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THE THEME OF "CANADA'S CENTURY", 1896-1920

Sweet is the breath of the prairie, where peace and prosperity reign,
And joyous the song of the city, where all is expansion and gain. . . .
Robert Stead, *The Empire Builders* (1908), p. 46.

Since a nation has existence at any moment only as what it thinks it is and as what it is thought to be by others, the absence of a satisfying, positive national idea or image of Canada is both symptom and cause of the prevailing sense of incoherence in this country. In the past such varied epithets as "loyal daughter of Britain," "cousin of America," "young giant," "Johnny Canuck," and others have been tried, but have failed to take hold seriously in the face of continually changing and unpredictable conditions of social and political growth. However, the retrospective formalizing process must always continue; and, in recent interpretations of historical developments "from colony to nation" and after, some phases of growth are in danger of being left out because they are difficult to fit into the latest newly-emerging picture. The period from 1896 to 1920 is a case in point, as the less familiar literature of the time shows. One who sees himself as the diffident, modest, unassuming, industrious Canadian of today, quietly shouldering his domestic and international responsibilities and seeking out his identity in comforting negatives, will scarcely acknowledge a family resemblance in portraits of that earlier age. Then many Canadians believed themselves to be caught up in an enormous, exhilarating wave of Evolution which was sweeping them forward to a glorious future, and they acclaimed the experience in a mood of high celebration.

Social Change and the Idea of Evolution

The causes and nature of Canada's spectacular "boom," beginning about 1896 and lasting with varying intensity for two decades, are now clearly understood. "The prairie frontier," observes K. Buckley in his recent study, *Capital Formation in Canada* (1955), "finally passed the critical margin separating potential from actual resources when the opportunity it afforded became definitely superior to alternative opportunities

open to migrants. This shift in the character of the frontier occurred quite suddenly in the mid-nineties" (p. 47). The great and not entirely peaceful invasion of Canada in the early twentieth century was a striking sign of the times: "After the change in opportunities in 1896, net migration became positive and contributed almost 40 percent of the 100 per cent increase in the population that occurred in the following thirty-five years" (p. 6). But the noteworthy feature of the expansion is that, though quite properly the "opening of the West" is usually emphasized, during the period of greatest population growth there was a much greater urban than rural increase. It was a time of rapid urbanization, mainly because of the "leverage" effect of Western agricultural developments felt directly by Eastern business men.

When we pass from the calm, analytical language of the economic historian to the era of boisterous, optimistic, unruly social turmoil and upheaval which it denotes, we realize that the modern tradition of the Canadians as a modest, self-effacing race accustomed to underestimating themselves and their nation must be modified, at least for this period of Canada's history when the twentieth century was being ushered in. Sir Wilfred Laurier, with his accustomed eloquence, effectively voiced the exuberant hopefulness which filled the hearts of Canadians as they viewed their destiny: "The floodtide is upon us that leads to fortune; if we let it pass it may never recur again. If we let it pass, the voyage of our national life, bright as it is today, will be arrested in the shallows." And in a moment of still greater afflatus: "As the nineteenth century was that of the United States, so I think the twentieth century shall be filled by Canada."¹

The satisfaction of the business man of the new era was very nearly complete; as he was told in the *Canadian Magazine* in 1904,

There never was a time in the history of Canada when there was a greater reason for optimism, nor a greater need of it. The development of the last few years had been magnificent; the development of the next few years depends on our having confidence. The country is rich, immigration is proceeding apace, the Government is doing its duty, and the rest lies with the people—the capitalists, bankers, the businessmen, and the other classes (XXIV, 1904-5, p. 487).

