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("To Every Man His Own.")

The Mail and Advocate

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Catalina

PRESIDENT COAKER arrived from Catalina by the Prospero last night, being absent from town two days. The work of construction is progressing favourably, and the large store 125 x 100—three flats—is now roofed in and it is hoped to have the general stores buildings roofed in by the end of the month.

The work on the electric plant is being pushed and a large number of men are now employed. This work will be suspended on the 15th inst. until the spring opens when it will be completed by next August.

The fall's trawl fishing at Catalina has been very good, but a large quantity of fish has been lost through want of bait.

Lieut. Hicks

LIEUT. HICKS of Grand Falls, formerly of Carmanville, arrived on the Prospero from Fogo District which he had toured at the request of the Recruiting Committee. The meetings he addressed were very largely attended and he was well received throughout the district. Lieut. Hicks will return to the front in a few days, he is about recovered from the wounds he received at the front.

Lieut. Hicks is a native of Carmanville, and before enlisting he was a teacher at the General Academy at Grand Falls. He is a fine type of Newfoundland and pushed his way through from the fishing boat to a position at Grand Falls that was worth \$100 per month. Let us hope that he will pull through the remaining portion of the war and be spared to return to his native land after the war and serve her interests as effectively in the future as he has in the past.

Edward's Promises

IN referring to his previous election promises Sir E. P. Morris in 1913 said: "Look at the list of promises enumerated above and ask yourselves, as honest men, whether or not we have fairly made good our obligations in these directions." These proposals says Sir Edward were met by our opponents (the Liberal-Union Party) not with any policy calculated to attain the same end, but by an attempt to stampede the electors against our party by the repeated declaration that this programme could result only in bankrupting the Colony and bringing about Confederation.

Unfortunately in 1913 the appeal of Sir Edward Morris was heeded by the people and to-day we find that, as a result of "these proposals" of 1909 and 1913, the Colony is financially in a bad mess and the end is not yet. The financial peril which now faces this Colony is the direct result of Morris' deliberate policy to place Newfoundland in such a position of financial embarrassment that Confederation with Canada would be forced upon our people.

Morris' policy of branch railways, the principle plank in "these proposals" is the main cause of our present enormous public debt of Thirty Eight Million Dollars, an increase of over Sixteen Million Dollars since Morris launched "these proposals." Of course the wasteful and improper expenditure of public moneys of the Colony has helped in a measure to swell our public debt.

Every year since Morris has been in power loans have been raised in the London and New York markets and the last one is not yet floated.

These branch railways were according to Morris' estimates to be built at a cost of not exceeding Four Million Dollars. The whole five branches were not to exceed two hundred and fifty miles. The Colony to-day knows that the cost of these railways has been treble what Morris told the people they would be and we also know that these branches were built without a proper survey being first made and as result of this loose way of doing business the contractors were allowed to build those branch lines just how they liked. They longer they were the more money they were worth and the poorer would be the Colony as a result.

In his criticism of the Morris Government railways policy Sir R. Bond in 1913 said: "At your peril then, at the peril of your country record your votes for the present Government."

To anyone who cares to read the signs of the times they cannot but be struck with the above quotation of Sir Robert's and the sooner our people cry halt to the scandalous and disgraceful manner in which our affairs are handled by the Morris clique of incapables the better for all. Sir Ed. Morris in the most cold blooded manner possible deceived the people of this Colony and to-day is engaged in the same task, so congenial to him, of trying to put another one over on us.

Germany's Next Move

THAT Germany's next move, and perhaps her last dying effort to escape the consequences of this war, will be to bring about American intervention is the opinion of the New York Tribune. Her aim will be to stave off Allied attacks until the cold weather puts an end to active campaigning. Then, being still in possession of Belgium, a great strip of France and large slices of Russia and Serbia, she will appeal to the existing war maps, and will urge President Wilson or the Pope, but probably the President, to offer to mediate. The Tribune knows as well as anyone else that this move will be futile; that the Allies will spurn all such suggestions, and will continue the war until they have completely vanquished the Central Powers, but it believes that Germany nevertheless will make the effort, and it warns President Wilson that if he should lend himself to the scheme, even with the highest motives of humanity, he will be doing the United States irreparable injury. That the President might be induced to make an appeal to the Allies in order to secure for himself the German-American vote is the fear of the Tribune.

