

LABOUR AND THE WAR

SPEECHES DELIVERED

IN THE

CANADIAN HOUSE OF COMMONS

APRIL 26, 1918

AND BEFORE THE

CANADIAN CLUB, OTTAWA

APRIL 27, 1918

BY

SAMUEL GOMPERS

President of the American Federation of Labour.



OTTAWA

J. DE LABROQUERIE TACHÉ

PRINTER TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY

1918

Mr. Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labour, visited Ottawa on April 26, and while in the capital, delivered inspiring addresses in the House of Commons and at the Canadian Club banquet. The messages that Mr. Gompers brought to Canada clearly showed the attitude of the labour world with regard to the war and its resolute stand with the Allies.

In the following pages will be found both of the addresses referred to, and also the welcome extended to the President of the American Federation of Labour by the Hon. C. J. Doherty, Minister of Justice, on behalf of the Parliament of Canada, in the absence of Sir Robert Borden, and by the Speaker of the House, the Hon. E. N. Rhodes.

BEFORE THE HOUSE OF COMMONS
APRIL 26, 1918.

The SPEAKER (Hon. E. N. Rhodes): Mr. Gompers; it is an exceedingly pleasant duty for me to have the privilege on behalf of the House of Commons to bid you welcome to Canada and to a House composed of the duly elected representatives of Canadian democracy. Our welcome goes out to you not only as the Chairman of the Committee on Labour of the Council of National Defence, and as President of the American Federation of Labour, but also for those sterling personal qualities which have sustained you as the natural head of that great organization which you have led with such distinct success for a long period of years.

We are sensible of the great service you have rendered to the United States, with whom our relations have been so happy as a neighbour and Ally in the common cause which we all have at heart and which you have so aptly described as "the holy war for democracy."

Your visit here, though all too brief, will, I am sure, serve to stimulate us in our war effort and materially assist in still further cementing the friendly ties which exist between the United States and ourselves.

While recognizing you as a loyal citizen of the United States, it is pleasant for us to remember that you first saw the light of day in those little islands which cradled Democracy and which today, after nearly four years of war, are fighting with our heroic allies to preserve to the world civilization and liberty.

We hope your visit to Canada may prove a pleasant one, and we ask you to take back with you a message to your countrymen that Canada will stand steadfast with them and with our allies until victory is achieved.

Hon. CHARLES J. DOHERTY (Minister of Justice): Mr. Speaker, and Mr. Gompers: in the absence of the right hon. the Prime Minister (Sir Robert Borden), an absence which, I am sure, he must sincerely regret, there falls to me the duty—I should rather say there comes to me the privilege—of endeavouring to express to you, the hearty welcome of the House of Commons of Canada, and the hearty welcome of the people of Canada. That welcome would have been here for you had you come to us merely in your personal capacity. To us, as to the world, is known, the place that you have earned for yourself within your own country by the wise direction that you have given to that great element of the population which, in your country, as in ours, must always, as it is justly entitled to, exercise so wide and so large an influence in determining the policy of any democratic nation. But you come to us today not only with that claim upon our hearty welcome, you come to us as the chairman of one of the most important committees, or branches, of the National Defense Committee of the United States of America. You come to us as a distinct and important member of that committee, you come to us as one taking a large and active part in what is really the defense of all the allied democratic nations that are banded together in this great struggle for the vindication of right and in order that our common Christian civilization may prevail throughout the world. In that quality you have an absolute claim to our most hearty welcome, and most assuredly you have it. You have also another claim that appeals equally to the Canadian heart. You come to us as the representative of that great nation whose northern borders, whether on the one side or on the other, have long been undefended because the neighbouring peoples have lived alongside of each other in perfect amity and concord. If that was true before we found ourselves allied in the great struggle to which both of our countries are committed, how much more true is it to-day? Your country, the big brother, if I may so describe it, for reasons that we need not now go into, deemed it proper to leave the old home and establish himself upon his own responsibility. We, the younger brother, have remained at home, and so remaining have found that as we grew and advanced, we grew and advanced in the possession and the enjoyment of as wide a scope of liberty as even you, our bigger bro-

ther, can boast of. We are proud and happy to realize that now the bigger brother has come to join us in the old home, and stand with the old Motherland in the defense of those great institutions which are the common heritage of your land and of our own. In the defense of those liberties which were handed down to us by our common Motherland, we are proud to find ourselves standing side by side with you, and we are happy that you should be standing side by side with the Old Land and with ourselves in this great struggle, because your so doing brings to us the final assurance of that ultimate triumph concerning which, though we never doubted that it would come, we sometimes have had occasion to feel perhaps a trifle more than anxiety.

