

CANADA AND NAVAL DEFENCE

Speech of W. F. Maclean, M. P., South York, House of Commons, Ottawa, November 15, 1909.

(From the official report.)

OTTAWA, Nov. 15.—In the debate on the address in reply to the speech from the throne:

Mr. W. F. Maclean (South York): Mr. Speaker, I had intended, notwithstanding the invitation of the right hon. prime minister (Sir Wilfrid Laurier), to discuss this naval question on this occasion, but just before I came to that, in view of what the hon. the leader of the opposition (Mr. R. L. Borden) and the prime minister said, and as something in the way of a just appreciation of the late member for Strathcona (Mr. McIntyre), I wish to pay him one great and substantial tribute in regard to his public conduct last session in this parliament. I raised a question on that occasion as to the capitalization of the Canadian Pacific Railway. The official account of injustice was being done to the country. I pointed that out, and the hon. member for Strathcona, and the hon. member for Assiniboia supported me in that position. I think I can make the fact clear to the house by reading a very short extract from a paper, an English paper, London "Truth." London "Truth" is noted for its financial articles, which are always written in the first person. In the issue of the 13th October this appears:

"A week ago I referred to the likelihood of an early issue of shares by the Canadian Pacific. The official announcement has been made, Sir Thomas Shaughnessy intimating at the meeting held last week that the company would issue \$30,000,000 of new shares to those registered on Nov. 15 in the proportion of one new share for every five held. It is officially stated that the price of issue will be \$125. There was a little disappointment in connection with the company's departure from its former practice of making new issues at par, but the market was prepared for the board's change of policy in view of the opposition to issue at par lately encountered by the company in the Canadian parliament, a matter with which I dealt at the time. It seems to me that the company's action achieves the object not often obtained of pleasing both sides. By issuing the shares at \$125, instead of par, the board gains \$7,500,000 of capital, and conciliates the Canadian trading community, while it is still able to offer the shareholders a handsome bonus. The member for Strathcona has put this to the moment and the people of the Northwest will appreciate it that a year ago he raised his voice in this country against the capitalization in connection with the Canadian Pacific Railway, that was against the public interest, he stated his view in this house, he was supported by the hon. member for Assiniboia and myself, and the result is that the Canadian Pacific Railway, in spite of itself and its intentions, has to-day \$7,500,000 in its treasury for the building of branch lines in the Canadian west if it chooses to so employ that money. If there were more men from the west who would stand up in this house as that hon. gentleman did on that occasion there would be better treatment for the farmers of the west in regard to the transportation question."

Now, Mr. Speaker, I wish to come to the question of naval defence. While I may not add anything new to the question, or throw any great light upon it, still I do want to get the house down to the actual situation, whatever it may be, in discussing it, especially in view of statements that have been made on recent occasions by members of this house and statements that are now being made in the press by correspondents who, in some way, seem to think that Canada has no duty to perform in this matter. If I deal for a few minutes with some things that we all know, I intend to deal with them largely for the information of the country, and I think also, for the information of some honorable gentlemen who are to-day members of this house. While I say this I wish to put in a plea now for the very fullest discussion of this question. There must be freedom of discussion upon this question. Every side must be heard, every province must be heard, every citizen of Canada must be heard on so important a matter. But I do trust and I am confident that out of this discussion there will come a policy upon which the whole of the Canadian nation can be united. I believe that when we come to our final action it will be the action of a united nation and assist that desirable result. I wish to try and make clear what I conceive to be a few of the basic principles of the situation. The first thing I wish to establish—and it requires sometimes to be established, although the prime minister and the leader of the opposition have admitted it to-day—is that Canada is an integral part of the British Empire. The prime minister alluded to this, but you often hear people discussing this question who seem to evade that issue. One way in which I wish to establish that, and I think I can establish it, is to take this little book, the British North America Act, and see what it says in reference to this subject. In its opening paragraph, or preamble, it says:

Whereas the provinces of Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick have expressed their desire to be federally united into one Dominion under the Crown of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, with a constitution similar in principle to that of the United Kingdom. Be it therefore enacted and declared

by the Queen's Most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons, in this present parliament assembled.

