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## EMPIRE: ITS MAKING AND DANGERS, THEN AND NOW

Prof. Milner of Toronto University Lectures Before the Twenty Club

The Twenty Club, an organization of gentlemen of the town for social and intellectual purposes, held an open meeting at Mr. R. J. McLaughlin's on Thursday night. Several invitations were sent out and more than fifty gentlemen besides a number of ladies responded. Prof. W. S. Milner of Toronto University and formerly of the High School here was the lecturer. His subject was "Imperialism" and in its treatment, Mr. Milner drew interesting parallels between the republic of ancient Rome and the United States.

He declared that the problems that confront nations are material and moral. The material problems are the easier to solve. The men who solve them will be forgotten but the moral problems are an abiding task.

The ancients believed that nations pass through the conditions of aristocracy, oligarchy, democracy and tyranny to run. Since the ancients, a new principle of life has been developed in men. Where in the past will you find the westerner, alert and self-reliant? The decay of the ancients is no proof that decay is necessary. Nations can succeed and survive. Their enemies are themselves.

Prof. Milner gave it as his opinion that the American republic has arrived at the critical test beneath which Rome went down; and that the present is the most solemn moment in the history of the Anglo-Saxon people.

### Taking the First Step

The time came when Rome received in tempting bid to engage in war outside the peninsula. Contrary to all her traditions and inconsistent with her contention at the time she accepted the offer and the republic began her imperial career. The battle in Manila bay was the American parallel. Thus nations at times break away from their past ideals and grasp the hand that leads into the future, they know not whither. The great increase in the power of the Roman senate after that, is being repeated in the States and is a necessity. After all democracy will not be the rule of the multitude but the rule of excellence. The masses cannot govern. The Romans soon learned the commercial value of war. Under temptation they yielded, at times to unworthy impulses. Power was made the measure of right; they had not enough self-denial to prefer the course enjoined by honor to the gain of the moment. The politicians of the latter republic could have taught the New York bosses many things. Fate with nations, was said to be the putting into motion, forces which no repentance can control though it may check.

### Limitations of Citizenship

Rome improved on the earlier methods of dealing with the conquered. Instead of exterminating them she made them either citizens of friendly allies enjoying large political freedom. The occupation and settlement of the great expanse of the United States in 75 years has no modern parallel. Rome received the multitudes beneath her protection; so does the States present even a grander spectacle as she utters a welcome to the world. Yet the day came when the Romans believed that their citizenship was as wide as it should be and "the tribes were closed." The alien laws of the States are a product of the same feeling.

### Only Another Name

Empire, is a hateful term to the American conscience. Yet at the present time America is going in the way of empire. Prof. Seeley calls the movement "expansion". It is a clever escape from the hated term; but not from the thing itself. Lyman Abbott says "expansion" means the spread of republicanism but adds that that involves the spread of the republic itself. The Americans set out with the cry "Cuba Libre" but already that cry is an echo of the past.

### The Strong and Weak

It is a modern theory that strong civilized nations should resume a tutelage over weaker, uncultivated folk. The question arises, however, how far it is right to compel them to be free or accept the light. One of the Philippine commission had recommended "taking the Filipino by the hand and leading him into the blessed light of freedom." Taking him by the hand seems to be a difficult task just now. But such a suggestion shows that its author had not comprehended the difficulty of bringing untutored people up to fitness for self-government. Macaulay said a similar thing when he advocated teaching the lesson by giving them self-government for in a few years men learn to reason. The idea

is clad in the witticism of to-day "Civilize you while you wait."

The sentence about the consent of the governed was always cherished by the States but the London Times says it will not hurt Americans to learn a few of the fundamental facts of human nature at the sacrifice of their Jeffersonian formula.

Mr. Milner noted the friendliness of Rome and Greece and compared it with the amicable relations between Britain and the United States. In his versatility and volubility the American resembles the ancient Greek while Britons have many characteristics of the Roman.

### The Peril of Capital

Rome disarmed the conquered races and collected tribute from them. She adopted a system of protection in the provinces; forbade certain products to be exported and thus interfered with the natural development of the countries. At the same time she understood free trade. By the expansion of trade and the taxes from the provinces Rome became wealthy. Their exploitation of capital has a striking repetition in the American States. The time came when capital undermined free government and Rome fell.

