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**J. J. Rossiter**

**The Mail and Advocate**

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**Edward's Promises**

IN 1913 Sir Edward Morris in his manifesto to the electorate among the thousand and one things he promised intimated to the fishermen that—

"We propose to take measures to provide a supply of bait for our fishermen. Heretofore attempts have been made to accomplish this by dealing with private corporations and individuals from abroad, but without effect and now the Government aims to bring about this result by investigating the systems adopted in other countries in relation to the supply of bait, with a view of applying the same to this country, and arranging for the distribution of bait to the fishermen in such a manner as will enable them to avoid the serious losses that now follow the failure to obtain bait when fish are abundant."

Some few days ago we referred to this very same matter of bait depots the need of which is now so apparent. It is almost impossible to arrive at the exact loss which this Colony has suffered the past few years on this account.

That Sir E. P. Morris well knew this and the fact is proven by his own words when he said "we are arranging for the distribution of bait to the fishermen in such a manner as will enable them to avoid the serious losses that now follow the failure to obtain bait when fish are abundant." These words of Edward's were issued in October 1913 and now it is October 1916, three years later, and not one of the many bait depots promised are yet erected, nor is there any likelihood of one being erected by the present Government while they remain in office.

Morris has been able to find HALF A MILLION DOLLARS to expend on what he is pleased to call Encouraging Agriculture. This half million dollars is simply money wasted, and if you need the proof for this assertion read the Report of Agricultural Society for 1915 and there you will find ample evidence that this Morris Policy of fostering agriculture was, and is to-day, a farce, the effects of which this Colony is to-day suffering. It only served the purpose of providing fat jobs with fat salaries for two party members and the rewarding of political heebers with live stock. Beyond that it has accomplished nothing, absolutely nothing.

The fisheries have received very little consideration from the Government of which Morris is the leader. Not one single effort has been made to improve matters for our toilers. We were according to Morris' promises (election years) to have trade agents abroad. We were to have new markets abroad for our staple and five large factories were to be established for the conversion of fish oil and dogfish into fertilizer and glue. Morris was going to completely revolutionize our fisheries. In fact anyone reading his election promises to the fishermen of Newfoundland in October 1913 would be inclined to give up his regular avocation and go fishing.

Here are Morris' words: "Our policy heretofore will be to continue to provide judicious encouragement for the fishing industry along these and other lines remembering that the three essentials for which all—government, merchants and fishermen—should strive are the developing of the fishery themselves, THE SECURING OF HIGHER PRICES FOR THE CATCH

**AND THE OPENING OF NEW "MARKETS."**

Now these three essentials which Morris referred to in 1913 where, immediately sufficient ballots were counted to secure him and his Government a continuance of office, immediately turned into the three essentials which have so marked his administration the past three years—GRAFT, GRAB and BOODLE.

The fisheries which he talked about so eloquently were never considered and his Government during the past six years have never lifted a finger to help the fishermen of this Colony. The only thing they have done for the fishermen is to increase his burden of taxation and make it harder for the toiler to make two ends meet. But as regards themselves they have lived in clover and have gone the pace that leads to financial disaster. Morris and his political pirates have coddled the people long enough and the day cannot come quick enough to turn the whole corrupt outfit out of office to live on the spoils they have gathered since the unfortunate day Morrisism cursed this Colony.

Our people in the past were too ready to listen to patriots of the Morris type whose brand of patriotism was spelled in dollars and cents. Too long have we been sending to represent us on the floors of Parliament pettifogging attorneys who would not pick up a livelihood in our police courts and then tolerating as Premier the most accepted but the one most acceptable to the boss political machine.

Look at the platform promises of the so-called People's Party; then look at its performance. Look at the Party itself. The fag ends and dunnage of every political party we have seen in this poor land the last quarter of a century. When one looks at them huddled under a party blanket with grab, boodle and graft as their political creed one need not wonder that the Ship of State is on the rocks and that financial disaster overshadows the land.

If the fishermen of this country want to see better conditions than those existing at present they will have to look in another direction than Morris and not heed political adventurers of the type of the Morris school who rode into political power on some political platform worked up by systematic advertising just as patent medicines are put upon the market.

Writing on the position of girls after the war, "A Mother" comes to the conclusion that "there will still be two sexes." That's a great comfort, anyway.

**REVEILLE BY CALCAR**

If those Commissioners of Agriculture had kept themselves confined to the duties of a commissioner instead of misleading their office for that Commission Merchants much good might have been accomplished and much money spared to the country to be spent in furtherance of a sound and sane agricultural policy.

