

# PREMIER BORDEN ISSUES SECOND MANIFESTO

**Stirring Appeal For Support of the Union Government Necessary  
To Enforce Military Service.---Union Government  
Will Extirpate All Abuses**

Ottawa, Nov. 14.—Sir Robert Borden, on the eve of his departure for Halifax to open his campaign, issued a second manifesto to the Canadian people, setting forth his reasons for believing that they should give their support to the new administration. The second manifesto reaffirms the chief planks in the Union Government platform, announced by the Prime Minister on October 15th, emphasizing more particularly what he conceives to be the duty of the government and the people in regard to the prosecution of the war and the solution of the various problems arising out of the world struggle.

"The Government," says Sir Robert, "realizes that in this national emergency there is imperative necessity for fulfillment of its policies with the least possible delay. It pledges itself to prosecute the war with ceaseless vigor, to strive for national unity, to administer the public departments with economy and efficiency, to devise measures of taxation which will regard social justice and to neglect nothing that may be required to sustain the soldiers on service or to comfort those of their households whom they have left behind."

The Prime Minister defends the Military Service Act and strongly asserts the necessity for its introduction. He declares it to be "a democratic measure, calling the rich as well as the poor." He says that it is eminently fair as between the provinces and as between those portions of our people who are of different racial origins, because it pays no attention whatever to provincial or racial groupings, but calls up all young Canadians of the same circumstances wherever they may live.

**Enemy, Not the Government,**  
Which Calls to Arms

"There was," says the manifesto, "no thought of compulsion until compulsion became imperative. There was no hesitation to seek authority for enforcement by selection when the necessity for greater reinforcements was indubitably established. It was the enemy—not the government—which issued the call to arms and compelled a mobilization of all the resources of the Empire."

Sir Robert declares that the Government is not the agent or organ of any group, section or party. "There are," he says, "those among its members who must assume responsibilities. There are those also among its members who have no such responsibilities. For the Military Service Act all assume the fullest responsibility, as they do all for the future conduct of the war and for the future measures of policy and acts of administration."

Referring to the decision of the Government to abolish the patronage evil, Sir Robert says: "It is believed that a government derived from both political parties and strengthened by special representation of agriculture and organized labor, can act with greater freedom and independence than a government which held office under the old conditions."

Sir Robert promises vigor in the administration of railway affairs. He asserts that "measures must also be taken to ensure adequate ocean transportation under national or international regulation if extortionate charges are attempted."

"Firmly convinced," says Sir Robert in closing his manifesto, "that these objects can best be achieved by a government representing all parties, classes, creeds and interests, I appeal with confidence on its behalf for the sympathy and support of the Canadian people."

**Full Text of the Manifesto**  
To the People of Canada:

The twelfth Parliament has been dissolved, and it becomes the duty of the people to choose a new House of Commons. Under the constitution the mandate of those whom the constituency returned in 1911 expired a year ago. But by agreement between the two parties in both the Commons and the Senate, and with the clear sanction of public opinion, the duration of Parliament was for causes strange and momentous in our history, extended for one year.

A further extension was proposed but, owing to the attitude of the Opposition, it could not be pressed and a general election thus became inevitable.

The circumstances and conditions under which the people must pronounce judgment are without precedent or parallel.

Nearly three and a half years ago in obedience to an honorable alliance and out of regard for her existence and the security of her Dominions, Great Britain engaged in war with Germany. Canada, as became a partner nation in the British Commonwealth, entered the struggle by the

deeds of her Parliament. That deed was enacted without a single dissenting voice, and it gave true expression to the sentiment and determination of the people of this country. No government could have lived and no government would have deserved to live, that did not give such instant effect to the popular will. Hestiation would have savoured of cowardice, delay would have humbled and defamed the nation. Failure to mobilize the manpower and resources of the Dominion for freedom and civilization would have exposed us to the scorn of our own time and the contempt of posterity. But neither the government nor the people hesitated.

