SIR EDMUND WALKER, SERVANT OF CANADA

by

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ABSTRACT

In the laissez-faire system of the late nineteenth century, Sir Edmund Walker, Canadian businessman, saw his life in terms not of his personal gain, but of his service to his country. His Victorian curiosity and ethic of service prompted him to work for Canada in many varied areas from banking, to the arts, to planning a new imperial structure in the Round Table. By World War I, however, this Victorian ethic could no longer survive in the modern world which had evolved. Government also ended laissez-faire by entering fields which business philanthropy had neglected. While most Canadians seemed to recognize Sir Edmund's achievements, after the war they scoffed at his outdated views of service.

Byron Edmund Walker, born in 1848 in Haldimand County, Ontario, was the eldest son of a poor, but educated, middle class, English family. Their love of culture and science was transmitted to him at an early age. Although he started banking at twelve, becoming president of the Canadian Bank of Commerce in 1907, Edmund Walker did not neglect this cultural heritage. The Champlain Society, Royal Ontario Museum, University of Toronto, National Gallery, Art Gallery of Ontario, and Guild of Civic Art in Toronto are some of the institutions which he worked for, or helped to found. During this same period Sir Edmund also built up the Canadian Bank of Commerce, the nation's second largest bank, and as the foremost banker in Canada, he led discussions at the decennial revision of the Bank Act. A self-made millionaire, Walker died in Toronto in 1924.
Because his career coincided with Canada's greatest boom, from about 1900 to 1914, it is difficult to establish how much Sir Edmund's efforts actually contributed to his many accomplishments. This is further complicated by the fact that in these ventures he was assisted ably by Zebulon Lash, his enigmatic, corporation lawyer friend. Yet with qualifications, Walker's 'service' to Canada is still outstanding. This thesis, then, is primarily an examination of Sir Edmund Walker's ideas, and how they functioned in his Canadian environment.
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INTRODUCTION

In the brilliant spring afternoon of Friday, March 28, 1924, flags in Toronto hung at half-mast. At Convocation Hall on the University of Toronto campus, businessmen, artists and students gathered to pay their last respects to the great Canadian who had died suddenly the day before. During the memorial service Sir Robert Falconer, president of the university, praised the late chancellor whose academic hood lay dramatically across his empty chair on the platform. The city's renowned Mendelssohn Choir offered two last hymns for their late honorary president. Across Canada his passing made front page news. "A giant oak has fallen and all Canada mourns loss of native son" ran the Toronto Globe's headlines. Journalists, academics, artists, politicians and businessmen all proclaimed his many services to the nation. In this grand manner in the 'roaring twenties' Canada marked the death of Sir Edmund Walker, the many-sided, wealthy president of the Canadian Bank of Commerce.

Sir Edmund Walker's prestige in 1924 was remarkable since substantial critiques of rich plutocrats had lowered the status of businessmen generally. Especially in the United States, muckraking journalists and academics like Thorstein Veblen, author of The Theory of the Leisure Class published in 1899, had successfully attacked businessmen and their way of life. Veblen became famous for his clever verbal weapons like "conspicuous consumption." In Canada Stephen Leacock, his pupil, continued the assault on capitalists, utilizing his well-known humour. These critiques of businessmen, however, have obscured the similarity of the values held by businessmen and the rest of their society. The
magnificent funeral of Sir Edmund Walker can be seen as a vestige of these shared ideals.

Many of Stephen Leacock's values paralleled those of the president of the Canadian Bank of Commerce. Sir Edmund Walker spoke against materialism with as much vehemence as the academic humourist. He taught Canadians to "remember each day that we shall be judged by our children according to the use we have made of the really vast opportunities which fortune has placed in our hands—a vast opportunity for many things besides and better than mere money-making." In addition Walker and Leacock advanced similar antidotes, in the form of nationalism and imperialism, to curb their compatriots' lust for money. Their Victorian environment provided the source for these mutually held ideas.

What we have come to know as "Victorian" actually started in France and Germany, spread into Britain, and from there, to North America. The reign of Victoria, from 1837 to 1901, does give some limits to the Victorian period, but some of its characteristics antedated the great queen's coronation and others extended after her death to disappear, particularly in Canada, during World War I. In all these countries "Victorianism" was basically a middle class phenomenon. This meant that Sir Edmund Walker thought in much the same way as the middle class, Canadian, 'imperialist' academics of his time, and as the Victorian businessmen in the United States. His life-style also resembled the typical pattern that existed throughout the West in the nineteenth century.

Although many Victorians criticized materialism, they were very much involved in the world. Everything in man and nature attracted
their attention as they sought the answer to the question, "How does it work?" Charles Darwin, for example, possessed a truly Victorian mind. His curiosity led to an investigation of the working of nature and then to his famous theory of evolution. In the same manner others, like Sigmund Freud and Karl Marx, studied the mechanics of man and society. Study became a form of popular entertainment for the curious, who flocked religiously to their new museums, libraries and institutes.

Nineteenth centurymen also exhibited romantic natures. Their curiosity about the world, in part, stemmed from a romantic attachment to the exotic. Old ruins sent their imaginations flying. Allan Gowans maintains that Canadians of this time in their own architecture carefully adapted classical and gothic details to ensure that their buildings had the proper spirit of age. Victorians were not alarmed that machines mass-produced many articles in common, believing that a flourish of colour and decoration on these items effected an appropriate exotic and hand-made appearance.

Perhaps the Victorians' most unusual feature was the great virtue they saw in serving others. An origin of this desire to serve can be found in their Protestantism which held that a man could prove his worth to God by working in the world. When evolution seemed to remove God from the Victorian universe, Protestant Victorians justified their lives, not in serving God, but their fellow men. Charles Darwin, a representative Victorian, when asked about the implications of his theory of evolution for Christian morality, replied simply that man should continue just "to do his duty." This new morality of doing one's duty, Gertrude Himmelfarb has aptly called, "the Religion of Humanity."
Other sources beyond religion gave rise to the Victorian ethic of service. As Walter Houghton has observed, the ethic had roots in liberal theory: by doing what was best for himself, a man also did what was best for society. Liberal philosophy operated in the prevailing capitalist ideology which decreed that the best economic system was one in which every man laboured for his own profit, thereby serving all by his work. On the other hand, some may have had a completely unselfish reason for serving. Nothing in Victorian times was more highly valued than noble benevolence, or self-sacrifice where "all selfish concern was transcended by an ardent devotion to a person or cause." A man became ennobled by giving his life in service to another. This idea, of course, formed the plot of many popular novels.

In addition to their intellectual reasons for serving, Victorians seemed to feel an overwhelming, almost irrational compulsion to do their duties in the world. Thomas Carlyle, the eminent English writer, exhorted his fellows to "...do the Duty which lies nearest to thee, which thou knowest to be a duty! Thy second Duty will already be coming clearer." Obeying this command, Victorians appeared to rush from one Duty to the next on a seemingly everlasting treadmill.

This was the environment in which Sir Edmund Walker and business critics lived. Throughout Walker's life, whether in his business activities or in his philanthropic endeavours, his Victorianism revealed itself in his curiosity, in his romanticism, but especially in his Victorian ethic of service. Sir Edmund, his early biographers noted, was motivated by his desire to serve Canada. George Glazebrook, in Sir Edmund Walker, concluded that the president of the Canadian Bank of Commerce
chose to build Canada by his "rich gift of unselfish service." Dr. Charles Colby, a professor of history at McGill, in articles on Sir Edmund, also emphasized his "unflagging sense of public duty." Recognizing Walker's ideal of service, Augustus Bridle felt that Sir Edmund had developed into master of Canada "by being the general servant of the community which he studies in every detail." All these biographers lived too close to their subject to see that his ethic of service had roots in the Victorian world around them, but they would have agreed that Sir Edmund Walker deserved no title more than, "Servant of Canada."

Against this sketchy background of Victorianism, the following record of Sir Edmund Walker's 'service' to Canada has been set. Many of Walker's interests and characteristics were Victorian, but great intelligence and outstanding leadership ability were his alone. Much that he accomplished in culture and business occurred because there was a vacuum in Canada which could be easily filled, but without Sir Edmund's Victorian curiosity in every aspect of life, it is doubtful that he would have become involved in so many diverse pursuits. In many ways this record of Sir Edmund Walker's life is a study of the impact of Victorianism on Canada.
CHAPTER I

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF BYRON EDMUND WALKER

In a log cabin at the edge of a forest clearing near Caledonia, Haldimand County, Ontario, Fanny Walker gave birth to Byron Edmund Walker, the second of her seven children, on the 14th of October, 1848. Only a few years earlier this very farm had been the property of the Six Nation Indians. From such rustic, pioneer beginnings, it would indeed have been difficult to foretell the later life of Sir Edmund Walker, prominent Canadian banker and gentleman of culture.

The origins of Sir Edmund's later success in life, nevertheless, lay in that humble log cabin for here the Walker family provided an environment of learning and culture for their children. Both sets of Sir Edmund's grandparents, although poor, came from the educated middle class in England. Walker's paternal grandfather, Thomas Walker, a manufacturer of watch-cases, had been forced to emigrate to Canada in 1834 when a new invention for engine-turning watches put him out of work in England. This grandfather, described as a 'man of education,' brought valuable books and a few good pictures to his new Canadian home. Sir Edmund's mother's family, the Murtons, were no less cultured. Grandfather Murton, a college-bred man, had studied law in London and then emigrated to Canada in 1832. His wife "spoke French and Italian fluently, and was the only woman west of Toronto who could play the harpsicord." In order to supplement the Murton family income, she had opened a private or "dame's school" in Hamilton. After Sir Edmund's own family moved into Hamilton, he attended
the school of his refined Grandmother Murton.

Young Edmund Walker inherited the family's emphasis on culture principally from his father, Alfred Edmund Walker. At the Jubilee in 1918 celebrating his 50th Anniversary in the Canadian Bank of Commerce, Sir Edmund paid tribute to his father for

...whatever qualities I may possess, apart from mere industry, I owe to my father. At home I never heard money talked about, except perhaps the want of it, which was always the case. We talked about flowers, music, fossils, science, a new poem or novel—nothing very learned or difficult. I was taught to appreciate that the truth regarding nature was the divine thing, and that we must learn it so far as it is possible. I remember the comfort that Darwin's books were to my father. 2

In 1852, Alfred Walker, a frail man, finding life on the farm unsuitable, moved his family into the nearby city of Hamilton. Even in Hamilton, Alfred Walker had difficulty holding a permanent job. Various Hamilton directories of the period refer to him as a "clerk" or "book-keeper." An 1875 directory, for example, lists Alfred Walker as a book-keeper for the Gardner Sewing Machine Company. 3 Although he never earned enough money to provide his children with all the material things in life, he gave them a love of the intellectual and spiritual.

Alfred Walker must have enjoyed the more urbane life in Hamilton. The city in 1850, no longer a rugged settlement, boasted a population of 10,000 and it soon acquired more of the accoutrements of civilization. The Hamilton Scientific Association was founded in 1857, just five years after the family arrived. Alfred Walker, a student of geology, joined it and later became president of the geological section. At Alfred Walker's death, his fellow members passed a resolution of sympathy declaring that:

few of us can forget his addresses on corrals, stomathopora, and the Niagara fossil sponges.
He possessed very great skill in developing sections of the two latter, as may be seen in the valuable case of fossils he generously presented to the Association.... He was among the first to recognize the true nature of the 'anchoring speculis' of our local Niagara chert beds.

To his eldest daughter, Isabella, Alfred Walker gave his interest in geology, and to his eldest son, Byron Edmund, he transmitted his zeal for collecting and classifying fossils.

Besides his curiosity about nature, Alfred Walker enjoyed art. Not only did he paint, but he also became an accomplished lithographer. Sir Edmund recalled that before the Civil War, American sheriffs often invaded Canada to retrieve escaped slaves. On one such occasion, the Hamilton newspapers, unable to reproduce pictures of any kind, asked Alfred Walker to make lithographs which were enclosed in the newspapers to fire Hamiltonians against the unwelcome sheriffs. Walker's lithographs succeeded in their objective of helping one more American slave secure his freedom in Canada. Alfred Walker's fascination with art also spread to his children. The very first money that his son Edmund earned, 25 cents a month, went toward buying the famous Bartlett's prints of Canada which Sir Edmund Walker later had bound into a volume for his library.

Byron Edmund Walker's education followed the typical Victorian pattern in that he learned mostly in his own home. John Stuart Mill, a remarkable product of this Victorian home-learning method, began reading Greek at the age of three! Alfred Walker initiated Edmund's education because he had "grounded his son in the rudiments"; the rest the boy "gained through reading." During Edmund Walker's childhood, he found plenty of books to read in his father's garret. Exotic romances appealed
to this young Canadian. After he had read Mallory's *Triumph of the Round Table*, he became "so excited that he made a wooden sword and went about the house declaring the verses." The first book that he bought, *The Life of Mohamet*, foretold the life long habit and pleasure that buying and reading books became to Sir Edmund Walker.

Although Edmund Walker was educated primarily at home, the environment of the city of Hamilton cannot be overlooked as a factor in his upbringing. When British journalists visited the city in 1852, the year Alfred Walker's family arrived, they were astounded by the stone buildings which seemed to give to the Canadian city, the appearance of a British town. There is also in the extent and arrangements of the large wholesale mercantile establishments, an air of social wealth and enterprise, for which we are utterly unprepared when told that we are about to visit a place little more than twenty years old.

The degree to which this bustling and expanding Hamilton environment shaped young Walker cannot be determined, but it is improbable that he remained untouched by the progressive spirit of the pretentious little city. At the age of twelve, he must have been one of the 40-50,000 visitors to Hamilton's own "Crystal Palace," built especially for the 1860 royal visit of Edward, Prince of Wales.

Hamilton also possessed one of the top public schools in the province. Opened in 1853, Hamilton Central School became the showpiece of the application of Egerton Ryerson's educational theories. It admitted boys and girls of all classes and colours with no charge. Edmund Walker attended Hamilton Central School and passed all six grades. Discipline seemed to be of primary importance in the school. Every week parents were requested to ask their young students for a certificate which stated,
"No scholar is entitled to this certificate, who has received a mark for disorder, absence, misdemeanor or imperfect recitation." The Walker Papers contain a few of these certificates, but their small number suggests that Edmund Walker may not have been a perfect student.

The family concluded that a suitable career for the scholarly young Edmund would be teaching, and they planned to send him to Normal School in Toronto. The boy, however, like his father, had delicate health, and doctors advised a less demanding profession. An uncle, J. W. Murton, owned a bank in Hamilton and it was here that Sir Edmund began his banking career at twelve years after he had completed grade six at Hamilton Central School. The bank really functioned as a bureau de change since Canada, at the time, had no standard currency and offices were needed to exchange the various non-Canadian currencies in use—most of these coins being Spanish. Edmund Walker worked for his uncle from 1861 to 1868. In 1868, as a "clerk or manager," he joined the firm of Lee and Company, exchange dealers in Montreal. This job lasted scarcely two months for in July 1868, Edmund Walker entered the Hamilton branch of the Canadian Bank of Commerce as a discount clerk. At twenty years of age, his long career in the Canadian Bank of Commerce began.

Although Edmund Walker rose steadily in the ranks, to become president of the bank in 1907, he did not feel that he had been consciously ambitious. However, he did admit that "whatever the game in life has been, I have tried to play it to the full." A contemporary remarked that Walker never got carried away, for his rule in life appeared more to be one of holding the balance. Creating an impression of stability, Walker "in person" was
...distinctive in company. He wore a beard with an air. He had bright searching eyes and a gracious voice; he was the soul of hospitality. Yet for all his charm, there was a strain of iron or rather of steel in the man. He made up his mind slowly, but once it was made up, he was immoveable.

George Glazebrook has noted that while Sir Edmund was not "an outstanding judge of men, [he] was a good leader of men." In addition to these individual qualities, Sir Edmund Walker can also be seen as a product of his times. A vast ocean lay between the pioneer frontier of nineteenth century Canada and the centres of European civilization, but it did not prevent the transportation of Victorianism from European shores to Canada. Byron Edmund Walker provides an example of the extent to which Victorianism pervaded Canada.

The study of paleontology, a peculiarly Victorian interest, spread quickly throughout the western world. By 1850 many shared a curiosity about fossils, believing that these contained the history of all animal life. A famous collector was John Ruskin, the Englishman whose series on Modern Painters set the tone for art criticism in the English-speaking world. Ruskin exhibited the usual Victorian curiosity, and like others, his curiosity had become a vehicle for understanding what he believed to be the unity in nature. "He was a tireless collector, eager to sort, to catalogue, to classify the innumerable objects he had gathered, for the material things became to him tokens of the richly diversified design that held the created world in unity," claimed Jerome Buckley.

Edmund Walker followed his father's Victorian habit of collecting fossils. By 1904, he had accumulated and identified about 15,000 fossils, and had acquired a paleontological library of 600 volumes, all of which he donated later to the Royal Ontario Museum in Toronto. The Walkers
also examined nature to find truth. Alfred Walker first taught his son "to understand that the truth regarding nature was the divine thing if we could only learn it." When Darwin's *Origin of the Species* appeared in 1859, both the senior and junior Walkers "devoured it eagerly and accepted it with enthusiasm for it gave them an explanation of what was hinted at in their fossils." Thus, Sir Edmund Walker's curiosity, collecting and classifying habits marked him as a true child of the Walker family and of his Victorian times.

Because of his scientific studies, Sir Edmund Walker held rather unorthodox views about morality and religion. Originally an Anglican, Walker attended a Unitarian church in Yonkers, New York and St. Andrew's Presbyterian in Toronto. When he joined St. Andrew's, he told the minister that he could not accept the doctrine of the divinity of Christ, but the church accepted him all the same. Walker's choice of churches depended more on the personality of the minister than on religious doctrine. Contrary to some men of the time, he favoured a 'Rational Sunday' in which museums, libraries and galleries would be open to the public, and also refused to support prohibition.

Sir Edmund's Victorian curiosity led to his interest in many things and travels to many places. In his notes for an address in 1922, he wrote about curiosity in almost religious terms—

Not to go on learning is fatal
The world is intensely interesting
No end to wealth of facts and ideas
Every moment throbs with meaning
Knowledge is the supreme thing
A noble curiosity is the greatest gift to man.

In his reading Edmund Walker learned about distant lands, and like his fellow romantics, he felt he had to visit them personally. For Canadians,
one of the most important worlds to discover was England. In 1887, Walker first visited the Mother Country, and this trip later became an almost annual spring event with art galleries, museums and architectural monuments comprising regular features of his itinerary. Other European trips included an 1892 visit to Italy which was of particular interest because Walker had the opportunity to see at first-hand the early Italian art that he had studied. Travels across his own country were not omitted. Sir Edmund discovered the variety in Canada on his first train trip across the nation in 1891, and on subsequent tours of 1897, 1902, 1905 and 1906. By far the most exciting to him were his grand voyages to Japan, Korea and China in 1919 and to Brazil, Uruguay, Argentina and Chile in 1921.

During these visits to the Far East and South America, Sir Edmund Walker, unlike many of his contemporaries, did not exhibit any noticeable Anglo-Saxon superiority. After his trip to South America, he concluded that "we English-speaking people are often offensive beyond our capacity to understand," warning that no nation, no matter how powerful, can afford to be hated. He recognized that South America had no middle class, and contended that it was "not our task to try to alter this." In dealing with South Americans, Sir Edmund counselled "knowledge of their history, peoples, institutions and above all, sympathy." In similar fashion, Walker spoke of the people of the Far East. He portrayed the image of Westerners held by men of the East—"we are all alike. Self interest controls us. We have become powerful only by not respecting the rights of the weak." After his 1919 tour of the East, Sir Edmund, who had been a member of the Japan Society of America, was made honorary consul general of Japan. His journal records that he entertained many
Asian dignitaries. For Walker, the Japanese were the "Anglo-Saxons of the East" and in 1921 he believed that they should be granted "thinly peopled" territory in Asia to expand.\(^1\)

Given a lack of racial prejudice, it is understandable that Sir Edmund Walker would welcome immigrants of all colours into Canada. In 1907 he urged that Canada should open her doors to Asian immigrants, to further trans-Pacific trade with Asia.\(^2\) Probably a member of the N.A.A.C.P. (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People), Walker addressed the blacks of Toronto in 1915 on the first anniversary of The Canadian Observer, their journal. He said that he wished their race "was increasing in numbers here, as I am afraid it is not, because this is one of the lands of liberty and democracy where every man and every woman will have an equal chance."\(^3\) At other times in the address he admitted that "we are not as just in some respects as we should be,"\(^4\) but the original intent that Canada should willingly accept blacks remained.

An assessment of Sir Edmund Walker's attributes would be incomplete without acknowledging his ideas on man's duties. Very frequently Sir Edmund preached that Canadians should follow the higher goal of service. At the Y.M.C.A. in 1912, for example, he urged that we should

all strive to make money, but put it second in our lives, not first. We all have duties to ourselves, to other individuals and the state, which are more important, much more satisfying than making money, and which way lies happiness and honourable renown. \(^5\)

This statement of duties is none other than the Victorian ethic of service.

One of Sir Edmund's 'duties' to others involved caring for his wife, Mary Alexander, whom he married in 1874. Walter Houghton's
description of the typical Victorian male who considered women, like his mother and bride, to be "more like angels than human beings" would appear to apply to Edmund Walker's attitudes toward his own wife. Their marriage also seemed to follow the pattern of the Victorian love affair in which "the lover meets his soul mate, the one person who was made for him or her." Mary Alexander, the daughter of Alexander Alexander, a Hamilton grocer, had attended Hamilton Central School, but because she was three years younger, she had started Central in 1861, the year Edmund Walker completed his studies. A former schoolmate recalled that Mary Alexander was "the daintiest, sweetest little girl at Central in the old years gone by." "Minnie" and "Ned" shared many interests. They both enjoyed art and their "Sketch Books," dating from 1861-1864, reveal quite an artistic competence for teenagers. In marriage, Mary and Edmund Walker were well suited. Sir Robert Falconer, President of the University of Toronto and frequent visitor to the Walker home, wrote of Lady Walker, that "with her delicacy, her glancing but shy humour, her interest in books, she was a perfect companion for him." A photograph of Lady Walker taken in their Toronto home shows a beautiful woman, very much in harmony with the art objects surrounding her, and the open book which she holds.