These men made themselves purchasing and distributing agents for the Government and in this capacity made hay, so to speak, while the sun shone.

To argue that much good has been accomplished through the agricultural efforts of the Morris Government is but a poor defense of it, yet it is one to be constantly met with. It cannot be denied nor does any sensible person take the line of argument, that it did no good. It would be pretty hard to find a way to spend upwards of half a million dollars in a spendthrift manner without some persons getting a little good from it. Our position is this that the little good has been brought about at two great a cost to the country and even the trifle of benefit is not of the lasting kind.

People who received without cost to themselves seed or live stock knew some benefit personally but what about the country that had to pay for that free gift. What about the recipients themselves who had to pay for his free (?) gift in neglected roads, increased taxation, and in ruined flocks, etc. Does it pay the farmer to raise a special quality of potatoes because the Government gives him a pound or two of seed "free of cost," while that same Government by robbing him of his road grants makes it impossible for him to haul a load of his produce to the railway station miles away. This applies with particular emphasis to conditions

**THE HARVEST OF THE WAR**

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**VI.—The Concert of Nations.**

THIS does not mean sweeping away all existing landmarks or any sudden and disquieting breach with the past. To begin by abandoning the balance of power by land or sea, or the diplomatic doctrines upon which the present stability of international society depends, would do more harm than good. But it does mean such a change of mind that all should admit that they cannot go their own way regardless of others, that they cannot remain indifferent to the rights and wrongs of the rest of humanity, and that they must, therefore, become members of a regular body at which matters in controversy between nations can be discussed frankly and without reserve, and at which their obligation, of upholding international consultation can be effected by means of diplomacy. Diplomacy in one of its aspects is a normal mode of intercourse. But as the instrument of nationalism its essence is secrecy, and its main instrument the threat of war. Mutual understanding cannot be attained in this way. Agreement and the promotion of common ends as between nations, as in business, to be rapid and effective must be the outcome of direct negotiations between principals round a common table. Nor can co-operation between nations be effectively maintained by ad hoc or occasional conferences to solve particular problems. Any serious attempt to put the welfare of humanity first involves the establishment of a permanent conference of the great powers.

The questions which divide men and cause wars are political questions, and no body of a judicial or arbitral nature can deal with them. One might as well entrust the duties of Parliament to the Supreme Court, and expect its decisions on Home Rule, Tariff Reform, or the relations between Capital and Labour to pass un-

challenged. Hence, when political questions arise between nations, it must be a gathering of a political nature which must deal with them. Moreover, that gathering must have three characteristics. It must include leading statesmen of all the great powers, otherwise it will fail of its primary purpose, which is to keep before all that they are members of a greater unity, and to ensure that all international questions shall be considered from the point of view of the human whole and not of any national part. It must meet at regular intervals and have a proper constitution because otherwise, as was the case with the Concert after the Napoleonic wars, the idea of co-operation will gradually lapse as the nations again become preoccupied with their own affairs. And its constitution must be such that any international question however controversial can be brought before it, in order to establish the principle that every international question has an aspect which concerns all nations, upon which they are entitled to present their views, and to counteract the inevitable tendency towards a reversion to purely diplomatic methods. The only body which can meet these needs is the Concert of Nations.

The essential principle of the Concert is that the members which compose it, while surrendering none of their sovereign independence, recognize that they are partners in a greater unity, and should therefore deliberate and act regularly together, in order to promote the welfare of the whole. The Concert would not be a parliament. It would have no legislative or executive authority or military power. And no nation-member would be bound by any terms save its own voluntary assent to a treaty or agreement. The Concert would not necessarily always ensure peace. From one point of view the Concert of Nations would be scarcely more than a convenient mode of international intercourse. From another it would mark the beginning of the end of international war. For its institution would mark the resolution of the nations of the world to look in future, at international questions from the point of view of humanity first, instead of only as they affected their own selfish national interests. It would be a standing denial of the view that might is right. It would make it very difficult for one nation or group of nations to declare war, before bringing the matter before the other powers. It would make it equally difficult for the others to pretend that the issue which led to war was not their concern. Its existence, indeed, is an essential preliminary to the success of any scheme for a league to enforce peace. No nation will in fact go to war merely to prevent other nations fighting, unless they are nations of the smallest and most impotent kind. It will always find an excuse for neutrality. Nations will only go to war for their own selfish ends or for some ideal cause which they recognize to be necessary to human progress. If ever a war was fought on a clear moral issue it is this war. Yet though the sympathy of the greatest of the neutral peoples is clearly on one side, in their natural anxiety to keep out of the war they have not hesitated to declare as their official policy that the wrongs and sufferings of their fellow men are not their business. That is inevitable under present conditions. The only cure for it is that all the great nations should assume a common responsibility for deliberating together about the most serious of international problems. Then if one or more powers determine to flout the opinion of the world, and break international agreements and law, there is some chance of all the rest combining to enforce what they have agreed to be right. And if they do, war almost certainly will not ensue. But they will never do this unless they themselves have had a clearly defined responsibility for determining the principles of justice in the international sphere.