"The capitalists, bankers, the businessmen" were coming into their own as never before as a class with power, prestige, and self-awareness. The editorial section devoted to their interests in the *Canadian Magazine* entitled "Canada for the Canadians. A Department for Business Men"—illustrating the continuance of the link between business interests and patriotism dating at least from the National Policy of 1879—frequently sounds the note of aggressive self-advancement. Thus, the Government

was by no means to be left to do "its duty" on its own initiative; business men were to make their presence felt and their needs known in Parliament:

It is becoming more and more evident that Canadian business men must lay aside their partizanship and study politics from the business standpoint only. The present long session at Ottawa was designed by professional politicians and grafters to scare business men out of Parliament. These wily individuals desire to keep the business men and independents at home so that the professionals will have entire control of the country's revenues. . . . The professional politicians, men with no special calling, no visible means of support, should be beaten in the [party] conventions. Only thus can the House of Commons be kept wholesome and efficient. It is a duty which lies upon every merchant and manufacturer in the country (XXII, 1903-4, p. 194).

Outside of Parliament, their chief organization was the Canadian Manufacturers' Association,² which was very active in helping the cause of its members during these years. The C.M.A. established an unofficial immigration bureau in London in 1903 until the outcry of Labour succeeded in having it closed. Aside from practical tasks, frequent suggestions with regard to harnessing the spirit of patriotism were made, as for example that by President J. H. Sherrard in 1915, in his Presidential Address of that year:

The War. . . has brought about a patriotic sentiment in favour of goods Made-in-Canada, and this sentiment will greatly reduce our imports of goods formerly bought abroad. . . . The 'Made in Canada' movement is a sentiment, but it remains for us, the manufacturers of Canada, to crystallize that sentiment into a principle. . . .

Another member of the Association was more specific as to how this might be done:

I think. . . we are commencing at the wrong end. In our schools is the place where we ought to train our children. We ought to take a lead from the German's book and train them in the school—train them from the time they are five years old, when they go to kindergarten—to believe in nothing else but Made-in-Canada goods. We ought to importune our Education Department for each Province to make that part and parcel of their schools—that they should be put even into the Sunday Schools along with the Shorter Catechism and the Ten Commandments. They do that in Germany; they are taught from the first day they go to school to believe in buying everything that is made in Germany. We can do it equally well here, and we can do it to far greater effect, because we can raise our children to think that there is nothing else but Canada and goods made in Canada.

Lying behind the thinking and the verbal responses of statesmen, business men, and writers who welcomed the coming of "Canada's century" was often an analogy based on the scientific concept of Evolution. In the United States there had been a growing reaction against that phase of capitalist expansion which involved the growth of huge trusts and corporations, but the typical Canadian response was one of acceptance

of the aggregation of capital as an inevitable product of the course of social and economic Evolution. "If we except a certain class of American politician," wrote E. H. Cooper in the *Canadian Magazine* of 1900, "we shall be able to find few persons who are unwilling to believe that trusts are of natural growth, and are the result of a process of evolution." "Big-ness" in the business world, so much under fire in the United States in such cases as that of the Standard Oil Trust, is seen by Cooper as a positive good: "Excessive competition cannot be beneficial To restrain this useless and baneful competition, the manufacturers at first formed 'combines'; but distrust and failure to keep promises was still too prevalent in humanity to allow the successful working of these organizations. Soon the idea of trusts was hit upon, whereby several firms were consolidated under one management" (XIV, 1899-1900, p. 243 ff.).

Certain types of business corporation especially caught the imagination of the time. Norman Patterson offered an enthusiastic tribute to that remarkable achievement of modern times, the "Evolution of a Departmental Store," a feature of twentieth-century living of which familiarity has since dulled the lustre:

The departmental store is one of the great developments of the age. As such it is worthy of study from the economic stand-point. It is an institution which increases the conveniences of the individual and adds to the sum total of his comforts and pleasures. Because of this, it is worthy of the highest commendation. So long as it continues to fulfil its mission it will be counted among the great successes achieved in the progress of the world (XXVII, 1906, p. 438).

