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### The Prime Minister of England's Speech

IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS YES-  
TERDAY.

The following is a report of Mr. Lloyd George's speech delivered before the House of Commons yesterday. We are indebted for it to Hon. P. T. McGrath, Reuter's correspondent in Newfoundland.

LONDON, Dec. 19.

In opening his speech in the House of Commons this afternoon, the Premier, Right Hon. David Lloyd George, said that he appeared before the House with the most terrible responsibility that could fall upon the shoulders of any living man, as chief adviser of the Crown in the most gigantic war in which the country was ever engaged, a war upon the events of which its destiny depends. Not only was it the greatest war ever waged, but its burden was the heaviest ever cast upon this or any other country, while the issues were the gravest ever attached to any conflict in which humanity had been involved. The responsibilities of the new Government had been suddenly accentuated by the declaration of the German Chancellor. "The statement made by the latter in the Reichstag," he continued, "has been followed by a note presented to us by the United States without comment. An answer will be given by the Government in full accord with our brave Allies. Naturally there has been an interchange of views, not upon the note, because it has only recently arrived, but upon the speech which propelled it, and inasmuch as the note itself is practically only a reproduction, or certainly a paraphrase of that speech, the subject matter of the note itself has been discussed formally. I am very glad to be able to state that we have each separately and independently arrived at identical conclusions. I am glad that the first answer was given by France and Russia, for they have unquestionably the right to give the first answer to such an invitation. The enemy is still on their soil, and their

sacrifices have been the greater. That answer has already been published, and on behalf of the Government I give a clear and definite support to it. Any man or set of men who want only without sufficient cause, to prolong a terrible conflict like this, would have on his soul a crime that oceans could not cleanse. On the other hand, it is equally true that any man, or set of men, who, from a sense of weariness or despair abandoned the struggle without achieving the highest purpose for which we entered it, would be guilty of the costliest act of poltroonery ever perpetrated by any statesmen. I should like to quote the very well-known words of Abraham Lincoln under similar conditions: "We accepted this war for an object, and a world object, and the war will end when that object has been attained. Under God I hope it will never end until that time." Are we likely, continued Mr. Lloyd George, to achieve that object by accepting the German Chancellor's invitation? What are the proposals? There are none. To enter a conference on the invitation of Germany proclaiming herself victorious without any knowledge of the proposals she proposes to make, is to place our heads into a noose with the rope ends in Germany's hands. This country is not altogether without experience in these matters. This is not the first time we have fought a great military despotism overshadowing Europe, and it will not be the first time we have helped to overthrow a military despotism. We can recall one of the greatest of these despots when he had a purpose to serve. In working out his nefarious schemes his favorite device was to appear in the guise of the Angel of Peace. He usually appeared under these conditions when we wished for time to assimilate his conquests or to reorganize his forces for fresh conquests or secondly when his subjects showed symptoms of fatigue and war weariness. The appeal was always

made in the name of humanity. He demanded an end to bloodshed at which he professed himself to be horrified but for which he himself was mainly responsible. Our ancestors were taken in once and bitterly they and Europe rued it. The time was devoted to reorganizing his forces for a deadlier attack than ever upon the liberties of Europe. Examples of this kind cause us to regard this note with a considerable measure of reminiscent disquietude. We feel we ought to know before we can give a favorable consideration to such an invitation, that Germany is prepared to accede to the only terms upon which it is possible for peace to be obtained and maintained in Europe. These terms have been repeatedly stated by all the leading statesmen of the Allies. Mr. Asquith has stated them repeatedly. It is important that there should be no mistake in a matter of life and death to millions, therefore I will repeat them again, namely: Complete restoration and full reparation and effectual guarantees. Has the German Chancellor used a single phrase indicating that he was prepared to accept such a peace? The very substance and style of his speech constitute a denial of peace on the only terms upon which peace is possible—he is against the rights of free nations. Listen to this from the German note: "Not for an instant have the Central Powers swerved from their conviction that respect for the rights of other nations is not in any degree compatible with their own rights and legitimate interests." When did they discover that? Where was the respect for the rights of other nations in Belgium and Serbia? That was self-defence, I suppose, menaced by the overwhelming enemies in Belgium. (Laughter.) I suppose that the Germans had been intimidated into invading Belgium, burning Belgian cities and villages, massacring thousands of inhabitants, old and young, carrying the survivors into bondage. They were carrying them into slavery, when this note was being written about their unswerving conviction as to respect for the rights of other nations. Are these outrages legitimate interests of Germany? We must know that it is not the moment for peace,

if excuses of this kind for palpable crimes can be put forward two and a half years after the exposure by grim facts of the guarantee. Is there, in all solemnity, any guarantee that similar subterfuges will not be used in future to overthrow any treaty of peace you may enter into with Prussian militarism? This note and the speech prove that not yet have they learned the very alphabet of respect for the rights of others (Cheers). Without reparation peace is impossible. (Cheers.) Are all these outrages against humanity on land and sea to be liquidated by a few pious phrases about humanity? Is there to be no reckoning for them? Are we to grasp the hand that perpetrated these atrocities in friendship without any reparation being tendered or given? Germany leaves us to exact damage for all future violence committed after the war. We have already begun. It has cost us much and we must exact it now so as not to leave such a grim inheritance to our children.