**Resolution and Patriotism**  
Of Canadian People

The resolution and patriotism of the Canadian people found prompt and adequate expression. By voluntary enlistment an army of over four hundred thousand has been enrolled. Three hundred and fifty thousand Canadian soldiers have gone overseas to service and sacrifice on the scarred fields of France and Flanders. Many thousands of them lie in graves hallowed by their blood and glorified by their suffering. Pride in their valor and their achievements mitigates the sorrow which possesses so many of our homes. Through what they have done we have a new revelation of patriotism. The nation is clothed with new dignity. But humbly we shall stand at the bar of history if, through any neglect or failure of ours, the cause for which they fell does not prevail. By the test which they met the foe so steadily and bravely we shall be judged. If their living comrades in the trenches are not supported, shame and humiliation will be our portion. They will have paid a price for us beyond our deserts. What they sowed in honour we shall reap in dishonor.

**Necessary to Enforce**  
Compulsory Military Service

When it became apparent that the voluntary system was not providing adequate reinforcements for the army, it became necessary to consider the provisions of the Militia Act empowering the government to enforce compulsory military service upon all male citizens of Canada between the ages of eighteen and sixty inclusive. The selection under that law is to be made by ballot, that is by chance. Under present conditions the public interest cannot be served by a chance selection, but it demands, instead, an intelligent selection, based upon a wise and careful consideration of the country's needs, both in the fighting line and at home. Accordingly a new measure to authorize a selective draft of persons between the ages of twenty and forty five was prepared, and submitted to Parliament. Much care was taken to ensure that the measure would not be unfair or unjust in its provisions, that there would be no prejudicial interference with agriculture or industry, that there would be preferences for groups, classes, sections or interests.

**Bears More Heavily On the Rich**

The Military Service Act is a democratic measure, calling the rich as well as the poor—indeed, bearing more heavily upon the rich—that is, it is more difficult for a young man of means to claim exemption on the ground that his labor is needed at home for the support of his relatives. It is eminently fair as between the provinces and as between those portions of our people who are of different racial origins, because it pays no attention whatsoever to provincial boundaries or racial groupings, but calls up all young Canadians of the same circumstances, wherever they may live. It is the most effective method possible, for it impartially selects the men who can go abroad and fight and the men who should stay at home and work, with an eye single to their fitness for these two closely related services, and so ensures that each man is precisely where his blow or his labour tells best. In enforcing this Act, the Government will proceed upon the principle that the service and sacrifice of any family which has already sent men to the front must be taken into account in considering the exemption of other members of the same family.

**No Thought of Compulsion**  
Until It Became Imperative

There was no thought of compulsion until compulsion became imperative. There was no hesitation to seek authority for enforcement by selection when the necessity for greater reinforcements was indubitably established. It was the enemy—not the government—which issued the call to arms and compelled a mobilization of all the resources of the Empire. The Government appeals to the people

with confidence that the vigorous prosecution of the war is their immediate and supreme concern and that the Military Service Act, which authorized the selective draft, is but a reflection of the temper and will of the nation.

The administration in whose name this appeal is made, is not the agent or organ of any group, section or party. There are those among its members who must assume responsibility for the conduct of the war thus far and such members do not seek to evade that responsibility. For the Military Service Act all assume the fullest responsibility, as do all for the future conduct of the war and for future measures of policy and acts of administration. It is not suggested that the government which held office for six years is immune from criticism because a Union Government has been organized, but only that the war is the first consideration and that to its energetic and successful prosecution, union among the people is as necessary as the coalition of political leaders.

**Necessary to Sink Differences**  
and Overcome Prejudices

No claim of exceptional patriotism or public virtue is made for those who have united to constitute a coalition cabinet. But it was necessary to sink differences and overcome prejudices if that object was to be attained. If the object was great enough to justify the union and co-operation of political leaders, divided by old quarrels and acute differences in feeling and opinion, it is surely great enough to justify the like unity of purpose and endeavor among the electors, upon whose decision the fate of the government and the measures to be taken for the further prosecution of the war depend. In the trenches, Liberals and Conservatives fight and die for a common Canada and a common Empire.

