

# Mr. Winston Churchill On the Dardanelles

(Continued from page 2)  
even I might have had something to say on behalf of the Admiralty. (Cheers.) But the Government has perished; is long career, so memorable in our home affairs, is ended; its work, whether in South Africa or Ireland, has passed for good or for ill into history. I know that there are gathered here this afternoon many of those who were its opponents, and that we are now going to work together on a different basis now.

**The Late Government.**  
But before I come to the new Government and its prospects I must ask your leave and your courtesy to say a few words in justice to the old. There was a Government which sought peace long and faithfully and to the end, but which nevertheless maintained our naval defence, so that all the needs and dangers were provided against. There was a Government who placed in the field six times as many divisions of soldiers as had ever been contemplated by any party in the State at any time in our history, a Government which fulfilled, in your name, in the name of the nation, every obligation of duty and of honour to France and to Belgium; a Government which brought us into the war a united people and with such a record that in future times, when the world looks back with its searching scrutiny upon all the events which have led up to this great catastrophe, will leave us such a record as will show to all time that Britain was absolutely guiltless of the slightest stain. (Loud cheers.)

**Lord Haldane.**  
I thought you would permit me to say these few words about the Liberal Administration of which I have had the honour to remain for so many years a member, and that I might say them in justice to those who compose it and to the chief who led it, and to the great party which so faithfully sustained it. Before I leave it I would ask your leave to say a word about a great friend of mine, well known to you in Scotland, and passed out of public life, Lord Haldane. (Cheers.)

I deeply regret that he has ceased to fill the great office which he adorned. No more sincere patriot has served the Crown. There never has been an occasion in the Cabinets of the last seven years in which I have sat that as the need arose Lord Haldane has not from his great knowledge of the German Governmental system warned us to be on our guard against the dangerous side of their nature. (Cheers.) There never had been a time when he has not supported every provision for the defence of this country, military or naval. He it was who entered into those intricate arrangements with France which enabled our army to be so swiftly brought to the scene of action just in the nick of time; he it was who prepared that expeditionary Army in the face of much opposition, and in the days when every penny was hard to get. (Cheers.) He it was who organized the Territorial Force, which has so splendidly vindicated itself, and its founder, and upon whose gallantry, discipline and numbers the weight and even the success of the military operations hitherto have notably, if not mainly, depended.

Till a few months ago all the land forces which we employed in this war which we put in the field were the products of Lord Haldane's organization, and in the fateful and convulsive days before Great Britain drew the sword of honour, when the chill of doubt struck into many hearts whether we should act as we were bound, in those days no man stood closer to Sir Edward Grey, and no man saw more clearly where our duty led us. (Cheers.)

**The Coalition.**  
With that I leave the past. A new Government has been formed, old opponents have laid aside their differences, personal interests and party interests have been adjusted or suppressed, and the Administration may now claim to represent political energies and abilities and to command the loyalties of a united nation. (Cheers.)

To support that Government, to make it a success, to make it an efficient instrument for waging war, to be loyal to it, to treat it fairly, judge it with consideration and respect, is not a matter of likes or dislikes, not a matter of ordinary political choice or opinion, it is for all of us a matter of self-preservation.

For nearly three weeks the country has had its attention directed from the war by the business of the Cabinet making and the dividing of offices and honours, and all these commonplaces, but necessary details of our political system which are so enervating in time of peace. (Laughter.) Now that is all over. It has taken long enough, but it is over, and I ask myself this question: What does

the nation expect of the new National Government?  
I can answer my question. I am going to answer it in one word—Action. (Loud cheers.) That is the need. Action, not hesitation. Action, not word. Action, not agitation. The nation waits its orders. The duty lies upon the Government to declare what should be done, to propose it to Parliament and to stand or fall by the result. That is the message which you wish me to take back to London. Act, act now, act with faith and courage. Trust the people. They have never failed you yet.

**Compulsory Service.**  
Long speeches are not suited to the times in which we live, and therefore I shall detail you only a very few minutes more. As to the rights of the State in the hour of supreme need over all its subjects there can be no dispute. They are absolute. Nothing matters but that the nation lives and preserves that freedom without which life would be odious. The only question which arises is as to the degree to which it is necessary to exercise these indisputable rights.

Now, I say frankly to you that if it were not possible to win this war without taking men by compulsion and sending them into the field I should support such a measure. But I do not believe that it will be found necessary—(cheers)—and I am sure it is not necessary now. On the contrary, gentlemen, such is the character of our people that the only places which will never lack volunteers are the bloody trenches of France and Flanders. (Cheers.)