With a move to Yonkers, New York, in 1881 where Edmund Walker took up a new appointment as the Canadian Bank of Commerce's joint agent, Mary and Edmund Walker had the opportunity to expand their reading interests with their cultivated Yonkers' neighbours. Edmund Walker "presided over a little circle of Browning readers...who held regular readings and organized study." Assisted by his wife, he traced every historical, classical and any other allusion, which appeared in Robert Browning's poem,
"Sardello." It would seem that Walker's method of studying Browning, derived from his Victorian interest in history and allegory, was not one recommended by the poet, for Browning wrote to a friend about "Sardello" that "the historical decoration was purposely of no more importance than a background requires, and my stress lay on the incidents in the development of a soul: little else is worth study."\(^{43}\) Although Edmund Walker did not understand Browning's use of historical decoration, he had several Victorian characteristics in common with the poet. Curiosity and collecting habits are also idealized by Browning in "Paracelsus"—"I still must hoard and heap and class all truths/ With one ulterior purpose: I must know."\(^{44}\)

For both Walkers, the years spent in Yonkers were pleasant ones. When Edmund Walker was transferred back to Toronto in 1886 to take over as general manager of the Canadian Bank of Commerce, he immediately hunted for counterparts of their Yonkers neighbours, and reported back to his wife in New York that "Mrs. Howland is a great reader and much like some of our Yonkers friends. Miss McMaster...can talk about Blake...Keats, Browning and the rest, very intelligently. Has her affectations but seems worth knowing."\(^{45}\) Edmund, and especially Mary Walker maintained their connections with Yonkers long after they moved to Toronto. Although they continued to seek stimulating friends in Toronto, the Walkers did not become leaders in Toronto's society.\(^{46}\)

The Edmund Walker family settled into their permanent home in Toronto at 99 St. George Street in 1890. Just west of the university grounds it was situated in a fashionable area. Prominent neighbours included the George Gooderhams and the university's president. Today, it
is difficult to realize that the city of Toronto in the 1890's ended scarcely a block north of the Walker's home at Bloor Street, and further to the north lay open fields. The Walker home said much about its owners for Victorians chose their homes to express themselves in much the same way that we advertise ourselves by our automobiles.  

The house prominently displayed the Walkers' Victorianism. Its late Victorian style of projecting wings and chimneys gave the building the desired impression of age which the nineteenth century cherished. Sir Edmund gave his home the allegorical name of "Long Garth" because of its long backyard. Jerome Buckley has contended that middle class Victorians loved adding this "dash" of allegory to their lives, although usually it was a touch imperceptible to the uncultured multitude. Sir Edmund loved this allegorical panache, but the name for his home does not seem to hold such deliberate snobbery.

Edmund Walker's salary from the Canadian Bank of Commerce, which in 1908 had reached $40,000, allowed the Walkers to live very comfortably in Long Garth. Over ten servants usually were required to run the large house. In the nineteenth century servants were a permanent fixture of most middle class families. Eliza Alexander, Mary's sister, called "Nannie" by all the children, assisted in organizing domestic affairs. This was no simple operation. Household expenses, in 1911 for instance, which must have included the costs of the family's trip to Europe, paintings, and other related expenditures, ran over $58,000.
The interior of Long Garth exhibited no sign of deliberate ostentation or of poor taste. Newton MacTavish, later a trustee of the National Gallery, writing an article on Sir Edmund's art collection, visited the home in 1918 and quickly noticed the owner's zeal for collecting exotica. He remarked that the

...bronze that reposed at one time as objects of veneration in Chinese temples decorate the mantlepieces in the drawing-room. Chinese and other rugs from the Orient cover the floor. Specimens of early Chinese pottery add interest and spots of colour to the space above the cornice. 52

Photographs of Long Garth taken in this period show the Walkers' Victorian enthusiasm for their collections, but these in no way resemble the crude displays of wealth in other homes of the time, for example, the Toronto home of Hugh MacDonald. 53 Sir Robert Falconer rightly felt that Long Garth maintained an atmosphere of "refinement and moderation," and served well its purpose for here "Sir Edmund found his refreshment." 54

Sir Edmund Walker's art collection was famous throughout Canada. A 1909 appraisal valued it at $75,000. 55 Despite its value, Sir Edwin did not buy art for speculation. Professor Charles Currelly, who helped establish the Royal Ontario Museum, understood Walker's collecting art for the purpose of studying it. In an introduction to a pamphlet on Walker's Japanese print collection, Currelly confirmed that:

as far as I could see from a long acquaintance Sir Edmund was much more eager to learn than to possess. His collections, therefore, tended to be objects of study rather than particular prizes to be hugged as possessions. 56

It is worth noting that Sir Edmund collected the Japanese prints in order to donate them all to the Royal Ontario Museum. These and Walker's many other donations prompted Currelly to comment that, "I have good reason to
believe that he gave away half of his income regularly."

Sir Edmund bought mainly small paintings which represented practically all of the schools of art of the time. These English, Dutch, French and Polish landscapes graced the walls of Long Garth. In the library Walker kept an etching cabinet where he had over "50 Rembrandts, many Van Ostades, Whistlers, Seymour Haden and Millets" filed away. These were also donated to the Art Gallery of Toronto.

When the Walkers returned to Toronto after 1886, they began to buy Canadian works when most of their prominent Canadian contemporaries were still busily acquiring only European, mainly Dutch paintings. The catalogue from a 1927 auction of the Walker estate details the extent of these Canadian purchases. One section alone had over 100 signed pictures by such pre-"Group of Seven" Canadian artists as Harry Britton R.C.A., Frederick S. Challener R.C.A., Edmund Morris R.C.A., and Franklin Brownell R.C.A. The Walker collection also included three modern oil sketches by Tom Thomson and two by the most famous pre-war Canadian artist, Horatio Walker. The entire Walker family showed their interest in Toronto artists by visiting their studios on "Open Day."

As in every facet of his life, Walker's taste in painting stamped him indelibly as a Victorian. John Ruskin, the English art critic, provides some insight into Victorian ideas on art. Ruskin informed his many readers that "painting or art generally is nothing but a noble and expressive language.... The greatest picture is that which conveys to the mind of the spectator, the greatest number of the greatest ideas." Sir Edmund Walker read Ruskin and had thoroughly absorbed Ruskin's philosophy. At the opening of the Art Museum of Toronto, he plainly
enunciated Ruskin's ideas, saying that he would always accept a picture in which the "painter would communicate his message through the picture." Walker had difficulty in understanding the Impressionists because they were not interested in communicating messages, but in depicting the blurred vision of reality which their eyes actually saw. When he visited a Luxembourg gallery in 1909, Edmund Walker gazed at paintings by the French Impressionists, and, then, sadly recorded in his journal--"I tried very hard to understand their charm, but I find I am not able to do so more than when I first saw them.... The fault must of course be in the observer, as their position in art seems well established." Little did he realize that it was his Victorian method of examining art, derived from Ruskin, that prevented him from understanding these beginnings of modern art.

For many romantic Victorians, an escape into 'nature' to their country cottage became an annual ritual. In Britain, for instance, it was "the highest aim of the successful self-made banker or businessman... to buy an estate in the shires and become one of the landed gentry." In 1891 on De Grassey Point, Lake Simcoe, the Walkers completed their own summer home, "Broadeaves," designed by Toronto architect, Frank Darling. Close neighbours were the family of W. J. Alexander, professor of English at the University of Toronto and brother of Mary Walker. A 600 acre farm surrounded Broadeaves and with its cows, horses and sheep, this Canadian estate could have rivalled any in Britain. Sir Edmund enjoyed relaxing at De Grassey, and advising the farmers on their location of crops and other agricultural matters.

The environment of culture created by Mary and Edmund Walker was impressed on their four sons and three daughters. Edmund Murton Walker,
the eldest son, later distinguished himself as professor of zoology at the University of Toronto. His fascination with art and science appeared early, for at the age of three he was drawing and at eight he had begun to classify animals. In the same way that Byron Edmund Walker had recognized his father as the source of his many interests, his own son, Edmund, later acknowledged that "I owe my father and grandfather a great deal, both for the genes through which I inherited my flair for natural history and for the environment which they created of books and pictures, and of ready access to fields, woods and streams, in which I grew up. The Walkers' three other sons went into business although they were no less interested in art. Ewart became head of the electrical department for the Canadian National Railway, Alfred joined Massey Harris Company and Harold Walker became a partner in the Toronto legal firm of Blake, and Cassels. The three daughters married men of culture: a teacher, musician and an architect.

In July 1923, Lady Mary Walker died. Sir Edmund was so bereft that to forget his loss, he threw himself into more endeavours such as arranging the estate of Sir William Mackenzie, a business associate. After accompanying the Toronto Mendelssohn Choir, of which he was honorary president, on a hectic tour throughout the United States, Sir Edmund contracted pneumonia on his return and died in Toronto on March 27, 1924.

The three stages of life depicted in the freize in the library of Long Garth could very well have represented those of Edmund Walker. Sir Edmund commissioned George A. Reid, the Toronto artist, to paint these allegorical scenes in 1901. In the first, where a "mother and child dominate the foreground, while to the right a piping figure reclines,"
Edmund Walker's own childhood of culture may be discerned. Youth, the second scene, showed "five figures...seated on the ground engaged in ardent conversation." This could depict the many study groups, like the Browning Society, in which Walker participated. In the final scene of the "philosophers, a group of seers is declaiming on subjects of great import." For Augustus Bridle, 'philosophic' would characterize the president of the Canadian Bank of Commerce whom he referred to as "not so much the financier, as the professor of banking who expounds the moral laws of stocks, change and trade." This allegorical freize exhibited Edmund Walker's Victorian art tastes. At Long Garth his fossil, art and book collections also provided clues to his Victorian curiosity while the building itself showed his Victorian romanticism. Thus, in his home, Sir Edmund Walker partially displayed his Victorianism. To discover his ethic of service, the other aspect of his Victorianism, we must look beyond his life at Long Garth.
Mr. Good: The banks of course are a public service corporation, are they not?

Sir Edmund Walker: I believe I was one of the first people to admit that they are in a sense a public service corporation. They have a franchise.

Mr. Good: And in that category you would place such other organizations as railway companies and perhaps similar institutions?

Sir Edmund Walker: The nature of their duty to the general public would be different from ours, but we always regard our function as one of service in the last degree; not differing from private individuals in that respect. That is what all of us are for, and if we are good Canadians, I suppose we are all servants of the general public.

The Chairman: With the Rotarians and the Kiwanians and the Bull Moose and all that sort of thing. They all say the same thing, that all must serve, and everybody should say it.

(From the Proceedings of the Select Committee on Banking and Commerce, 1923)

For Sir Edmund Walker, the ethic of service determined his business as naturally as it affected his personal relations. For others, like the members of the 1923 Select Committee of Banking and Commerce, this ethic seemed to be commendable, but impractical. By 1923, Walker and his Victorian ideas of service had become outdated. When Edmund Walker entered banking in 1861, however, the ideal of service was firmly entrenched in the laissez-faire ideology of capitalism. It began with the optimistic assumption that human selfishness and greed would make all men act rationally and work efficiently in the market place, and concluded
that while every man laboured for his own gain, he would invariably serve the entire community by his work. Victorians appeared to endorse this form of the capitalist ideology, and praised capitalists for their noble and necessary services to society.

In Victorian Canada the capitalist ideology with its ethic of service became a fundamental part of thinking. Canadians awarded their outstanding businessmen the highest of honours by knighting them. Edmund Walker, for example, became a Commander of the Victoria Order in 1908, and in 1910 was made a Knight Bachelor.

Canadian business manuals like George Hague's *Banking and Commerce*, published in 1908, also indicated prevailing attitudes. Right at the beginning of his treatise, Hague, a banker, noted that "every man who expects to derive his subsistence from a community will find himself under obligation to render service thereto," and detailed the various capitalist 'services' such as production, selling, transportation and banking. In contrast with this emphasis on service, the modern Canadian banker talks chiefly about what the individual himself gets from his work and practically neglects his value to society. A recent bankers' manual published by the Institute of Canadian Bankers, starts with this modern self-centred presupposition that every man is primarily concerned with making a living or getting money. Sir Edmund Walker believed in George Hague's community-centred version of the capitalist ideology, but unlike Hague who retired from active banking in 1902, he had to fight against the increasingly popular and modern attitude that businessmen serve only themselves.

Throughout his life, Walker preached that Canadians owed their businessmen praise and gratitude, but never abuse, for capitalists, "the
great captains of industry," alone had the knowledge, expertise and enterprise to carry on the work of Canada. With a typical mistrust of the abilities of government, he claimed that government or public ownership could never equal the work being done by businessmen. Manufacturers, with their unique talents for turning over capital, were "servants to the people." After this sermon, Sir Edmund would turn to his fellow businessmen to remind them that "we should feel that our business is not simply to build up our own private fortunes; our business is to build up Canada as a whole." In his mind, not only the present community, but future generations would also be receiving benefits from capitalists. Capitalists, indeed, had a great mission to perform.

Convinced that businessmen acted as servants of the people, Sir Edmund Walker had to accept the basic tenet of the capitalist ideology, that selfishness motivated businessmen. He qualified selfishness, however, by dividing it into "broad" and "narrow." Not being completely naive, Walker realized that occasionally businessmen, speculators for instance, could be, and were narrowly selfish. These, he labelled "the most dangerous men we have in business." On the other hand, broad selfishness involved 'fair dealing' and the common sense, surely derived from Darwinism, that a business would survive only as long as its usefulness. A "broadly selfish" businessman, unlike the speculator who was intent on quick profit, would be willing to forego some profits in order to ensure the continuation of his enterprise.

Banking held an important position in Walker's scheme of business as service. Bankers, "the engineers of the great power of credit... He considered as essential to the world as steam and electricity."
Sir Edmund taught bankers that they were trustees for their own communities and as such they should be the "best informed in most walks of life" in order to be able to advise their clients. He urged all businessmen to learn about their profession. "You can take my word for it," Walker told the Insurance Institute of Toronto in 1904, "that the practical man who thinks he does not need to study the principles that underly his business is only one of the many species of the fool." Needless to say Walker himself, made a careful, life-long study of banking.

II

The Canadian Bank of Commerce was scarcely a year old when Edmund Walker joined it in 1868. In many ways, Walker, the bank, and Canada which began as a nation in 1867, grew up together. In 1868 the bank's assets were a meager $2,997,081. Fifty years later, after Walker had become its president and the nation's foremost banker, these had jumped to the prodigious sum of $440,310,703. From a minor Ontario bank, the Canadian Bank of Commerce had acquired branches across Canada and throughout the world, developing into the second largest bank in Canada. During these same years Canada also grew from a four province dominion to a continental nation linked by railroads, with great new urban centres and modern industries. Walker and the bank could rightfully claim a fair share in building up the nation.

Sir Edmund Walker served the Canadian Bank of Commerce from 1868 to his death in 1924. He entered the bank at the Hamilton branch as a discount clerk where his many abilities soon became apparent to superiors. In an assessment of his first years' work, the Hamilton manager noted that Edmund Walker was an "invaluable officer, competent in every respect to discharge all duties of Bank Accounting. He has a cool clear head and
is as sharp as a needle. A fellow banker recalled that Walker at this
time could also add like "greased lightning." The president of the bank,
Senator William McMaster, soon heard about the mathematical wizard in his
Hamilton branch, and asked Walker to accompany him on all his branch
inspections. In those early days of Canadian banking the president alone
was responsible for adding all the cash in the branch during inspection.
McMaster, whose talents apparently did not include adding, must have been
thankful for the precision and rapidity of the junior officer.

Edmund Walker climbed steadily in the Canadian Bank of Commerce.
In 1872 the bank promoted him to the position of chief accountant in
Toronto, and a year later sent him off as junior agent in New York.
During this period the Canadian banks did much of the foreign banking for
the United States because American banks, for the most part, were smaller
than the Canadian, and did not have the resources to carry out huge
foreign transactions. After gaining a reputation as a 'trouble shooter,'
Walker next moved to Windsor to sort out that branch's dubious lumber
accounts. He successfully completed the mission in three years and was
sent on to become the manager of the London, Ontario, branch in 1878.
A year later, he took over the inspectorship at the head office in
Toronto. Here Walker's administrative genius appeared. His printed
regulations for the bank's officers were the first of any bank in Canada.
The bank also implemented his recommendations that the position of
assistant general manager be established, and that the bank's organizational
structure allow for various new departments to develop. Also, as
inspector, Walker instituted the use of the cipher code, a form of
telegraphy for the bank's communications. From 1881 to 1886 he worked as
joint agent in New York.
This series of promotions ended when the Canadian Bank of Commerce appointed Edmund Walker as general manager in 1886. One of his first concerns in the position revealed the thoroughness which marked his long reign in the bank. He made "a thorough revaluation of the assets of the bank, so as to be able to present to the shareholders a trustworthy showing of the position and value of their property." Eleanor Creighton, Walker's personal secretary after 1903, had many opportunities to watch Sir Edmund in action and she remarked that "the spirit of any institution filters down through every department and this was certainly true in the bank in Sir Edmund's day. He demanded neatness, order, and so far as possible, perfection in everything." Realizing the importance of knowing exactly what was going on in the bank's many branches, Edmund Walker required all his managers to write him a weekly report, known among the employees as the "gossip sheet." Eleanor Creighton felt that the information gained from the gossip letters enabled Sir Edmund to have "his fingers on the pulse of life in Canada." This array of facts Walker organized into his annual addresses which he presented to the bank's shareholders. From 1888 to 1924 Sir Edmund Walker's annual addresses provided the most comprehensive financial and industrial reviews of Canada. Probably more than anything else, they made him one of the best known bankers in North America.

In 1907 Walker became the president of the Canadian Bank of Commerce, remaining in office until 1924, although he ceased being chief executive in 1915. A detailed examination of Sir Edmund Walker's leadership of the bank is not possible in this study, but the following examples of his business decisions do illustrate the extension of his own Victorianism to the bank.
To advertise the 'service' of the Canadian Bank of Commerce, Sir Edmund Walker chose three new publicity organs: the annual addresses, a history of the bank, and allegorical bank notes. The shareholders' addresses, first of all, outlined the work of the banks in the annual economic development. Later, Sir Edmund decided that histories of Canadian banking and of the Canadian Bank of Commerce would teach Canadians more about the banks' long service to the nation. Victor Ross, author of the first two volumes, acknowledged that Sir Edmund "detached himself from the actual compilation of the history," but he did select and prepare the many illustrations for *The History of the Canadian Bank of Commerce*, which was issued in 1922. In his introduction the president set out his reason for having the histories written. He hoped that they would convince readers that "the banks are performing a service which is incalculably more valuable to the people than profitable to the shareholders." With Sir Edmund's Victorian interest in history, his choice of the historical mode of communicating to Canada seemed most reasonable.

Walker's third publicity tactic involved the actual notes of the Canadian Bank of Commerce. These travelled across the country after 1918 to commemorate his 50th anniversary with the bank. An allegorical scene on every bill, again a product of Sir Edmund Walker's tastes, contained the message of service.

When Edmund Walker took over the Canadian Bank of Commerce, it had been known chiefly for its connections with the Liberal party. He was determined to lose this political image, and wanted the bank to be known solely for its devotion to the interests of Canada. As general manager, he established a new policy for the bank, declaring that "it should be
freed from all suspicion of political preference... while maintaining, however, most friendly relations with whatever party might be in power at the moment." Walker became so worried about political entanglements that he resolved in 1897 to keep out of politics himself.

The Canadian Bank of Commerce did deserve an image of service for it worked for Canada by financing countless projects across the nation. How much Sir Edmund Walker's decisions determined the extent of these financial arrangements has not yet been ascertained, but an examination of his ledger indicates that Sir Edmund trusted enough in Canadian enterprise to buy substantial interests in many corporations. At the end of 1909 he owned $991,811 in shares and bonds. The largest of these, worth over $50,000, were North American Life Insurance ($50,000), Sao Paulo Tramway Light and Power ($75,000), Canadian Bank of Commerce ($100,000), Canadian Northern Railway ($100,000), Quaker Oats ($135,000), Rio de Janiero Tramway, Light and Power ($150,210), and Massey-Harris ($195,000). In addition, Sir Edmund was a director of Massey-Harris, Mond Nickel, Equitable Life Assurance, Toronto General Trust, and Canada Life Assurance companies. Just before his death, he had also been made president of Toronto General Trust.

The Canadian Northern Railway was one of the bank's largest, and certainly most notorious clients. Sir William Mackenzie and Sir Donald Mann, the 'wheeler dealers' of Canadian railroading, headed the company. When it collapsed during the First World War, the federal government had to come to the rescue of both the railway and the Canadian Bank of Commerce, for the bank held pledges from Mackenzie and Mann which represented their 51% ownership of the railway. The royal commission which
investigated the Canadian Northern's 'embarrassment' found the major causes to be the war and over-optimism.

Sir Edmund Walker's role in the bank's dealings with the Canadian Northern is not known, but his views of the railroad situation are available. At the turn of the century he noted the importance of rail transportation, and approved of government aid to the railways, although he hoped for the day when transportation improvements could be left to private enterprise. In 1902 Walker supported the idea of a merger between the Canadian Northern and the Grand Trunk in order that the new company could build a second transcontinental line. For him, a third line was "hardly credible, although before many years that might be necessary." At this time, George Cox, the president of the Canadian Bank of Commerce, was offered the presidency of the new company, and J. H. Plummer, the assistant general manager of the bank, reported to Walker that "Cox looks upon the whole movement as the most important thing he has been connected with in his life." Mann, Plummer also claimed, wanted to sell the Canadian Northern, but they worried that Mackenzie's "strong desire to be head and front of a rival to the C.P.R. will let his ambitions and temper sway his judgments." The merger discussions, however, failed, and both the Canadian Northern and the Grand Trunk sent lines across the nation.