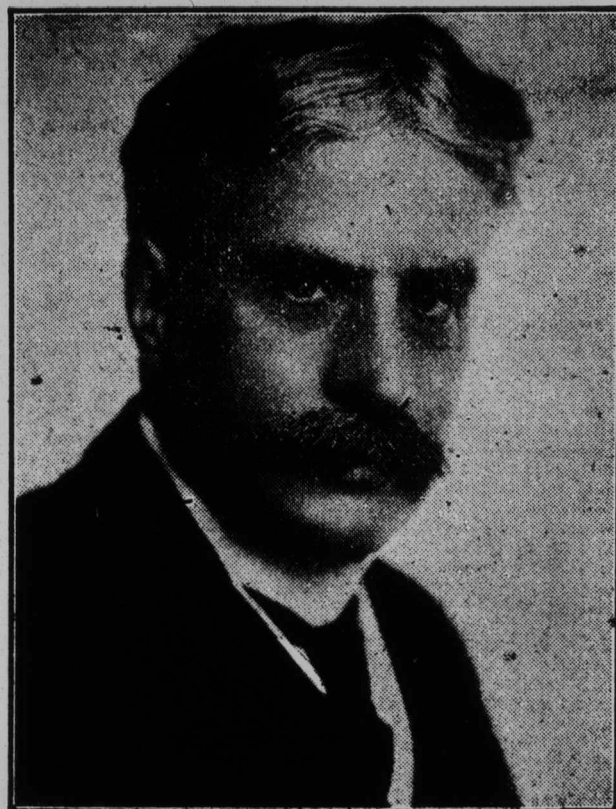
No party wall divides the soldiers in the hospitals. Nor do those who minister to their wounds and ease their sufferings ask to what party the afflicted belong. Is it too much to expect that the spirit by which the army lives and triumphs will be as active and as powerful among the people at home when they cast their ballots and that here as there the fight cause for which we contend will unify and inspire the nation. But there are other reasons why the Union Government should be entrusted with power.

**Union Government to**  
Extirpate All Abuses

It has pledged itself to the extirpation of the old abuses and to a wise and bold policy of constructive reform. The system of patronage in the distribution of contracts and office which has prevailed in Canada for generations has been one of the many political evils. It has fostered local and sectional interests incompatible with the national welfare and injuries to the efficiency of the national service. It has troubled representatives of the people, permitted the ascendancy of organized minorities in the constituencies, and affected the independence of Parliament itself. It may be that these evils should have been overcome long ago. Censure may lie upon successive governments which have tolerated the system. But inveterate disease succumb only to heroic measures not distinguished Canadian parties in dealings with patronage. Generally governments have lived long in Canada, and when for many years, distribution of patronage has been confined to the party in power, there is a natural disposition to adjust the balance when at length the other party succeeds to office. Once committed to the system, influences are recognized and interests created that are not easily resisted or dislodged. It is believed that a government derived from both political parties and strengthened by special representation of agriculture and organized labor, can act with greater freedom and independence than a government which held office under the old conditions. Hence the resolution to abolish trading in patronage, to fill public offices by merit and not by favoritism, and to establish honest and open competition in awarding contracts and buying supplies.

**To Stop Wasteful Expenditure in**  
Unwise Duplication of Railways

It is not necessary to repeat already made public. In carrying out these policies the government engages to stop wasteful expenditure in unwise duplication of railways and to arrange effective co-operation between the public and private railway systems. With the acquisition of the Canadian Northern Railway, the state becomes one of the chief carriers of passengers and products. If public



*R. L. Borden*

management is to be satisfactory there must be vigor in administration and breadth and courage in outlook. Efficiency must be ensured. Consideration of personal or political patronage must be sternly ignored. Accommodation equal to that which the private companies afford, must be provided. Measures must also be taken to ensure adequate ocean transportation under national or international regulation if extortionate charges are attempted. For many years in Canada, railway policy was determined, not so much by the needs of transportation, as by the demands of rival groups of railway builders. As a result we have a great railway mileage, constructed at heavy cost, with long stretches of parallel lines where a single system could have handled all the traffic and at lower charges upon a smaller investment of capital. It is believed, however, that Canada will yet develop traffic in excess of present rail facilities; and in the meantime the government will endeavor to coordinate existing services and im-

prove and protect the national railways without injustice to private companies.