Though it is a staunch supporter of Mr. Hughes for the Presidency, and has been since the beginning of the war strongly pro-Ally, the Tribune admits that the German-American vote is now lined up for Hughes. The results in Maine, where there is a very slight German vote, showed political observers that the Progressive vote was going Republican. It is useless for the Democrats any longer to angle for it. Realizing this, they might be induced to make an effort to alienate the German vote from Hughes. If President Wilson should heed the expected German appeal that he use his influence to stop the war now, he would detach the solid German support from Hughes, and might be re-elected. The Tribune professes to see many signs that may be attempted. What effect it would have upon Mr. Wilson's political fortunes is problematical. It would have absolutely no effect whatever upon the military situation in Europe.

"Germany," says a writer, "as far as finances are concerned, is still a going concern." This is got the only way in which Germany is a going concern!

A barrister, says a well-known lawyer, is essentially a man who is partly wrapped up in business. Trouble is that we too often find the business part of him first.

The sunflower is cultivated in Russia for oil, fodder and potash.

THE HARVEST OF THE WAR

VII.—Neutrals, Belligerents and the Peace

THE substitution of human for nationalist ideals, therefore, if carried to its practical conclusions, does solve the issues which caused the war, and lift mankind into a plane on which it can expect to find lasting liberty and lasting peace. But the road will not be easy. All peoples have to learn to see through the great illusion of national selfishness which is the true cause of war. They have to deny racial ambition and national pride. They have to recognize that no state is sovereign in the sense that it is entitled to go its own way without considering and consulting others. They have to learn that when right is in question: in the common habitation of the world, neutrality is an absurdity or a crime. They have to realize that the whole language of the day, which speaks endlessly of national rights and hardly ever of national duties to other men, is a blinding spell. All this will take time, and the greater part of the work will have to be done long after the war is over. But there is much to be done during the war, and during the conference which will succeed it.

So far as the war itself is concerned the first and essential consideration is the overthrow of the prestige of the doctrines of racial ascendancy, autocracy and national domination. If the Germanic alliance, with its gospel that the necessities of the state are superior to individual conscience and the moral law, its concept of the world as peopled by nations of prey, its belief that free men can be terrorised into acquiescing in slavery and wrong, were to be in any degree victorious, all hope of an immediate progress towards international unity would disappear. The sense of separation from the rest of the world which is so strong in Germany, and which is represented in the universal German phrase "wir Deutsche," "we Germans," and in the talk of "Kultur," is a barrier to that larger sense of a common fellowship with all other men which is necessary to the building up of healthy and free human society. It is largely the creation of the system under which the Germans live, which is based on distrust of the people and fear of others, and which is maintained by a degree of discipline and organization and blind submission to autocratic will which is but a modern form of slavery. It will disappear only as the promises of that system are unfulfilled. Therefore, for the Allies, there can be no slackening in effort, no recoiling before a sacrifice, until Germany accepts an equal national status with all other free states, large and small, and so is able to co-operate with other free peoples in the task of rebuilding the world. There is no use blinking the eyes to the fact that in all probability hard and difficult times lie ahead. The strain of the war will increase and its effects will penetrate ever more deeply into the individual home. But if we are to be true to our word and our cause there is nothing for it but to endure in cheerfulness and courage to the end, knowing that we are suffering not for ourselves alone but for the future happiness of all mankind.

There is not less important work to be accomplished at the peace conference which will follow the cessation of hostilities. The agreement to cease fighting will presumably be signed between the belligerents on the mediation of a neutral power, who will in no sense be an arbitrator, but merely a go-between, and will contain little more than a settlement of the territorial issues, as determined by the outcome of the military contest. This will necessarily be followed by a conference, which will fill in details, many of them of the utmost importance, and which will have to consider in all their ramifications the profound alterations in the world which the war has caused and the delicate and dangerous problems which it will leave behind it. It is of the first importance that this conference should include statesmen of all the great civilized powers, acting not as judges, nor as neutrals watching their own interests, nor as arbitrators, but as equal members freely expressing their own views, and sharing equally in the responsibility. The participation of all the great pow-

ers in the peace conference will be the greatest contribution towards peace and unity on earth which it will be within our reach to make once liberty is secure. It is vital partly because it will make far more probable a settlement which, in so far as the welfare of all will have been considered, will be just and which will therefore contain none of those unforgivable grievances which rankle into war, and so will permit of friendly co-operation between the powers after the war. But it is vital far more because if all the nations are once united, under pressure of a great crisis, in dealing with the affairs of the world there is a reasonable probability of their agreeing to constitute the conference itself as the nucleus of the permanent Concert of Nations. And if this step is taken, not only will the principle of the Concert be established, but time will be given which, when the passion of war has died down, will permit of the gradual unravelling of those problems connected with armaments, the balance of power, and the freedom of the seas, of nationality, of trade treaties and the open door, of Asiatic immigration, which if there is no Concert to discuss them, and they have to be handled by the old methods of diplomacy backed by arms, are bound sooner or later to plunge the world once more in war.

