

By that most fortunate escape, the Colonies avoided another and more melancholy fate. The alternative to Confederation, in 1867, was piecemeal annexation to the United States. The British Government was apparently indifferent to that alternative, or not averse from complicity in the acceptance of it by the Colonies. But the United States Government was neither indifferent nor inactive. The "Colonies" were impotent in their individual isolation. But for the initiative of their own statesmen they would inevitably have fallen, long ere this, like ripened fruit into the basket of the American picker. The "hard times" following the American civil war and the abrogation of the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854 were at their worst. No such economic and moral depression has, since then, fallen upon the provinces or any of them. Quebec and Ontario had finally failed to agree, or to work longer together. The Maritime Provinces were weakly groping for a way out of their

difficulties by local union. They alone were defensible by Britain, had she thought it worth her while to defend them. By successive surrenders of territory in New Brunswick and British Columbia, to say nothing of the prompt and cheerful exchange of the whole 45th Parallel from the Atlantic to the Pacific for the 49th, demanded by the United States, she had successfully concealed any defensive disposition towards her remaining North American "possessions" which, in secret, she may have felt.

The Fathers of Confederation must have been painfully aware of these facts. They had had much personal experience of the Colonial Office. They knew the complete local defencelessness of the provinces in their separation. They could not help foreseeing that nothing but union, and the accompanying possibilities of united measures for defence which it would afford, could preserve their British nationality to which they were so devotedly attached. Therefore they entered into negotiations for Confederation not only with zeal but with fervour, with heart as well as mind. Probably none of them were really seers. Few of them may have been statesmen. Most of them were but politicians. Some of them, perhaps, were demagogues. Whoever and whatever they were, they were all engaged in a timely and urgently necessary work. Even in their haste and lack of impossible foresight they builded, if imperfectly in some respects, much better than most of them knew. Wisdom of theirs has been not merely justified but applauded of her children. From the physically and morally disjointed group of provinces which they succeeded, with great difficulty, in welding together politically, has developed the second greatest British state, with a sixty-year history of which it cannot be too proud, and with a future full of hope and promise not merely for itself but for the whole British world.

FAULT has been found with the negotiators of Confederation because they did not make provision for whatever the future might reveal. A moment's reflection should show the unreasonableness of such fault-finding. It is the known tendency of people at all times to regard what is as that which has been and is destined indefinitely to be. Each child born into the world believes that its surroundings are normal and perfectly stable. When it is old enough to notice change, the rate seems so slow that its effects are likely to be insignificant within any reasonable time. History, if one reads it aright, and thought, if one has a reasoning mind, may prove somewhat enlightening. But there are few who really read and still fewer who are capable of logical reasoning, so that for

most, if not for all, the present stands in the main for the future as well as for the past. The Fathers of Confederation had observed the gradual and regular development of the various provinces, and anticipated a continuance of such development. In consequence, they drafted the constitution of the new Dominion to suit what they believed to be permanent conditions.

Parliamentary representation for both the Senate and the House of Commons was fixed in exact proportion to the population of the various sections of the country at the time of union. Quebec, then the least progressive in growth, was selected as likely to afford the most stable unit of representation for the future. That province had been divided into 65 counties. It was considered only proper that each of those counties should have its own representative in parliament. Therefore the representation of Quebec was fixed at 65. It was agreed without objection that the representation of the other provincial entrants should bear the same proportion to their respective populations that 65 bore to that of Quebec. Nothing could have looked fairer or more reasonable. It assured Quebec of a definite and unchangeable position in the union, and satisfied her,—an essential preliminary to Confederation. Each of the other three provinces up to that date had been increasing in population more rapidly than Quebec, and none of them foresaw or could naturally foresee anything but continued relative increase for themselves. They therefore supposed that they had nothing to expect but increases in the number of representatives assigned to them respectively.