**Wealth Must be Conscriped**

As old methods of railway building have to be abandoned, so old systems of taxation have to be revised. In order to meet the ever-increasing expenditure for war purposes and also to ensure that all shall share in common service and sacrifice, wealth will be conscripted by adequate taxation of war profits and increased taxation of income. There will be close inquiry into expenditures in order to protect the treasury against purely local demands, and to eliminate undertakings of purely political origin and objects. Permanent committees of the cabinet have been established for war and reconstruction. The very difficult and intricate problems inevitably arising out of war conditions are being considered and studied earnestly and attentively with a view to effective action with the least possible delay. Immigration and colonization

will receive careful and continuous attention, always with a sympathetic regard for labour and in full recognition of the necessity for greater production. Thorough and effective co-operation among agricultural producers will be encouraged. The men by whose sacrifice and endurance the free institutions of Canada will be preserved must be reeducated, where necessary and re-established on the land or in such other pursuits or vocations as they may desire to follow.

**Maimed and Broken**  
Will be Protected

The maimed and the broken will be protected; the widow and the orphan will be helped and cherished. Duty and decency demand that those who are saving democracy shall not find democracy a house of privilege, or a school of poverty and hardship. The franchise will be extended to women, not chiefly in recognition of devoted and capable service in the war, but as a measure of justice too long delayed. If men die, women suffer; if they are wounded, women heal; if they are maimed, women labour. And since there can be no separation in suffering and sacrifice, there should be none in citizenship.

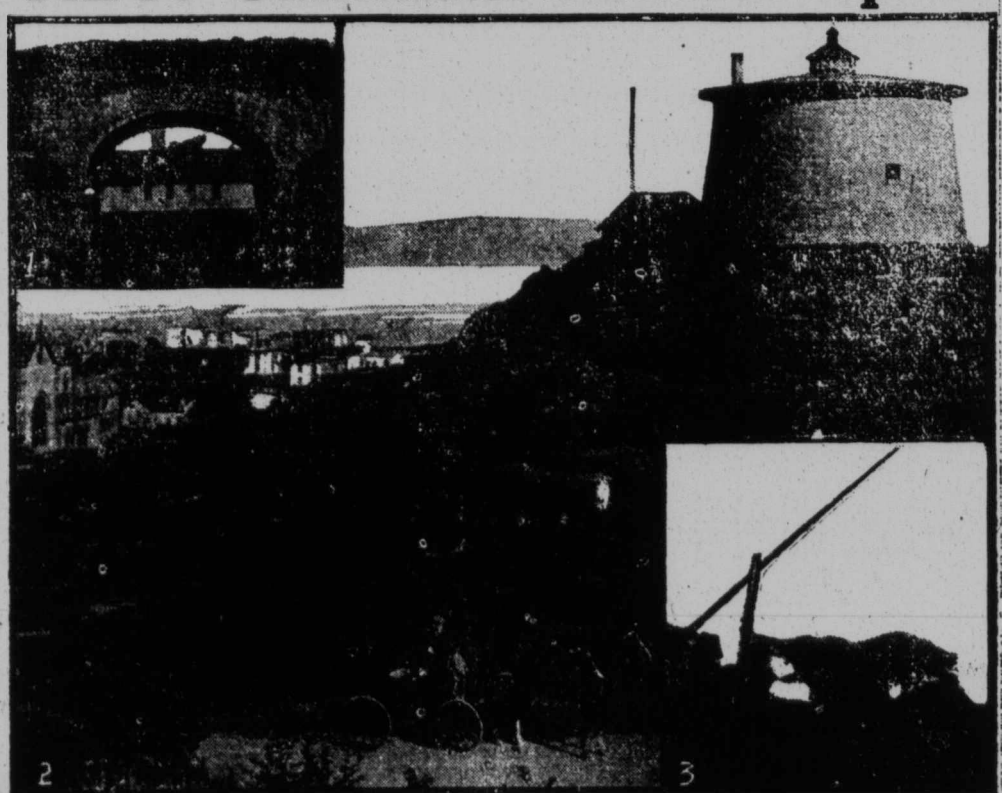
The government will strive to develop and stimulate a common patriotism in all elements of the people and all portions of the Dominion. It inherits no baneful legacies. It cherishes no grievances or animosities. East and West are equal at the Council table and in the new government all the provinces will have equal and adequate representation. In the electoral campaign it is greatly to be desired that reticence should be observed in the treatment of all questions in which smoulder the fires of old racial and religious quarrels and contentions. Those who gave their lives for us on far away fields of battle the vision of a united Canada. To deny them this would be treason to their memory.