With the tremendous growth in Canada during these years, Sir Edmund's concern about building two national railways diminished. In 1913 he rashly stated that:

as far as the building of the railroads in the West is concerned, there can be no doubt about their earning power if we consider the low cost
per mile and the quantity of traffic being created. Such building may some day be overdone, but surely not for years to come. 36

The president of the Canadian Bank of Commerce was not alone in this optimism, because most Canadians in 1913 really had no conception of a war's effect on their railroads and western development. Walker appeared to accept the nationalization of the railways during the war, and contended that the ideal system would be one in which the government railways would be free from political influence. 37 Looking back in 1922, Sir Edmund laid the blame for the railway problem on the Laurier government because it had allowed the simultaneous construction of the two lines. 38

From 1886 to 1924, the fantastic growth of the Canadian Bank of Commerce can be attributed partially to Sir Edmund Walker's leadership. He directed the bank, however, during the greatest expansion of Canadian banking. Between 1890 and 1914, for instance, the total assets of the Canadian banks increased from $260 million to more than $1.55 billion, and the number of branches rose from 426 to over 3,000. 39 Under these circumstances, it is difficult to establish Walker's actual contribution. In addition, much that Sir Edmund accomplished in the Canadian Bank of Commerce would not have occurred without the capable assistance of the outstanding Canadian corporation lawyer of the time, Zebulon Aiton Lash. Zebulon Lash was appointed counsel for the Canadian Bank of Commerce in 1882, director in 1907, and vice-president in 1910. His legal genius helped to guide not only the bank, but also the Canadian Bankers' Association, the Canadian Northern Railway and numerous companies. Lash was Sir Edmund Walker's closest business advisor and friend. When Lash
died in 1920, Sir Edmund remembered his friend for his "absolute integrity," his "high minded sense of justice" and his "cleaness of intellect," giving Lash the highest praise for his indifference to money and his generous use of it. Both at the bank and elsewhere, these two Victorian businessmen performed remarkable feats.

III

The Canadian banking system owed much to Zebulon Lash and Edmund Walker. Together they led the conservative Canadian bankers into a continuing battle with the federal government over the direction of Canadian banking. In their eyes the Canadian banking system was slowly evolving, and constantly perfecting itself in order to serve the financial needs of the country. The two campaigners thought that they were guarding against foolhardy attempts to plant unnatural American features in the pristine Canadian banks.

There was, in fact, little worth copying in the late Victorian American banking system. American banks of the time were weak and independent, comparing poorly with the strong nation-wide banks of the Dominion. The American system allowed states to charter banks with little capital, and gave these banks the right to deal in real estate. Canadian 'populists' saw that if this system were introduced, they could establish their own banks and obtain better loans.

Oddly enough, the origins of Canadian banking, as Edmund Walker recognized, lay in the American system--in Alexander Hamilton's national bank of the early days of the Republic which Hamilton had designed "to be a great arm of the state." All the virtues of this early bank, Sir Edmund warned, had long since disappeared because foolish American
democrats had destroyed Hamilton's bank by giving in to the whim of "popular or untrained opinion" in the country. In Sir Edmund's Darwinistic mind, the American banking system was the product of three successive revolutions, and their banks offered poor service because of the financial panics which continually plagued the southern nation.

The head of the Canadian Bank of Commerce repeatedly asserted that troubles in the American banking system stemmed from the United States government which violated the boundary between banking and government. One violation occurred in the American Civil War when the government started to circulate paper money. He believed that the "function of government regarding currency was merely to certify weight and fineness of gold, silver and other coined money." Canada, on the other hand, had a history, although a stormy one, of keeping the government out of banking. Because of the federal government's control over banking granted by the B.N.A. Act, however, Walker knew that politicians would always be capable of destroying existing Canadian banking practices.

Sir Edmund gave numerous addresses both in Canada and the United states extolling the virtues of Canadian banking and the flaws in the American system. In Canada these were directed at teaching the nation to 'hold fast to that which is good.' In the United States, especially after a financial panic, Walker was more than once asked to speak on the causes of the panic and why the features of the Canadian system would provide a corrective. After the crash of 1907, for example, he spoke to the American Bankers' Association on "Abnormal features of American banking." In 1913 Sir Edmund was also asked to give evidence on improving the American system before the Committee of Banking and Currency
of the House of Representatives in Washington.

In his speeches Walker argued that the success of the Canadian banking system was partly due to the Bank Act which permitted banks to issue notes. Canadian bankers, he said, prevented inflation by their control of note issue. First, knowing business needs, they were able to judge the right amount to circulate, and secondly they redeemed these notes daily. American notes, however, were issued by the United States government, and in Sir Edmund's view, it caused unnecessary inflation because the government did not understand business. What he never mentioned, was that by issuing notes, the Canadian banks were also enjoying an interest free bank debt.

Besides note issue, another unique feature of the Canadian banks was the branch system. Proud of the working of the branch banks in Canada, Sir Edmund claimed that deposits in quiet unenterprising parts of Ontario could be shifted with a minimum of charge to more enterprising localities. Canadian borrowers, then, obtained lower rates than most of their American counterparts and Canadian depositors also enjoyed fair rates of interest. The branch system had other advantages. Branch managers in the 'organism' did not fear one another in times of panic, and courage on the part of one, Sir Edmund thought, would "actuate every part of the organism." Once losing their confidence, individual American bankers who did not belong to a nation-wide network, actually stimulated panics. Walker also argued that the small number of Canadian banks, with their numerous branches, would always consider the interests of Canada in their decisions and never act out of sheer individual selfishness.
Since Canadian banks had ten year renewable charters, the banks and the federal government met once a decade to clash over the working and control of Canada's finances. Sir Edmund Walker first joined battle in 1880 when he prepared a memorandum contrasting Canadian and American banking for the president of the bank, William McMaster and Edward Blake, the leader of the federal Liberal party. Both these men had been influential in establishing the Bank Act of 1871 and his memorandum provided them with facts to sustain their arguments in 1880 for the preservation of the existing system.

From 1890 to his death in 1924, Walker led the Canadian bankers' forces. In 1911, frankly admitting his leadership, he told a correspondent that "I think I may safely say that all the important reforms since and including the revision of the Bank Act in 1890 have been proposed by myself." Zebulon Lash, counsel for the Canadian Bankers' Association throughout the period, helped Walker. A 1911 entry in Sir Edmund's journal indicates their pre-eminence: "mtg in the Board Room of Council of Canadian Bankers Asn regarding the revision of the Bank Act.... As usual matter largely left to Lash and myself." The guiding principle for Edmund Walker in the proceedings concerning the Bank Act revisions was his "broadly selfish" interpretation of the capitalist ideology. Sir Edmund acknowledged the selfishness of Canadian bankers, but claimed that it was a very special kind. He confessed that:

I fancy we are as selfish as any other body of bankers, but we have at least learned that the only safe plan for preserving the right granted by the people to carry on the business of banking is to give them the best possible service of banking.
Walker reasoned that Canadian bankers had introduced every great reform in the interest of the people.\(^{59}\) In so doing, the bankers were not seeking additional profit, but if the banks' profits had increased, this was simply the result of improved service to the people.\(^{60}\)

For the 1890 decennial revision of the Canadian Bank Act, the general manager of the Canadian Bank of Commerce was superbly organized. His private memorandum of 1880 for McMaster and Blake, contrasting the two North American banking systems, formed the basis of his 1890 pamphlet, *The Canadian System of Banking and the National Banking System of the United States*.\(^{61}\) Walker trusted that it would provide the necessary information for newspapers to lead a high level of public discussion. Besides furnishing the factual ammunition, Walker had to organize his fellow bankers. Beginning in 1887 he directed a study group within the bankers' section of the Toronto Board of Trade, which concluded that in the 1890 proceedings the banks would propose needed reforms "to be helpful to the country in general."\(^{63}\)

In 1890 the government forces were headed by Hon. George E. Foster, the Finance Minister in Sir John A. Macdonald's last administration. Foster, hoping to prevent bank failures in Canada, had fallen in love with the American system of fixed reserves, and wanted to introduce this into the Canadian banks. Edmund Walker, acting as spokesman for the bankers, argued for the status quo in which reserves were elastic due to Canadian trade which fluctuated greatly in harvest time.\(^{64}\) The bankers took their case all the way up to the Cabinet which, in the end, withdrew support from the Finance Minister. R. M. Breckenridge, an early historian of the Canadian banks, commenting on the bankers' actions,
noted that they "may have been selfish, but it was a case where the
interest of the banks was that of the people." During the revision
proceedings the Canadian bankers also resisted a further government
encroachment in their territory by an external audit. Walker thought
that this audit would delude the shareholders who were supposed to watch
over the books.

From the episode of 1890 Sir Edmund felt that the Canadian banks
had learned "the value of unanimity." He took command of the victorious
forces and urged them to form a permanent alliance. In his view, the
new Canadian Bankers' Association, founded in December, 1891, was more
than a government lobby. He hoped that it would become "a scientific
association, consisting of a body of associates anxious to understand the
principles of banking and finance," and suggested that scholarships be
established by the association in economics and political science in order
to produce "above average" young officers for each of the banks. The
Journal of the Canadian Bankers' Association, started in 1893, published
varied articles on banking, many by Sir Edmund himself, which helped to
raise the Canadian bankers' professional status. The association elected
Sir Edmund Walker twice to the presidency and later named him an honorary
president. In 1901 the Canadian Bankers' Association was formally
incorporated in the Bank Act.

Originally scheduled for 1911, the next match between the bankers
and government had to be postponed to 1913 because of difficulties caused
by the 1911 election in which the Liberals supported a measure of
restricted reciprocity with the United States. During these years, Sir
Edmund Walker faced attacks for his denunciation of the Liberal policy.
Professor W. L. Grant of Queen's University criticized Walker for being two-faced because the president of the Canadian Bank of Commerce refused reciprocity with the United States to Canadian farmers, while letting his own bank indulge in 'money reciprocity' in New York. Others, like Augustus Bridle, for whom Sir Edmund Walker ruled as "the archbishop of his own bank and the pope of the banking system," also questioned his stand. In reply Sir Edmund argued in the Monetary Times and before the government banking committee, that New York had the only well-developed market for loans. In times of financial stress then, Canadian banks could easily withdraw their money to support their own customers. By making call loans in New York, Sir Edmund summed up, the Canadian banks had prevented American bank panics from spreading across the border.

In a recent study of the actions of the Canadian banks in New York from 1901 to 1911, C. A. Goodhart has advanced a theory which supports Walker's claim that "the objects of the loans in the United States... were not to enlarge the profits of the Canadian banks." Goodhart believes that the Canadian banks simply used their secondary reserves in New York as "a necessary adjunct to the maintenance of interest rates in Canada at a level fixed by implicit or explicit agreement between the chartered banks." To substantiate this theory Goodhart has examined swings in the New York interest rate and capital inflows into New York by the Canadian banks. He could not find a direct relationship.

Canada's entry into the First World War in 1914 caused a major alteration in the nation's financial structure. Advised by the leading Canadian banks, the federal government took the country off the gold
standard and gave the Finance Ministry ultimate control over credit. In the Finance Act of 1914 can be found the origins of the later Bank of Canada, established in 1935. The idea of a central bank did have some support during the war. In 1917 Sir Thomas White, the Finance Minister in Borden's cabinet, asked Edson L. Pease, vice president of the Royal Bank and president of the Canadian Bankers' Association, how Canada could help Britain finance munition orders placed in Canada. Pease decided that a permanent rediscounting bank would best solve the problem. His fellow bankers, however, dismissed any further intrusions of the government into banking. Still leading the battle against the government was the venerable Victorian banker, Sir Edmund Walker.

Writing to Zebulon Lash in August, 1918 Walker advised Lash that Pease was interested in the rediscounting bank because of his own bank's business in Cuba which required such services. Sir Edmund claimed that discussions had advanced to the point that Pease and White had already chosen a "leading politician" to be chief of the new institution. Unless there was "a frank discussion by all leading bankers," he told Lash, he was opposed to any change in Canadian finances. On December 4, 1918 several Canadian bankers, including Walker and Lash, held a confidential meeting to plan their strategy about the rediscounting bank.

Zebulon Lash also talked the matter over with Sir Thomas White who was by then interested in a far more radical measure than a rediscount bank. White asked Lash, no doubt in his capacity as counsel for the Canadian Bankers' Association, to draft a proposal for "a new institution with powers to manage the public debt." In his memorandum dated January 28, 1919, Lash advised the Minister of Finance that unnecessary inflation
would be caused by this revolutionary institution, since its only resource would be its ability to print paper money. Easy money, Lash said, would promote speculation, and more inflation "with its inevitable final disastrous collapse." He emphasized Sir Edmund's old theory that the banks, by daily redeeming their notes, prevented inflation. Lash then dismissed White's idea and suggested a less drastic change, the bank of rediscount which Pease had originally advocated because this would still permit commercial banks to issue notes. In his proposal for the bank of rediscount Lash tried to give as much power to the commercial banks as possible. Profits in the new bank, he thought, should be divided "in proper proportion" between government and the banks, and branches of the chartered banks should obtain the right to carry on the bank of rediscount's business.

When a further confidential committee of the Canadian Bankers' Association gathered on February 3rd, 1919 with Sir Edmund Walker as chairman, all except the Royal Bank rejected Lash's proposed bank of rediscount. In responding to White's idea of a central bank, the bankers argued that a minor change, the creation of a sub-department in the Finance Ministry, was all that was necessary to manage the public debt. Like Lash the bankers warned against the dangers of inflation, urging a period of deflation followed by a return to the gold standard. They noted that "the present system has withstood the test of commercial depression and commercial expansion" and the test of war. In such a proven system, the bankers claimed that the fewer changes the better, and they dismissed as unnecessary the government's central bank. To check any possible increase in government powers, the Canadian bankers offered
their services as a permanent advisory board for the new sub-department. Concluding their meeting, they decided to postpone further discussion about the new bank until the 1923 revision, at which time they hoped that deflation would have obviated the need for such a bank. In the chair at this meeting, Sir Edmund Walker must have pushed his cohorts to such a strong denunciation of the government's proposed central bank. Bowing to the Canadian bankers' requests, the government temporarily dropped the idea of central banking.

The bitter struggle over control of Canadian finances which started long before Walker's own banking career, ended eleven years after his death with the establishment of the Bank of Canada. In 1935 the government clearly won the final victory by taking over the banks' right to issue notes and overthrew the laissez-faire view of banking. E. N. Rodes, Finance Minister in the Conservative Bennett government, when introducing the new act, claimed that one of the functions of the government bank was

...to give expert and impartial advice to the government of the day. It cannot be too strongly emphasized that the exercise of these functions lies outside the power of any single commercial institution or group of institutions. No purely profit-making institution operating in a competitive system can afford to place social interests before its own in regard to credit policy. This, I think, is obvious. Thus, the Finance Minister discredited Sir Edmund Walker's Victorian belief that businessmen acting out of "broad selfishness" could impartially serve their community.

The turning point in Canadian banking history, however, did not occur in 1935, but during World War I. In 1914 the Finance Act instituted the government's responsibility for the nation's finances. During the war, also, the position of the banks started to decline with respect to other
financial institutions like insurance, trust, and mortgage loan companies. Sir Edmund Walker and his fellow conservative bankers did not seem to notice this growth in the other financial institutions. For them, the threat of government power, nevertheless, was real. Accustomed to the great pre-war wave of expansion, most Canadian bankers saw little need of bank reform.

IV

World War I further marked the watershed in Canadian business between the older and the modern practices. In many cases change was swift. For instance, before the war Canada sold over 70% of its government and corporate bonds in Britain, and only 9% in the United States. During the war this situation radically changed. Between 1915 and 1920, 67% of Canada's bonds were bought right in Canada with most of the rest sold in the United States. In these few years, capital market institutions in Canada became firmly entrenched, and New York replaced London as the primary external source of capital funds.

Sir Edmund Walker who was on the scene observed the rapid modernization of his country, and he spoke against many new developments. In particular, he criticized objectionable tendencies which he had discovered in many Canadians before 1914. During the war these became cancerous. Addressing the Canadian Club of New York in 1912, he complained about modern conspicuous consumption. "In the pursuit of wealth," he said, we have passed in a few years from a country noticeably moderate and reserved to one of feverish speculation and extravagant expenditure in the cost of living. The country that believes in success as represented by money, without much regard as to how it is made and which regards people in proportion to their social display, will not survive.
Even in the war, this new evil habit did not abate. Sir Edmund looked with alarm in 1916 at the $20,000,000 that reckless Canadians sent abroad for luxuries such as motors, silks and velvets. If Canada lost the war, he warned, unnecessary spending would be the cause. In his own budget, Sir Edmund appears to have cut down slightly. He decided, for instance, not to buy some Japanese prints in 1918 because "I am publicly preaching the doctrine of not spending money outside Canada." Another associated evil in Canadians was their custom of waste. Walker believed that it was most pronounced in Canadians' outrageous eating habits. He tried to check this fault by teaching that "economy is a sort of fine art. The most marked characteristic of a savage is wastefulness and we should be ashamed of ourselves if we take no pleasure in economy for its own sake." With his disgust for waste and unnecessary consumption, Sir Edmund understandably became interested in conservation. Many times he told Canadians to conserve their natural wealth. In 1923 Walker urged Canadian lumbermen to adopt conservation practices and concluded that:

...I really think we are nearer the day when we realize that nature provides a limit for all unwise actions. If we can arrest these things, if we can get back to where we thought we would be by this time...I should like that condition far better than any fortuitous prosperity and I am sure that we could enjoy the kind of strenuous life with its slow, but sure prosperity, better than anything we have enjoyed since the dark days of the autumn 1914.

The war, in Sir Edmund's mind had encouraged Canadians to seek the cheap thrills of fast living and the easy dollar. It side-tracked Canadians from their honourable role of developing the nation. With great nostalgia Sir Edmund Walker regarded the slower days before 1914, when Canadians,
honestly plodding along, led far more rewarding lives.

The most dangerous problem aggravated by the war, however, concerned
the very fabric of society, the relations of businessmen and their
employees. Sir Edmund hoped that the war had re-taught Canadians the
Victorian ethic of service, that "all industry is a natural service
carried on for the good of the community as a whole." He soon began
to fear that this revitalized ideal could not be kept alive after the
war. Walker asked readers of the University of Toronto's Annual Varsity
Magazine:

how can we preserve the present conviction that
production is a duty to the state as well as to
the individual, that personal expenditure has a
relation to the state as well as to the individual,
and that extravagance may be a national crime even
if we are able to pay for it? 107

The thread that had held Victorian workers and businessmen together was
the ideal of service. All served the community, with the understanding
that their service was worth more than the individual rewards they
received. During the war Sir Edmund clearly saw future trouble because
the Canadians valued the monetary rewards of service more than service
itself.

Wage disputes between employers and their employees, both wanting
more money were, in Sir Edmund's view, fast approaching. In his "Annual
Address" of 1917 he urged "fair dealing" on the part of the employers and
"patience and some remnant of belief in our fellowmen" on the part of
their employees. 108 Soon realizing that mere discussion would not be
enough, he publicly suggested a new kind of relations between the two
factions. In sympathy with the "honest socialist" over the evils of
society, 109 Sir Edmund counselled, in 1918, a "change in attitude in the
majority of employers." He proposed an economy, "measured by the unit of a man rather than by the unit of a dollar," in which some of the profits of business would go into "insurance against sickness, provision for old age and proper housing for the employee...\without expectation of gratitude" by the employer. Wrapping these radical provisions in the older language of service, he said that "we have arrived at a more just conception of our duty to each other, moving toward that more perfect state of society to which we are aiming."

What moved Sir Edmund was not entirely the idea of service. He had noticed with concern the actions of government during the war and warned employers in 1918 that:

if these relations are not soon established, the rude hand of the state, inspired perhaps by democracy in reckless and incompetent hands, may thrust upon capitalists schemes for accomplishing these and other benefits for labour on grounds not likely to be fair.

When he told businessmen to adopt his new insurance schemes, fear of more government interference motivated Sir Edmund Walker. The Winnipeg General Strike of 1919 confirmed Sir Edmund's predictions of trouble between workers and businessmen. Businessmen, however, neglected to take Walker's advice about changing their labour policies.

Employee benefits at the Canadian Bank of Commerce reveal that Sir Edmund Walker took some of his own advice. In 1891 as general manager, Walker donated $2,000 from the bank's coffers to support Goldwin Smith's "Amateur Athletic Association of Toronto" in order that bank personnel could enjoy its facilities. He helped to establish a life insurance scheme and a pension for the bank's officers. Both of these started in 1894, several years after pensions had been established at the
Bank of Nova Scotia and the Bank of Toronto. In 1902 the staff also shared some of the profits of the Canadian Bank of Commerce by receiving bonuses fixed in proportion to net profits, although these probably did not completely compensate for their notoriously poor wages.

The Victorian ethic of service, as Sir Edmund Walker felt keenly, was extinguished during the war. After the war he longed nostalgically for the older days when businessmen were respected and life was slow. His ideas on instituting social welfare measures show that he made at least one modest attempt to cope with the modern world. But even the president of the Canadian Bank of Commerce could not stop the growing powers of modern government. Sir Edmund Walker's name in the business community did enable him to take positions of leadership in other areas of Victorian society.
Canadians have often seemed like desperate jugglers while they try to find an internal balance between French and English, and East and West, and at the same time, locate their most advantageous position in their relations with Britain and the United States. This juggling has been difficult. Sir Edmund Walker saw his duty in teaching Canadians what he considered to be the best course of action in the affairs of the North Atlantic triangle. Walker's two most outstanding lessons were his case against reciprocity with the United States in 1911, and his long campaign for more Canadian participation in the British Empire.

As early as 1891, Edmund Walker had vented his disapproval of reciprocity with the United States. In that year he notified Wilfrid Laurier that he had many doubts about the Liberal platform of unrestricted reciprocity, which involved the removal of tariffs on goods travelling between Canada and the United States. He argued that reciprocity would force many unnecessary hardships on Canadian industries while they adjusted to functioning in the huge American market, and concluded that "the political party responsible for such a change would have to bear a great deal of reasonable as well as a great deal of quite unreasonable complaint." Walker, however, had little to fear about reciprocity. When the Liberals took office in 1896 they abandoned their former trade policy and basically followed the earlier Conservative tariff programme.
During the years between 1891 and 1911 Sir Edmund added another argument against closer trade relations with the United States. He feared that the Americans, soon exhausting their own natural resources, would proceed to gobble up those of the Canadian people. In his 1903 annual address, the general manager of the Canadian Bank of Commerce acknowledged that, although Canadians could not then utilize their many resources, they should guard them for future use by having provincial governments legislate to preserve "raw materials belonging to the people as a whole."