No nation has ever at any time in history found such a spirit of daring and sacrifice widespread, almost universal, in the masses of its people. The French Revolution could not depend on the soil of France without compulsion, the American Commonwealth could not maintain the integrity of its States without compulsion. But modern Britain has found millions of citizens who, of their own free will, have eagerly and soberly resolved to fight and die for the principles at stake, and to fight and die in the hardest, the cruellest, and the least rewarded of all wars—that men have fought. Why, that is one of the most wonderful and inspiring facts in the whole history of this wonderful island and in after days, depend upon it, it will be taken as a splendid signal of the manhood of our race and of the soundness of our institutions. (Cheers.)

Having got so far, being on the high road to three millions of men in the service of the Crown as volunteers, to cast away this great moral advantage, which adds to the honour of our arms and to the dignity of the State, simply for the purpose of hustling into the firing line a comparatively small proportion of people, and people themselves not perhaps the best suited to the job, who even when taken could not be for many months equipped, to do that after all that has happened would, it seems to me, be unwise in the extreme. (Cheers.)

But service at home, service for home defence, and to keep our fighting men abroad properly supplied and maintained, that seems to me to stand on a different footing. Remember, we are confronted with a foe who would without the slightest scruple extirpate us, man, woman and child, by any method open to him if he had the opportunity. We are fighting a foe who would not hesitate a moment to obliterate every single soul in this great country this afternoon if it could be done by pressing a button. We are fighting a foe who would think as little of that as a gardener would of smothering out a wasp's nest.

**A New Fact in History.**  
Let us recognize that this is a new fact in the history of the world, or rather it is an old fact sprung up out of the horrible abysses of the past. We are fighting with a foe of that kind and are locked in mortal struggle. To fall is to be enslaved, or at the very best to be destroyed. Not to win decisively is to have all this misery over again, after an uneasy truce, and to fight it over again probably under less favourable circumstances, and perhaps alone.

Why, gentlemen, after what has happened there could never be peace in Europe until the German military system has been so shattered and torn and trampled that it is unable to resist by any means the will and decision of the conquering Power.

**Socialisation of the Nation.**  
For this purpose our whole nation must be organized—must be Socialized, if you like the word—must be organized and mobilized; and I think there must be asserted in some form or other—I do not attempt to prejudge that—but I think there must be asserted in some form or other by the Government a reserve power to give the necessary control and organization

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authority, and to make sure that everyone, of every rank and condition, men and women as well, do in their own way their fair share. Democratic principles enjoin it; social justice requires it; international safety demands it; and I shall take back to London, with your authority, the message, "Let the Government act according to its faith."

Above all, let us be of good cheer—A Voice: "Shame the Devil and to Hell with the Huns"—let us be of good cheer. I have told you how the Navy's business has been discharged. You see for yourselves how your economic life and energy have been maintained without the slightest check, so that it is certain you can realise the full strength of this vast community.

**Colour and Light.**  
The valour of our soldiers has won general respect in all the armies of Europe. The word of Britain is now taken as a symbol and the hall-mark of international good faith. The loyalty of our Dominions and Colonies vindicates our civilisation; the hate of our enemies proves the effectiveness of our warfare. Yet I would advise you from time to time, when you are anxious or depressed, to dwell a little on the colour and light of the terrible war pictures now presented to the eye. See Australia and New Zealand smiling down, in the last and finest crusade, the combined barbarisms of Prussia and of Turkey. See General Louis Botha holding South Africa for the King. See Canada defending to the death the last few miles of shattered Belgium. Look further, and across the smoke and carnage of the immense battlefield, look forward to the vision of a united British Empire on the calm background of a liberated Europe.

Then turn again to your task. Look forward, do not look back, gather afresh in heart and spirit all the energies of your being, bend anew together for a supreme effort. The times are harsh, need is dire, the agony of Europe is infinite; but the might of Britain, hurried united into the conflict, will be irresistible.

We are the grand reserve of the Allied cause, and that grand reserve must now march forward as one man. (Prolonged cheers.)

Mr. Churchill took his seat, having spoken for 44 minutes.

In olden times thieves, like the German soldiers who loot, would have been hung on crosses. Today the crosses are hung on the thieves.

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## LUSITANIA NOT ARMED AND NEVER FITTED AS A TRANSPORT

**Sir Edward Carson Opens Address in Board of Trade Enquiry—Court Crowded and Many Leading Legal Lights Represent Relatives of Lost.**

London, June 15.—The Lusitania was not armed and she never was fitted out for transport work, was one of the remarks made by Sir Edward Carson, attorney-general in the new Cabinet, in addressing the court this morning at the opening of the Board of Trade inquiry into the loss of the Cunard liner which was sent to the bottom off the south coast of Ireland May 7 by a German submarine with a loss of over 1,100 lives.