As a matter of fact, for the first two decades after Confederation, those anticipations were realized. Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Ontario each obtained additional representation in parliament, while Quebec's representation remained at 65. It was not until nearly half of the present course of Confederation had been run, that a change was indicated. First, the other three provinces became stationary with relation to Quebec. Then Quebec advanced in population, and all the other provinces began to lose representatives. Ontario was the first to recover, and ever since has been keeping pace almost exactly with Quebec. Nova Scotia and New Brunswick fell behind in the race for population. They each lost their earlier gains and, after that, they began to lose the representation originally assigned to them, and which they had innocently supposed never could or would be reduced.

The process has gone on until, at present, the representation of each of those provinces is very considerably smaller than originally agreed upon in the faith that it would be maintained or grow

larger. This has become a chronic and more or less justifiable grievance to the provinces concerned. With due precaution it could easily have been avoided by an enactment that the representation of none of the provinces should ever fall below the number originally determined. If Quebec had 65 counties, Nova Scotia had 18, and New Brunswick 15. They were as fully entitled to a perpetual representative for each of those counties as was Quebec to one for each of her 65 counties. That was undoubtedly the expectation and intention of the framers of the constitution of the Dominion, but they failed to express it. Disappointment and discontent have been the consequence. These feelings have become embittered as the new western provinces, with their special opportunities and privileges, have attained larger representation in the Dominion parliament than the two original provinces named, although they were not in existence in 1867, and bore few or none of the burdens of their own earlier development which fell so heavily on the first constituent provinces. There can be no reasonable doubt that a wrong not foreseen or intended by the negotiators of Confederation has thus been done to the Maritime Provinces. Should it not now be rectified by the generous free will of the completed Dominion?

A similar injustice was not inflicted in connection with representation in the Senate. But the Senate, which was intended to be the bulwark of the provinces against federal encroachments, has for various reasons sunk to relative unimportance in the opinion of the English-speaking provinces. A definite number of Senators was at first assigned to each geographical section of the Dominion. There were to be 24 for Ontario, 24 for Quebec, 24 for the Maritime Provinces, or 12 each for New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. But it was expressly provided that, in certain contingencies with reference to future admissions to the Confederation, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia should each abate two of its respective Senatorial representatives. This has come to pass, and one of the striking anomalies of the situation thus produced is that Prince Edward Island has at present as many representatives in the Senate as in the House of Commons. It might, by now, have had fewer Commoners than Senators, had not the process been stopped by special legislation. It seems quite obvious that the British North America Act is in need of amendment in the light of sixty years' experience. The Fathers of Confederation are scarcely to blame for what time has revealed although it was hidden from their eyes.

Of course it is not to be overlooked that we of to-day may be in exactly the same state of mind as were our grandfathers, that is

to say, we may be regarding as permanent that which is but temporary and may soon prove transitory. Quebec's unexpected increase of population and the consequent diminution of Maritime Province representation have been due almost exclusively to a rapid growth of the city of Montreal. Quebec's non-urban population has not kept pace with the growth of rural population in the Maritime Provinces or elsewhere in Canada. There is a limit to Montreal's expansion. The prairie provinces are very unlikely to continue increasing in population as rapidly as they did during their very special earlier days.

There is room for indefinite growth in the Maritime Provinces, whose natural resources are so vast, so varied, and so readily accessible. There has been a constant and heavy drain on their populations through the sudden expansion of both the Canadian and the American west. With that outflow lessened or stopped, they may easily, and soon, recover more than they have lost, and so regain their former representation and influence in the Dominion parliament. They have only to recommence holding their own against Quebec, or a little better, to get back what they have lost, and ultimately to add to it, as they did during the first twenty years of Confederation.

IT would be sheer folly, at this date, in face of the evidence of our own eyes and of our historical knowledge, to ask if Confederation was a wise or unwise proceeding, if it has been a success or a failure. As pointed out above, the choice, in 1867, lay between union of the British North American Colonies and annexation to the United States in the near future. The provinces of the Dominion which was to be were completely isolated one from the other, geographically or morally. Quebec and Ontario, then politically united in the old province of Canada, had proved to be quite incompatible partners. The Maritime Provinces were wholly separated by nature from both. Even the Maritime Provinces were disjoined physically, and had little in common either politically or economically.