Much as we all long for peace, deeply as we are horrified with war, this note and the speech which heralded it do not afford us much encouragement and hope for an honorable and lasting peace. What hope is given in that speech? The whole root and cause of this great bitterness, the arrogant spirit of the Prussian military caste will soon be as dominant as ever if we patch up a peace now. (Cheers.) After pointing out that the speech in which peace proposals were suggested resounded to the boast of Prussian military triumph, Mr. Lloyd George declared we must keep a steadfast eye upon the purpose for which we entered the war, otherwise the great sacrifices we have been making will be in vain. The German note states that it was those, surer than those which she so limply broke and in the meantime we shall put our trust in an unbroken army rather than in a broken faith. (Loud cheers.) Let us for a moment, continued the Premier, look at the worst. The Roumanians' blunder was unfortunate, but the worst is it prolongs the war. It does not alter the full damage facts of the war. I cannot help hoping that it may even have

come their development so long as it was on the paths of peace. The Allies entered this war to defend Europe against aggression of Prussian military domination and having begun it must insist that the only end is the most complete and effective guarantee against the possibility of that caste ever again disturbing the peace of Europe. (Cheers.) Prussia, since she got into the hands of that caste has been a bad neighbor—arrogant, threatening, bullying, shifting boundaries at her will—taking one fair field after another from weaker neighbors. With her belt ostentatiously full of weapons of offense, and ready at a moment's notice to use them, she always has been an unpleasant and disturbing neighbor in Europe. (Hear, Hear.) It is difficult for those living thousands of miles away to understand what it has meant to those who lived near her. Even here, with the protection of the broad seas between us we knew what a disturbing factor the Prussians were with their constant naval menace, but even we can hardly realize what it has meant to France and Russia. Now that this war has been forced by the Prussian military leaders upon France, Russia, Italy and ourselves, it would be cruel folly not to see to it that this swasbuckling through the streets of Europe to the disturbance of all harmless and peaceful citizens shall be dealt with now as an offence against the law of nations. (Cheers.) The mere word that led Belgium to her own destruction will not satisfy Europe any more. We all believe it; we all entrusted it. It gave way to the first pressure of temptation, and Europe has been plunged into the vortex of blood. We will therefore wait until we hear what terms and guarantees the German Government offer other than those, better than those, surer than those which she so limply broke and in the meantime we shall put our trust in an unbroken army rather than in a broken faith. (Loud cheers.) Let us for a moment, continued the Premier, look at the worst. The Roumanians' blunder was unfortunate, but the worst is it prolongs the war. It does not alter the full damage facts of the war. I cannot help hoping that it may even have

a salutary effect in calling the attention of the Allies to obvious defects in the Allies' organization, not merely in the organization of the whole. If it does that and braces them to fresh effort it may prove, bad as it is, a blessing in disguise. It has been a real set back. It is the one cloud, it is the darkest cloud that appeared on a clearing horizon. We are doing our best to make it impossible that that disaster should lead to a worse one. (Not finished.) "That is why we have taken in the last few days this very strong action in Greece. We mean to take no risks. We have decided to take definite and decisive action and I think it has succeeded. We have decided to recognize the agents of that great Greek statesman Venizelos. (Cheers.) I should like to say one word about the lesson of the fighting on the western front, about the significance of the whole of that great struggle, one of the greatest ever waged in the history of the world. It is full of encouragement and hope. Just look at it! An absolutely new army—the old army had done its duty and spent itself in the achievement of that great task. This is a new army. But a year ago it was of the earth of Britain, yea, and Ireland. It became iron. (Cheers.) It has passed through the fire furnace and the enemy knows it is now fine steel. (Cheers.) This new army, new men, new officers, Generals new to this kind of work, have faced the greatest army in the world, the best equipped and best trained, and have beaten them, beaten them, beaten them! (Loud cheers.) Battle after battle, day after day, week after week, in the strongest entrenchments ever devised by human skill, they have driven them out by a valor which is incredible but which gives us hope, which fills you all with pride in the nation to which they belong. It is a fact and it is a fact full of significance for us, and for the foe. (Cheers.) The enemy has seen that army grow under his very eyes. They are becoming veterans and therefore, basing our confidence upon these facts, I am as convinced as I ever was of our ultimate victory if the nation proves as steady, as valiant, as ready to sacrifice and learn and endure as that

great army on the Somme." (Loud cheers.) The Premier proceeded to refer to the new Government, remarking that he was anxious in doing so, to avoid all issues that indicated irritation, controversy or disunion. It must not be assumed, he said, that he accepted as complete the accounts which had been given of the way in which the government was formed. He was convinced that the controversies of the past would not help. As regards the future, therefore, so far as he was concerned, he placed them on one side. Speaking of the unusual character and composition of the Government as an executive body, he said the house had realized that there had been a separation between the functions of Premier and Leader of the House. That was because these two offices were more than one man could undertake. There were three characteristics, he continued, in which the present administration might be said to have departed perhaps from precedents—first, there was the concentration of the executive power in a very few hands; second, there was the choosing of men of administrative and business capacity rather than men of parliamentary experience, where they were unable to obtain both, for the headship of a great department; and third, there was franker and fuller recognition of the partnership of labor in the Government. No Government in the country had ever contained such a large representation of labor. They realized that it was impossible to conduct the war without getting the complete and unqualified support of labor. Also, they were anxious to obtain labor's assistance and counsel for the purpose of conducting the war. The previous administration had become Peace stractors organized for a different purpose and for different conditions. A craft suitable for river or canal was not exactly the kind of vessel for the high seas. He was now here referring to the last Cabinet but to the old system of cabinets, in which the heads of every department were represented inside the Cabinet. Mr. Lloyd George, after dealing with the peace problem. (Continued on 4th page.)

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