A better known figure, Adam Shortt, was at this early stage in the great economic boom one of the most distinguished apologists for triumphant capitalism. As a political economist of note he was especially qualified to discuss the material progress of his society. His *Canadian Magazine* essay of 1899, "In Defence of Millionaires," bravely justifies that small but much maligned class of citizens, commonly reckoned the villains of the piece by socialists, on essentially evolutionary grounds: "The whole growth of economic organization, the subsequent development of the millionaire, and the final effort to avoid the ruinous waste of independent competition [*i.e.*, by the forming of trusts], are simply stages in the economic triumph of man over nature." Shortt was convinced that "the decided attitude of hostility on the part of many respectable organs of public opinion towards men of great wealth and consequent power, commonly styled millionaires," was not only mistaken, but "obstructive of progress and injurious to many of the best interests of society." He concludes, "The millionaire, at any rate, will abide with us. He may not be a saint above all men, but neither is he unique as a sinner. His rise has been

natural and inevitable. He is simply the latest expression of a development which has been in process for more than a century past." Even such apparent capitalistic vices as speculation have their useful role to play in this admirably ordered scheme of things: "Destructive as speculation is commonly supposed to be, there is in it little loss of wealth to the community. It is simply passed from one control to another, and, in the long run, it usually reaches the most capable hands" (XIII, 1899, pp. 493-8).

The most ambitious and most comprehensive endeavour to unify the social philosophy of the pre-World War I period was made by William Lyon Mackenzie King, in his book, *Industry and Humanity*, published in 1918. King is still an ambiguous and mysterious figure in many ways, despite—or perhaps because of—his record number of years in the limelight of Canadian politics. In the first decades of the twentieth century Mackenzie King was engaged in work with the Department of Labour which drew down on him the charges both of dangerous radicalism and of shrewd and sophisticated machinations on behalf of the reactionary forces in society. His *Industry and Humanity* displays most of the central ideas; their generality and ambivalence go a long way towards explaining the contradictory judgments on Mackenzie King's public career.

The core of King's social philosophy, and the conception which best illustrates his ideological method, is to be found, fittingly enough, in his response to the familiar idea of Evolution. Capitalistic apologists, especially those of an earlier generation in the United States, had justified the abuses of the economic system on Social Darwinist grounds. On the other hand, radicals first attacked the philosophy of Social Darwinism as inhumane or as an invalid application of biological theories to man's higher form of life, and then later learned to harness the same scientific analogy for their own purposes: the prophecy of an inevitable evolutionary change bringing into being, in the natural process of things, a socialist millenium. Mackenzie King succeeded in taking his stand, not just between the two antithetical positions, but in such a position that he appeared to offer a positive reconciliation:

The Law of the Survival of the Fittest is a biological law, concerned solely with the relationship between organisms and their environments. It is not a rule of conduct, nor a moral law. The struggle for existence which the fit alone survive is a struggle in the physical world between physical organisms and their physical environments. . . . The struggle is between organisms and environment, not between organism and organism of the same type (p. 118).

The Law of Evolution not only does not require competition "between organism and organism of the same type," but it enjoins co-operation for the task of overcoming a hostile environment.

This theoretical doctrine had its better-known counterpart in political practice: "conciliation." "His thought," write Mackenzie King's latest biographers, "centred around the word *conciliation*. He recognized the social tensions developing in industrial Canada. To vanquish the dread spectre of social conflict, feared alike by both employees and employers, he proclaimed this blessed word to the Dominion."³ Conciliation was a way to avoid the excessive intrusion of Government into the sphere of commerce and industry. But this was by no means a twentieth-century rebirth of *laissez-faire*, for Mackenzie King accepted without question the aggregative process of modern industrial urbanism. Conciliation, as the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act of 1906-7 envisaged it, was not between individual workmen and small employers, but between "organized capital and organized labour." "This is not a party issue," said Minister of Labour Lemieux in introducing Mackenzie King's Bill:

The principle involved in the Bill is too vital and too important to be made a party issue. It is, indeed, a national issue, which in these days of organized capital and organized labour should command the hearty co-operation and sympathy of everyone who takes an interest in industrial questions. I contend, Mr. Speaker, that this is both a Liberal and a Conservative measure.