In 1908 at the Halifax Board of Trade, he questioned whether Canadians should not even raise their tariffs to prevent an American take-over of Canadian resources. Walker reminded the country that it was

"...only six million alongside one of eighty millions who have used up their national resources so quickly that they have now to turn to us.... We must now revise some of our fiscal ideas and consider seriously whether we should not have export duties imposed.... This is one of the great national questions we must face. Will we keep these things for ourselves or will we let the greediest people the world ever knew take them away from us?"

In his view, reciprocity would only open the door further to the American thief who would rob Canada of its future. In spite of these speeches in favour of protecting Canada, Sir Edmund's ideas on trade relations show that he was not intensely committed to high tariffs. In later life he reminisced that "as a young man I was an ardent free trader, distributing Cobden Club pamphlets wherever the seed might thus be sown." Indeed, in 1905, wanting the United States to buy more from Canada in order to equalize the balance of payments between the two countries, Walker had suggested that the United States take "our coal, lumber, fish, cattle and cereals free of duty." His suggestion of free trade in
natural goods later became the 1911 Liberal policy.

Contemporaries also found Sir Edmund's position on the tariff ambivalent. The Toronto Globe discovered an apparent plea for reciprocity in his 1908 address to the New York State Chamber of Commerce. Walker explained in a letter to the Globe that he had intended that Canada should "buy less from the United States and sell them more and not merely in natural products.... I pleaded in New York for a further reduction of the high U. S. tariff against Canada, a very different thing from Reciprocity." These differences between reciprocity and lower tariffs had become most subtle.

If Sir Edmund's ideas on the tariff seemed contradictory, his break into politics in 1911 against the Liberals was even more puzzling. When Col. Sam Hughes, a member of the Conservative party, asked Sir Edmund Walker to join his party in 1910, Sir Edmund refused, declaring that "...although I am not satisfied with the Liberal party regarding National Defense and other things connected with Imperialism, I still like to think that I am a Liberal." Walker, of course, had always maintained that he would keep out of party politics because of the interests of the bank.

Initially, the president of the Canadian Bank of Commerce decided not to get involved in any movement against reciprocity. In late January 1911, he received a letter from H.K.S. Hemming, a jewellery manufacturer in Montreal, advising him to try to influence the government against the proposed reciprocity measures. "Just as the Boards of Control in our cities," Hemming argued candidly, "are willing to be guided by the representative businessmen in the Community, so the Government at Ottawa
cannot but be open to influence from men who are at the head of the largest Financial, Commercial and Transportation institutions in the Country." Walker answered that he held

...the same feelings regarding the proposed Reciprocity measure that you have yourself, I wish that it were in my power to be among those who should publicly protest against it. I am never allowed however, to be unmindful of the fact that I am president of a Bank representing every species of industrial interest in Canada. Very many of our customers will be favourably affected by the Reciprocity measure should it be ratified and they would resent, as would also the Managers having charge of such agricultural communities, opposition on the part of the executive officers of the Bank.

Sir Edmund could not be swayed by an insignificant Montreal businessman. Very soon, however, Walker's closest business associates, and executive officers of the bank, openly criticized the proposed agreement. Joseph Flavelle, president of the William Davies Company and also a director of the Canadian Bank of Commerce, published several arguments against reciprocity in the Toronto Daily Star. Flavelle reminded Sir Edmund on February 2nd that Canada's place in the Empire would be jeopardized by further trading with the United States. Obviously Flavelle knew about Walker's correspondence with Hemming for he told Walker:

I the more regret the decision you found necessary to convey to your correspondent... I would have felt that it was a fitting time for you to exercise the commanding influence which you possess by joining in an effort such as is proposed by your correspondent.

Not only Flavelle, but Zebulon Lash, the vice-president of the Canadian Bank of Commerce distrusted the new Liberal policy, and on February 3rd Lash wrote to Laurier about his view of reciprocity. Zebulon Lash's
influence on Walker is very difficult to ascertain because these two, working closely together, did not write often to one another. However, Lash and Flavelle undoubtedly helped to convince Walker that he should denounce reciprocity publicly.

By February 5th, Sir Edmund Walker had been won over to the anti-reciprocity forces. That evening he visited with Lionel Curtis, a leading English member of the Round Table and they discussed "... Reciprocity and its effect on Canadian nationality." Walker later recalled the "conviction I expressed at that time that if we could really arouse our people we should successfully resist the proposals." In just six days, then, Sir Edmund Walker had gone back to his 1891 view of reciprocity. His conversation with Curtis hints that his concern about Canadian nationality may have been a prominent factor for this change of mind.

Arousing Canadians against reciprocity became the major preoccupation of many Canadian businessmen throughout 1911. Some of them made public speeches for the first time in their lives. Sir Edmund helped push anti-reciprocity resolutions through the Toronto Board of Trade meeting on February 16th, and six days afterward at the Associated Boards of Trade convention held in Toronto. On February 20th, he headed eighteen prominent businessmen who broke away from the Liberal party. Meeting at Flavelle's home, the "reformed Liberals," placed Zebulon Lash in charge of their operation. Sir Edmund, who planned to spend most of the spring and summer in Europe, must have been relieved at this choice, and he contributed $1,000 to their campaign, but apparently gave nothing to the Conservative party. Lash became chairman of the Canadian National
League, and Arthur Hawkes, an experienced journalist and recently retired publicity agent for the Canadian Northern Railway, worked as secretary. The Canadian National League issued numerous pamphlets which contained arguments, both statistical and emotional, against reciprocity. Lash contended that the league was merely an educating body which would remain neutral in politics. When the Canadian electorate threw out the Liberals in the fall election, Sir Edmund believed that "Canada owe a great deal to Mr. Lash" who had provided the many facts necessary to convince voters.

Historians, examining businessmen's actions during 1911, have concluded that selfishness often lay at the root of their anti-reciprocity campaign. Undoubtedly this was the case, but the utter panic that many Canadian businessmen felt in 1911 deserves more attention. L. E. Ellis, for example, in his book, Reciprocity, 1911, has portrayed the "Toronto Eighteen," as men who opposed the measure because they thought that reciprocity threatened the tariff system from which they derived a good living. Robert Cuff has outlined the more complex economic nationalism of "the Eighteen" who believed themselves to be bound up with the very development of the Canadian nation and like any privileged group that becomes dominant in the community, they assumed a harmony of interest existed between it and themselves. In virtue of this identification then, any encroachment upon their privileged position would be treated as an assault upon the common interest of the national community. Cuff has understood the mentality of these Canadian businessmen of 1911. Sir Edmund Walker, "servant of Canada," certainly felt that his business actions were helping to develop the country and would have been displeased with anyone who kept him from his mission. Cuff's thesis,
however, does not completely explain how reciprocity was such a threat to "the Eighteen" when even Walker, their leader, had earlier suggested reducing, and in some cases eliminating, tariffs with the United States. To a contemporary, W. L. Grant, professor of colonial history at Queen's University, the uproar created by reciprocity was beyond understanding especially since the matter, in the end, was "decided by appeals to the spirit of Canadian Nationalism or to our love for the Empire, with neither of which did a belief in the advisability of Reciprocity seem to me to conflict." Reasons for Sir Edmund's change of mind over reciprocity and for the actions of "The Eighteen" lie in the arguments which they outlined, sometimes coherently and rationally, but mostly emotionally, to the people of Canada.

There is plenty of evidence to substantiate the claim made by Ellis and many other historians that the propaganda issued by "The Eighteen" was motivated by the necessity of their own economic survival. "The Eighteen," as directors of national enterprises—railways, banks, retail stores and trust companies—which depended on the existing east-west lines of communication in Canada naturally feared that north-south trade initiated by the reciprocity agreement would eventually destroy their firms. Coupled with the death of Canadian businesses, they also predicted the end of all free action for Canada because the American alliance would force Canadians to recognize American needs first. "The Eighteen" then looked far ahead to the possibility that if the agreement were ratified but terminated at a later date, as in the end of the Elgin-Marcy Treaty, Canadians would have to face the arduous and expensive task of re-orienting their economy.
More, however, would be affected by reciprocity than the east-west trade communications. Sir Edmund Walker believed that the measure would finish the partnership of service to Canada by all the country's industries. Worried about the future of the Canadian partnership, he asked Canadians in 1911, "Shall we at such a proud moment in our history break up this combination of farmers, manufacturers, railroads, bankers, and others, who have down to this date worked so well together for the country as well as for themselves...." At the Canadian Manufacturers Association meeting in January 1911, he again told his countrymen that:

...with combined action we can accomplish our destiny as the promised land of the twentieth century, but we cannot, at this stage in Canada's history, do anything effectively except by answering to the foreman's command: PULL! PULL! PULL TOGETHER! 35

Assuming that the "only guarantee of permanency" for the nation lay in a strong united people, Sir Edmund advised the Canadian manufacturers to help their farmer compatriots obtain good markets for their produce, reasonable railway charges and manufactured goods at fair prices. 36 The farmers, then, with this help would have no need for reciprocity with the Americans.

The "Noble Eighteen" argued that they were leading Canada away from the dangers of Americanization back to the safe home of the Empire. Sir Edmund Walker and the others feared that the evil in the United States, giant American trusts, once allowed into Canada by the reciprocity agreement would paralyze the Canadian market. 37 Trusts would also swallow their own comparatively tiny firms.

Besides the problems presented by American trusts, Canadian businessmen worried about their future chances of obtaining credit to
build up new Canadian enterprises. Walker, knowing the great differences between British and American credit, clearly favoured the British.

Let us remember that it is Great Britain that lends the money to enable Canadians to develop the country as they think best. The American comes to use our cheap natural resources and our labour in order that he may take the profits of his venture to his own country. Do we expect that when we have diverted more trade to the United States which Great Britain might naturally enjoy, that she will be willing to back our enterprises as she is now? 38

In 1911 Sir Edmund wanted only British credit and he wanted a lot of it. Reciprocity with the United States could not be allowed to kill British credit. In these pre-war years Canada needed huge sums of money to equip the country in order to receive the vast stream of immigrants. Estimating that 400,000 immigrants, an addition of 5% of the Canadian population, would arrive in 1912, Sir Edmund calculated that Canada would have to borrow from 200 to 300 million dollars in that year alone to house, transport and educate the newcomers. 40

These immigrants, in fact, were the crux of the furore over reciprocity. In every discussion by businessmen of the reciprocity question they appear. Piling argument on top of argument against reciprocity, and stressing the immigrant problem to the Toronto Board of Trade on February 16th, Walker, for example, concluded:

although I am a Liberal, I am a Canadian first of all and I can see this is much more than a trade question. Our alliance with the Mother country must not be threatened. We must assimilate our immigrants and make out of them good Canadians. And this Reciprocity Agreement is the most deadly danger as tending to make this problem more difficult and fill it with doubt and difficulty. The question is between the British connection and what has been called continentalism. 41
In his evening discussion with Lionel Curtis after his conversion to the anti-reciprocity campaign, Sir Edmund had been most concerned about Canadian nationality, and it was the immigrants who were the major cause of his fears.

Yet, how could immigrants be a "deadly danger"? Canadian businessmen would answer that immigrants, for the most part became farmers, and farmers had convinced Laurier to support the reciprocity agreement. The danger, businessmen believed, was not just that reciprocity had been proposed, but that the farmers, many of whom were new Canadians, could successfully influence government policy. Immigrants had become too powerful. In Alberta and Saskatchewan, where reciprocity was popular, nearly 70% of the inhabitants were "foreign born." Canadian businessmen held that immigrants could not recognize the complications for Canada of greater intercourse with the United States. "The Eighteen" led their crusade because of their very great fear that if the farmer-immigrants took over Canadian politics, they would refuse to play the Canadian game of "juggling," and give Canada away to American annexationists.

The actions of "The Eighteen" illustrate their fears of the immigrants. Their campaign against the immigrants did not end with the defeat of the Liberals and reciprocity on September 21st, 1911, for these Canadian businessmen realized that their mission to the immigrants was to "turn their eyes to the Empire" and to fill their souls "with our national inspiration--our hopes and fears." Sir Edmund Walker again led the way by preaching to the Canadian Club of Montreal in 1912 that:

...as we begin to apply to these strangers the principle of law and order...we must do it with the assurance that such leadership and such law will shape the minds of countless people from
European and the United States and make of them, as it has already done in many conspicuous cases, not merely good Canadians, but loving and reverent believers in the necessity of preserving and uplifting the great British Empire.  

Canadianizing the West became a popular mission in this period, and not the least of its supporters were businessmen.

In 1912 Walker and his associates adopted a new method of teaching the farmer-immigrants about their duties to act like good Canadians. In order to communicate directly with all farmers, they conceived of a farmers' journal, The Canadian Countryman. Walker noted The Canadian Countryman was to be "a venture by Lash, myself and others to see if the newcomers in the West can be educated to the right Canadian ambitions." He added that it was not a business venture because the owners planned to use their profits "in extending its usefulness." Sir Edmund Walker and Zebulon Lash, on the Board of Trustees, and eight other subscribers, each paying $5,000, launched the new journal in 1912.

Lash and Walker had ultimate control over the content of the magazine. Their editor, A. I. McCreadie, after accepting his position, acknowledged that he understood "the objects of the proposed paper to be the maintenance and furtherance of:

1. Canadian nationality
2. Canadian fiscal independence
3. British imperial discussion."

These, in the businessmen's view, comprised the meaning of being Canadian. When McCreadie later wanted to carry editorials on duties on machinery, Lash curtly reminded him that he and Walker decided policy questions and that McCreadie should stick to "debating the Navy question because we
knew all about it and were prepared to take a stand in the interests of Canadian Nationality and that we knew both sides.”

The Canadian Countryman immediately challenged the sales of existing journals. J. B. Maclean, owner of the Farmer’s Magazine which had been established along similar lines, offered to sell his magazine to Walker in September 1912, but his offer was not accepted. Subscriptions to The Canadian Countryman mounted so rapidly that by 1913 it rated second only to The Farmer’s Advocate which it surpassed in 1914.

The Canadian Countryman also circulated widely in Britain for Zebulon Lash had agents responsible for promoting the magazine among British emigrants to Canada to lead them to "consider their duty to the old world and the new." British immigrants would be more likely to feel an attachment to the Empire, but like all immigrants, the British still had to be taught to be good Canadians.

The revolt of "The Eighteen" from the Liberal party in 1911 can now be seen with greater understanding. To be sure "The Eighteen" were troubled about their own economic future; their leaders, Sir Edmund Walker and Zebulon Lash, however, worried more about the future of Canada. In 1911 they feared that, after gaining control of the Liberal party, the host of new immigrants would take Canada out of the Empire and into subservience to the United States. Most Canadian businessmen did not want to get rid of the immigrants for they contributed greatly to Canadian economic development. As late as 1922, Sir Edmund hoped for a "few million more people" to stop the deficits in part of our railway accounts," but he realized that immigrants had to learn to become Canadians. The crisis in 1911 arose because the immigrants came in such numbers in so
short a period of time that they could not be properly assimilated. Walker, Lash and other businessmen met the immigrants with the best possible weapon—indoctrination by pleasure. By sending out from Toronto, propaganda in the form of an interesting farm journal to Canadianize immigrants, Walker and Lash tried to guarantee the future safety of Canada from immigrant agitators.

II

Sir Edmund Walker called himself an 'imperialist' because he wanted Canada to develop within the British Empire for Britain allowed much Canadian independence and provided credit for economic growth. Many Canadians also considered themselves to be imperialists although they had few thoughts of territorial or economic aggrandizement. Recent works by Carl Berger have indicated that the nineteenth century Canadian imperialists were simply interested in strengthening and changing the Empire in order that Canada would have a more important role. At the bottom of this Canadian imperialism was a distinct nationalism, a "sense of power" for Canadians, and also anti-Americanism since Canadians realized that without the support of the Empire, they could easily be swallowed by the United States. Although the Empire offered considerable protection from the United States, Sir Edmund, like many of the early Canadian imperialists, continued to fear annexation, not a fast economic or political take-over, but a slow erosion of Canadian values by modern American ideas which invariably filtered north across the border.

Walker held two views of the United States. He lavished praise upon the early days of the republic when "highly educated and perfectly
upright men" had governed the nation. 59 Alexander Hamilton, creator of
the banking system for the young republic was one of these early
Americans who Sir Edmund admired. During the nineteenth century, in
Walker's estimation, the quality of Americans had deteriorated because
excess immigration had practically drowned the Anglo-Saxon character of
the American people. 60 In addition, he believed that Americans, obsessed
by greed, had fiercely attacked their natural resources resulting in
"wealth unevenly divided and a luxury not only unexpected but out of
touch with republican standards." 61 By the beginning of the twentieth
century, the people of the United States had lost all the valuable
characteristics of their republican ancestors. In Walker's view they
had become poor models for their young Canadian neighbours.

Sir Edmund decided that the reason for the failure of the modern
American nation lay in its democratic government. In an egalitarian
system, citizens did not feel their duties to their country. 'Average
men,' instead, expected to "get as much as possible from the state with-
out paying for it" 62 and democracies erred by putting their 'average,'
rather than their 'superior' in intelligence and morality, in control. 63
When government, Sir Edmund concluded, tried to improve the quality of
its citizens, to make the "people honest by legislation," it could only
partly succeed because the democratic environment which produced these
people was at fault. 64 Refusing to accept the advice of authoritative
opinion, democracies also indulged in foolish experimentation. 65 For
Sir Edmund Walker, the self-trained paleontologist, the only principle
of government derived from his long study of nature, consisted in "the
right of the able man to govern the other fellow." 66 Neither in the
plant nor animal world could Sir Edmund discover any signs of equality, and therefore, American democracy, based on such an unnatural principle, had no future.

British people, on the other hand, did not believe in the principle of equality. Sir Edmund claimed that Britain was a better society because it offered equal justice to all men. Raised in a less restricted environment, in the sense that it was not regulated by a cumbersome written constitution, the British had learned to act out of an inner "sense of conduct." A "sense of trusteeship" and a "willingness to serve the state" rounded out Walker's list of their admirable qualities. He did warn the British that, if they did not enlarge their universities and schools to educate workingmen, they could expect problems.

The British represented ideal Victorians. Committed to duty and service, they were entirely unlike modern people as represented by the Americans, who were selfish and materialistic. In guiding Canada into the Empire, Sir Edmund Walker and the Canadian imperialists before him, hoped that the good qualities of the British would rub off on Canadians to prevent further modernization by the Americans. Walker realized that Canada, a democracy, could follow the downward path of the United States. Worried about this, he asked the Canadian Club of Ottawa in 1904 whether it was

...not clear that we must diligently guard against the inherent weakness of democracy by steadily lifting up the average of our intelligence and morals? We must set before the young men other ideals than gross materialism--mere money-making. We must save and increase such good qualities as tend to differentiate us from the United States.
Sir Edmund's interest in improving Canadian education, and strengthening ties with the Empire were rooted in this desire to prevent further Americanization in young Canadians.

Although Sir Edmund Walker wanted Canadians to become more 'British,' he did not forget that many Canadians were French. With dismay he looked back to the 1901 Boer War episode when the thirty percent of Canadians of French origin, in his mind, had effectively controlled public policy. Early Canadian imperialists had predicted that the French population would decrease. Sir Edmund wanted to hasten the realization of their prediction by massive immigration. In 1911 he confidently expected that the immigrants, on becoming good Canadians, would completely inundate the French in Canada in a mere fifteen or twenty years. Believing that a nation functioned best unilingually, Walker advised Britain that she should permit only one language, naturally English, in South Africa.

Many English Canadians believed that the French Canadians were causing unnecessary problems during the Great War. Like these English Canadians, Sir Edmund was especially displeased with Quebec's war effort. As vice-president of the Canadian Patriotic Fund which had been established to supply relief to the dependents of Canadian soldiers, Walker along with E. R. Wood, Toronto businessman, and Joseph Atkinson, editor of the Toronto Daily Star, persuaded the Ontario government to donate $1,000,000 in order to force a similar contribution from Quebec. The move was successful although Quebec money could not completely compensate for the small number of Quebec troops. When several Toronto and Montreal businessmen formed the "Bonne Entente" to promote better relations between Ontario and Quebec, Sir Edmund refused to become involved because he
felt that Ontarians were not responsible for any misunderstandings between the two peoples.\textsuperscript{79} His disappointment with Laurier, the French Canadian leader of the Liberals, increased in the war. Alleging that Laurier tried to 'force' bilingualism on Ontario schools in 1916, Walker said that he could no longer trust the French Canadian who had dared to interrupt the good people of Ontario while they were so preoccupied with winning the war.\textsuperscript{80}

Thus, in order to check Americanization and weaken French Canadian influence, Sir Edmund Walker encouraged closer imperial relations. In a 1904 speech, titled "Practical Imperialism," he outlined several methods for strengthening the Empire. These included an Imperial Supreme Court,\textsuperscript{81} common shipping laws,\textsuperscript{82} and an imperial government in which Canadians would be fairly represented.\textsuperscript{83} What Walker wanted to create by these closer ties was a special kind of feeling throughout the Empire, a kind of coherence that will make everybody in the Empire instinctively feel that while we do not wish to quarrel with the rest of the world, if the emergency arises we shall be found standing back to back absolutely and indefeasibly against the world.\textsuperscript{84}

Earlier he had indicated that this imperial sentiment would also encourage British industrialists to transfer their companies to Canada.\textsuperscript{85} Sir Edmund Walker's imperialism seethed with nationalism. Besides hoping that imperial feeling would make British industry favour Canada, he had a grander vision of Canada in the Empire. In 1912 he suggested that Canada must prepare for the leadership of the Empire in case "England ever declines from her high estate."\textsuperscript{86}

Imperialists in England during this time were also looking for ways to improve the structure of the Empire. From the 1890's several
movements tried to set up groups throughout the Empire to communicate about imperial relations. The latest of these movements, organized by Lord Milner, a former high commissioner to South Africa, was particularly interested in discussing imperial federation. In October, 1908, Lord Milner advised Arthur J. Glazebrook, a Toronto exchange broker, on how to organize a Canadian group whose "real goal was to influence outsiders...without them knowing it." The group whom Glazebrook collected to meet with Lord Milner on October 26, 1908, contained Walker, who must have been excited about the meeting for he had written to a correspondent seven months earlier that the time had come for closer relations in the Empire. Glazebrook reported Edmund Walker's enthusiasm to Milner--Walker was "ready to do anything." The Round Table in Toronto held its formal organizational meeting in September, 1909.