Recent events have shown how vital the attitude not only of belligerents but also of the neutrals may be toward the attainment of these ends. The American Note of November 6 sounds an ominous note. According to its terms, the Government of the United States "unhesitatingly assumes" the "task of championing the integrity of neutral rights, which have received the sanction of the civilized world against the lawless conduct of belligerents arising out of the bitterness of the great conflict which is now wasting the countries of Europe," and "to the accomplishment of that task it will devote its energies, exercising always that impartiality which, from the outbreak of war, it has sought to exercise in its relations with the warring nations." This attitude, if persisted in, must lead to fateful consequences. If the terms of the Note are pressed to their logical conclusion, the United States must first impede liberty in its struggle for existence, and, in the last resort, will be driven inexorably, as in 1812, to take up arms in such a way as will assist tyranny to prevail. But if anything is certain it is that, the American people do not intend that this should happen. Why, then, have they taken up a position so inconsistent with their real feelings and intentions, and so full of danger to the cause

they themselves have at heart. They have been driven to it, because, like every other nation on the earth, they are dominated by the purely nationalist idea. Overborne by it at the very beginning of the war, the Government of the United States declared its neutrality in a contest which the overwhelming mass of its people felt was a struggle between right and wrong. This policy, for which we have no sort of right to blame them, for we are at war now because our foreign policy was governed by a similar mistake up to August 4, 1914, and which persists largely because of divisions within themselves, has dogged their footsteps ever since. It has forced them to witness the martyrdom of Belgium in silence, to discuss and frighfulness even to their own people, to trust to phrases to put an end to the most awful massacres that the world has seen. It is now driving them into a controversy with the Allied Powers, the chief result of which must be to hinder the triumph of that national liberty of which the American people are themselves among the foremost champions.

The truth is that, in a great struggle over the principles which are to govern human society, no great member of the human family can be neutral. It is only the conception that the first duty of the state is to itself and that it has no responsibility for the welfare of the rest of humanity which enables a people to plead neutrality as an unchallengeable justification for its acts. Directly the policy of "America first" is supplanted by that of "humanity first" neutrality and the championship of neutral

rights to the point of seriously impeding those who are fighting for human liberty is seen to be impossible for a liberal power. That is not to say that America ought to enter the war. The manner in which one nation should discharge its duty to others can be determined only by that nation itself, and in this case America is obviously thinking of the possible service she may be able to render as mediator between the warring states. But it does mean that her neutrality should no longer screen itself behind the fiction of the basis of its policy the undoubted determination of the American people to do nothing to help tyranny to vanquish liberty in Europe. That is the logical and honourable position. There is no moral issue involved between America and the Allies. At one time she was within measurable distance of participation in the war in defence of human rights, and had she done so she would herself have broken the very laws for which she now contends. The real difficulty is that it implies coming to an official judgment about the moral issues in the war, and that is exactly what the prevailing nationalism considers as the unpardonable sin. And therefore it is exactly here that the break with the false gospel which has blinded all our eyes must come if ever we are to rise above the plane of recurring wars. Not the least service which America could render to the world would be to break down the immoral doctrine that it is the duty of non-combatants to avoid any official expression of opinion about the merits of a controversy between other members

of the human family to which all belong, unless their own national interests happen to become involved, and publicly to avow that its policy, while unfriendly towards none, could not be indifferent to the purpose of the belligerent powers or to the issue of the war, and would be concerned not merely with the championing of the integrity of neutral rights, rights, but mainly with helping the nations of the earth to liberty, unity and peace, in whatever manner it thought right.

The attitude indicated in the Note, however, may have even more disastrous consequences when it comes to the discussion of peace. America's greatest service to the cause of human unity and peace will not be to act as mediator between the belligerent powers. It will be as a member of the Peace Conference, and of the Concert into which it may grow. If she is dominated by the nationalistic spirit she is bound to refuse to participate as a responsible equal in its deliberations. She will be willing to act as arbitrator, and attend with a watching brief, but she will not commit herself to discussing with others the future of the American world, or assuming any share of responsibility for helping to solve the problems of the old world. Yet on her decision all the hopes of human unity will hang. By breaking with her long-established national tradition and assuming common responsibilities for maintaining right and justice throughout the world she can probably save the world from another Armageddon. By clinging to the policy of isolation she can condemn mankind to another era of estrangement and war.

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