The radicals, however, could not agree that it was a Labour measure. And whatever his intentions, Mackenzie King himself discovered on more than one occasion that "conciliation" involving giant corporations and strong trade unions was very likely to be a matter not of principles but of power. After World War I, Mackenzie King still maintained the same attitudes, at least until 1935, of complete acceptance of the main line of industrial and commercial growth towards ever increasing "bigness." In introducing his Combines Investigation Act of 1923, once again Mackenzie King endorsed the development of large corporations and trusts: "The legislation does not seek in any way to restrict just combinations or agreements between businesses and industrial houses and firms, but it does seek to protect the public against the possible ill-effects of these combinations."⁴ In 1935, his preface to a new edition of *Industry and Humanity* reaffirmed his faith in the role of Government as merely overseer in the growth of the giants, Labour and Capital: "The path of reform in industrial government lies in the direction of according to Labor, more in the way of joint control; and to all the parties to Industry, more, and not less, of self-government" (p. xiii).

Mackenzie King's eclectic social philosophy of conservative compromise is all the more interesting because he was a consummate politician who not for long held or expressed views which were likely to be

unpopular. He could almost be considered, without injustice on either side, to be the exact norm of Canadian thinking about social and economic issues during much of his uniquely successful public career.

The Literature of "Triumphant Exultation"

The first decades of the twentieth century produced their own characteristic literature among the educated and cultivated people, that which Frederick Philip Grove might have called the literature of "getting on." Many of the best known writers on the time made their contributions to it. This literature found its most eloquent exponent in the literary critic J. D. Logan. In 1911, Logan wrote an introduction for a collection of patriotic verse entitled *Songs of the Makers of Canada*, and there he describes with gusto the characteristics of Canadian poetry at this time:

Canadian poetry is such definitely, not because its authors or its material (subject, theme) or even its form, color and music, are Canadian. It is such only by virtue of some distinctive 'note' in it. That note is not Imperialism, as some allege; it is not individual Nationhood, as others submit; it is not even Confederate Unity, as others say. It is this and this alone,—*an inexpugnable Faith in ourselves.*

The argument continues with greater fervour as Logan rises to a larger view of the subject:

And so if you will examine the best Canadian poetry, whether it be hymns, nature songs, or war lyrics, you will find an undertone of a consciousness of self-controlled destiny, which passes from Cheerful Faith (before Confederation) to Triumphant Exultation (since Confederation). . . and it is this Faith which now guides us, with undoubted energy and serenity, onward to a humane and happy federation of many races in a land still unassailed and free. Our poetry may not be great in finished perfection of form, in subtle nuances of thought and emotion; but it is of high rank in these social qualities,—sane and cheerful Faith in our ideals, restrained but inexpugnable Self-confidence in our power eventually to effect, undirected and unassisted by others, a genuinely mundane, human, and practical Democracy, and Courage to undertake the accomplishment of our predestined task (pp. 28-9).

In an article in the *Canadian Magazine* of 1906, several years earlier, Logan gave another illuminating view of the spirit of the times and, of course, of the author himself. Material progress, Logan argued, far from diverting the artist from his proper task, offered new opportunities for the exercise of his genius; so, through "advertising," artists can further the processes of social evolution:

. . . Men of letters (or at least men of thorough education and skill in literature as such) are engaged in originating and writing advertisements, not merely as a remunerative pastime or as a means of livelihood, but seriously as a profession within the department of letters, quite worthy of the ambition and energy of trained and cultivated minds.

Through them what was originally in function and expression a blatant, vulgar instrument of commerce has become a dignified vehicle of truth and a trustworthy social servant (XXVIII, p. 332).

Other critics and men of letters were expressing similar attitudes but few as vividly as J. D. Logan.

Examples of the literature of "Triumphant Exultation (since Confederation)" are not hard to find in this period, especially in the West. Robert Stead, who became a leading poet and novelist of the rapidly opening West, caught that region's essential tone of rough, hearty, coarse affirmation in his poem "The Mixer," which celebrates the West as a "melting-pot" and a maker (and breaker) of men:

They are fresh from all creation, from the lands beyond the seas,
Where a man accepts existence by the grace of 'if you please,'
From the homes of rank and title, from the slums of want and woe,
They are coming as the cattle that have nowhere else to go;
They are haggard, huddled, homeless, frightened at—they know not what;
With a few unique exceptions they're a disappointing lot;
I take 'em as I get 'em, soldier, sailor, saint and clown,
And I turn 'em out Canadians—all but the yellow and brown.