**Appeals With Confidence for**  
Support of Canadian People

The government thoroughly realizes that in this national emergency there is imperative necessity for fulfillment of its policies with the least possible delay. It pledges itself to prosecute the war with ceaseless vigor to strive for national unity, to administer the public departments with economy and efficiency, to devise measures of taxation which will regard social justice, and to neglect nothing that may be required to sustain the soldiers on service or to comfort those of the households whom they left behind. Firmly convinced that these objects can best be achieved by a government representing all parties, classes, creeds and interests, I appeal with confidence on its behalf for the sympathy and support of the Canadian people.

(Signed) R. L. BORDEN.

## Three Canadian Historic Spots



(1) Inside the old fort at Annapolis Royal. (2) Martello Tower, West St. John, N.B.

(3) Evangeline's well.

THREE unique and interesting historic spots are to be found in the Maritime Provinces of Canada. Each tells its own story of a romantic past as it links us up with generations that have long since passed away.

The three are: the old French gate and barracks at Annapolis Royal, the ancient Martello Tower, and the massive Martello tower, overlooking the Bay of Fundy from the heights of West St. John.

Each of the trip is worthy of a pilgrimage, and no better objectives could a traveller have in this delightful maritime land than to visit each in turn.

Let us, in the meantime, visit them in imagination. The Annapolis of today was the Port Royal of the olden times. It was one of the first European settlements in America, the only habitation of civilized man on the great continent on the fringe of a vast wilderness, stretching from Florida to the North Pole. Champlain and de Monts visited Annapolis Bay in 1604, as did many another hero of the old French days.

So the little settlement was formed, and for a century and a half thereafter it tells the story of attack, capture and recapture. It witnessed many a baptism of blood, did this ancient French stronghold, until in 1710, England won it at the hands of a force of New Englanders. Again, in 1758, it was captured by an American force, but to-day it is a picturesque corner of Canada situated in one of its garden spots, and facing a long arm of the sea.

Next let us go to Evangeline's land, where the apple blossoms make a beautiful world in the summer time and where a glamour still rests over the valleys in memory of an Acadian maiden who was only the dream child of a poet. Here is the site of

the old French farmstead, there the ancient well near the "Older French" willows where real Acadian maidens drew water, while hard by is the smithy's forge that figures in the poem, as well as the little church. What a story the willows could tell if they had the power of speech, of the days when France ruled half of the continent and England was challenging her supremacy.

And finally there is the old thick-walled Martello tower perched on a high rock above the City of the Loyalists at St. John is known. These minutemen... crests still carry an aspect of strength and dignity, as they remind one of the old Napoleonic era, when they were built in England as means of defence, and later in Canada. Similar specimens are still to be found in Quebec, Montreal and Kingston.

F. T.