**Composition of Court.**  
Baron Mersey, president of the Court of Inquiry to investigate the sinking of the Lusitania, is assisted by Admiral Sir Frederick Englefield and Lieut. Commander Hearn as naval assessors, and Captain Davies and Captain Speeding of the Mercantile Marine. Attorney-General Carson and Frederick E. Smith represented the Board of Trade, while the Cunard Company and the passengers of the Lusitania, including the late Alfred G. Vanderbilt, all were represented by counsel.

Public interest in the case was evidenced by the large number of spectators who crowded the court. It was noted with interest that virtually simultaneously with the opening of the investigation there was received news of the finding of two more bodies at sea near where the Lusitania sank. One was of a boy about 14 years old, and the other of a man. Neither was identified.

**Courts Fullest Inquiry.**  
Sir Edward Carson, who opened for the Board of Trade, said he court-

ed the fullest inquiry. He was able to give complete denial to the contention of the German government that the Lusitania was an armed vessel carrying guns and serving as an auxiliary to the naval forces of Great Britain. In their Note to Germany, the speaker said, the United States have officially denied this, and the evidence I propose to call will confirm and fully prove the remarks of the American government that the Lusitania was not armed and that she never had been fitted out as a transport.

**No Warning Given.**  
"Without warning a German submarine fired two torpedoes at the Lusitania, and it is said that a third projectile also was fired. Such an act was not only contrary to international law, but it is contrary to the dictates of civilization and humanity. To sink passengers in this manner was a deliberate attempt at murder."

**Question of Speed.**  
Continuing, Sir Edward remarked that the question of speed would be important. The Lusitania was going 18 knots, using only 19 out of her 25 boilers in consequence of the decreased traffic, thus saving a quarter of her total coal consumption and a proportionate amount in labor.

**Admiralty Instructions.**  
Certain specific instructions were sent by the British Admiralty by wireless telegraphy to the Lusitania, but these instructions are not to be made public, and this part of the evidence is to be taken in private.

"It is quite evident," said the attorney-general, that one of the main questions for the consideration of the court will be these instructions, and how far the captain of the Lusitania acted upon them.

**Premeditated Murder.**  
"As a rule the first question to be decided in an investigation of this kind is how the accident occurred. In this case we know that there was no accident and that there was a premeditated design to murder. The real questions arising are only two: First, as to the navigation of the ship having regard to the instructions and information conveyed by the Admiralty; and second, as to whether everything was done that could be done after the ship was torpedoed."

**The Captain's Evidence.**  
Captain Turner, of the Lusitania, examined by the attorney-general, said the ship was not armed either for offense or defense and carried no masked guns. He confirmed Sir Edward's statement as to the speed of the Lusitania and the number of her boilers in operation.

The captain estimated that ten seconds after the Lusitania was struck it was impossible to stand on deck. He said the three difficulties in rescuing passengers were the list of the ship, her headway, which carried her two or three miles after being struck, and the shortness of time.

**Many Look-Outs.**  
The captain testified he had given orders to look out for submarines and to proceed at full speed if any were sighted. He said the boats had been swung out the morning of the day preceding the torpedoing. Two look-outs were placed in the crow's nest, two at the bows and two officers on the bridge.

When asked whether the passengers were giving help as far as they were able, he replied: "Interfering, I should say." He added, however, that the passengers showed a desire to assist in every way possible.

**Like Old-Fashioned Sailors.**  
Speaking of modern steamship hands, the captain said they were not as efficient as the old-fashioned sailormen, who were more effective

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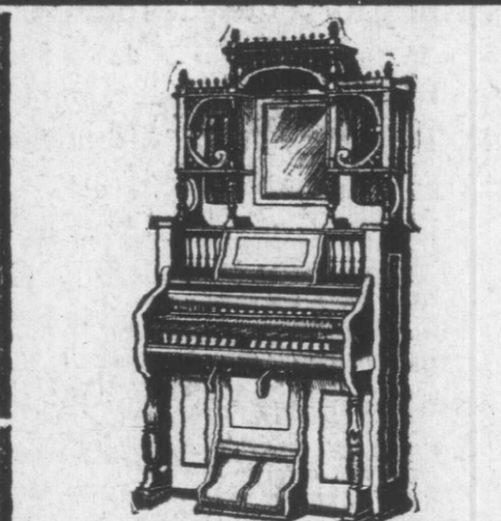
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