What did the future hold of promise or of hope for such detached and individually independent settlements? There was neither means nor desire for effective co-operation between or among them. Each was jealous of its own peculiar rights, and not very considerate in upholding them against the others. Each of them maintained its own customs tariff against the others, even its nearest neighbors. The products of one province could find entrance to the markets of another only through a customs-house with its red tape and exactions. There could naturally be but little trade between any of

them at that time, since their products were almost identical. Such trade as there might have been was hampered or prevented by tariff regulations and restrictions.

There were no effective neans of co-operation for the detached provinces. The building of a railway to connect the Maritime Provinces with the old Province of Canada had been talked about for years without being nearer realization. The provinces could not agree on the proportion of cost to be borne by each. There was really no direction in which joint action was practicable. Even the means of communication were difficult when not impossible, as they sometimes were in winter. A journey from St. John or Halifax to Liverpool was usually quicker and safer than one from either city to Montreal or even Quebec.

West of Ontario, from the foot of Lake Superior to the Rocky and Selkirk Mountains, lay a vast unoccupied territory very properly called the Great Lone Land. This territory was in effect no-man's-land. The Hudson Bay Company claimed jurisdiction over it, and administered Indian and half-breed affairs in so far as they were administered. The Colonial Office did not concern itself with it in any way. The Hudson Bay Company stoutly maintained that the country was unsuited or unfit for settlement. There seemed to be no prospect of its being made available or useful for either local or Imperial purposes. Beyond the Rocky and Selkirk Mountains huddled, mostly on the shores of Vancouver Island or the adjacent Sound, the little colony of British Columbia, entirely inaccessible to the rest of what is now the Dominion; accessible to the outer world only by the long way of the Pacific Ocean and around Cape Horn. Such was what is at present the Dominion of Canada, before and at the time of Confederation.

With these facts in mind, can anyone fail to recognize and be thrilled by the magnificent vision which the Fathers of Confederation saw and determined to make a reality? Can anyone, in any part of Canada, fail to be impressed beyond words with the splendour of the success of their undertaking? That success was made possible, and has been attained, entirely by Canadian faith, Canadian leadership and Canadian efforts.

THE foreign trade of the original provinces of the Dominion before and at Confederation consisted almost exclusively in natural products. There was very considerable ship-building in the Maritime Provinces and Quebec, for export. There was a large export of timber, mostly for English ship-building purposes. Both

of these trades came to an end about the same time—a very few years after Confederation—owing to the substitution of iron for wood in naval construction. Coal was exported from Nova Scotia in limited quantities, and so were certain farm products from each of the Maritime Provinces during the Reciprocity period from 1854 to 1863. That trade ended with Reciprocity.

The Maritime Provinces had ceased to feed themselves, years before Confederation. The weevil fly put a summary end to wheat growing, to which they had been so well adapted. Farmers in those provinces had become dependent, first on "Yankee flour", largely from New York State, and later from Ontario by way of United States ports. No wheat supply had then begun to come from west of the Mississippi River. No wheat was grown in British North America west of Ontario. The Maritime Provinces were subsisting mainly on their fisheries, their limited coal-production, and on the remnants of their ship-building and timber trades. The farmers were scarcely providing a fair living for themselves. There was no manufacturing except on an extremely small scale and for strictly local consumption. Immigration had ceased, and emigration had supervened to a distressing extent. After the American civil war a period of inflation followed in the United States, which proved irresistibly attractive to Canadians everywhere, peculiarly so to the unemployed or poorly paid in the Maritime Provinces. There came shortly afterwards the extensive building of railways in the United States, and the consequent opening-up of their western prairies to settlement and cultivation, a fresh attraction to the hard-pressed farmers of the Maritime Provinces.