We welcome you to-day as the representative of your great nation in this day when the clouds seem to lower their very darkest, and when we realize, as perhaps we have never realized before, how absolutely it is going to take the supreme effort of your land, of our land, and of all the allied nations who are banded together in defence of the flag of democracy to attain and bring about that victory for which we are striving. I shall not endeavour by any words of mine to weaken the effect of the eloquent terms in which you have described the purpose for which we are all united for this great struggle, and what it is that we are looking forward to as the consequence of our triumph. Let me say on behalf of this House of Commons how much we appreciate the privilege that has come to us today. You have said to us, Mr. Gompers, that you came here looking for inspiration. Let me say to you that your words have brought to us a new inspiration, that shall revive in us the determination which you have assured us your people realize animated the people of this land, a determination which they have absolute confidence is shared by the people of your country. When you go back to that land from which you have come, I trust that you will carry with you pleasant memories of your visit here and assurances of the warmth of the welcome of the people of Canada. I trust, furthermore, that you will go back with a message from our people to yours that when Canada determined to stand in this struggle with you and with the other Allies they were not mistaken. In this day, when, as I have already said, the clouds seem to lower their darkest, the spirit and determination of the people of Canada is as strong as it was at

the outset to hold firmly their place in the phalanxes that are struggling in this great fight until there shall have been achieved that victory which you foreshadow, that victory that will see democracy safely enthroned in a world in which justice shall prevail among nations for the great as well as for the small, when every individual shall enjoy as his undisputed right an ordered liberty, and when right shall sit in safety unawed by any dominating overpowering might that would seek to disturb that justice which it shall be the proud privilege of all the nations that have joined in its vindication to maintain and preserve anew and rejuvenated.

Mr. SAMUEL GOMPERS: Mr. Speaker, Gentlemen of the Parliament of the Dominion of Canada, I would be less than human did I not feel deeply touched by the expressions of the Speaker with reference to myself and to the efforts which I have endeavoured to put forth. May I ask that you permit me to put my own interpretation upon all that has been said, and to interpret it rather as a tribute to the movement of the men and women of the United States and the cause which we represent, and which it is a great privilege to be permitted to serve.

With me and my associates, that enterprise in which we are now all engaged, and which we have been accustomed to call war, is no longer fully expressed by the term war, but takes on a larger view, a larger cause, a greater meaning; it is the most wonderful crusade ever entered upon by men in the whole history of the world. No nobler cause, no holier undertaking, has ever commanded the intelligent and the self-sacrificing natures of men. You men of Canada, there was no compulsion that impelled you into this war; there was no compulsion for our Australasian brothers to enter into the war; there was no need for the men of South Africa to enter into the war; there was no compulsion that drove India into the war. The Mother Country of democracy, her life and her honour, were at stake. Her plighted faith had been given. Belgium outraged and overrun, France invaded; England responded, and her colonies and dominions, her men and her women, who had learned what was meant by English democracy and English idealism, responded with an alacrity and a purpose and a meaning that sent a thrill to the hearts and consciences of liberty-loving men the world over.

We had no quarrel with the people of Germany. We even had no quarrel with the autocratic Imperialistic Government of Germany. So long as that system suited or apparently suited the ideas and the purposes of the German people, they might have gone on and on and on, suffering as they might be, tyrannized over as they were, denied opportunity for self expression, wonderfully successful in their arts, in their sciences and in their trade. No one wished them ill so long as they confined themselves to their own tasks of self-development. But when, unsatisfied with the marts of the world and with the acceptance of the standards set in the sciences of Germany, they let the dogs of war loose to dominate in the every-day affairs of the human family the world over—my tribute to Belgium in her agony; my tribute to France in her gallantry; my tribute to Great Britain, and to you men of Canada for the magnificent response which all have made, declaring to the German militarist machine: thus far shalt thou go and no farther; back from France, back from Belgium—and then we will talk peace terms with you.