In his article on Canadian Round Table groups, Carrol Quigley has maintained that the Round Table arose from a fear of Germany, and that to improve imperial defence, Round Tablers had proposed imperial federation. Sir Edmund Walker fits easily into Quigley's interpretation because he noted in 1912 that defence would be the "main feature in Imperial consolidation," and that in consolidation, he expected a "share in administration which must be accorded when we have done our duty in defence." Walker also feared a coming German war. Since his daughter, Ethelwyn, Mrs. Carl Hunter, lived in Germany, Sir Edmund had the opportunity to study the country on his visits and he decided that German militarism would immediately cause a war unless Great Britain showed that she was also prepared for war. The Toronto Star aptly
titled its 1912 article on his views: "Prepare for War to insure Peace, says Financier." In the article he asked Canadians to help England in the 'peace' effort.

As a member of the Toronto Round Table, Sir Edmund became involved in discussions about Canada's navy, and contributions to the British navy. On May 17, 1912 Walker talked privately with Professor George Wrong of the History Department of the University of Toronto, about Imperial defence and about appointing a Canadian member to the Imperial Defence Committee. Three days later they met with Glazebrook, Professor Edward Kylie also of the University of Toronto's History Department, and J. S. Willison, editor of the Toronto News, to prepare a memorandum for prime minister Borden which asked for an immediate cash grant to Britain for the navy, and for a Canadian representative on the Imperial Defense Committee. A final memorandum on the naval question drafted on August 7, 1912 by most of the Toronto group and a few outsiders such as Mr. Vere Brown of Winnipeg, inspector of the Canadian Bank of Commerce, toned down the original demand for a cash donation to Britain and dropped the request for a Canadian representative on the imperial committee.

Both memoranda recognized the need for a Canadian navy but acknowledged that navies could not be built up overnight. The German problem, however, demanded immediate action, and this dilemma was resolved in both memoranda by the suggestion of a Canadian grant to the British navy. The August memorandum also added that the naval issue should not become a party question. On December 5, 1912, after a visit to Britain, Borden announced his naval policy. Fulfilling the main wish
of the Round Table, he offered to pay for three dreadnoughts for the British navy and claimed that he had "...the assurance of the British Government that...they would welcome the presence of a Canadian minister in London who would be summoned to all meetings of the Committee on Imperial Defense...".

The Round Table had been formed to discuss the restructuring of the Empire and in these discussions Sir Edmund Walker was prominently involved. During his 1911 visit to England Walker gave Lionel Curtis his copy with his notes of "The Egg," a memorandum that Curtis had compiled on his plans for the Empire. Curtis then asked Walker to prepare a separate memorandum of his views, but it is not known if Sir Edmund ever did so. In 1915, however, Walker became interested in a far more important scheme, the actual formulation of an imperial constitution by a Canadian lawyer. It appeared in *Defence and Foreign Affairs*, published in 1917. The author was Zebulon Lash.

On December 30, 1915, Sir Edmund Walker entertained Hon. R. H. Brand of the London Round Table at afternoon tea. They concluded that Round Table discussions in Canada had resulted in a sufficient understanding of the imperial problem and that the time was ripe for a Canadian draft of an imperial constitution. Walker immediately realized that the job called for the "wider experience in legislation, ...cleaness of mind, breadth of view, freedom from political bias and ardent love of the Empire" of his friend, Zebulon Lash. Excited about the new project Walker confided in his Journal: "if we can talk things out with Lash and study together the Round Table results and if Borden should approve of any sketch we may prepare, he would probably
go to England when the time comes better prepared than others." Lash, who was not a member of the Round Table, and Walker went over every piece of the constitution together. Defence and Foreign Affairs became one more in the long line of their joint creations.

Besides its strictly constitutional aspect, Sir Edmund hoped that the new book would detail the Canadian point of view on taxation in the proposed imperial government. In 1916 many Canadians, in particular Toronto Round Tablers, Walker and Sir Robert Falconer, president of the University of Toronto, were upset about The Problem of the Commonwealth, published that year by Lionel Curtis, in which Curtis had suggested that the new imperial government should tax member-nations. As Canadian nationalists they disliked any interference in Canadian tax policy and believed such a move would create great hostility in Canada.

All Round Table members agreed that the imperial government should deal mainly with defence. Walker had originally joined the Round Table because he believed that Canadians should be more concerned about imperial defence. The new constitution drawn up by Lash emphasized defence matters, but otherwise did not offer any radical changes in imperial relations. Lash's scheme "would enable the Dominions to take part in the great policies and questions which concern and govern the issues of peace and war and at the same time would preserve to them the autonomy which they possess respecting all other affairs." Characteristically, Zebulon Lash wanted the new imperial government to be above party politics by advocating that both the Premier and Leader of the Opposition in each of the Dominions become ex-officio members of the imperial council.
The proposals made by Lash in *Defence and Foreign Affairs* were in complete harmony with the position of the Canadian Round Table outlined in their 1916 memorandum. It declared that membership in the Empire did not "involve any sacrifice of responsible government in domestic affairs or the surrender of control over fiscal policy by any portion of the Empire," but asked that the Dominions share in defence costs. Like Lash, the framers of the 1916 memorandum urged that all imperial discussions be kept above party lines. The identical thinking of both Lash and the Round Table probably had Sir Edmund Walker as their common source. John Conway, who has examined *The Round Table* quarterly, issued by the British members during this time, has concluded that the British were advancing a similar view of the Empire, one which encouraged individual nationalisms but within an imperial framework.

Early in 1916 the Toronto Round Table members decided to publicize their ideas on imperial relations by establishing new groups across Canada. Sir Edmund Walker, with his many connections in the Canadian Bank of Commerce, sent out letters to his managers asking them to suggest possible members who enjoyed "the complete respect of their fellow citizens, free from too strong political party feeling and capable, from an intellectual point of view, of considering a very difficult and complicated matter." At a public meeting of the Round Table, called the Toronto-Dominion Meeting, held in Convocation Hall at the University of Toronto on April 27, 1917, Sir Edmund, as chairman, explained his reasons for trying to increase the membership of the Round Table.
Walker began his address by admitting that the majority of the members of the Round Table would probably not accept the imperial plan of Lionel Curtis detailed in his, *The Problem of Commonwealth*. Sir Edmund advised that any discussions about imperial relations "should be approached along national lines." Increasingly worried about Canada's future as a democracy, Walker believed that the Round Table offered Canadians the opportunity to function as ideal democrats, for the aim of the Round Table was "to urge every thinking Canadian to acquaint himself with the significance of our relation to the Empire. By providing knowledge to Canadians, the Round Table would ensure the "intelligent consent of the governed" in decisions affecting Canadian foreign relations.

The Toronto-Dominion Meeting held in 1917 climaxed the life of the Canadian Round Table movement. After the Imperial War Cabinet was formed in the same year with Dominion representatives, the leading members of the Canadian Round Table appeared to become occupied with other things. Writing to Sir John Willison in 1921, Walker decided that the Round Table had been partly successful because much that has happened, is the carrying out of the desire of the old Round Table group so far as the Canadian members are concerned, but the unwillingness to consider the matters in which we desire the utmost autonomy is not only discreditable to our thoughtfulness as a nation but very dangerous in its tendencies as you suggest. By 1921, then, Sir Edmund's Canadian nationalism was not satisfied with the degree of autonomy or influence that Canada had achieved in the Empire. Why did Round Tablers in Canada, like Sir Edmund, give up their
cause after 1917, especially when they still wanted more for Canada?

An understanding of this apparent contradiction can be found in the events of the war. When he discussed Canada's war effort, Sir Edmund Walker usually remarked that Canadians had decided to fight for "the liberty of the world," by helping Britain, the traditional upholder of liberty. Most Canadians, including Sir Wilfrid Laurier, claimed that this was Canada's reason for going to war in 1914.

The war dragged on until 1918 when the Americans entered bringing the final victory. Sir Edmund Walker immediately declared that "the greatest event that has happened recently in the history of the world was the coming of the United States into the war." He, along with most Canadians, then had to reorganize his thoughts about Britain, obviously no longer the sole protector of the world's liberty. They also had to find something good in the Americans, something that would explain the great American victory.

For many Canadians of the time, including Walker, this would seem to be a gigantic mental leap. Being somewhat anti-American, they rarely thought of the people of the United States as 'good guys' and besides Canadians had grown accustomed to seeing Britain as their hero. The dilemma had another aspect. Many Canadians were imperialists believing that, in the Empire, their nation would at least have a role in deciding world affairs. After 1918 it was clear to everyone that the United States would be making decisions which would have world-wide ramifications. How could Canada, a lowly Dominion, now exert a proper influence on the United States?
Sir Edmund Walker quickly adapted to the situation by associating more "British" qualities, especially a "love of liberty," with the United States. Utilizing these common qualities of the Americans and the British, he issued, after 1918, many pleas for a non-political union of the English speaking peoples which would preserve the liberty of the world. Sir Edmund claimed that any movement for peace, including the League of Nations,

must be headed by English speaking people of the world or it will have no chances of success because there are no other people who have learned what liberty means so thoroughly as the English speaking people.

The more he investigated the possibilities of this union, the better it looked since Canada would have a far more important place than in the Empire. Sir Edmund saw Canada as the main link between the greatest empire in the world and the greatest republic. He could only pause with awe and wonder at the share in human destiny that may fall upon my country only yesterday a lonely outpost of Great Britain but now tried in the battle for the world's liberty and found worthy of a place among the nations of the world.

The mental leap to accommodate the new America for Sir Edmund was, after all, not that difficult. His nationalism first manifested itself in imperialism. Now it had adopted a new form in seeking the English speaking union. Walker's lack of interest in the Round Table after 1917, then, can be traced to the new position of the United States in world affairs. It is also worth noting that Walker's new opinion of the United States was probably influenced by the fact that New York had replaced London as Canada's primary external source of credit during the war.
While granting a higher position to the United States, Sir Edmund Walker, in good Canadian juggling form, did not neglect Canada’s relations with Britain. In 1922, upset by the Canadians’ swift movement toward the United States, he wished that "every Canadian would put the Empire first." But, Walker, always more a nationalist than either an imperialist or a Yankee, refused to support a joint Chamber of Commerce with British businessmen in New York in 1920 because Canada’s trade relations were different, and thought it equally impossible for Canada to go off the dollar currency and on to the British pound.

While Sir Edmund Walker debated the problems of the Empire in the Round Table, he was also involved in another movement of the English speaking people. In 1914, a century after the end of the War of 1812, Peace Centenary Committees in Canada, Britain and the United States planned to celebrate the centennial of peace among themselves, but the War intervened. Walker, as president of the Canadian committee, tried although not very successfully, to keep his English and American cohorts going. A potential for a greater English speaking union lay in this peace centenary movement, but due to internal feuds, it was never actualized.

Where does Sir Edmund Walker stand in the Canadian imperialist movement? Although he was a businessman, he criticized growing materialism in Canada with the same vehemence as the early imperialists and the later, for example, Stephen Leacock. Like all Canadian imperialism Walker’s brand was another facet of his nationalism. Whether in his business dealings, as in the case of reciprocity, or in the more intellectual discussions of the Round Table, Sir Edmund Walker showed, above all, his concern for Canada.
Although the Victorian capitalist ideology prescribed that businessmen rendered a great service to society, many chose to perform other services to their community by supporting universities, libraries, galleries, and hospitals. Some modern businessmen still engage in this kind of philanthropy, but their achievements are paltry when compared with the tremendous deeds of their grandfathers. It would appear that the Victorians had a greater compulsion to serve. In nineteenth century America, outstanding examples of philanthropy were set by businessmen like Ezra Cornell, founder of Western Union Telegraph who established Cornell University and Andrew Carnegie, steel tycoon who endowed libraries throughout the English speaking world. Several Canadian Victorian businessmen, not possessing the huge fortunes of their American counterparts, nevertheless followed the American pattern of philanthropy. Sir Edmund Walker's service to Canada illustrates the type of contributions made by these Canadian businessmen.

Reasons for the nineteenth century businessman's indulgence in philanthropy vary from outright selfishness to the more unselfish Victorian ethic of service. Stephen Leacock, always ready to thrust his critical sword at businessmen, suggested that a banker, for example, would selfishly decide to help a university in order that the university would give culture to his son and teach the boy "to hold his own with anyone." Paul Goodman, elucidating the motives of the Victorian Boston business
elite, found that they were worried that a consuming thirst for wealth would stain their character, and had, therefore, pursued cultural interests to "broaden their sympathies and refine their sensibilities." Some businessmen of the time described their services to the community in more eloquent terms. The great philanthropic model, Andrew Carnegie, explained his endeavours by his "gospel of Wealth." Carnegie preached that the "duty of the man of wealth" was to

...produce the most beneficial results for the community—the man of wealth thus becoming the mere agent and trustee for his poorer brethren, bringing to their service his superior wisdom, experience and ability to administer, doing for them better than they would or could do themselves.  

This same belief in the superior administrative ability and trusteeship of the business class became popular in Canada. When Sir James Whitney, the premier of Ontario, helped plan the organization of the Toronto General Hospital in 1905, he thought that five volunteer businessmen could run the hospital "better than large committees and bodies of trustees." 

Sir Edmund Walker's philanthropy stemmed from his revulsion toward money and his sense of duty. Stephen Leacock, in his 1913 article, "The university and business," probably used Walker as a prototype for his philanthropic banker who helped universities just to ensure his own children's education. The service that Sir Edmund gave to the University of Toronto, however, did not originate solely out of this fatherly concern. In a 1910 letter intended for publication in the Toronto Globe, Walker proclaimed that:

when we find a man who has devoted his life only to money-making and who has not created anything
in doing so, who cannot read books, enjoy beautiful things or indulge in sports, we know that he has thrown his precious life away. What then must be the fate of a nation which does not give due place to the intellectual and the artistic in life. 7

Sir Edmund, then, was plainly worried about the intellectual life of the entire nation. The letter also revealed that, like the guilt-driven American businessmen described by Paul Goodman, the president of the Canadian Bank of Commerce had a haunting fear of money making. In order to purge himself, he responded in the fashion of the Boston philanthropists by 'serving' culture.

The first cultural institution in which Sir Edmund Walker became involved, was the University of Toronto. No service, he considered in 1904, was as "high and honourable" as that to universities. 8 Walker believed that the "future of the country is bound up in our University... where every intellectual faculty of man may be satisfied, and where duties of citizenship and ethical aspects of life are taught in the fullest manner." 9 It is interesting that Sir Edmund argued that the character-building side of education was far more important than training professionals. Distinguishing between "instruction" or training for jobs, and "education," 10 he emphasized that men of 'education,' in the long run, would beat men of 'instruction' in their careers. 11 "Education," for him, meant an acquaintance with the humanities, philosophy, languages and sciences. 12

He recognized that the universities, no longer remote from the common people, had become aware of all the modern social and industrial problems, and that they were responsible for working out solutions to these problems. 14 For example, Sir Edmund advocated using university
In a democracy like Canada, Walker also maintained that the universities had a special role. In common with the progressives in the United States, he hoped to establish "capable and pure governments" in the large Canadian cities, and a non-political civil service across the country by introducing studies in political science in the universities. He believed that if the Canadian democracy succeeded, it would be due to the universities which had educated the people in citizenship. Canadian universities understandably stood foremost on Walker's list of institutions which he considered worthy of his time and effort.

Prior to the turn of the century the University of Toronto was in poor financial shape. Even after the denominational colleges of Victoria, Knox, Wycliffe and St. Michael's had federated with the secular University College in 1887, the Ontario government made grants only to University College. A fire at University College in 1890 which gutted the eastern portion of the building and consumed the library, profoundly shocked Edmund Walker. He suddenly realized that "every high hope we held for the future of this country depended upon our system of education, and that which set the standard for all Canada was in ruins." Walker immediately donated $1,000 from the bank and offered his services in collecting more money. Asked to join the Board of Trustees, the general manager of the Canadian Bank of Commerce immediately inquired about the University's book-keeping and audit system, and suggested improvements in business practices of the university's finance department. Recognizing his talent, the Board set Walker and another trustee to work on a
report on the university's finances which sorted out the chaos in that department.

Sir Edmund Walker set two tasks for himself in his work for the university. He wanted to secure more money from the Ontario government, and to complete the federation of the university. A prominent leader in welcoming Trinity College, the last denominational college, into the university, Walker was awarded the degree of Doctor of Civil Law by Trinity in its last convocation in 1904. Sir Edmund's skill in directing amalgamations again appeared in 1921, when he affiliated the Toronto Conservatory of Music, of which he was chairman, with the University of Toronto. The financial side of his work, however, presented more difficulties. Walker hoped in 1900 that Ontario, like Michigan, Minnesota and other state governments, would levy a direct tax on property owners to support the universities. But, after discussing the financial problem with S. H. Blake, one of the founders of Wycliffe College, Walker and Blake decided to ask that succession duties from the province be used to support the university. When they suggested this new scheme to George Ross, the premier in 1901, he was not interested and the university, which had experienced deficits since 1896, did not face a brighter financial future.

The outlook for the university improved after 1905 when James Whitney became premier of Ontario. Long interested in the plight of the university, Whitney appointed a commission to report on the University of Toronto. Its members included J. W. Flavelle, A.H.V. Colquhoun, Goldwin Smith, Sir William Meredith, Canon Cody, Bruce Macdonald and Walker. In 1902 Edmund Walker had decided on the best course of development for the
university. He wanted it to become

a state college unhampered in the scope, quality and cost of the education it supplies, except by the limitation of the public money granted for it...this I take to be the ideal we must keep in mind rather than that of Oxford and Cambridge. 25

Whitney, who had the same ideal for the university, 26 adopted most of the proposals in the commission’s report, 27 from ending direct interference of the government in university affairs, to donating grants from succession duties to the university.

Sir Edmund worked for the University of Toronto from 1890 to his death in 1924. He was a trustee of the university from 1892 to 1906; Senator, from 1893 to 1901; a member of the board of governors from 1906, and chairman of the board from 1910 to 1923, when he was appointed chancellor. Even in the University of Toronto, Zebulon Lash remained at Walker’s side. For instance, in 1913, Walker as chairman of the board of governors, successfully demanded that Lash be made vice-chairman. 28

In evaluating Walker’s contributions, Sir Robert Falconer, president of the university from 1907 to 1932, recalled that Sir Edmund’s influence extended beyond financial matters. Falconer remarked that Walker believed:

...in strengthening the staff by improving the salaries of the professors and by introducing from abroad an infusion of teachers trained in different schools. Though there was no more genuine Canadian than he, nor one more confident as to the quality of the Canadian mind, he was impatient of self-regarding nativism. 29

An illustration of Walker’s lack of ‘self-regarding nativism’ occurred in 1914, when the Toronto Telegram and the World demanded that the six German professors at the university be automatically fired because of
their German citizenship. Feeling about the issue grew so strong that Walker noted in his Journal that "those who are not willing to crucify the Germans must expect to be damned as sympathizing with the enemy." Sir Edmund and Sir Robert Falconer took a stand together against these papers and some of the governors of the university for the "fair treatment" of the Germans and the "fair name of the university." Because of their courage, the Germans were not fired, but offered a leave of absence with pay until the end of the academic year.

Walker's interest in education ranged beyond the universities. A trustee of the Toronto Board of Education in 1904, he refused to run for re-election in 1905 on the grounds that he had not accomplished much. Sir Edmund also founded Appleby College at Oakville, a private boarding school for boys which opened in 1911. Since Walker's ideas on education stressed the importance of character building, this Appleby College venture would appear to be a further product of his Victorianism. After all, one of the eminent figures of the age was Thomas Arnold of Rugby, who directed his school on these very ideas. Sir Edmund probably had little to do with the actual running of the college, leaving that to his son-in-law, John Guest. On one occasion Walker did try to add a cosmopolitan quality to Appleby school life. After his trip to Japan in 1919, he suggested holding a traditional Japanese spring festival at the school based on the theme of the Japanese carp. In the same way that Japanese carp surmounted waterfalls to reach their spawning territory, Sir Edmund hoped that the Appleby boy would "surmount all difficulties, to attain a brilliant career and to become an outstanding figure in the world." In 1911 Walker expended $80,000 on the school and expected to
increase this sum to $100,000\textsuperscript{35} in the hope that Appleby would later become a public trust.\textsuperscript{36}

Connections at the University of Toronto soon led Walker into several of the university's discussion groups. The first of these groups, the "Round Table Club," started in 1896 when Goldwin Smith and James Mavor, professor of political economy at the university, decided to form a dining club of twelve men to "relieve the tedium of winter.\textsuperscript{37} Membership varied\textsuperscript{38} but Edmund Walker, one of the originals, remained in the club until 1914 when it finally disbanded.\textsuperscript{39} At the dinner meetings of the club held in various Toronto restaurants, the chairman of the evening chose the topic of conversation. The Round Table also entertained visitors of distinction travelling through Toronto. George Wrong, professor of history, created another group in 1904. His "History Club" contained both students and faculty who met at the homes of prominent Toronto citizens to read and discuss papers. Sir Edmund frequently participated in these meetings, in which talk ranged from the "nationalization of the railways" at Flavelle's home in 1904,\textsuperscript{40} to "modern universities" at the Walker's in 1910,\textsuperscript{41} to the "condition of the Southern States of the United States since the creation of the Republic,"\textsuperscript{42} again held at 99 St. George Street in 1913. How much the discussions in the Round Table and History Club influenced Walker, or the academics, is hard to document, but the fact that university men and businessmen could communicate with one another in such pleasant surroundings demonstrates the closely knit nature of Toronto life at the turn of the century.

Although the exact nature of the conversation at the Round Table Club has not been discovered, its general direction may be inferred by
examining the activities of the academic and business members of the Club. In 1899 Edmund Walker sent out requests from the bank for the names of people in Ontario who would be interested in establishing a reference library. It is very likely that James Bain, chief librarian at the Toronto Public Library and a member of the Round Table Club originated this idea.

The Canadian Society of Authors may also be a Round Table creation. The society began in 1899 when Goldwin Smith, James Mavor, Edmund Walker, George Ross, and others prepared a memorandum setting out the objects of the Society. Half of its original members belonged to the Round Table Club. One of the objects of the Canadian Society of Authors was "to promote the production of literature in Canada and the interests of Canadian authors" by instituting copyright laws. Membership was open to anyone who had written and published at least one book. Walker, as author of *A History of Banking in Canada* must have added prestige to the Society. He sat on the executive committee in 1902 and served as president from 1905 to 1909.