During those years of readjustment and abnormal depression, Quebec suffered for the same reasons and almost if not quite to the same extent as the Maritime Provinces. Ontario was somewhat more fortunate, because she was still attracting immigrants in considerable numbers, and because of her closer proximity to such United States markets as were available. After Confederation, Ontario also had the advantage of great Federal public works carried on within her territory. But, on the whole, the first thirty years of Confederation were extremely lean ones for the new Dominion. There was a limited brightening for a short time after 1880 owing to the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway, the opening up of our western prairies to settlement, and the connection made through the Rocky Mountains with British Columbia. Ontario and Western Quebec benefited chiefly from this brief boom, but they as well as the Maritime Provinces suffered from large transfer of their populations.

Whatever may have been the reason, immigration to the prairies fell off after 1882, and experienced no important increase for more than a decade. There was no significant revival until near the beginning of the present century, some thirty years after Confederation. Then a new spirit and a new life appeared to spring into sudden existence. The Dominion began to progress by leaps and bounds. It is difficult to decide whether this was due to psychological or to economic causes. One thing is certain, it was then that Canada first really found herself. She retains that knowledge. It enabled her to undertake the great things which she accomplished before and in the late war, and to assume without fear or hesitation the vast burdens which those efforts imposed on her.

In spite, or perhaps because, of those undertakings, she now feels her national life more keenly than ever, and accepts it with more conscious courage and determination. She has cast her lot definitely and finally with the British family of nations. She has ceased to consider the United States otherwise than as a friendly business rival. No thought of annexation troubles her national mind. No doubt of her own future disturbs her feelings. She has chosen her course, and will pursue it unswervingly to the end. She stood steadfast and unafraid during the post-war depression. She is entering with cheerful smiles into the sunshine of returning "good times", during which she confidently expects and intends to enlarge greatly her industrial and economic borders.

ONLY those who are old enough to remember somewhat clearly the First of July, 1867, and a few years preceding that date, can properly realize the wonderful progress which Canada has made, not merely *since* but mainly *because of* Confederation. All the provinces of the Dominion have shared in that progress, some more than others, but all to a greater or less extent. Every one of them, with the single exception of Prince Edward Island, has increased very materially in population. The Island has not been quite holding its own, according to recent census returns, although it still has more inhabitants than it had in 1867. But what it has lost in numbers it has far more than made up in wealth. It is now, in proportion to size, one of the very richest and most prosperous parts not only of Canada but probably of the whole Empire. Sixty years ago its people were barely subsisting on their own agriculture and fisheries. They had no important outside market for their produce.

Sixty years ago there was no railway in Prince Edward Island, none in New Brunswick, and only a few miles of rails in Nova Scotia. The highways of all three provinces were of a deplorable character, and the means of land communication and transportation not only difficult but wholly inadequate. Now, each of those provinces is lined with railways which bring all parts of them into close contact with one another, with the sea, and with the outer world. They are thus almost completely equipped for indefinite future expansion. This equipment has either been furnished directly by the Dominion or has been acquired and is being operated at Federal charge. The credit of the provinces, each by itself, would never have sufficed for such railway building and management.

Before Confederation the only means of communication between the Maritime Provinces and the rest of British North America were by the long St. Lawrence water-route in summer, and by United States ports and overland ways in winter. Now, three great transcontinental railway systems—two of them owned and operated by the Canadian Government, and the third owing its existence to Federal support—connect the Atlantic with the Pacific and furnish daily services which reach every corner of the Dominion. Before Confederation the provinces and territories of British North America had among them only one railway of any real importance, the Grand Trunk, owned and operated by an English company, at its own will and for its own exclusive benefit. The provinces which it served, in its peculiar way, had been freely bled, first for its construction and later for its operation. At Confederation the Dominion had to assume and is still paying annual interest on millions of debt incurred by Grand Trunk borrowings from Ontario, not a cent of which ever was or ever will be repaid. Canada to-day has the distinction of having and operating a larger mileage of railways in proportion to population than any other country in the world, practically all built or acquired since Confederation. Thus the Dominion, too, is abundantly equipped for prospective development and expansion.