It is needless for me to refer to the causes which finally brought the people and the Government of the United States into the struggle. You are, perhaps, better informed than I am upon that phase of it. But the conscience and sympathies of the people of the United States were with the cause of the allied countries, for on one side, the side of Germany, stood a dominating force, a militarist machine perfected in the science of murder; the denial of rights and opportunities; and on the other side—our side, yours and mine—was the spirit of freedom, the spirit of democracy, a sense of justice to all mankind; a willingness to afford opportunity to the peoples of all countries to work out their own destinies as best they could. Theirs the side of reaction, power, the domination of might; ours the side of opportunity for the free development of the human. There was no other choice; there could have been no other choice. Perhaps this incident of recent occurrence has not attracted world-wide attention, but I desire just to mention it as indicative of the whole scheme which underlies Germany's prosecution of this war. In the Prussian diet recently the Chancellor declared against a proposal which had been presented in that body for universal manhood suffrage in Prussia. The most significant statement made by him in opposition to that proposal was that if universal manhood suffrage were to come to Prussia, it would be worse than

losing the war. Is this not typical of all that preceded the war, and of the manner in which the war has been conducted by our enemies?

It is not understood among the people of Germany that there is any possible efficiency in any activity of life unless it is founded upon might and power, from above, leading down. It is the contempt which they hold for men in democratic countries. They believed that the people of democracies were wholly inefficient, incapable of co-operating man power or of willingness to be diverted from the ordinary avenues of industry, business, trade and the discussion of democratic policies in order to become a potent force in the defining of the rights of the people in common. It is that contempt, that lack of understanding of the fact that, when once the consciences and the hearts of the peoples of democratic countries are aroused, they become a potent fighting force that brooks no opposition to its triumphant conclusion.

The Central Powers of Europe, Germany and Austria, have as their Ally, "Civilized" Turkey. It is said among English-speaking countries: "Tell me your company, and I will tell you who you are." To say that the Allies of Germany and Austria are Turkey and Bulgaria is a sufficient answer to the inquiry in regard to keeping company. On our side we have whom? We have France, Belgium, Italy, all the Dominions of Great Britain, and the Republic of the United States of America. It does not require much enthusiasm or much understanding upon which side liberty loving men are willing to throw their lot. It has come to pass in the world's history that we are no longer great distances from each other, for we now speak in terms less of miles than of hours and minutes and seconds, and when our countries are so closely united in terms of information by telegraph, by wireless, when we are in such close touch physically by fast-going trains and by fast-driven steamships, when we have the flying machines that have dominated the air, when we have our newspapers and magazines, when we meet in each other's territory so frequently, when we are in such close communication in business, in all the affairs of life there is a law of contact by which we acquire some of the characteristics of the peoples with whom we come in touch.

The time was well chosen by the German Imperialist machine to inaugurate this battle when we were the least prepared for it, but, in my judgment, it had to come at some time or other. As Lincoln in his time

said that the United States could no longer be half free and half slave, so the time, thank God, has come that sets up for determination now that this world can no longer remain half democratic and half autocratic.

We are in this struggle. Our men have been hard pressed. It is not the easiest thing in the world to transform a democratic people from a peace footing to a war footing, but it has been done. The sacrifices are large. If there be more sacrifices necessary to be made, pray that those sacrifices may be as few as possible. But though the sacrifices may be large and exacting, they must be made that liberty, opportunity, justice and democracy may survive for humanity.

In the countries of the world which have cast their lot on the side of democracy and opportunity, many struggles and many sacrifices have been made, but there is not a man nor a woman in any of the democratic countries that now regrets the sacrifices that have been made in the past that freedom may survive. And though our men and our women are burdened and made sad often by the sacrifices that have been made, it must be a great satisfaction, a great honour and a great privilege to them, to know that their husbands, brothers and sons have made the fight that liberty shall live. Those who will write the history of the time, like us in our day who pay tribute to those who have gone before and who have kept the light burning that the ideals of freedom and justice shall survive, will record the wonderful sacrifices made in our day and pay tribute to us, saying: "Well done, good and faithful servants."