Then the act follows. What does that mean? It means that to-day this country is under the British Crown and that the house of commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. When you read some of these discussions that take place in the country you discover that they evade the whole fact that we are a creation of the parliament of the United Kingdom and that we are under the British Crown. If you go on in the act for two or three sentences more you will read the following:

Provisions of this act referring to Her Majesty the Queen extend also to the heirs and successors of Her Majesty, Kings and Queens of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

Article 9: The executive government and authority of and over Canada is hereby declared to continue and be vested in the Queen.

Article 17: There shall be one parliament for Canada, consisting of the Queen, an upper house styled the senate, and the house of commons.

Therefore, in this constitutional act which creates the Dominion of Canada, it is most clearly set out that Canada is a part of the British Empire and that this parliament is the creature of the parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. Let me read the oath that every soldier who joins the Canadian militia takes, and I suppose the same oath will be taken by the members of our naval force now:

I, A. B. do sincerely promise and swear that I will be faithful and bear true allegiance to His Majesty King Edward.

The royal titles—and now I come to a point which is very significant—the titles as used in all our official documents read: Edward VII, by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British dominions beyond the seas, King, Defender of the faith, Emperor of India. Now, if we read that, and if we read that war was made against our King, would be against Edward VII. of Great Britain and Ireland, and the British dominions beyond the seas, which, of course, would include Canada. War against Great Britain means war against Canada. Were the German Emperor to declare war against Great Britain to-morrow, even before the

declaration were made public it might have her ships in front of Halifax and on the way up the St. Lawrence to Quebec, just as the Japanese fleet did to the state of her defence, before any overt declaration of war was made. Canada is an integral part of the British Empire, Canada belongs to the King of Great Britain and Ireland and of the British dominions beyond the seas. Canada is subject to the King of Great Britain and Ireland, and I suppose the same duty should understand that they are of the empire, that they are with it; that they are part of the empire, that they are subject to and that it is their duty to be prepared to defend that empire and to defend that empire themselves. But there is still more striking language in a document which is not set out in any of the statutes but which was prepared by the committee of this house some years ago and the form of which was agreed to with the committee. The people of this country do not know so much of this document as we who are members of this house, because it is the form of prayer, and it is the opening of our proceedings here in the house of commons, and it is the opening of our political and religious creed of the great bulk of our people. There are three parts to the prayer, and I wish to bring before the house of commons the people of the country and I wish them with the utmost reverence. The prayer reads:

Great Britain and Ireland, and His Majesty's other Dominions in general, so especially for this Dominion, and herein more particularly for the Governor-General, the Senate, and the House of Commons, in their legislative capacity at this time assembled; that thou wouldst be pleased to direct and prosper all their consultations, to the advancement of thy glory, the safety, honour, and welfare of our Sovereign and His Dominions, that all things may be so ordered and settled by their endeavours, upon the best and surest foundations, that peace and happiness, truth and justice, religion and piety, may be established among us for all generations. These, and all other necessities for them, and for us, we humbly beg in the name, and through the mediation of Jesus Christ, our most blessed Lord and Saviour.—Amen.

OUR Father which art in Heaven, Hallowed be thy Name. Thy Kingdom come. Thy will be done in Earth, as it is in Heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us. And lead us not into temptation; but deliver us from evil.—Amen.

O LORD our Heavenly Father, high and mighty, King of kings, Lord of lords, the only Ruler of princes, who dost from thy throne behold all the dwellers upon earth; Most heartily we beseech thee with thy favour to behold His Most Gracious Majesty King Edward, and so replenish him with the grace of thy Holy Spirit that he may always incline to thy will and walk in thy way: Endue him plentifully with Heavenly gifts; grant him in health and wealth long to live; strengthen him that he may vanquish and overcome all his enemies; and finally, after this life, he may attain everlasting joy and felicity, through Jesus Christ Our Lord.—Amen.