Sixty years ago the population of British North America was only about one-third of what Canada now numbers. The Dominion, when it came into existence, had fewer people than either of the ancient kingdoms of Scotland or Ireland. It now has considerably more than both combined. There was scarcely a white man living between the Great Lakes and the Pacific coast, and but a handful on that coast in 1867. There are at present well upwards of two millions of contented, prosperous and enthusiastic inhabitants. Before Confederation the export trade of British North America

was insignificant. To-day it has reached the almost incomprehensible valuation of nearly a billion and a half dollars. It is many times larger *per capita* of population than that of the United States. Sixty years ago British North America could scarcely have made even an attempt at defending itself. Ten years ago Canada sent to Europe, to fight for the Empire, an army larger probably than any that had ever been marshalled before under the British flag.

Sixty years ago British North America had no city of one hundred thousand inhabitants. Montreal, which came nearest to that number, was given 90,323 by the census of 1861, next preceding Confederation. Halifax by that census had 25,026. Toronto had less than half the number of Montreal. Montreal has now a population in the immediate neighborhood of a million. Toronto has passed the half million mark. Halifax has nearly three times as many people as it had then. Halifax at that time, or at least not long afterwards, was a more dejected and sorry-looking city than its population of to-day could easily imagine or believe. Its streets left all to be desired and little expected. Its buildings, apart from public ones, were, with very few exceptions, of a primitive and mean character. Nearly the whole city lay between a line extending north and south across the face of the Citadel, and the harbour. No railway entered the city. The nearest station was at Richmond, three miles distant, and that station was then what it was when the explosion of 1917 obliterated it. St. John was no more attractive than Halifax. Charlottetown, although the smallest, was the best-looking leading city of the three. Halifax and St. John are practically new cities at present. Montreal was a squalid and unkempt place even in 1882. In that year Ottawa, now one of the most beautiful cities in the world, was a small collection of semi-shanties in the midst of which even the old Parliament building looked pitifully out of place. Toronto was but beginning to be made attractive. Winnipeg was an assemblage of huts embedded in mud. There were only three or four substantial buildings within its limits. It is now a city of over a quarter of a million. The site of Vancouver, now a city closely rivalling Winnipeg, was a forest as late as 1885.

Such are a few of the outstanding facts which might be adduced as evidence of the marvellous changes which Confederation has wrought in British North America, and which, had it not been for Confederation, would never have been possible. Without Confederation, Canada could not have come to birth. Was a more promising political child ever begotten or conceived, or one which displayed

more healthy vitality or more sturdy development? Let all due credit, then, be given now and hereafter to the Fathers of Confederation. Let their errors of haste or of environment be overlooked, and their achievement stand in lasting and ever grateful remembrance. It is for us and our children to praise their work by our deeds as well as by our words, not to cavil at or belittle it because of such unavoidable defects as time alone has revealed. All blemishes can be removed, all defects rectified. It would be an unpardonable crime if the national structure raised by them were ever allowed to be undermined or to fall into decay. It could never be rebuilt or replaced, and the British world would be infinitely the loser. Canada, in her sixty years of corporate life, has done vastly greater things than could have been expected or imagined. May that which she has done be but earnest of the things that she shall do.

THE death of Lord Lansdowne, a month before the celebration of Canada's jubilee, will impart a touch of sadness to that occasion for those who knew and remember him as Governor-General of the Dominion for the five years from 1883 to 1888. He was undoubtedly one of the very ablest of all the occupants of that high office. There was nothing spectacular in either his appearance or his conduct. He was a modest, thoughtful man, whose breadth of mind and strength of character became apparent only on close contact or in trying circumstances. It is safe to say that Canada has never had a wiser or better Governor-General than he. Before coming to Ottawa he had enjoyed long practical training in both statesmanship and diplomacy. Like Earl Minto, his successor in office in Canada, and his follower in India, he left this Dominion to become Governor General of India. He served as Foreign Secretary from 1900 to 1905.