Somehow, I have an abiding faith that the cause of right and of justice cannot die. I would rather die fighting for the right than not to fight at all. If we should fail—and I repeat, we cannot fail, we must not fail, we will not fail—it is better to fail fighting than it is to submit to the yoke. The willingness to submit to the tyrant's yoke simply means the stifling and stamping out of the spirit of liberty. The willingness to fight and the sacrifices for liberty keep the spark alive in the hearts of some men, and in time it will rekindle and spread into a flame, a consuming flame, so that every man will rise up and fight again for liberty.

In this hour of the world's travail, with its suffering and its struggle, there must be unity of spirit among the peoples of all our Allied nations. Somehow, or other, I fancy that the time will come when the great

English-speaking peoples of the world, allied with the other powers of the world, are going to spread this doctrine even until it reaches the innermost recesses of Germany. In this world struggle there must not only be unity of spirit, co-operation and idealism among the peoples of the Allied countries, but there must be unity of spirit and activity among the peoples in all walks of life in each of the Allied countries. There must be a willingness to do and to dare, a willingness to sacrifice that the common cause will live and survive. Perhaps if I give you a part of the declaration made by the representatives of the Workers of America—the United States and Canada—it may be refreshing and interesting though it is more than a year since the declaration was made. A conference was held on March 12, 1917, in the city of Washington, about a month before the United States entered the war. I had previously submitted to my associates in the Executive Council of the American Federation of Labour the suggestion that they should authorize me to call a conference and they readily acquiesced. After a thorough discussion of the entire question the representatives of the American Labour Movement—I repeat, of the United States and Canada—adopted a declaration part of which I will ask your indulgence to read: "The present war discloses a struggle between the institutions of democracy and those of autocracy. As a nation we should profit from the experience of other nations. Democracy cannot be established by patches upon an autocratic system. The foundations of civilized intercourse between individuals must be organized upon principles of democracy and scientific purposes of human welfare. Then a national structure can be perfected in harmony with humanitarian idealism—a structure that will stand the tests of the necessities of peace and war.

"We the officers of the National and International Trade Unions of America in National conference assembled in the Capitol of our nation hereby pledge ourselves in peace or in war, in stress or in storm, to stand unreservedly by the standards of liberty and the safety and preservation of the institutions and ideals of our Republic. In this solemn hour of our nation's life it is our earnest hope that our Republic may be safeguarded in its unswerving desire for peace, that our people may be spared the horrors and the burdens of war, that they may have the opportunity to cultivate and develop the arts of peace, human

brotherhood and a higher civilization. But despite all our endeavours and hopes should our country be drawn into the maelstrom of the European conflict we, with these ideals of liberty and justice, here and declare as the indispensable basis for national policies and for our services in our country in every field of activity to defend, safeguard and preserve the Republic of the United States of America against its enemies whomsoever they may be, and we call upon our fellow workers and fellow citizens in the holy name of Labour, Justice, Freedom and Humanity to devotedly and patriotically give the like service.

Gentlemen, from the time of that declaration until the present moment there has not been a difference of opinion between the policy of the Government of the United States and the organized bodies of the working people. I knew before I came to Ottawa, as I know now and am convinced, that the people of Canada did not need to be heartened or encouraged in this war. They are determined as are the people of the United States to fight this battle to a finish and not conclude it by any peace negotiations founded upon the map of Europe as it is to-day. My primary purpose in coming here was to receive inspiration from my visit, as I have already received it and to give a word by way of suggestion, if needs be, that unity of action and of spirit on the part of the Government and of the workers and of the business men of Canada should prevail in order that we may win this war. There is no course of generosity or consideration which can be shown but what the workers will understand and appreciate and give if necessary more heartily of their co-operation, their energies and their service. After all out of this struggle the old conditions will never enter our lives again. We must dismiss from our minds the thought that after the war is

over we shall return to prewar conditions and jog along somehow. Through this war there are going to be new concepts of duty, responsibility and service. Service? There was a question propounded thousands of years ago which this crusade will answer; "Am I my brother's keeper?" The events and the sacrifice and the developments of this great struggle will answer that question in the affirmative. Either we will have to help to bear our brother's burden, or he will be crushed under the load. It is a question of new concepts of human right, human welfare, and social justice. With the sacrifices that our men are making, with the new ideas and ideals that are quickening in our minds, with the faster pulsations of our hearts and our beings, there is coming a new, a better and a nobler time. We are waiting for that time and for those ideals, that human brotherhood, that higher conception of duty devolving upon us, to all and from all, the world over. Sacrifice counts as nothing as against all that is at stake as the outcome of this universal conflagration. There can be but one ending of it all. The human will become supreme. Right, justice, consideration, opportunity for development, and for the attainment of the highest of which the human mind can conceive, will prevail and bring peace and contentment to the whole human race.