Another of the by-products of the Round Table Club would seem to be the Champlain Society. In a 1905 conversation (perhaps even a club meeting) with Professor George Wrong, Dr. James Bain (both of the Round Table Club), and Dr. Charles Colby, Sir Edmund Walker conceived of a publishing society for Canada similar to the Surtees Society in Britain and the Prince Society in the United States. Walker then asked Dr. Arthur Doughty of the Public Archives in Ottawa to meet with these three men and himself in order to discuss the idea. Their discussions led to the formation of the Champlain Society, publisher of rare Canadian
historical documents and manuscripts. Immediately successful, the society obtained 250 members and a long waiting list by the end of 1906. Its early publications include The Works of Samuel de Champlain, The History of New France by Marc Lescarbot and The Narrative of David Thompson.

As well as organizing the Champlain Society, Edmund Walker was president from 1905 until his death. His correspondence during this period shows Walker frequently acted as a conciliator between contentious academic members in the society. Eleanor Creighton, Walker's secretary, recalled that this "project was very dear to Sir Edmund," and that he had told her on two occasions that "his founding of the Champlain Society was the most important work that he had accomplished." 46

Sir Edmund's interest in the work of the Champlain Society was an expression of his Canadian nationalism. Addressing the Ottawa Canadian Club in 1904, he claimed that every Canadian had a duty to study the history of his land:

> both the period of romance and that of political and industrial development. Without doing so he can never understand how precious is the trust which has come down to him. Let him also study the maps and survey reports, the blue books, indeed anything that will cause him to understand Canada as a physical problem. 47

The president of the Champlain Society expected that after Canadians had read the journals of the soldiers and the explorers published by the society, they would be motivated to write grand, national epics. Thus, the Champlain Society was laying the ground-work "of many a poem and romance of that regard for our past which is necessary to national greatness." 48 Even if Canadians did not write Canadian poetry, they were
still being educated in the country's history by the publications of the society.

Walker's involvement in the Champlain Society led to other activities. In 1908 he became a member of the National Battlefields Commission which helped organize the dual celebration of the tercentenary of the founding of the city of Quebec by Champlain, and the battles on the Plains of Abraham. Recognizing his contributions to scholarship, the Royal Society of Canada also made Walker a fellow in 1911. In addition, the federal government appointed him in 1912 to sit on the Manuscripts Commission of the National Archives. In all these positions Sir Edmund Walker was no figurehead because his letters demonstrate that he interested himself in every detail of the venture with which he became connected.

By helping to build a museum in Toronto, Sir Edmund Walker hoped to further enlarge the minds of his fellow Canadians. In the nineteenth century, a visit to a museum constituted a highly valued educational experience. Victorians, curious about their world, popularized the museum. They made it into a veritable temple of knowledge in which one could survey, in a few hours, the lives of the ancients, exotica from distant lands, and all of nature's secrets.

For Sir Edmund, the most important role of a museum was to teach. In an address to the Royal Canadian Institute in 1899, the year after his presidency of the Institute, Walker reminded Canadians of their responsibilities to learn and of the special teaching facilities of museums:

as an intelligent people we are entitled to learn gradually all that there is to be known about the
natural phenomena of our country, and as an intelligent people we are entitled to possess museums in which may be exploited, not only the materials for national wealth, but also the entire range of natural phenomena as far as it can be exhibited objectively. Canadians could help themselves fulfill their intellectual obligations by possessing and using museums. Museums, Sir Edmund also argued, would function as "shopwindows" in which Canadians and foreigners could comprehend, at a single glance, the vast resource potential of the nation. Displays in museums of manufactured articles of a high level of workmanship would increase, he thought, demands for finer things, thereby, raising the level of craftsmanship in Canada. Aware of the passing of North American Indian culture, Sir Edmund wanted museums to gather archaeological and ethnological evidence "of the various peoples whose country we now possess," especially samples of Pacific Coast Indian art which great American museums at the time were hauling away to the United States. Walker's enthusiasm for museums was so keen that he proposed that museums should be built in Ottawa, in each province, and in every city of importance. In addition, he hoped that small circulating museums would travel around the provinces.

During the nineteenth century, Toronto saw three museums but none could be classified as a public institution. The first museum, opened in York's market square in 1826, was a private effort and it soon disappeared. Later, Egerton Ryerson's Normal School and the colleges at the university all had museums. These, however, were designed for teaching and research, and not for the public.

Sir Edmund Walker believed that the city deserved a public museum. Two years after he became manager of the Canadian Bank of Commerce,
Walker called upon the premier, Sir Oliver Mowat, suggesting that the government ought to establish a museum, and also a natural history survey for the province. His visit was unfruitful. As convener of the "University Museum Committee" for the University of Toronto in 1893-94, he realized that the time for a museum had not yet arrived, and that public opinion in support of a museum still had to be developed. Walker's 1899 address to the Royal Canadian Institute, "Canadian surveys and museums and the need of increased expenditure thereon," comprised part of this educational programme. On the condition that the University of Toronto begin "competent teaching in paleontology" and provide proper museum accommodation, he offered his magnificent paleontological collection and library to the university in 1904, and the university accepted his offer. This was one more step to founding a satisfactory public museum. A proposal for a public museum in the University Act of 1906 must have originated with Edmund Walker who sat on the University commission.

By 1905 other Torontonians had finally recognized that the city lacked, and needed a museum. Charles Currelly, a Toronto graduate then in Egypt on archaeological digs, had been collecting a few things for the museum at Victoria College. When he returned to Toronto in the fall of 1905, he discussed the possibilities of a larger museum with Walker, Professor McCurdy of the Department of Oriental Language and Literature at University College, Professor Pelham Edgar of the English Department at Victoria College and Sir Edmund Osler, director of the C.P.R. and president of the Dominion Bank. The outcome of these discussions was that Walker went before the board of governors at the university to ask for
more money. In December 1905, the board granted $1,500 to Currelly to buy Egyptian antiquities. By this decision, the governors had determined that the museum would be a university and not a college project. Both Osier and Walker also supplied Currelly with $500 in 1906. The sum later increased to an annual grant of $1,000 from Walker, Osler and eight other wealthy Toronto citizens.

The museum soon required additional funds. This prompted Walker, Osler and John Hoskin, the chancellor of the university, to visit Premier Whitney in the spring of 1909. They wanted a $400,000 museum building with an immediate donation of $50,000. When Whitney appeared uninterested, Osler, a prominent Conservative, added, "That's all right Whitney, you give it to us, and if there's any objection from the House, I'll pay it out of my own pocket." Whitney, being the leader of the Conservative party in Ontario, gave in. Without the interest of Toronto's wealthy businessmen the museum would never have been built. It is also worth noting that while the Canadian businessmen initiated the building of the museum and provided some financial backing, they still expected the state to underwrite most of its costs.

Together Osler and Walker drafted the organization of the museum. They decided that costs should be shared equally by the university and the province, but that politics must not interfere with the running of the museum. In order to prevent political intrusions, they demanded that professors from the university direct the various museum departments. The museum itself was to be controlled by a board of trustees appointed by the province and the university. Provincial representatives consisted of two ex-officio government ministers and the rest had to come from
benefactors or those who were interested in the development of the museum. Members of the first board of trustees in 1912 were the ministers of mines and education, Sir Edmund Walker (chairman), Sir Edmund Osler, Mrs. H. D. Warren, Zebulon Lash, and the Chancellor and President of the University of Toronto.

A recent study attributes much to the personal determination of Sir Edmund Walker in the creation of the museum. Sir Edmund also contributed greatly to the collections in the museum. Besides his paleontological donation which constituted the greater part of that department, he compiled a Japanese print collection specifically for the museum. Interested in Japanese art since first viewing it in New York, Walker chose the prints to demonstrate the evolution of this art form, amassing a total of 1,070 prints. Sir Edmund also financed the excellent Chinese ceramic collection and offered to back Currelly for $20,000 to increase the Chinese collection. Sir Edmund Walker loved everything in the Royal Ontario Museum. Charles Currelly, who became the director, noticed that Walker visited the museum practically every day and talked about it nearly everywhere he went and he had such a name that his words carried weight. Every object that came in gave him delight and though he was capable of feigning it in order to keep enthusiasm going, I think it was always real in connection with the museum. In times of discouragement, and there were plenty of them, his smile seemed to alter everything.

Sir Edmund's enthusiasm for the final realization of his dream of a museum for Toronto is understandable. Since 1888 he had tried in various ways to get a museum started in Toronto. The now world famous Royal Ontario Museum, opened in 1914, owes much of its success to him.
A recurrent theme in Sir Edmund Walker's philanthropic activities in Canadian education was the co-operation of Walker, the businessman, with academics like Mavor and Wrong. The York Club, a private men's club in Toronto founded in 1910 by Walker and Osler, stands as a testament to the common interests of business and the university in the late Victorian period. Here professors were gladly admitted, having to pay a small annual sum of $50 and no entrance fee. Writing about Walker's interest in the Club, Augustus Bridle considered Walker the patron saint of the York. He was one of the secessionists from the Toronto Club who banded together finance and culture—millionaires, magnates and university professors to form the new Athenaeum. And it was Sir Edmund who, in one of his customarily neat speeches at an inaugural dinner, named the Club by quoting the lines from Shakespeare—whatever they are—that suited the occasion.

Sir Edmund also chose the 100 framed engravings, crests, and seals that decorated the walls of the new club. He confided in his Journal that everyone admired his choices and that they were "a great success." In the late Victorian mansion on the corner of St. George and Bloor Streets, formerly the residence of George Gooderham, which housed the York Club, businessmen and professors communicated for a few brief years. With the advent of modern specialization, however, they later became more alienated, retiring to the more dismal heights of their ivory towers and concrete skyscrapers.

II

Canada began to mature as a nation in the late Victorian period. Nationally oriented groups like the Champlain Society and the Canadian
Society of Authors offered some evidence of this development, but especially in Canadian art a distinct and growing national awareness became apparent. Before 1900 Canada had no public galleries and certainly no Canadian artist had acquired nation-wide fame. Yet at the beginning of the War in 1914, the country boasted several galleries including the National Gallery, and well-known artists like Horatio Walker and those who would later form the "Group of Seven." Several factors contributed to these changes in the art scene. Prominent among these was the interest of Byron Edmund Walker. From childhood Edmund Walker had been interested in art. His later associations with Canadian art developed naturally out of this early love, his wishes to serve Canada, and his recognized leadership in the business world. Sir Edmund worked with Canadian artists in building up Canadian art in much the same manner as he helped academics improve Canadian education.

Walker's service to Canadian art started in Toronto in 1897. In that year, George A. Reid, a Toronto artist, inspired by "modern" decorations on the Paris City Hall, suggested that Toronto's new City Hall needed similar treatment. With other artists of the "Society of Mural Decorators," in Toronto, Reid prepared sketches for the council chamber on the theme of progress in art and industry in Canada from pioneer days to the 1890's. At the same time Toronto laymen, enthusiastic about Reid's proposals, formed a "Guild of Civic Art" to "improve art conditions in the city" by supervising and advising the city of Toronto on all public works. The Toronto guild imitated established guilds in the more advanced cities of North America and Europe, where cultivated gentlemen served on public commissions guiding their less refined
politicians in art matters. Feeling the need of this advice, the Toronto Council accepted "with thanks the services of the gentlemen comprising the Guild of Civic Art" in April 1897. It should be added that the city paid nothing for the advice, the Guild providing "this great and important service without cost." Members of the Guild of Civic Art were notables in Toronto's business, academic and art elites. On the guild's Advisory Board for 1898, the familiar general manager of the Canadian Bank of Commerce, Mr. Edmund Walker, acted as president; with Hon. George Allan, member of the Queen's Privy Council of Canada, and Edmund Osler, Toronto stockbroker as vice-presidents; James Bain as treasurer, and W. A. Langton, architect, as secretary; several other members included James Loudon, president of the University of Toronto, James Mavor, Frank Darling, Toronto architect, George Reid, and E. Wyly Grier, Toronto artists. The artists had supported the principles of the Guild by recommending to the city in 1897 that:

in order to ensure the employment of the best native talent, a committee or commission be appointed of citizens of taste, who would act as experts for the city in all such work to be done in the public buildings.

The fact that the artists held a minority of the positions on the 1898 Advisory Board of the guild was deliberate, for Walker, the leading member, wanted "laymen interested in Art and members of the Guild" to outnumber artists. Laymen alone, he considered, would act impartially in deciding on matters of correct taste.

Although the City of Toronto accepted the free advice of the guild, they refused the artists' request to decorate the City Hall. George Reid,
who had originally proposed the decorations, offered to do the entrance of the City Hall on his own. In an address accepting Reid's gift, Edmund Walker noted his own Victorian abhorrence of "the ugliness of bare walls... and hoped that the various spaces in this magnificent building—and there must be hundreds of them—will be filled with histories and allegories bearing upon the development of Canada." As a possible theme for these space-fillers, he suggested the history of the Humber Valley in southern Ontario. Walker liked this theme so much that ten years later he planned to have a Humber Valley mural in one of the bank's buildings in Toronto and even asked Professor George Wrong about the proper historical grouping for the scene. This mural along with the hundreds of the spaces in the City Hall were never painted. The Guild of Civic Art later chose a few paintings and sculptures for the city but it soon withered away without really improving art conditions. Like so many groups of the period, the guild, however, did inspire members to related endeavours.

Building an 'art museum' in Toronto became the next project of these interested citizens. Also initiated by George Reid, who was then president of Ontario Society of Artists, the gallery movement started with the Society's 1897 pamphlet on the need for an art museum in Toronto. In the spring of 1900, Reid called a meeting of a number of Torontonians who later set up a Provisional Art Museum Board. The board appointed Walker as chairman and Reid as secretary in December, 1900, and outlined their work which consisted of collecting works of art and providing a suitable building to display these to the public.
Edmund Walker greatly influenced the development of the art museum. With the same argument that he had earlier discouraged the presence of too many artists in the Guild of Civic Art, Walker suggested that the Art Museum be under the control of laymen "because of personal differences which so often arise among artists." As president of the provisional board and later president of the council for the Art Museum, Sir Edmund was responsible for convincing his wealthy business associates to aid the gallery. Walker trusted that he could find ten philanthropists to donate $5,000 each in order to receive a like sum from the general public. By the end of 1900, five of his friends had already contributed their $5,000, thereby acquiring the title of "Benefactor." Edmund Walker, a "Founder," first donated $1,000. Again, as in so many of his ventures, Walker had Zebulon Lash draft the bill for the Art Museum of Toronto. It gave complete control of the gallery's affairs to a Council composed only of Benefactors. Thus, the future course of art in Toronto lay in the hands of wealthy businessmen.

Walker also largely influenced the type of paintings that the Art Museum purchased. Concerned about native art, he claimed in 1913 that "our aims in this respect...are to have the best collection of deceased and living artists in Ontario. But nothing, but the best." Ontario artists had at last found a permanent market for their wares. The interest of the Art Museum in local art stimulated a public awareness of the Ontario artists. Prior to this time, most Canadians had only looked at, and bought European art. Edmund Walker's own nationalistic concern for Canadian art was transmitted through his control of the Art Museum to his fellow citizens.
From the beginning, the Art Museum of Toronto had difficulty in finding gallery space. In 1903 Goldwin Smith and his wife bequeathed their home, "The Grange," for the museum, but it was not until 1918 that the Art Museum finally opened a gallery there. In the meantime, the Museum held only one exhibition before 1909, but subsequently began a series in the gallery in Toronto's new Reference Library. The Art Museum became "The Art Gallery of Toronto" in 1919.

Sir Edmund Walker's role in the Art Museum of Toronto was again more than one of collecting money. Sir Edmund knew about all the Art Museum's major and minute affairs and ran the Art Museum entirely until 1912 when E. R. Grieg was appointed curator. Five days after Grieg started work, Sir Edmund took the time from his busy day at the Canadian Bank of Commerce to hold a special meeting with the new curator to "talk over electrical lighting and other matters." For Walker, a perfectionist, these tiny details were just as important as great policy changes. Interested in art education, Sir Edmund also represented the Art Museum in 1912 on the "Committee on Art Education" which drafted the bill for the Ontario College of Art.

During this same period Sir Edmund offered his judgment in the choice of several monuments, both in Toronto and across Canada. These monuments to various Canadian heroes further indicate growing nationalism. The first was a statue to Governor Simcoe, erected in 1901. As a representative for the Guild of Civic Art on the provincial committee to select the artist, Walker alone knew that Walter S. Allward, a self-taught Toronto sculptor had submitted one of the models, and he undoubtedly convinced the other committee members to give Allward the
Sir Edmund considered Walter S. Allward to be "far abler than any other sculptor we have in Canada, not even excluding Herbert," the widely acclaimed French Canadian sculptor at the time. The allegorical style which Allward increasingly employed appealed to Walker's Victorian aesthetic sense. In Queen's Park, Toronto, later statues executed by Allward are of Sir Oliver Mowat (1905), Hon. John Sandfield MacDonald (1909) and William Lyon Mackenzie (1940).

In Toronto the most outstanding product of the patron and his artist is the Boer War monument situated in the boulevard of University Avenue. A 1909 Toronto committee which included Walker decided to have Allward design the memorial to Canadians killed in the Boer War in South Africa at the turn of the century. This memorial to 'war heroes' shows that Canadians could find national figures, other than politicians, to venerate. One complaint about the idea came from Goldwin Smith, a pacifist, who claimed that Canada must not glorify war in any manner. In reply, Edmund Walker argued that the valour of the Canadian contingent ought to be recorded, and others, agreeing with Walker, spent $38,000 to erect the 'record,' which was unveiled with suitable pomp in 1910.

Above all, Canadians approved of the Boer War monument's obvious Canadian quality. One reviewer praised its "war-like and imperial conceptions of Canadian life"; another emphasized its "national" character since it represented men from across the country. Canadians also appreciated the symbolism of the memorial in which their nation was shown as a

...young mother, ...sending out her sons, inspiring young figures, to fight for the Empire. At the top of the lofty column is
a figure of Peace with wings outstretched and arms
holding high overhead a crown typifying Canada's
unity with the Empire. \( 102 \)

Sir Edmund Walker must have encouraged Allward in his use of this kind
of allegory for he thought that he was "more responsible for the design
than anyone except Allward."\(^{103}\) The Boer War monument clearly manifests
the peculiar nationalism of the late Victorians for their "vision of
grandeur" is illustrated by the prominent Canadian figures at the base
of the column which are helping the Empire maintain peace. During the
Great War the monument served as "a rendez-vous of drilling and marching
troops.... No spot in all Canada was the centre of so much warlike and
national activity."\(^{104}\) Today its message seems rather lost in the
surrounding modern office towers.

Elsewhere too, the team of Walker and Allward located their
allegorical, nationalistic memorials. Sir Edmund joined the Advisory Arts
Council in Ottawa which commissioned Allward for several of these. In
Walker's opinion, their best work was the Bell Memorial at Brantford,
Ontario. \(^{105}\) Hearing that Brantford planned in 1909 to put up a memorial
to Alexander Graham Bell, the inventor of the telephone, Walker contacted
the manager of the Canadian Bank of Commerce in the city, praising
Allward and noting, "because of the national character of the work I am
particularly interested in the best possible outcome artistically."\(^{106}\)
Sir Edmund later became a judge for the Bell Telephone Memorial
Association and Allward, in due course, became the sculptor.

At the unveiling of this gigantic allegorical sculpture in 1917,
Sir Edmund "had to speak twice, my duty being to give the public an idea
of Allward's meaning, although one really would not think this necessary
XII.
.... One must conclude rather unfavourably as to the people's powers of imagination."\textsuperscript{107} Any difficulty Brantford citizens experienced in grasping the meaning of their new memorial was explicable. Elucidating its complex allegories, Sir Edmund thought that the most important themes were

1st. Two heroic figures in bronze at either side representing "Humanity," sending and receiving messages.

2nd. Man discovering his power to transmit vocal sounds through space. This is shown in the large bronze panel, representing "Man" surmounted by a figure symbolic of "Intelligence," and representing three messengers, "Knowledge, Joy and Sorrow."\textsuperscript{108}

By 1917 the time for such great Victorian masterpieces had passed. The over-developed symbolism of the Bell Memorial, although delighting a few Victorian academics,\textsuperscript{109} was remote from average Canadians; as remote, in fact, as modern European cubist sculpture was from all of Canada during this period.

Walker's interest in the conservative work of Walter Allward did not prevent him from associating with the slightly more modern and bohemian artists in Toronto's "Arts and Letters Club." The Club invited Walker to a "Smoker"—dress, "studio clothes"—\textsuperscript{110} in September, 1910. Joining soon thereafter, Walker gave an address at the opening of their new quarters in the Old Assize Court later in the year. Although the artists despised many of their business contemporaries, most respected Sir Edmund Walker.\textsuperscript{111} Meetings in the Old Assize Court were free-wheeling and it is difficult to imagine how the stately banker answered the customary farewell of Club members, "Hey, kid--how about a fag."\textsuperscript{112}

The service of Sir Edmund Walker to the arts in Canada culminated in his work for the National Gallery. Origins of the gallery can be
found in the membership clause of the Royal Canadian Academy, incorporated in 1882, which stated that every artist must donate one work to the academy. These were stored in various places in Ottawa but had no permanent display home. Around 1906 a serious movement arose to establish a National Gallery for the academy's collections and other works. It was again headed by George Reid, president of the academy, who sent a memorial to Lord Grey, the Governor General, suggesting that the government build a national gallery to be run by an appointed advisory council composed of painters, sculptors and architects. At the same time, the government was being harassed, in Walker's terms, "by log-rolling" from other sources. A Privy Council committee examined the idea of the gallery and reported that the advisory council, instead, should be made up of

...those who have made a special study of art and who have interested themselves in the collections of objects of art and have also displayed an interest in public efforts to promote art and its culture in this country.... It is confidently believed that many gentlemen will be glad to render this service without remuneration.  

