

stitution, therefore, offends against those canons of the Commonwealth already set forth. The sense of common obligation has grown weak, because the first principle of liberty, the sharing of power and responsibility in common, has been infringed. The remedy cannot be permanently found in any mechanism for enabling five separate communities to adjust their common policy and determine their several liabilities by co-operative means, for, apart from the practical impossibility of conducting a true government by the co-operation of five governments, no such arrangement solves the fundamental difficulty that the Imperial Foreign Secretary and his associates must be responsible to one Parliament and the electorate which chooses it. They cannot be responsible to five. Hence, when the five fail to agree, the Imperial Ministers will inevitably adopt the policy acceptable to Britain, and the rest will once more be faced with the intolerable alternatives of compliance or secession.

It is indeed obvious that events are bound, sooner or later, to drive the peoples of the Empire into one of two solutions: either a formal separation involving the dissolution of the Empire and the destruction of British citizenship, or a federal reconstruction which will clearly delimit the federal and the national spheres, and reaffirm the unity of the British Commonwealth as a single State by creating for federal purposes a Legislature and Cabinet representative of all its self-governing citizens. Such a constitution would separate entirely the domestic affairs of the United Kingdom from the affairs of the Empire, by entrusting the former to a Dominion Legislature of the British Isles. It would resolve the original difficulty in which the Transvaaler, newly become a South African citizen, found himself, by defining clearly when the Englishman, the Canadian, and the Australian was to obey the national laws and when the Imperial laws. And if it followed the principle of the American and Australian constitutions, not only would Imperial affairs

to Europe to support us in fighting the Central Powers. The matter got no farther, but the Japanese were extremely puzzled how such a thing could be mooted while there were hundreds of thousands of young men in the United Kingdom who were not in our Army, and apparently had no intention of enlisting. With their devotion to the code, or creed, of Bushido, they found it difficult to comprehend such an extraordinary state of affairs. Official Japan, through Baron Ishii, the Foreign Minister, in an interview granted last November to a French journalist at Tokio, said that Japan would send a very strong army to Europe if it appeared to be desirable, but that such an eventuality had not hitherto been discussed by her. It has been suggested in Germany and elsewhere that Japan had an ulterior object in adhering to and in fighting alongside the Entente Powers—namely, to be in a position, as it is sometimes phrased, to "squeeze China." It was the high and honourable view of Japan that she really had no option, and it may be pointed out that her entering upon the War was nothing but the logical consequence of her policy for the ten or twelve years which preceded the breaking out of the conflict. That policy, first of all, embraced the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, which was initiated in 1902, and had its terms enlarged and revised in 1905 and 1911. The principal objects of this Alliance were the maintenance of peace and of the status quo in India and the Far East, with specific reference to the preservation of the independence and territorial integrity of China. It was also provided that if Great Britain or Japan should be involved anywhere in a war arising from unprovoked attack or aggressive action by any Power or Powers, the other party should at once come to the military assistance of its ally. Next, that policy included Ententes with Russia and France which, in 1907, were embodied in Agreements or Conventions. A growing rapprochement between Russia and Japan found expression, three years later, in a further compact, which, as we saw in July of the present year, was to be extended into an Agreement that is tantamount to a formal alliance. Japan thus was in close relations not only with Great Britain but with the other two Powers originally forming the combination; she was, in fact, it may truthfully be asserted, a member of the Entente Group.

When Great Britain joined in the conflict Germany instantly began belligerent action against British ships in the Chinese and Japanese waters by searching merchant vessels. Only a remnant of the German Asiatic Fleet had been left at Tsingtao, and the rest of it was quite prepared to attack Australia and the islands in the Southern Seas. Early in August the British Government asked Japan for assistance under the terms of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, and on the 15th of the month Japan sent what was in effect an ultimatum, demanding from Germany the withdrawal of all her warships from the China and Japan Seas, and the delivery in a month's time to her of the leased territory of Kiaochow, with a view to restoring it to China afterwards. A reply was requested within a week, and as it was not received Japan declared war on the 23rd of August, 1914.

Japan, loyal to the Alliance, did not hesitate, but ranged herself by the side of the Allies, and it is especially noticeable that the Emperor placed no limits to the help Japan was to give, as he ordered his whole Army and Navy to carry on war against Germany with "all their strength."

It so happened that Japan, when she declared war on Germany, had in her treasury a surplus of ten millions sterling, which she had acquired by the most rigid economies spread over three years, including the involuntary retirement of three thousand functionaries in all grades. Financially, Japan is not a Great Power, though she is destined to become one, and these ten millions, so hardly come by, were a tremendous sum to her, but she devoted them ungrudgingly to the War, and never asked her wealthy Allies for money.

Of the operations which resulted in the capture of Tsingtao and the occupation of the district of Kiaochow, nothing need be said here. Japan



Laocoön, a XXth Century Ancient Statuary.  
—Lukomorye, Petrograd.

looked to the complete extirpation of the German canker in the Far East, and Tsingtao was a step, though a most important one, in that direction. The moral effect of the success was very great in China and throughout Eastern Asia, and was of the utmost advantage to the cause of the Entente. Besides taking from Germany her naval base in the Far East in the shape of Tsingtao, the Japanese performed a great service to the Allies by immobilizing by the siege the ships of the enemy in the harbour which otherwise might easily have raided and wrought serious damage on such centres as Hongkong and Singapore. Japan's fleet was active in the Indian and Pacific Oceans protecting the commerce of the Allies, and making things generally unpleasant for the Germans. In October, 1914, Japan seized the Marshall Islands, one of which, Jaluit, was a German naval base, as well as the Ladrões and the Carolines in the Western Pacific. She is at present administering the Caroline and Marshall Islands, with the exception of Namu.

There was an impression that her activities in the struggle would practically cease with her land conquests, but the truth is that her fleet has never been idle. In the first year of the conflict Japanese warships protected the coasts of Australia, New Zealand, and British Columbia at a time when German cruisers were in the Pacific. The Legislature of British Columbia has publicly acknowledged the service which Japan performed on behalf of that province of Canada. It has not yet transpired how much the Japanese navy did in hunting down the Emden, or in bringing von Spee's ships to book in the battle of the Falkland Islands, but one day no doubt we shall all learn to what extent it co-operated with the British in these affairs. Troops from Australia and New Zealand have been conveyed to Suez with the assistance of Japanese cruisers not once but continually.

(Concluded on page 25.)

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be conducted by a truly Imperial Parliament, but the sovereign power of the Empire would be transferred from the Imperial Parliament to the people, by providing that no alteration could be made in the spheres of the national and the Imperial Parliaments without a reference in some way or other to the people of the Empire themselves.

## JAPS IN THE WAR

Wha. Our Heroic Little Ally Has Done to Defeat Central Empires

THE fact is recalled by Robert Machray, in the Nineteenth Century, that in the earlier stages of the war the view was sometimes expressed in England that Japan should be invited to send large forces