We are fighting and sacrificing that peace may come to the world. No peoples have ever had a greater opportunity to win for themselves from all future generations the encomiums of praise and service as have the people of our own time. God grant that the day is near at hand when the forces not only of the arms but the forces of the spirit dominating the minds of the peoples of all democratic countries shall prevail and our boys come home to us with the triumph of glory.

• (Sir HENRY DRAYTON in introducing Mr. Gompers referred to him as the generalissimo of federated labour and read a circular letter which had been sent to all the Labour councils.)

ADDRESS BY MR. SAMUEL GOMPERS.

President, American Federation of Labour.

Delivered to the Canadian Club, Ottawa, Canada, April 27th, 1918.

Mr. Toastmaster, Your Excellency, Gentlemen of the Canadian Club, Friends:

I am really glad to be with you—more glad than I can find words to express. I want to be among men who think, and men who dare to do; men who not only think, but who have it in their souls to express their thoughts, and unafraid of any power except the conscience of doing right.

I think I ought to take cognizance of the flattering words of Sir Henry Drayton in presenting me to you. First let me say that I don't know what is meant by the term "Generalissimo," for if there be anything that is far apart from the presidency of the American Federation of Labour, it is that the President is a Generalissimo. Nor can that official issue instructions. He has no army. He is simply an advisor. Much misunderstanding exists as to the powers of the office which I have the honour to occupy—I was going to say fill, but I preferred that some one should decide whether I do actually fill it or not. There is absolutely no power vested in the President of the American Federation of Labour, and I am sure—you perhaps may be surprised when I tell you—that in all my years of connection with the labour activities of the movement in the United States, Canada, Porto Rico and Cuba, it has never fallen to my lot, nor been given to me to exercise the power, to order a strike consisting of two men or more. I have never ordered a strike; I have never decreed a strike; and I have never had the power to call off a strike when it was once inaugurated. I repeat, that the office of the presidency of the American Federation of Labour is that of an advisor, a counsellor, an advocate, and one who has not grown up from the ranks, but still is proud to be in the ranks.

While in my room here for about fifteen minutes before the luncheon I came across the paper or circular letter which our honoured toastmaster has just read to you. It seemed to me that you ought to know at

least a few of the things that we have tried to do to steady the line of industry and commerce and transportation. (Hear, hear.) The drive of the Teutonic forces had just begun, and every man with red blood in his veins, every man who felt that the critical hour in the world's history had arrived, was thrilled with the possibilities, the dangers, and every man who loved liberty was bound to do his full duty at that time. And it was under that influence that I wrote and circularized this letter to the workers of America bearing the date of April 8, 1918—an appeal to the conscience and the sympathies and the liberty-loving aspirations of the toilers of America.

I was gratified more than I can tell you in words when the Honourable Secretary of the Department of Labour of the United States, a little more than forty-eight hours ago, informed me that there then were less disturbances and disputes between employes and employers than at any previous time within his experience, that there were a less number of men unemployed and a less number of men engaged in cessation of work, or strike, than at any time in the history of the United States. (Applause.) I feel confident that that happy condition obtains through the combined efforts of the Government, of employers and of the organized labour movement of the United States.

Of course it is a tremendous task, as you yourselves have experienced, to transform your whole civic life from a peace footing to that of war, and particularly of war upon such a gigantic scale as is the present war, and so the workers, the business men, the employers, the Government and the governmental agencies of the United States found themselves in the critical position of having to transform the agencies of democracy into an efficient production and fighting machine. I am confident that you men of Canada, who with the men of the other dominions of Britain, with England, Scotland, Wales and true Ireland; with the men of France and of Belgium and of Italy—who have been in this war for nigh upon four years, have experienced this tremendous transformation and all that has been involved that which I am only able to suggest. With the United States, large in territory, with over 100,000,000 of people, living as far away from each other, many of them, as the people of Ottawa are far from the people of Europe, to have done what has already been done in America is a marvel to all who know, to all who undertake to investigate. The preparations and production in the United States and in