The period of Lord Lansdowne's Canadian service was one of the most trying in our history. It was marked by the second Riel Rebellion and the troubles flowing from it. It might have been somewhat relieved by the completion and opening of the Canadian Pacific Railway, had it not been for the financial difficulties which at first threatened the company and the country. It was a period characterized by general economic depression. The Northwest received such a set-back from the Rebellion and the causes leading up to it, that it took years to recover. The East was seriously affected by the disturbances and misfortunes of the new West. Through it all, Lord Lansdowne kept a calm mind, a steady head,

and a firm hand on the reins of State, which Governors then were supposed to do as ambassadors of the British Government and not as vicegerents of the King.

The writer of these *Topics*, then little more than a youth, had the privilege, in 1885, as editor of the *Manitoba Free Press*, of travelling across the prairies, for a week, by train, "buckboard" and saddle, with Lord Lansdowne, at that time in manhood's prime, and with his party, and of enjoying daily intercourse and conversation with him. The special motive and occasion of the trip was the official opening of what was then called "the Galt Railway" from Medicine Hat to the Lethbridge coal mines. The official party was composed of the Governor-General, his principal *aide de camp*, Lord Melgund, afterwards Earl Minto, and his two private secretaries, the Hon. Mr. Anson, a son of the Earl of Lichfield, and the Hon. Mr. Villiers, of the Buckingham family. These two were probably the most perfect graven images in human form that have ever been exhibited together. Mr., afterwards Colonel, George Ham was the only other press representative accompanying the party, by personal invitation of Sir Alexander Galt, head of the railway company bearing his name. He and Lord Melgund, who was quite unconventional and overflowing with fun, were the "entertainers" of the party, at or with whom all laughed, with the invariable exception of the two Secretarial statues, who looked constantly as if they had never smiled before, and certainly neither could nor would ever smile again. Official etiquette may have demanded this of them. If so, the "S. P. C." might well have intervened.

Lord Lansdowne was always dignified, but invariably bright and pleasant, as well as approachable and ready to converse seriously or to laugh at the nonsense of Mr. Ham and Lord Melgund. He struck the present writer then, and the impression has never been lessened, as altogether the best-informed, most clear-seeing and intellectually able man whom he had, or has, encountered. Lord Melgund, although they must have been of nearly the same age, seemed a child in comparison with him.

Lord Lansdowne retired from India with the same credit that he did from Canada. There was nothing outstanding in his service when he was Foreign Secretary, nothing remarkable in his later career till 1916 when he made his famous pronouncement as to the advisability of ending the war without a definite victory for either side. In the state of the public mind then existing, that pronouncement naturally evoked a wild storm of protest not unaccompanied by vituperation and disparagement. Lord Lansdowne,

as might have been confidently anticipated, made no reply. He simply withdrew into privacy.

Scarcely a word had been heard of or from him since that time until his death, on June Fourth, was announced. No doubt many have wondered at his disappearance and silence. Still more, in the light of later events and revelations, must have questioned themselves or others as to whether he was right or wrong in his unique, final utterance. With the assistance which President Wilson was ready and more than willing to give at that time, might not peace have been made, on honourable if not on entirely desirable terms, with Germany, to whom it had then been clearly demonstrated that she could never hope to dominate the world by force?

Had peace been made, as Lord Lansdowne advised, the frightful cost in blood and treasure of two additional years of war might have been spared, and the dislocation of Europe averted. Germany would have been left with a stable government. She would have been no sooner ready for "revenge" than she presently will be again, or more tempted to it than she now is, because her opponents would have been left relatively powerful. The dreadful economic disasters which followed the waging of the war to a bitter but unsatisfactory end would not have occurred, with all their complications and heart-burnings. And, more important than all, the Bolshevik outbreak in Russia, with its inherent threat to the peace of the world, would not have occurred when it did, or with such pernicious consequences.

These are at least interesting speculations. Lord Lansdowne was always calm and thoughtful. He was very exceptionally well informed with regard to both past and present. When he ventured to speak, for the last time, neither his country nor the world was either calm or well informed. Who was right—he, a courageous minority apparently of one, or, seemingly, all the others? Time cannot tell, for there is no certain way of solving the problem. One can, in the words of the political stumper, but "think ito ver".

W. E. M.