In my new-made, day-old cities I apply them to the test,
Where they mix and clash and scramble with the Spirit of the West;
With the lust of gain before them, and the lust of sin within,
Where a few go down the deeper, but the many rise and win;
Where the sons of men are equal in the eyes of other men,
And the man who falls defeated rises up to fight again,
I mix 'em, mix 'em, mix 'em, in the turmoil of the town,
As I turn 'em out Canadians—all but the yellow and brown.

(*The Empire Builders*)

No doubt most of Stead's readers agreed with him that even a melting-pot must draw the line somewhere.

Much of the work of Tom MacInnes and Robert Service belongs in the same category as Stead's. But at about the same time a more subtle and sensitive as well as a more famous poet, Bliss Carman, showed himself to be concerned with aspects of the contemporary scene these writers seemed prepared to ignore. "The fact remains," wrote Carman in 1903, "that men and women are being worked to death in order that you and I may have our luxuries."⁵ Poems like "Hem and Haw" and "Henry George" suggest that the poet's social conscience was active and was prodding him to evaluate critically the contemporary social system which

could allow such things to happen. Henry George is eulogized in unres-
trained terms:

. . . He died for me and you,
To redeem the world anew
From cruelty and greed. . . .
And there is no other way,
Since man of woman was born,
Than the way of the rebels and saints,
With loving and labour vast,
To redeem the world at last
From cruelty and greed;
For love the only creed,
And honour the only law.

(*Poems*, 1904, p. 213)

However, Carman's reaction to the fact of social evils and injustice was more aesthetic than ideological. His analysis of industrial urbanism from this point of view was severe: "With the body made a slave to machinery, and the spirit defrauded of any scope for its pent-up force, we have nothing to hope for in the industrial world; and the breach between art and life will go on widening until labour is utterly brutalized and art utterly emasculated." In the manner of Ruskin, he asserted the ideal relation of work, freedom, and art which modern industrial "slavery" denied:

The commonest work is ennobling when it provides any avenue of expression for the spirit. . . . To make such a condition of work universal seems to me a sufficient aim for modern endeavour. . . . Of course we cannot have that under existing conditions. Any improvement of society in that direction implies a cure more radical than has yet been attempted. It implies freedom for the common worker as well as freedom for the thinker and artist. Not until the term artisan has come to be as honourable as the term artist will we have real freedom.⁶

Such forceful opinions might be expected to lead to either a boldly radical or a profoundly conservative conclusion in Carman's thinking, but the poet was neither strong-minded nor consistent. He lost the opportunity of sustained insight in his endeavour to find "a happy mean in conduct between radicalism and conservatism," an endeavour which chimed harmoniously in the ears of the majority, but which was scarcely the "way of the rebels and saints." "Am I not right," he asked rhetorically, "to be a liberal, even a radical, and set my face like a stone against benumbing tradition?" His answer to his own question is "No":

It cannot be done. Tradition is not the bugbear radicals would have us believe. It safeguards our existence against our own too rash folly. It keeps us from the ills of a too precipitate haste. There is a happy mean between radicalism and conservatism. I hear

my friend on the one side of the room howling at the 'hide-bound conservatives.' I hear my friend at the other side muttering at the 'blatant radicals.' And I do sympathize with each.⁷

This is a far cry from the attitude he once expressed in "A Spring Feeling":

And let the Spring house-clean my brain,
Where all this stuff is crammed;
And let my heart grow sweet again;
And let the Age be damned.

Carman's trimming is typical even of his Bohemianism, which found extreme and flamboyant expression in his poetry on occasion. In his *Vagabondia* volumes Carman seemed to be hurling a direct challenge at conventional morality, but in a letter written between the appearance of the second and third volumes, Carman indicates on what level his revolt took place:

I am feeling at present that the *Vagabondia* idea is played out. . . . I don't think it would be quite wise to harp on that string again and again. It's time now to be doing something else. Let us be committed to a third *Vagabondia* [as he became], we should be permanently accredited as citizens of that delectable country, content to abide there. . . .⁸

Moreover, in his prose Carman was expressing precisely anti-Bohemian notions at the time of his poetic visits to that amoral land:

The physical training which facilitates good manners also evolves the spirit of good nature which must underlie them. This is the real reason of the importance of a code of conduct and a scrupulous insistence upon the keeping of that code. The best impulses which arise in human instinct are thereby steadied and made habitual, effective, and dominant. . . . That a generous and general practice of good manners stimulates and disseminates fine aspiration, nobility of character, and grace of living is beyond question.⁹

Carman less than Stead and Service endorsed the spirit of Triumphant Exultation in the early twentieth-century; at times he showed a critical awareness of that spirit. But he did not dwell on those of his insights which might be disturbing to his large reading public.

Among writers in prose, one whose popular success was comparable to that of Carman, Robert Barr, showed himself more fully in tune with the prevailing optimism of the turn of the century. Those very aspects of the social scene—poverty, "slumdom," and industrial strife—which in other periods were objects of criticism and protest, appear in quite a different light in Barr's *The Measure of the Rule* (1907). The hero, a young Ontario farm boy who eventually comes to the city of Toronto

to further his fortunes, faces hard times in that city. But his response is one which was typical of a time of rapid material expansion. "Yet," the hero later reminisces of this stage in his life, "poverty seemed simply a good joke, a merely temporary inconvenience. Life was full of such amazing possibilities" (p. 7). An example outside of fiction of this kind of response is to be found in a *Canadian Magazine* description in 1909 of "A Shack-Town Christmas." It is a description of Canadian immigrants and migrants eking out their existence while they work and search for their share in the prosperity of the great "boom": "Christmas in Shacktown—it scarcely matters which Shacktown, for there are many in Canada—but that is far different from Yuletide in a tenement or a hovel. There's hope in a shack. . . ." The author goes on to distinguish carefully between a "shack" and a "shanty," the latter being a structure confined to the days of pioneering. In those early days, "Shacks had not been devised. They belong to a newer and bigger Canada. And the shack population of this country numbers many thousands of folk who with a few years of shacking will become citizens, paying taxes and bills for electric light and waterworks" (XXXIV, 1909-10, p. 128).

Such descriptions make an inescapable contrast to the "reportage" of left-wing writers in the late twenties and early thirties. Here the note is one of hopefulness—the evil is a temporary and transient stage in social evolution; there the purpose of the writing is to inflame, to incite indignation, to bring about radical changes that would remedy the evils felt to be implicit in the particular kind of social order. The proletarian short story of the 1930's also had its opposite in the earlier period. One revealing example can be cited: "The Heart of Kerry," by Mable Burkholder. It deals with contemporary scenes of industrial warfare, a subject rarely treated, and the story is replete with lively descriptions of strikes, rioting, and speechmaking by labour leaders and by employers. But its whole bearing is amply illustrated by the sub-title: "How an appeal of human interest played upon opposing parties and brought about the settlement of a great strike." Here the common matter of the proletarian story of a later generation is used for quite different purposes. The aim is not ideological, and the ideas are the moderate and respectable beliefs of the vast majority, not those of a militant minority (*Canadian Magazine*, XXIX, 1907, p. 465).

The atmosphere of the pre-World War I era is caught most interestingly in prose in a novel by Allan Sullivan, in part because his canvas was wider but also because he was a more competent writer than many. His novel *The Rapids*, published in 1920, is an excellent embodiment of the mood of Triumphant Exultation which had intermittently reigned

for the previous two decades. Sullivan might have taken as text for his work the essay by Adam Shortt at the beginning of that period of unparalleled expansion, "In Defence of Millionaires." "The modern Millionaire," Shortt had asserted, "in every normal case, has really no special interest in money, commonly possessing little of it, and being best pleased when he has little of it on hand. His interest is creative, and is akin to that of the scientific enthusiast, the statesman or the artist." Robert Fisher Clark, American "financier," is just such a man. *Ex nihilo* he builds up a great inter-locking network of industries based on the little Canadian town of St. Marys and its until-then unrecognized and unharnessed power, "the rapids." Clark as the Titan of finance (it is surely not fortuitous that he is an American) remains till the end of the novel a somewhat mysterious figure of super-human dimensions, but Sullivan gives a few glimpses of his inner motivation: "Long ago I decided," said Clark to the young St. Marys engineer, Belding, "that I was meant for a certain purpose in this world. I'm trying to carry it out. . . . I'm not working for myself, or even in a definite way for my shareholders, but I'm trying to adapt the forces and resources of nature to the use of man. Don't you see?" Belding's reply is, "'I think so.' Belding began to perceive that he was caught up as a small unit in a great forward movement that encompassed not only himself but thousands of others" (p. 168).