France surpass, I am told, that which has been done by any other nation in this war. Our transportation facilities both on land and by water, large as they were, were not built to meet a condition where, with you, we must help to supply the needs of our brothers of England and of France and of Belgium and of Italy. Aye, even of Russia, fallen down completely; we must needs, as a matter of humanity, help the people of Russia that they may again stand erect before the whole world. (Applause.) It is a tremendous task. It is a tremendous undertaking. It has taken time—will take some time, but, as surely as the sun rises and sets, America will come, and in time, to the effective aid of your boys and stand side by side with them. We are building ships faster than they have ever been built in the history of the world; and we are going to build more, and more, and never quit building, producing, sending, and fighting, until the Hun is crushed.

It may not be generally known that many of the people in Germany would sing and often shout the term "Freedom." It was not at all uncommon to have heard, as I have heard on several occasions when I visited Germany as the representative of the American labour movement, the glad acclaim of "Freedom! Freedom!" And then they would skulk right into their holes. Freedom! It is more than a word; it is more than a term. An idealism if you please, but freedom is the exercise of freedom, the functioning of freedom, and to make the practice of freedom the everyday rule of our conduct and our lives. (Applause.) Freedom is not granted. Freedom cannot be conveyed. Freedom is the result of activity, and thought, and practice, and it is in the democracies of the world where we understand what real freedom means—a freedom for which we dare and do and are willing to make sacrifices in order to make it effective.

It is generally known now that for more than forty years the militarist machine, the autocratic imperialism of Germany, has been planning and preparing for this world war. But all the ramifications of that plan are not known. You will recall that under the old Bismarkian regime there were put upon the Reichstag's book the edicts that brought about the exile of a number of German Socialists and the organization of the political party was disbanded by royal order. The organization of labour was disbanded. Then they became reorganized after a period of about five years, and the organization of the Socialist party in Germany and

the organization of the labour unions in Germany were instituted, not as they have grown up and developed in England, in Australian countries, in Canada, in the United States, from the bottom up, as a natural expression of the workers for mutual protection, but from the top down—the prototype of the German militarist, imperial, autocratic government itself; and under that practice and policy and organization the greatest power was vested in leadership, in the executives of the Socialist political party of Germany and in the general officials of the trade unions of Germany. Let me explain. For instance, there are, as in the unions of Britain, Canada, and the United States, defence funds and benefit funds, but these are disposed only by the executive centre. It is not difficult to understand that when the general executive board has the right to bestow or to withhold the payments of benefits, much of it can go by kisses and favours, and that it does not invite criticism or opposition from the rank and file.

There is no question but what there was understanding between the Socialist political leaders of Germany and the German Imperialist Government to carry out its policies. The Socialists in the German Reichstag voted solidly for the military credits of that Government. The Socialists of Germany began the propaganda years and years ago to instil into the minds of the peoples of other countries that which was in accord with their Emperor's declaration that he was a war lord, but he proposed to use the great army of Germany to maintain the peace of the world; and the propaganda of the German Socialists was to hypnotize the people of all the other countries into believing that there was no need on their part, on our part, to prepare against any hostile demonstration on the part of the German army.

The philosophy of human brotherhood is an alluring one, and one to which I have been a devotee nearly all my life. My friends in America, my friends who are here, who know me, know that I never was fooled by the sophistry and pretences of the Socialists. As a matter of fact, there is not in England, France, nor America, a Socialist party of those countries. In America we have a German branch of the German Socialist party. Let me explain a moment something that may be illuminating. The Socialist party of the United States is made up of different nationalities and some Americans. The Americans have left the party since the