Prof. Milner gave it as his opinion that the influence of capital upon government is to-day an inexpressible peril.

One commissioner to the Philippines reports that the islands must be held for else it will be necessary to seize territory in China or some other eastern country. There is the principle that makes empire purely a commercial consideration. Rome crushed free labor and the possession of land in her provinces. It is a question if labor is at all free in America to-day. The money-lender crushed out the middle classes. The same tendency is already visible in the States. The encroachments of capital on personal liberty is as great a danger as of old. What of political equality if men's opportunities are unequal? What crushed the manly independence out of the Roman is assailing the American government will sooner or later prove the ruin of any state.

### Are Both Possible?

"Can empire and democracy exist together?" is a pointed question for the American in view of the past. He derives hope from the example of Great Britain, but Britain proves little for him because there empire came before democracy, with Americans it is coming after.

### An Abiding Task

There are well-meaning Americans who show no appreciation of the magnitude of the tasks of empire. They grow impatient and bid those who counsel caution, stand aside out of the way of the "cosmic forces of national enthusiasm." They attempt to stampee civilization and do the work of ages in a day. To them the "Yellow Peril" and the in-masses now. Capital in control of the spinning jenny are on the same plane. They know not that the hostility of barbarism is the one problem of nations; a moral problem, an abiding task. Liberty must be forever won to be won forever.

Prof. Milner, wove a network of historic fact and philosophy, marvellous in its comprehensiveness, and spoke in that deliberate, teaching style of which he is master; so that although his subject was profound and often greatly condensed, his hearers could not fail to detect its leading outlines.

A short discussion followed the lecture. Mr. C. D. Barr believed the Americans lacked leaders. Their politicians had their ears to the ground to catch the popular will instead of being men who led the people. Mr. McLaughlin declared that when nations—Rome, France, Spain, England—had taken away the liberty of other people they had lost their own. He believed in the "let alone" policy.

Refreshments were served and an hour of enjoyable conversation was spent. A number of Prof. Milner's old pupils both when he was here and since he went to the university, were present and listened to him with a pleasure enhanced by memory.

### News of the Week

—The falling overboard of a man on a passenger boat on the West river, near Hokau, China, on Dec. 13th, led to the rush of some 400 passengers to the side of the vessel, which caused her to sink, over 200 persons being drowned.

—Statistics of the Paris Exhibition which have just been finished, show that the total number of persons who entered the grounds was 48,130,301.

—A public-spirited citizen of Morpeth, Elgin county, has written to Mr. Clocking, secretary of the Labor Bureau, Toronto, drawing attention to the ravages of the 'white plague.' He believes that farmers and cattle owners very frequently

contract tuberculosis by milking cows or cleaning out stables before breakfast, on an empty stomach. He asks for investigation by the provincial authorities.

—Mr. G. Brown, a Cavan farmer, residing near Millbrook, has been awarded a diploma at the Paris Exposition on his wheat exhibit.

—The German treaty was up before the Montreal Board of Trade last week. The council passed a resolution calling upon the Canadian government to appeal to the Imperial authorities in the interest of Canadian trade. They declare that Canadian imports into Germany are practically prohibited, and they desire this country to participate in the favored nations clauses.