After the sufferings of the Napoleonic wars Europe attempted to create a Concert. The ideals which underlay it were defined as follows in the preamble to the treaty of Kalisch (1813) between Russia and Prussia after Napoleon's disastrous Moscow expedition. "The time will come when treaties shall be more than truces, when it will again be possible for them to be observed with that religious faith, that sacred inviolability, on which depend the reputation, the strength, and the preservation of Empires." That treaty was the forerunner of the treaty of Chaumont, which established the Grand Alliance between Russia, Austria, Prussia and England which overthrew Napoleon.

And that Alliance grew, with the admission of France to its counsels, into the Concert of Europe, which did for some years succeed in dealing with European problems on a continental and not a national plane. But the selfish interests of the several states rapidly reasserted themselves, and the narrowly autocratic ideals of the legitimist Powers, assisted by the determination of Great Britain to "revolve in her own orbit," finally broke the Concert to pieces. Metternich was the high priest of the one, and would make no compromise with democracy, or, as he called it, the revolution. Canning was the spokesman of the other. Ten years after the signing of the treaty of Kalisch, in 1823, he wrote: "Things are now getting back to a wholesome state again. Every nation for itself, and God for us all! Only bid your Emperor be quiet, for the time for Aro-pagus and the like of that is gone by."

But, if the first Concert was a failure, the verdict of Gentz, the secretary of the Congress of Vienna, holds good. "If ever," he wrote, "the Powers should meet again to establish a political system by which wars of conquest would be rendered impossible and the rights of all guaranteed, the Congress of Vienna, as a preparatory assembly, will not have been in vain." For the moral of the era of the Concert is clear. It failed because only under the impulse of a common fear of Napoleon did the Powers subordinate their several interests to the com-

mon good of Europe, and because, when it was formed, the Concert embraced Europe only and not the world. Directly the danger was past each Government settled back into looking at international problems from its own point of view. The sense of unity grew weaker and weaker. Even King George IV declared in 1825 that the late policy of Great Britain had loosened these beneficial ties, by demonstrating a restless desire of self-interest in direct opposition to those wise and all-embracing principles by which the peace and general interests of Europe were bound together." And it was the problems arising out of the revolt of the Spanish Colonies, the coup de grace to the Concert it self, and which, by producing the Monroe doctrine, caused that estrangement between the new world and the old which is one of the greatest impediments to the reconstruction of a few and wider Concert to-day.

The difficulties in the way of a permanent Concert of nations are very great. There will be the preliminary difficulty of overcoming the reluctance of every sovereign power to commit itself to joining the Concert, because it will be afraid lest it should be induced to surrender or compromise on some matter which from the purely nationalist point of view it has considered a vital interest, and because membership of a world concert in itself will imply some restriction of that liberty amounting to a lawless licence which every

state has hitherto enjoyed. There will be difficulties over the relative positions of the great powers and the innumerable small nations, over publicity, status, and so forth. The greatest difficulty of all will probably be that of arriving at an agreement about the political principles which should govern international relations, without which the Concert, even if satisfactorily constituted, will, as in 1815-1823, eventually break up. There is certain to be a wide divergence of view on these principles, for instance, between the autocratic and the democratic states. Yet none of these difficulties is insurmountable if the will is there. Great as they will be, the need for overcoming them will be greater, for, without a Concert, it will only be a question of time for the nations to slip back into a separatism which will eventually produce evils which will inexorably mature into another Armageddon. In an issue as great as this there can be no question of impossibility. If all peoples once seriously make up their minds to subordinate their own selfish desires to the welfare of mankind, they will find the way both to create the machinery through which they will be able to discuss common problems and co-operate for common ends and they will eventually reach agreement on the principles of right and justice which should govern the conduct of nations, and which, when given the force of law, will be the substitute for armaments as the guarantee of national liberty.

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