The committee, then, ignored Reid's recommendation to appoint professional artists to the Advisory Arts Council. Thus, when it was established, the council closely paralleled the earlier Guild of Civic Art in Toronto, in that both were comprised of cultured gentlemen who would freely give advice on the arts. Sydney Fisher, Acting Minister of Public Works called upon three gentlemen in 1907 to form the Advisory Arts Council. In addition to the new president of the Canadian Bank of Commerce, he asked Senator Arthur Boyer, Montreal 'capitalist', and Sir George Drummond, the president of the Bank of Montreal, who became the president
of the council. The council had two jobs. It advised the government on public works and administered grants to the National Gallery, which finally became incorporated in 1913.

Disputes within the council soon arose for Sir George Drummond, interested only in European art, became disenchanted with the meager $10,000 government grant for the council's operation. This, Drummond realized, could hardly pay for major European works. He also disliked what he thought was the mediocre art being done by Canadians. Edmund Walker, on the other hand, had a greater vision of the council's role. He tried to convince Drummond that "a democratic government must be led into good causes and that with even $10,000 p.a. we could do justice to Canadian artists and something besides." In 1909 Drummond died, and Walker, as the new president of the Council, began to implement his policy of buying Canadian art. The council even decided to acquire Canadian works when they did not personally appeal to them, as long as they represented the Canadian art scene.

Sir Edmund's involvement in the arts coincided with the development of the most popular artists in Canadian history, the Group of Seven. The Group's philosophy was "to paint objectively the kind of country that composes most of Canada." This approach, while appealing to like-minded Canadians, was neither new—artists since the 1890's had tried to paint "Canadian"—nor modern, when contrasted with the revolutionary developments in European art. The only modern quality of the Group was their "reaction against the atmospheric, moody type of painting perhaps best exemplified by those nineteenth century Dutch paintings that were so popular in Montreal and to a lesser extent in Toronto."
The National Gallery headed by Walker and Eric Brown whom Walker chose as curator and later director, enthusiastically supported the Group of Seven. Sir Edmund was interested in the Group simply because they were Canadian. Their style did not particularly appeal to his own more Victorian tastes as evidenced by his own art collection, which contained none of their paintings, although Sir Edmund did own three sketches by Tom Thomson. In his official capacity, however, Sir Edmund contributed greatly to the Group of Seven. He praised them as a new distinctly Canadian phenomena. As F. B. Housser noted, Walker alone, of all the men of affairs in the Dominion, showed a personal human interest in the painters. He alone seemed to see the necessity for creating expression in the building of nationhood and publicly declaring it. His presence therefore at the National Gallery was an encouraging thing to the movement. 

Eric Brown, on the other hand, was more interested in the Group's modern approach to art, and explained their work to the Canadian public in various addresses. Increasingly, Sir Edmund relied on Eric Brown's ability to manage the National gallery. When Hector Charlesworth attacked the gallery's support of the Group of Seven in 1922, it was Brown who drafted Walker's reply for the Gallery. Together Walker and Brown offered a tremendous support for the Group on behalf of their fellow Canadians.

There were other attacks on Walker and the National Gallery that could not be so readily answered. These came from "modern" thinkers who questioned the basic Victorian assumption that gentlemen, i.e. businessmen, could and should decide for the general public on all matters of taste. One of the first of these modern rumblings came from Curtis Williamson,
a Toronto artist who wrote to Walker in 1915 that:

the almighty no doubt meant you to be a banker - had he intended you for an art critic he would have endowed you with a little of that instinctive understanding with regard to pictures which all the books in the world cannot give. 126

Williamson with his modern ideas on the 'professional' could not accept the old idea of Victorian 'whole man' who could run both the fine arts and business.

The criticism made by Williamson was valid, for Walker, who gained his understanding of art from Victorian books, as Williamson recognized, did not have any feeling for modern art. Should a man who had so much difficulty understanding the Impressionists have been allowed to run the National Gallery? Or, to put the question differently should a businessman who gave nothing financially to the public institution be allowed, as E. W. Thomson wrote to Sir Robert Borden in 1918, "to figure once more as 'Lord of Art' in Canada at the public expense"? 127

To answer these questions we can only try to determine how Sir Edmund Walker's assets compared with his liabilities. His business prestige undoubtedly convinced the government to spend more money on the National Gallery. This prestige surely had far greater influence than any civil servant could hope to muster. When Sir George Drummond first convened the Advisory Arts Council in 1907 he had a budget of $10,000. In 1911, after the reciprocity election, the victorious Conservatives gave Sir Edmund his requested $50,000 and increased the grants to $100,000 until the war. Much of this money went toward encouraging Canadian artists, in keeping with Walker's original policy of buying Canadian works. In 1913, the gallery started travelling loan collections across
Canada which further publicized native artists and also provided an additional market for their paintings. Sir Edmund's interest in purchasing Canadian art for the Gallery therefore helped many Canadian artists, even if he did not understand their work thoroughly. Thus, Sir Edmund Walker's assets as a shaper of gallery policy unquestionably out-weighed his liabilities.

The story of Canada's war paintings again illustrated Walker's valuable role in Canadian arts. These paintings were commissioned by the Canadian War Memorials Fund which had been started in 1917 by Lord Beaverbrook in England. Beaverbrook assumed that British artists would paint the records of Canada's war contributions. Sir Edmund Walker, however, advised him that Canadian artists should go to the front, and in early 1918, six Canadians, including A. Y. Jackson and Frederick Varley of the Group of Seven, left for Europe. Beaverbrook also decided to send English artists across Canada, and when Sir Edmund heard this idea, he immediately wrote to Beaverbrook requesting that Canadian artists be allowed to paint in Canada. 128 Beaverbrook granted this request, 129 and provided much needed financial assistance to Canadian artists during these lean war years.

The war records also gave artists an entirely new experience to document. C. W. Jeffreys, for instance, chose as the theme of one of his works, "men in the Polish Army bathing at the mouth of the Niagara River,"130 and Lawren Harris of the Group enthusiastically proposed to paint the new feeling in Canada in the war

...the hurry up, hustle and bustle--the accomplishment of things undreamt in pre-war days. Records of speeding up--hurrying top speed--there's the thing! Not so much the things building and built, being made and made, but the feverish excited activity--a record of the mood. 131
Although Harris never started this painting, the war paintings did prove to be a great success, drawing much praise at the Wembley Exhibition in England in 1924. For this final international recognition of Canadian artists, the president of the Canadian Bank of Commerce was, to great extent, responsible.

Many Victorian business philanthropists gave much to their country, if not in money, certainly in time and effort. Canada owes a lot to Walker and his sense of duty. Between 1890 and 1924 in Sir Edmund's gifted hands, a university, a school, a society of authors, a museum, a publishing society, a guild of civic art, national monuments, and two galleries all developed. This was no mean achievement.
CONCLUSION

Born in 1848, Byron Edmund Walker first saw Canada when it could only be described as colonial, but he watched the colony rapidly developing into a modern nation. Sir Edmund, himself, contributed much to this development. He was able to take command of, and build several enterprises. The variety of these organizations illustrates his wide range of interests and his belief in working for Canada.

On the financial side, first as general manager, and then as president of the Canadian Bank of Commerce, Edmund Walker moulded a tiny Ontario bank into a powerful national institution. Concerned about all the banks, he personally supervised the government of Canada during every decennial Bank Act revision from 1890 to 1924, and in order to ensure the proper evolutionary growth of the banking system, he helped to organize the Canadian Bankers' Association which further guided the state. Sir Edmund's numerous addresses also taught Canadians about the proper role of business and its value to the community.

Not content with building the nation financially, Sir Edmund believed that it was his duty to help Canadian culture. In Toronto he became involved with establishing the Guild of Civic Art, the Art Museum of Toronto (now the Art Gallery of Ontario), and the world renowned Royal Ontario Museum. The University of Toronto also gratefully accepted his service. Walker especially acted as a catalyst of Canadian cultural nationalism. First, he directed the Champlain Society which published and distributed rare, Canadian historical documents. Secondly, as trustee of the National Gallery at Ottawa and president of the Art
Museum of Toronto, he encouraged native Canadian art. His own collections of Canadian art also made buying Canadian paintings fashionable in Toronto. Thirdly, in the monuments which he selected to commemorate Canadian heroes, Sir Edmund tried to instil national self-awareness.

In addition, the president of the Canadian Bank of Commerce felt that he had to instruct his countrymen on foreign affairs. When he thought that the Dominion was straying from its wisest course of action, Walker led crusades to educate Canadians to see their mistakes. In 1911 believing that immigrants in Canada threatened to take the nation into a fatal embrace with the United States, Sir Edmund initiated his famous campaign against the immigrants' support of reciprocity. Throughout the later Victorian period, he urged more Canadian participation in the Empire in order to prevent further assimilation by the United States.

Sir Edmund Walker's remarkable leadership ability was not the sole origin of his many accomplishments. Certainly, they were also the result of the less complex structure of Canadian society which allowed an individual, particularly a businessman, to control institutions. How different this is from the modern world where huge technocracies, composed of specialists, are needed to run most organizations. Walker's Victorian ideals and interests also led him into his many pursuits. Imbued with nineteenth century curiosity, he studied and became involved in such diverse activities as banking, art and science. Above all, Sir Edmund believed in the Victorian ethic of service which held that every man had a duty to serve the community. He often remarked that his goal in life was to work for Canada and he impressed this goal on others. At the Halifax Canadian Club in 1908, for example, he reminded his listeners
that "we are indeed mere stewards for Canada, and we shall have to answer as to whether we do well or ill by it." This Victorian ideal, then, provides a clue to understanding Sir Edmund Walker's life.

A student of the typically Victorian hobby of studying paleontology, Walker applied some of his scientific knowledge to his ideas on society. His examination of nature, for instance, reinforced his view that equality was an unnatural concept, and he therefore greatly distrusted democracy as a form of government. Although Sir Edmund accepted Darwin's theory of evolution, he did not believe that the 'survival of the fittest' should determine human relations. He advocated, instead, that it was the duty of the strong to look after the weak. Not a racist, he welcomed people of all colours into Canada. His ideal society would have been a flexible hierarchy in which every man placed serving others first.

The laissez-faire organization of Victorian Canada came close to this ideal. In it, every man and institution were free to determine their type of service. It should be noted that Sir Edmund Walker, a self-made millionaire, and his business associates like Sir Joseph Flavelle, did very well in the Canadian laissez-faire system. At a time when many businessmen were demanding reform and more government controls in the United States, these successful Canadians had good reason to preserve the status quo.

World War I ended the system of laissez-faire in Canada. Although the president of the Canadian Bank of Commerce did his duty on the Canadian Patriotic Fund, the Military Hospitals Commission, the Canadian Red Cross, the British Red Cross, and on the committee to organize the machinery for selling Canadian war bonds, he and his business
coholes could not plan and carry out Canada's war effort alone. During the war, government power had to increase. To help finance its new activities, the federal government levied the income tax in 1917. Severely criticizing the tax, Sir Edmund argued in his annual address that:

...in North America there are so many instances of good service rendered to the state by wealthy citizens that one wonders if we should not be greatly the losers by any new condition which would hamper individuality, and in so doing perhaps destroy the main factors which separate our twentieth century from the miseries of the middle ages. 4

His complaints about the 'super tax' rose 5 and in 1924, he, Flavelle and their fellow businessmen began to organize a campaign against the tax. By then, big government and taxes had become a permanent fixture of Canadian life and their campaign could not really get beyond this initial stage.

Accustomed to his Victorian world of service and laissez-faire, Sir Edmund Walker never understood the modern world which had evolved in Canada during the war. A result of the growing specialization and complexity in every aspect of late Victorian society, the modern world had no place for Walker's obsolete ideas. It is ironical that the ideal of service helped to bring about the collapse of the Victorian world because most Victorians had sought refuge from the sweeping changes around them by immersing themselves in 'doing their duties.' 7 Their work ethic, however, only spurred them on to accelerate change. Sir Edmund Walker, caught up in this irony, believed that he was serving Canada by building huge organizations like the Canadian Bank of Commerce. In the bank, by 1914, just a few men like the president, could see their personal
value in terms of the service they performed. After the war, when Sir Edmund was advising a return to a society based on service, most men were looking for a new world where they could enjoy the fruits of their labour. Although he unconsciously contributed to the death of the Victorian system, Sir Edmund Walker did serve Canada well.
INTRODUCTION

NOTES

1Toronto Globe, March 28, 1924.


3Byron Edmund Walker (henceforth called B.E.W.), "On the future of Canada to the Schoolmen's Club," Walker Papers, University of Toronto Library, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections (henceforth called W.P.), Box 25, p. 1.


7Ibid., p. 303.


9Ibid., p. 282; see also, Himmelfarb, p. 309.


CHAPTER I

NOTES

1W.P., Box 32, Biography, Mrs. Edith Bowman to Harold C. Walker.


3McAlpine's Hamilton City and County of Wentworth Directory (Montreal: McAlpine and Ferrier, 1875), p. 102.


7W.P., Box 32, Biography, "Creighton Memorandum," p. 15.

8W.P., Box 32, Biography, "Biography - notes."


10W.P., Box 13, "Certificate of Hamilton Central School."

11W.P., Box 28, "An agreement between George Lee and Byron Edmund Walker, dated June 1, 1867."


13Ibid., p. 35.

14Bridle, p. 183.


16Glazebrook, p. 84.
17 Houghton, p. 36.


21 W.P., Box 32, Biography, "Biography - notes."

22 W.P., B.E.W. to S.M. Jones, 17 May 1898.

23 W.P., B.E.W. to Joseph Gibson, 1 February 1912; see also W.P., B.E.W. to Earl Grey, 5 January 1905.


26 Ibid., p. 8.

27 Ibid., p. 7.

28 Ibid., p. 8.

29 Ibid., p. 8.

30 W.P., Box 25, "Notes for address on the Far East, n.d."

31 W.P., B.E.W. to H.T. Ross, 24 October 1921, "enclosed memorandum."


33 The Canadian Observer, Toronto, December 18, 1915.

34 Ibid.

37 Houghton, p. 354.

38 Houghton, p. 343.

39 W.P., William Bruce to B.E.W., 21 May 1908.

40 See W.P., Box 32.

41 Sir Robert Falconer, "Foreword," in Glazebrook, p. XIV.

42 W.P., B.E.W. to J. W. Campbell, 6 August 1886.


44 Ibid., p. 75.


46 Sir Robert Falconer, "Foreword," in Glazebrook, p. XIV.


48 Buckley, p. 139.

49 Ibid., p. 139.

50 W.P., Box 28, George A. Cox to Z. A. Lash, 7 September 1907.

51 W.P., Ledger, p. 120, $58,796.66.


54 Sir Robert Falconer, "Foreword," in Glazebrook, p. XIV.

55 W. P., Ledger, p. 0.


58 W.P., B.E.W. to Newton MacTavish, 6 January 1919.


60 Ibid., p. 12, lots 89-101.


63 W.P., B.E.W. to The Editor, Toronto Globe, 28 September 1903.

64 W.P., Box 25, "Notes for address 'On the Opening of Art Gallery'," W.P., p. 2.


67 Edmund Murton Walker, p. 15.

68 Ibid., p. 16.

69 For Walker's evaluation of Sir William Mackenzie, see W.P., B.E.W. to Hugh L. Cooper, 19 December 1923: "I used to wonder how long it would be after his death before Canada realized that she had lost a great son who had done wonderful things for her."


71 Bridle, p. 176.
CHAPTER II

NOTES


6 Ibid., p. 1.


8 Ibid., p. 168.


13 B.E.W., Banking as a Public Service; address delivered before the New York State Bankers' Association at Buffalo, 14th June, 1912 (n.p. n.d.), p. 4.


22 Ibid., p. 9.


26 See Appendix "A": Sir Edmund Walker's Notes for the Canadian Bank of Commerce.


28 Ibid.


30 *W.P.*, Ledger, p. 0.

31 Ibid., p. 22.


34 W.P., B.E.W. to George A. Cox, 23 September 1902.

35 W.P., J. H. Plummer to B.E.W., 1 October 1902.


39 See David E. Bond, "The development of the Canadian financial system," Chapter 12, p. 23. I am grateful to Professor David E. Bond for allowing me to see this unpublished manuscript.

40 Born in 1846 in Newfoundland, Zebulon Aiton Lash was called to the bar in 1868. From 1872 to 1876, he served as deputy minister of justice for Canada. Edward Blake, the eminent Toronto lawyer, asked Lash to become a partner of his firm in 1876. The firm, became counsel for the Canadian Bank of Commerce in 1881. More research on Lash's wide career needs to be done.


43 B.E.W., "Why Canada is against Bi-metallism," *J.C.B.A.*, 5 (October 1897), 49.


46 B.E.W., "Why Canada is against Bi-metallism," p. 42.


52 Ibid., p. 144.


54 Ibid., p. 69.


56 W.P., B.E.W. to A.J. Dawson, 9 October 1911.


58 B.E.W., "Banking and current problems," Bankers' Mag., 85 (Spring 1912), 240.


61 B.E.W., The Canadian System of Banking and the National System of the United States (Toronto: Trout & Todd, 1890).

62 Ibid., Foreword.


67 B.E.W., "The first journal of the Canadian Bankers' Association," 266.


70 W.P., B.E.W. to George Hague, 16 January 1891.


72 Bridle, p. 181.


75 Ibid., p. 7.


78 Sir Thomas White was one of the many Liberals who left the party to join the Conservatives in 1911 over the reciprocity issue. Sir Robert Borden made White his Finance Minister. It is interesting that Walker advised White against going into politics. See, W.P. Journal, vol. 3, f. 14, June 29, 1920. When he retired from politics White became a director of the Canadian Bank of Commerce.

80. W.P., B.E.W. to Z.A. Lash, 1 August 1918.

81. W.P., In Correspondence, 11 December 1918, "Minutes of the Confidential Committee of the Canadian Bankers' Association."

82. W.P., In Correspondence, 29 January 1919, copy of Z.A. Lash to Thomas White.


84. Ibid., p. 8.

85. Ibid., p. 8.

86. Ibid., p. 8.

87. Ibid., p. 10.

88. W.P., In Correspondence, 3 February 1919, "Minutes of the Confidential Meeting of the Canadian Bankers' Association held on Monday, 3rd February, 1919." Those present were:

Bank of Montreal: Sir Vincent Meredith, Sir Frederick Williams-Taylor
Canadian Bank of Commerce: Sir Edmund Walker, Sir John Aird
Royal Bank: Mr. E. C. Neil
Dominion Bank: Clarence A. Bogart
Canadian Bankers' Association: Z.A. Lash, Henry T. Ross


90. W.P., "Minutes...3rd February 1919," p. 3.

91. Ibid., p. 4.

92. Ibid., p. 6.

93. Ibid., p. 2.

94. Ibid., p. 5.

95. Canada, House of Commons Debates, 1934, 826.

96. Bond, p. 31.

97. Ibid., p. 34.
98 B.E.W., "On Canada to the Canadian Club; address delivered at the Eighth Annual Banquet of the Canadian Club on 12 November 1912, W.P., Box 25, pp. 3-4.


101 W.P., B.E.W. to F. W. Gookin, 30 April 1918.


103 B.E.W., "The finance of the War, April 25, 1918," Empire Club Speeches, 1917-18, p. 221.


106 B.E.W., Life Insurance, Bank Credits and Thrift, p. 7.


110 B.E.W., Life Insurance, Bank Credits and Thrift, p. 8.

111 Ibid., p. 8.

112 Ibid., p. 11.

113 Ibid., p. 9.

114 Ibid., p. 11.
CHAPTER III

NOTES


3 B.E.W., "Address to the Halifax Board of Trade, March 5, 1908," C.A.R., 1908, 437.


6 The Toronto Globe, September 20, 1911: "If you do not open your doors a little more liberally to us so that we can more nearly pay you in goods instead of always drawing on London for the purchase of what she has bought from us, in order to pay you, you will leave us no alternative but to keep up our tariff walls until we can create at home almost every manufactured thing you sell us on the one hand, while on the other we seek trade preferably with any nation which takes pay in goods, so as to lessen our payment of actual money to you." See also, B.E.W., "The Industrial future of Canada," J.C.B.A., 16 (Jan. 1909), p. 112.


8 W.P., Oversize Correspondence, S. Hughes to B.E.W., 14 March 1910.

9 B.E.W. to Col. S. Hughes, 16 March 1910.


11 W.P., B.E.W. to H.K.S. Hemming, 1 January 1911.

12 Toronto Daily Star, January 27, 1911.

13 W.P., J. Flavelle to B.E.W., 2 February 1911.

14 Ibid., p. 2.
Laurier Papers, Public Archives of Canada, Lash to Laurier, 3 February 1911.

Lionel Curtis was an Englishman born in 1872 who had been the secretary of Sir Alfred Milner, the British High Commissioner in South Africa. A member of Lord Milner's "Kindergarten," Curtis was also a moving spirit in the Round Table movement. He helped found the Round Table quarterly.


C.A.R., 1911, p. 47.


W.P., B.E.W. to Z. A. Lash, 26 April 1911.

A ledger dating between 1909 and 1913 has been kept in the Walker Papers. It appears to be quite meticulous. Since expenses for 1911 do not vary greatly from the other years, I assume that he made no personal contributions to the Conservatives. See also, W.P., P.A. Demick to B.E.W., 9 September 1911, in which Demick asks, "Walker for a subscription to quash Wine, Woman and Graft by C. S. Clark advertised by the following: "Every Liberal, every decent man, should read the history of filth, of larceny, of subordination to theft, of receiving stolen goods, of sensual debauchery which characterized the Conservative regime from 1891 to 1896 where fact is stranger than fiction and decide if such characters are fit and proper people to rule the country...." Sir Edmund refused to support the subscription. W.P., B.E.W. to P.A. Demick, 14 September 1911: "I'm not in the councils of the Conservative party and am therefore not interested in the matter referred to. I should not suppose that anything so obviously malicious would be very hurtful."

Z.A. Lash, "Introduction," Reciprocity with the United States; Canadian Nationality, British Connection and fiscal independence (Toronto: Canadian National League, 1911), p. 5.


27 Cuff, 169.

28 W.P., W. L. Grant to B.E.W., 15 November 1911.

29 Ellis, p. 195.

30 Cuff, 170-172.

31 Toronto News, February 20, 1911, "Followers of Sir Wilfrid Laurier notify the premier that they must place interests of Canada before those of party," #2 and #7.