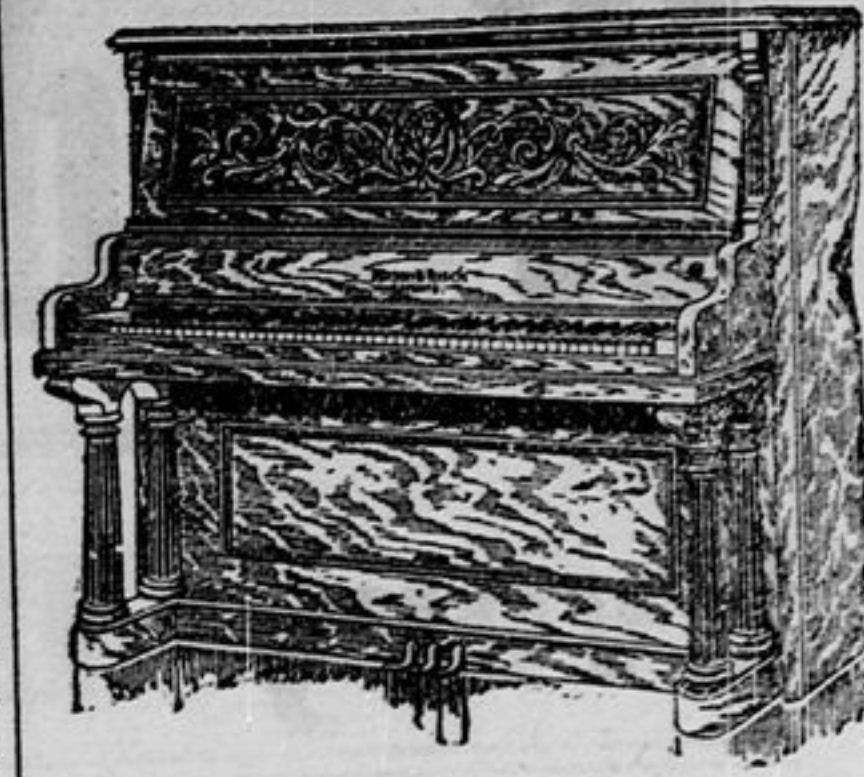
—F. H. Clergue, head of the Sault Ste. Marie Railway mining and manufacturing enterprises, has sailed for Europe on his company's business. Mr. Clergue predicts that he will be manufacturing bessemer steel at Sault Ste. Marie by next summer, and that his railway, the Algoma Central, will reach tide-water at James' Bay within three years. Mr. Clergue's object in going to England is to open an agency for sending immigrants to settle in Algoma, and he will arrange to have thousands of them brought out yearly.

—Mail advices from Dawson report that customs returns for the summer season of 1900 (May 18 to Oct. 31) show imports of machinery and merchandise to have exceeded thirty thousand tons, over sixty-five per cent. of which entered from Canadian ports. The gold exports show that \$14,255,500 was entered as having been taken out of the country during that date. Officials allow a margin of three millions taken out, which was not entered, and placed the Yukon's gold output for 1900 at \$18,000,000. It is also estimated that 6,500 people left Dawson and five thousand had arrived there during the past summer.

—Frederick Richardson of Toronto a railway engineer, accidentally met terrible death Thursday afternoon while at work. Shortly after one o'clock a Grand Trunk train, drawn by engine No. 931, left Little York for the east in charge of engineer Richardson. Everything went well until the train was nearing the Markham road bridge, which is situated two miles east of Scarborough Junction. The bridge is supported by large stone pillars, which extend within a few inches of the railway tracks. With the train going at full speed, Richardson leaned out of the caboose just as the engine entered the bridge. The engineer looked to the rear of his train, and no sooner had he done so than his head came in contact with one of the pillars. The terrific blow rendered him unconscious, and he sank to the floor of the cab. The fireman hurriedly brought the train to a standstill. Richardson was carried to a nearby house. Dr. Walters, Grand Trunk surgeon, was notified and in the meantime everything possible was done for the unfortunate man. It was apparent that Richardson could not survive, an examination revealing a severe fracture of the base of the skull. Richardson was then placed on board the evening train bound for Toronto, and on arrival was placed in the ambulance, but at this time he was sinking fast. While nearing the General Hospital he suddenly expired, death being due to concussion of the brain.

—The close of the Paris exposition, throwing thousands who were dependent upon it for a living in the streets, has created abnormal criminal conditions in Paris, and has directed attention to the dangerous state of affairs. The outlying quarters are infested by bands of foot-pads and hoodlums who terrorize the residents. The papers are filled with nightly exploits. Two respectable workmen were attacked a few nights ago by four prowlers, who, after picking a quarrel, almost decapitated one of the workmen and stabbed the other in the abdomen. None of the murderers have yet been traced. A feature of these nocturnal attacks is that they are very often not accompanied by robbery, but are perpetrated apparently by blood-thirsty criminals frequently boys in their teens. Moreover in order to secure murder clues, the police, for several nights, have raided the disorderly districts, and have made large hauls of criminals wanted on other charges. A raid yesterday evening led to 347 arrests. In fairness it must be said that the present condition of crime is largely due to the number of workmen, street hawkers and others who came to Paris attracted by the exposition, and who are now walking the streets out of work. It is estimated by the statistician of the Central Labor Bureau that in 25 trades 212,000 out of 510,000 are out of work. The officials of the prefecture of police calculate that 2000 sufferers from the close of the exposition have joined the criminal army.

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