ALMIGHTY God, the Fountain of all goodness, we humbly beseech thee to bless our Gracious Queen Alexandra, George, Prince of Wales, the Princess of Wales, and all the Royal Family; endue them with thy Holy Spirit; enrich them with thy Heavenly Grace; prosper them with all happiness; and bring them to thine everlasting Kingdom, through Jesus Christ Our Lord.—Amen.

MOST Gracious God, we humbly beseech thee, as for the United Kingdom of

The prayer said daily by the Speaker in the Canadian House of Commons, which W. F. Maclean, M. P., argued in the debate the other day showed more than any other existing document that Canada was an integral part of the British Empire and, therefore, bound to take part in the defence of the empire. The above is a photographic reproduction of the card copy from which the Speaker daily reads the prayer.

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responsibilities, whatever they may be, for its defence.

Now, sir, in view of the act that the mother country has called our attention to the state of her defence, and of our own, we are just now at the parting of the ways. We must choose whether we are to be of the British Empire or not. There may be four courses open to us, but there are only two of any great concern in the first place, we may say that Canada shall remain one of a partnership of free self-governing British states working together for common purposes and mutual defence. I believe that is what we will say. Or we may take ourselves apart and become a separate nation and pursue our own policy irrespective of all external conditions. Or we may sink our individuality and become a portion of the empire, we may remain within the empire while refusing co-operation, which to me is unthinkable because unparliamentary and un-British. We must choose one of two things: we are at the parting of the ways, and we have before us only the choice of freedom or of slavery. The choice is with virtue, with honor and with duty, or the contrary. Our choice must be whether we are to be with the empire or to separate from the empire. There are people in this country who support both of these ideals, and neither is repulsive to any one, as they are on the line of progress. Some day this country may drift into complete independence, which would be contrary to the welfare of the people; but as long as this country is a part of the empire, and as long as that relation is what is set out in all these constitutional documents, and as long as we swear these oaths of fealty and loyalty and devotion to the crown of Great Britain, we must choose one of two courses, either to be of the empire or to be not of the empire. Then, if we choose to be of the empire, we must assume our responsibilities, and assume them in a generous way. There are certain incongruities that attend on a declaration of this kind. Some of them have been stated in the press and in debate in the country, and there is something to be said for them. One of these incongruities is this, that if the mother country chose to pursue a policy that brought her into wars or made her less

competent to defend herself, we might be dragged into wars due to the neglect or the bad judgment of the mother country. The very German scare of the present time is based on the fact that England, by pursuing a certain fiscal policy, has given her markets to Germany and her work to the work-people of Germany. While the British people are told that it is cheap bread they want, it is really work that they want, and they would have that work and that bread if England changed her fiscal policy. I wish to say, as a citizen of this country and as a member of this house, that inasmuch as Great Britain has intimated to us that she desires our assistance, we claim the right to discuss and criticize the present policy of the British government. My sympathy is entirely with the present government in their desire to bring about social reform, which is badly needed in Great Britain, but there is also needed a substantial tariff reform in the direction of keeping the British market for the British people and keeping the work of England for the working people of England instead of sending it abroad; and the one man that England and the empire needs to-day is the man who has force enough to tell the British people that their duty is to go on both in the work of social reform and in the work of tariff reform, and that with such things they will get right at home that revenue which will make them strong and competent to resist any invasion that might threaten.