32 Ibid., #3 and #5; see also, An Appeal to British Born; to promote the sense of Canadian nationality as an increasing power within the British Empire and to preserve unimpaired the Canadian and British channels of commerce on which the prosperity of the Dominion has been founded (Toronto: Canadian National League, 1911), p. 6.

33 Toronto News, February 20, 1911, "Followers...," #6; see also, W.P., B.E.W. to S.C.G. Watkins, 10 May 1923.

34 B.E.W., Reciprocity between Canada and the United States (n.p. n.d.), pp. 4-5.


36 Ibid., pp. 4-5.

37 B.E.W., Reciprocity between Canada and the United States, pp. 3-4; see also, W.P., B.E.W. to Prof. W. J. Ashley, 16 March 1911; also, Home Market and Farm; how the agricultural and industrial prosperity of Canada depend on each other and will be hurt by reciprocity with the United States (Toronto: Canadian National League), p. 21.

38 B.E.W., Reciprocity between Canada and the United States, p. 6.


40 B.E.W., "On Canada to the Canadian Club"; delivered to Eighth Annual Banquet of the Canadian Club on November 12, 1912, New York, W.P., Box 25, p. 6.

W.P., Oversize Correspondence, R. E. McInnes to Sir Hugh Graham, 19 February 1911.

Toronto News, February 20, 1911, "Followers...," #8, #9 and #10.

W.P., Box 31, Canadian National League, p. 2.


Ibid.

W.P., Box 29, "Canadian Countryman--Agreement made fifth day of February 1912." Besides Z.A. Lash and B.E. Walker, subscribers included:

Edmund B. Osler
E.R. Wood
R.W. Leonard
William Mackenzie
W.R. Brock
Hiram Walker & Sons Ltd.
Gooderham & Worts Ltd.
Hugh Graham

W.P., Box 29, "Memorandum from McCreadie to Mr. Z.A. Lash." Later these objects were elaborated. See Appendix "B".

W.P., Z.A. Lash to B.E.W., 30 December 1912.

W.P., J.B. Maclean to B.E.W., 30 September 1912.


64. W.P., B.E.W. to Walter W. Black, 25 September 1923, p. 3.


66. W.P., B.E.W. to Mark H. Irish, 29 January 1924. When Walker outlined his thesis to the English it was not accepted by them. See W.P., Journal vol. 3, f. 212, June 27, 1922: "Talk w. Beaverbrook, Bonar Law and Edwin Montagu.... When I joined in the discussion I succeeded in leading it away to the question of the value of democratic government, not conditioned by a past history as in Great Britain, but based upon democracy as a theory of society and government, as opposed to actual laws which demand that the able shall lead and the weak shall follow but be sheltered. Bonar Law was not prepared for the statement that the United States is a failure as a democracy no matter how successful in material things. The final answer is always that while governments, nearly ideal, have existed under good although autocratic rulers, we cannot trust human beings to chance of that, which is no proof that the best alternative is such government as we have arrived at under democracy."


69 B.E.W., Address; before the Canadian Club of Hamilton, March 23, 1923, pp. 13 and 18.

70 ibid., p. 13.


76 W.P., B.E.W. to A. Kains, 4 April 1911.

77 W.P., Oversize Correspondence, H. J. Gardiner to Plummer, 31 October 1901 and, H. J. Gardiner to Rt. Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, 26 March 1901. Gardiner told Plummer that he had passed Walker's views on the language question on to Chamberlain and that Walker "may reasonably be credited with having had a definite influence upon the South African policy of our Empire."


79 W.P., B.E.W. to D. A. Dunlop, 29 December 1916. Walker only gave $25 to the Bonne Entente because of his "regard" for Sir George Garneau, the French Canadian organizer of the movement. Later, at the meeting of the group in Toronto, Walker recorded in his Journal "to me it seemed a case of mutual deceiving. The French speakers seemed to be wondering if now the Ontario people would grant bilingual rights while the English speakers were wondering if the French Canadian would enlist and play his part in the war." W.P., "Journal," vol. 2, f. 178, Jan. 8, 1917.
80 W.P., B.E.W. to D. Macgillivray, 18 December 1918.


82 Ibid., p. 212.

83 Ibid., pp. 210-11; see, W.P., B.E.W. to E. S. Montagu, 20 January 1904 in which Walker complains that the present Imperial government has "generally made a mess of our interests"; also, B.E.W. "Address," Jubilee, p. 38.


85 Toronto Globe, March 23, 1901.

86 B.E.W., "On Canada to the Canadian Club of New York, p. 4.

87 Carroll Quigley, "The Round Table groups in Canada, 1908-1930," C.H.R., 43 (September 1962), 205.

88 Ibid., 206-7.

89 Ibid., 208.

90 W.P., B.E.W. to J.S. Ewart, 9 March 1908.

91 Glazebrook to Milner, 18 November 1908, cited in Quigley, 209.

92 From the impressions of George Parkin Glazebrook and others, Quigley has postulated that the first real meeting of the Round Table was the group that Glazebrook assembled in October 1908, although he noted that R.H. Brand of the London Round Table doubted this. (see pp. 208-9). The London Round Table was not formed until almost a year later. I wonder if confusion has resulted from the fact that there existed in Toronto another Round Table to which Walker, Willison and Glazebrook all belonged. The "first Round Table," founded in 1896 by James Mavor and Goldwin Smith as a dining club, continued until the War. Glazebrook could very well have called a meeting of the first Round Table to meet with Milner. I have not been able to discover anything in the Walker Papers to prove this conclusively.

93 Carroll Quigley, 219.
1. There is no room for doubt that the Canadian people as a whole desire to play a serious part in the defence of the Empire.

2. The decisive opinion of Canada is in favour of such contribution to sea defence as will give the maximum of security to Canada and the maximum of assistance to the Empire and of a programme so devised that while respecting Canadian autonomy the Canadian navy will constitute an essential part of the British fleet in time of war.

3. ...public opinion in the meantime demands a cash grant or a contribution of 2 or more dreadnoughts to be built by Canada and supported by Canada but which shall constitute an integral portion of the British navy.

4. This step on the part of Canada would necessarily involve the representation of Canada in the councils of the Empire in respect to defence.


109. W.P., Journal, vol. 2, f. 91, December 30, 1915; see also, W.P., B.E.W. to Lord Milner, 1 April 1916, p. 5, "I may say in confidence that my friend, Mr. Z.A. Lash, perhaps the ablest lawyer in Canada and certainly the most able in drafting legislation has worked out these ideas in the form of the necessary legislation. Should his labours seem to offer a solution from the Canadian point of view, they will not be exploited but their effect may be felt in the next Imperial conference."


112. Ibid.


114. Lash, p. 8.

115. Ibid., p. 46.

116. The Round Table in Canada (Toronto: Rouss & Mann, 19th February 1917), pp. 3-4.

117. Ibid., p. 4.


121. Ibid., p. 1.
122. Ibid., p. 7.
123. Ibid., p. 7.
129. W.P., B.E.W. to J. B. Bickersteth, 6 December 1922, p. 3.
131. B.E.W., Life Insurance, Bank Credits and Thrift, p. 15.


137. W.P., Robert Donald to B.E.W., 19 February 1917: "While the war has upset our plans, it has given us an opportunity of promoting a greater movement. Instead of commemorating events which have passed, we should create an organization whose objects would be to knot together in peace and amity all sections of the English speaking people."


CHAPTER IV

NOTES


3Ibid., p. 444.


5W.P., S.H. Blake to B.E.W., 28 April 1905.


9Ibid., p. 4; see also, B.E.W., The Duty of Canadians to Canada, p. 2.


12Ibid.

13W.P., B.E.W. to Walter C. Murray, 18 September 1908.


17. W.P., B.E.W. to J.B. Bickersteth, 6 December 1922, p. 3.


20. Toronto University, Report of Committee Appointed by the Board of Trustees to Confer with the Bursar as to Capital and Income Accounting; adopted November 8, 1893 (Toronto: Warwick Bro's and Rutter, 1893).


26. Charles W. Humphries, "James P. Whitney and the University of Toronto," Profiles of a Province, p. 122: "the premier was convinced that Ontarians must shape their provincial university; no transplanted Harvard or hybrid Oxford-Cambridge for him."

27. Ontario Royal Commission, On the University of Toronto (Toronto: L.K. Cameron, 1906).


31 Ibid.
33 Glazebrook, p. 73.
34 W.P., B.E.W. to J.S.H. Guest, 21 October 1919.
38 Glazebrook, p. 55 gives the following members: W.J. Alexander, James Bain, W.L. Clark, Canon Welch, O.A. Howland, T.A. Haultain, Professor James Hutton, Professor James Mavor, J.S. Willison, Professor Ramsay Wright, and Goldwin Smith; see also, W.P., B.E.W. to Carter Troop, 17 March 1896, in which B.E.W. lists besides himself, Goldwin Smith, Bain, Hutton, Alexander, Wrong, Mavor and Hodgins and suggests Prof. Fletcher, Frank Darling, Allen Cassels and Chancellor Boyd as new members; W.P., Journal, vol. 1, f. 11, November 4, 1899 notes that Wyly Grier is in chair is in chair for evening's meeting.
39 Mavor, p.131.
40 W.P., George Wrong to B.E.W., 29 November 1904.
43 W.P., B.E. Walker to J. Brydon, 31 January 1899.
Champlain Society Papers, University of Toronto Library, Department of Rare Books and Special Collections, see B.E.W. to George Wrong, 5 March 1914, for example, in which B.E.W. disagrees with Wrong's opinions of Doughty.


B.E.W., The Duty of Canadians to Canada, p. 5.


B.E.W., "Canadian surveys and museums and the need of increased expenditure thereon," Pro. of the Royal Can. Instit., 2 (Nov. 1899), 76.


W.P., B.E.W. to David Boyle, 31 August 1903.

B.E.W., "Canadian surveys and museums and the need of increased expenditure thereon," p. 88.


W.P., B.E.W. to David Boyle, 8 October 1894.

B.E.W., "Canadian surveys and museums and the need of increased expenditure thereon," 75-89.

W.P., B.E.W. to Dr. Hoskin, 14 July 1904.

W.P., B.E.W. to Prof. J. McCurdy, 26 January 1906.


Ibid., p. 183.


Needham, p. 163.


Currelly, I Brought the Ages Home, p. 216.

Ibid., p. 224.


Miner, p. 77.


W.P., B.E.W. to Mayor of Toronto, 14 April 1897.

Toronto World, October 15, 1898. The rest listed were Allan Cassels, S.H. James, E.F.B. Johnston, James Loudon, Bernard McEvoy, L.R. O'Brien, C.E.L. Porteaus, A.J. Somerville, A.F. Wickson; see also, Miner, p. 78, in which she gives R.Y. Ellis, J. P. Hynes, James Mavor, Col. H.M. Pellat, G.A. Reid and B.E. Walker as the members at the incorporation of the guild.

"Artists to the front," Toronto Globe, March 20, 1897.

W.P., B.E.W. to J.S. William, 5 April 1897.


Ibid., p. 3.

W.P., B.E.W. to Prof. G.M. Wrong, 1 February 1907.

Miner, p. 94, gives W.A. Langton, Frank Darling, R.Y. Ellis, Prof. James Mavor, J.P. Murray, and Donald Bain as other members.


W.P., B.E.W. to Mrs. Morrow, 31 December 1900, p. 3.


W.P., B.E.W. to George A. Reid, 4 January 1901.

W.P., B.E.W. to Hon. G.W. Ross, 2 May 1902.

Ontario Statutes, 1903, chapter 129, sections 5 and 6.


Walter S. Allward was born in Toronto in 1875. After attending Dufferin School, he worked in an architect's office. At nineteen, Allward started sculpting. His best known work is the memorial to Canadians at Vimy Ridge.


Bridle, p. 127.


Bridle, p. 124.


Ibid.

See James Mavor cited by Newton MacTavish, The Fine Arts in Canada (Toronto: Macmillan, 1925), p. 84.


Ibid., p. 10.

W.P., Box 27, "Memorial regarding the present condition and needs of Canadian art, signed George A. Reid."

115 W.P., Box 31, PC 673, "Extract from a report of the Committee of the Privy Council, approved by the Governor General on the 3rd April 1907."


117 W.P., B.E.W. to Mr. Fisher, 3 February 1909; see also W.P., B.E.W. to Mr. Fisher, 13 April 1909 in which Walker discusses a disagreement about buying the impressionist work of Mary Wrinch and concludes "in each purchase there is merely the desire either to recognize the existence of good art, or to encourage its production in promising young artists."


123 Brown, p. 57.


125 W.P., Eric Brown to B.E.W., 11 December 1922.

126 W.P., Curtis Williamson to B.E.W., 15 October 1916; see also, W.P., Curtis Williamson to B.E.W., 18 August 1923.


129 W.P., Beaverbrook to B.E.W., 11 June 1918.

130 W.P., C.W. Jeffreys to B.E.W., 4 February 1919.

131 W.P., Eric Brown to B.E.W., 10 September 1918, enclosed copy of Lawren Harris to Eric Brown.
CONCLUSION

NOTES


2 B.E.W., Canadian Credit and Enterprise; address delivered before the Canadian Club of Halifax, N.S., March 5, 1908 (n.p. n.d.), p. 1.


5 B.E.W., "On the future of Canada; address to the Kiwanis Club, 1922," W.P., Box 25, p. 14; see also, B.E.W. to W.H. Dennis, 6 December 1921; also, W.P., B.E.W. to Sir Robert Parks, 8 December 1921.


7 Houghton, p. 261.
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   Sir Arthur George Doughty Papers.
   Sir Wilfrid Laurier Papers.


   Sir James Whitney Papers.

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1897 "Why Canada is against bi-metallism." J.C.B.A., 5 (October 1897), 41-50.

1898 "President's address." Proceedings of the Royal Canadian Institute 2 (November 1898), 1-10.

1899 "Celebration of the fiftieth year of the Canadian Institute, 1899." Transactions of the Royal Canadian Institute. 6 (December 9, 1899), 642-44.

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1900 "Review of a revision of the genera and species of Canadian palaezoic corrals,* by Lawrence M. Lambe." Canadian Paleontology, 4 (April-May), 32-34.


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1904 "Address." Special Convocation of the University of Trinity College, June 29, 1904; D.C.L. to John Hoskin and E.B. Walker. n.p. n.d., 7-10. Also in W.P., Box 27.

Address; at the dinner of the Michigan Bankers' Association, held at the King Edward Hotel, Toronto, July 28, 1904. n.p. n.d.


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C. THESIS


In 1918 the Canadian Bank of Commerce issued a new series of notes to commemorate Sir Edmund Walker's 50th Anniversary with the bank. Prior to their circulation, the notes of all the Canadian banks looked alike because the scenes on the bills all came from the same catalogue, resulting in much confusion for the banks. The new notes of the Canadian Bank of Commerce were not only distinctive, but they also displayed its president's Victorian art tastes and his Victorian ideas on service.

The president of the Canadian Bank of Commerce and the American Bank Note Company spent six years working on the new series. In 1912, Sir Edmund called in three Toronto artists to help him with the preliminary sketches. They were (A.H) Howard, designer and illuminator, Walter S. Allward, sculptor, and Arthur Hemming, noted illustrator of the Canadian north. From the beginning, Walker with his Victorian love of allegory, emphasized his intention of using symbolic figures on the notes. He believed that the Western world universally accepted the symbols displayed on the new notes. Although A. E. Forringer, an American illustrator known for his use of allegory, actually designed the notes, Sir Edmund closely supervised their entire production.

Sir Edmund Walker chose allegorical scenes to teach Canadians that all Canadian industries, including banking, served Canada. Not for a moment, did he want Canadians to worship their monetary value. In one
memorable address, The Duty of Canadians to Canada, he warned about the dangers that would befall Canada: "if we act as if the almighty dollar is the end, it will be the end, and this country will become a huge oligarchy dominated by selfish industrial interests." Sir Edmund informed Canadians that bank notes were only temporary things redeemed by the banks when they had finished their duty. The only permanent thing, worthy of a citizen's service, was Canada.

The new series begins with the $5 note in which three figures, with cloth carefully draped about their parts, represent the three prominent ingredients that will determine Canada's future. Mercury, the central male figure, is the god of commerce holding the caduceus, the crest of the Canadian Bank of Commerce. He appears to be wearing a bowler-type hat appropriate to Walker and his fellow businessmen. The two figures supporting him are, on the left, the goddess of architecture carrying a drafting board and pencil, and, on the right, the goddess of invention displaying the greatest invention of the day, the airplane. It may be concluded from the arrangement that commerce supplies the necessary funds both for creating new inventions and for physically building the nation. Because Mercury has placed his foot on top of the globe, a symbol of worldwide communication, banking links North America with the world.

Canadians could quickly establish the identity of the Canadian Bank of Commerce notes since the backs were all the same except for the numbers. On the $10 bill, for example, Mercury and Ceres, goddess of agriculture, hold the British crown over the seal of the Canadian Bank of Commerce with the Union Jack above them. Here very graphically
portrayed is Sir Edmund Walker's goal for the Canadian nation. Farming, Canada's greatest industry, and commerce, the 'arm of the state,' are shown serving Canada by upholding the eternal principles of Anglo-Saxon liberty, represented by the crown, in a nation of the Empire, symbolized by the flag. The fruits of the earth in the right corner, and the cog and chemical retort, manufacturing apparatus, in the left, further emphasize farming and manufacturing as Canada's most important industries. The seal of the Canadian Bank of Commerce is present to remind all of its service in developing Canada.

A gentle, idyllic landscape decorates the front of the $10 note. Ceres sits in the left offering her harvest to Juno, goddess of the state, while on the right a handsome shepherd youth tends his flock. No words could have better described Sir Edmund Walker's views of the country. Walker, like many of his fellow Victorians, looked upon the countryside through the rosy glasses of the rural myth. Throughout his life Sir Edmund extolled the virtues of the soil where people "live simply, hate public and private debt, and are not easily moved by social vagaries." On many occasions he urged his fellow urban Canadians to return to the land. When actual farmers with actual problems about the tariff actually confronted Sir Edmund Walker, urban banker, he momentarily forgot the service that the farmers were giving to Canada. Reciprocity in 1911 made him aware that farmers did not live according to his romantic ideas about them.

Canada's fishing industry was recognized by Sir Edmund on the $20 note. Enthroned on the rocks is Neptune, god of the sea, who is supervising the beautiful sea maidens. Waving his magic wand of banking over the scene of the fishermen's service is, of course, Mercury, god of
Sir Edmund glorified the new manufacturers on the $50 note where Vulcan, patron of craftsmen, forges his thunderbolts on the left, and on the right, several strange looking bottles symbolize science, a necessary adjunct to manufacturing. In the shadows are men handling machinery and behind the scaffolding of a monumental structure arises.

Completing the themes of the earlier notes is the $100 note. This note traced Canada's history through the eyes of Sir Edmund Walker. In the extreme right is a sturdy pioneer following a treacherous path with crumbling stones at his feet and the forbidding Canadian mountains in the background. Looking at the heroic pioneer await a goddess holding winged Victory and a palette, symbol of art and culture, another displaying a chemical retort representing science, and still another goddess lifting the cornucopia, horn of plenty. Manufacturing, the brawny figure sits beyond them and above the entire group, Mercury again waves his wand. Thus Canada, in Sir Edmund's vision, was developing from a pioneer colony into a proud nation of culture, science and manufacturing. The Union Jack flying over the scene determined that Canada would always be a nation within the great Empire. Faithfully aiding Canada throughout this magnificent history are the banks.

The artistic quality of the new notes of the Canadian Bank of Commerce drew praise from several quarters. Canadian nationalists, who demanded more Canadian content on the notes did, however, criticize their allegorical treatment. One, the mysterious "Old Wild Man of Alberta," writing to Sir Edmund in 1913, reminded him that the pagan gods did have their faults, for "Mercury was god of thieves as well as of commerce."
What an emblem for a bank!" Nude goddesses, the Western correspondent believed, would also present serious dilemmas for upright Canadians. "What will our good Methodists or Presbyterians say," he questioned,

...about all breasts out, open for inspection? They surely will accept the bills, but will shut their eyes, and privately, hide the breasts under ink, or something. Personally when they are nice, no objections at all. 14

In addition to these faults of propriety, he found pagan allegories unsuited to Canada and suggested more Canadian themes of "the beaver, Indians, the buffalo...[and] the fisheries." 15 In the same vein, J. Pijoean, reviewing the artistry of all the Canadian banks' notes for the Canadian Forum, advised the banks to picture Canadian landscapes like those chosen by the Group of Seven, and scenes from Canadian history. 16

The 1918 series of notes of the Canadian Bank of Commerce, then, portrayed Sir Edmund Walker's hopes for Canada. For him, building Canada was the only valid object of a citizen's life. He tried to show in the allegorical scenes on the notes that every worker served Canada and that the results of their service would be a highly cultured, scientific modern nation which would maintain the partnership of farmers, businessmen, manufacturers and fishermen. By 1918, his allegories were outdated. Their Victorian aesthetics and their Victorian themes of service no longer appealed to Canadians.
APPENDIX "A"

NOTES


3 Ibid.


5 B.E.W., The Duty of Canadians to Canada, p. 8.


8 For descriptions of the notes by contemporaries see, Ross, II, pp. 548-552; also, Montreal Gazette, July 22, 1918.


10 B.E.W., Canadian Credit and Enterprise, p. 3.


13 W.P., "Old Wild Man of Alberta" to B.E.W., 6 November 1918.

14 Ibid., p. 2.

15 Ibid., p. 1.

16 Pijoean, 338.

OBJECTS:

1. Making agriculture production more profitable, less costly and more abundant.

2. Making agriculture more interesting, and country life more comfortable and satisfying.

3. Becoming better acquainted with all that is best in other parts of Canada and other parts of the world, as it exists or is discovered; and in learning by the experience of others.

4. Gaining an understanding of other Canadians in distant parts of our country so as to promote harmony and sympathy in matters of common concern.

5. Getting acquainted with the interesting facts of our national history, that patriotism may be based on honest knowledge and so be intelligent and sincere.

6. Learning the statistical and other facts of industry and commerce, that he may be more successful in business undertakings.

7. Keeping posted on public affairs by getting unbiased and thorough accounts of questions and policies, local, and imperial.

8. Securing better educational facilities for the young and especially more agricultural education for those of all ages wanting it.