Once embarked on this direction of life, Clark found that his abilities and ambitions coincided with the nature of his chosen place of action, Canada. "Clark, with his impetuous energy, is typical of a country in which few achievements are impossible. He provided his own motive power and used his hypnotic influence only in one direction—that of progress" (p. 337). The word "progress" is revealing. It is a key to the basic beliefs underlying the portrayal of Clark. Sullivan does not allow his "captain of industry" to inhabit a purely material and secularized world of the present; on the contrary, the author places his heroic feats in a larger context: Clark "realized how large was the world, and how much work yet remained to be done. His spirit was not solitary, but linked forever with external realities, and through the cloud that obscured the present he could see his star of destiny shining undimmed" (p. 330). It is at the end of his career that Clark stands most in need of this link with the "eternal realities." He has kept his giant enterprises going in the face of immense difficulties. There are labour disputes, leading to violence, in which the workers appear as an unruly, unthinking herd; Clark confronts them in the same way that he faces the sometimes terrible forces of nature—to master them or be crushed by them. He has been troubled by his shareholders' lack of faith, by bitter competition, by the

obstacles of nature itself; but the creative financier is in the end obliged to step aside despite—or rather because of—his success, to make way for more pedestrian and more conservative followers. Clark is essentially a pioneer, and belongs upon the frontier. He must find new areas for conquest and creation. "Consider for a moment this man," concludes the author, speaking of the hero with whom (it appears) he has become infatuated:

Consider for a moment this man, who is a stranger to most. He desired neither wealth nor ease, being filled with a vast hunger for creation, and to forest, mountain and river he turned with confidence and abiding courage. It was as though nature herself had whispered misty secrets in his ear. Being a prophet he suffered like a prophet, but the years, rolling on, have enabled him to look back on the later flower of his earlier days, for it is written that he should plow and others reap. And of necessity it was so. . . . His unwearying soul drove him on in steadfast pursuit of that which lay just over the hill. It was nothing that lay at his feet which fascinated, but the promise of the morrow, whose dawn already gilded the horizon of his spirit (p. 336).

In these concluding words, with their biblical overtones and vague religiosity, their celebration of power and the strenuous life, their rejoicing in "bigness" and in the conquest of nature, their dim suggestions of the evolution of future glories and greatness, Sullivan epitomizes the spirit of happy acceptance which many felt in the face of the rapid material progress of the early part of "Canada's century".

In the twentieth century Canada's rise has so far shared the limelight with, among other developments, the major calamities of the Great Depression and two World Wars. These, one would think, would have destroyed the idea of inevitable Evolution towards Canadian greatness—even expunged it from the national consciousness. It would be more accurate to say, however, that the troubled ghost of the idea lives on, with little of its old majesty, but haunting and goading the hesitant minds of later generations still in search of an acceptable image of national identity.

NOTES

1. House of Commons *Debates* (July 30, 1903); *Address to the Canadian Club*, Ottawa (Jan. 18, 1904).
2. See S. D. Clark, *The Canadian Manufacturers' Association* (1939), for an account of this organization's activities, and for the two quotations that follow (pp. 58-9).
3. H. S. Ferns and B. Ostry, *The Age of Mackenzie King* (1955), p. 51.
4. J. A. Bell, *Canadian Anti-Trust Legislation* (1934), p. 64.
5. *The Kinship of Nature* (1903), p. 167.
6. *Ibid.*, pp. 7-9.
7. *The Friendship of Art* (1904), pp. 177-9.
8. Letter to Herbert Smith, *Morse Bulletin V*.
9. *Friendship*, p. 307.