In view of the propositions which I have laid down, it is the duty of Canada to-day to come to the assistance of the empire, because this day of freedom which dawns so slowly and which we all speak so well of may be suddenly eclipsed, and the day of conscript nations, the day of feudalism, the day of worldwarism, may be revived, and humanity and human progress may be thrown into the gutter. In the face of these things, it is our duty to find out what our responsibilities are and to live up to them. England has given free parliaments and free institutions to the world. Our system is modeled on the British system and we are proud of it; and if we intend to work out to better results, we must assume our responsibilities. The imperishable glory of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland is that she has erected on this North American continent, and in that I include with Canada the great republics of the south of us. That is a monument unequalled in the history of the world, a world which has ever seen in this North American continent, and it is the creation of the people of England. The monument can any man say, even a Canadian citizen, that he would hold that monument and maintain that democracy? Those who would attack that democracy of this continent of America if they could, and eliminate it with worldwarism and feudalism. So that the issue at stake is greatest issue that has ever come before the Canadian people. We are at the parting of the ways; we must choose one thing or another, and I will be a policy of honor and will be when this nation, as a united nation, works out that policy and settles what it will be. It will receive the support of every province of Canada, notably that of the Province of Quebec.

can not start too soon. Canada is growing into one of the great commercial naval countries of the world. It lies between the two great continents of Asia and Europe, so that the traffic between these continents must pass thru it. Therefore, Canada is bound to have a great mercantile marine. An evidence of that is the way in which our great railway companies are developing mercantile marines. The Canadian Pacific Railway has become the owner of an enormous fleet, the Grand Trunk Pacific and the Canadian Northern propose to go into the same business, we have the Allan steamship line and other great lines which centre in the old country, and we shall require an immense Canadian marine on the Pacific. This will involve an enormous amount of shipbuilding in this country. There are to-day enough ships required for the trade of this Dominion to occupy a half dozen shipyards. Let us establish these in the basis of the law, in the Maritime Provinces and British Columbia as well. On that ground, we should have these great shipbuilding yards in this country. There is only one way in which to get them quickly, and that is to offer incentives to the great firms of England, Ireland and Scotland to come over and establish shipyards for the building of a British-Canadian mercantile marine. They could then be used for the building of Canadian ships of war should that be required.

I am not afraid to assume the responsibility of creating a Canadian navy for the defence of Canada and for the assistance of the empire, or even of giving a contribution to aid the empire should the day of peril come. No Canadian will object to that. We have said that if we give a contribution we should control the distribution of it. I do not quite agree in that doctrine. We are free to give it if we choose. We are free to give the mother country \$10,000,000 or \$20,000,000 worth for the maintenance of the fleet of the empire and are thereby departing from the principle of controlling our own expenditure. In hundreds of ways Canada give grants of money, the expenditure of which we never control. That is altogether different from our paying taxes and having no control over the expenditure of these taxes. When we imposed taxes on our own people, the people have control over the expenditure through their representatives in parliament. But if a tax should be imposed on a British parliament—which it is perfectly free to do—we should be justified in refusing to pay unless we had our say in the disposal of the money. But there is nothing unpatriotic or unconstitutional or humiliating in giving a contribution to the British Parliament for the purpose of defending the empire. That might be the quickest and the easiest way to the difficulty, and it might make any nation, who might contemplate an attack on the British Empire, think twice before doing so. To my mind, the bulk of Canadian people, there would be nothing wrong in this government giving immediately a grant of money to help the mother country in establishing a navy, if necessary. But the fundamental requisite in so far as that can be done, efficiency in their navy is the one thing which the people of the empire think they have. There have been scandals in that navy, but these have been removed, and the best service in England, in fact in the world to-day, is the British navy.

On my own behalf and on behalf of the people I repeat, and I think I am prepared to say that we are part of the British Empire and are prepared to assume all our responsibilities as such, whatever they may be, for the purpose of maintaining the integrity and honor of the empire and the integrity and honor of the Canadian people.

Weighted Himself and Jumped In Lake ROCHESTER, N. Y., Nov. 17.—Clayton Tyler, 5 years old, proprietor of the Crystal Lake Hotel, at Crystal Lake, New York, this morning rowed his boat to the centre of the lake, tied a heavy weight around his waist and jumped overboard.



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