perfidy of the Socialist party in the United States when it revealed its true colours, when it showed itself to be a German agency in the United States. The executive at the headquarters is made up after this fashion. For instance, there are the German Socialists, who elect a secretary or representative at the headquarters; the Russian Socialists, who select another, elected by themselves; the Jewish Socialists; the Finnish Socialists; and so on, and so on, and so on; each of the groups selecting their own executive representative at headquarters. Then the whole membership of all the groups, including Americans, native or naturalized, elect the Secretary, and that Secretary is Adolf Gurner, a German. The thought of having the peoples of the world unprepared and defenceless was a conscious or unconscious part of conspiracy played by the German Socialist party. I said a moment ago that I was enthralled and imbued with this hope and ideal of human brotherhood. Not in all Canada have you a man who was a greater pacifist than I was—before the war. I belonged to nearly every peace society in America. I had written considerably upon the subject of international peace and I had given some utterances in favour of international peace, I was willing to go the full limit; and not only was there the willingness, but—I was going to say I had the courage, and I do not want to say anything about courage, but, thank God, I have never yet discovered what fear means. When I have declared a thing, I would go the limit, whether it meant jail or anywhere else.

You know also that, Andrew Carnegie, out of his millions, had created a Peace Foundation Fund. The representatives of that foundation came to me in my office for the purpose of prevailing upon me to let one of them go through my clippings and speeches and that which I had said as editor of the American Federationist and through other sources upon the subject of international peace, for they wanted to print that in a book or books. I had the promise that that would be printed de luxe and generally distributed. I had had some things done in books—I had written some things, and I was not unwilling at all, and handed over my manuscript to the printer. That was in 1914, about June, and it was to be printed and completed some time in the early part of 1915, and when in August the world was on fire and war had come, believe me, I lost no time to get to the printer and get out of his hands that damn-fool stuff. I realized that the time had not

yet come when the lion could lie down with the lamb, or if he did, that the lamb would wake—if he woke up—on the inside of the lion.

From that time a transformation occurred; from being an extreme pacifist into a pretty decent sort of fighting man. And I have tried to help my fellows realize the danger by which we are all confronted. Some men have talked of peace and of holding conferences for the purpose of discussing peace. My judgment of the situation is that when you begin to discuss peace you lose the will and the power to fight; and the duty of the hour is to fight. Not that we want to fight, but because there is no honourable alternative. What could we expect from a conference in which the representatives of the enemy countries would participate? Is there a man who could leave Germany to proceed to a neutral country—if there be any such country in the world now—for the purpose of discussing a peace that would not be entirely dominated by the German policy? If any man came from Germany to participate in an international labour conference and he did not uphold the German policy, he would not be permitted to go there, or, if he dared to go there, he would be just a head shorter.

Talk peace? What has Germany done with her treaties? What has she done with her solemn covenant with the countries of the civilized world? The treaty to maintain the integrity and the neutrality of Belgium has been torn into shreds and characterized as a scrap of paper. If there be any further evidence necessary of the perfidy of the German Government, her treatment toward the Russian people furnishes the conclusive climax and evidence. Through the treachery of her Czar, the weakness of the revolutionary representative of Russia and the radicalism of the Socialists in Russia, wanting the whole world with the turn of a hand and losing everything that is of value. Russia, in the hands of the Bolsheviks, declaring for land, and property, and wealth in common, and peace, has not any bread, nor land, nor peace. Beaten, beaten to their knees, and supplicating this modern scientific murderer, the Kaiser, for peace, the most humiliating treaty which could be entered into is made by the once great Russian people with this representative of feudal power and brutality. The treaty is solemnly entered into, and before the ink is dry upon that peace treaty the German army, by the direction of its military

executives, is marching on to Russia and a treaty of peace is again regarded as a scrap of paper, to be torn up and thrown away.

Supposing we, the people of Canada, the United States, Britain, France, Italy and Belgium, were to enter into negotiations for a peace based upon the map of Europe as it is to-day; supposing we accepted this humiliating position, what assurances have we that the conqueror and the hordes of Germany would not, as soon as our boys were on the warships and transports peacefully determined to go home to England, Italy, France, the United States and Canada—that they would not turn their torpedoes upon our defenceless ships and regard that treaty too as a scrap of paper?

To me there is but one way in which this thing can come to an end, and I pray that there will be but one end—the victory, the triumph of the combined arms and hearts and conscience of the people of our allied countries. It took some time before that great leader of men, of my country, came to the conclusion as to the real character of the German Militarist Government, when President Woodrow Wilson declared, three weeks ago to-day, in the city of Baltimore, that there is no other way of putting an end to this war, that is at all befitting civilized democratic peoples, than to meet force with force, and more force, and still more force, until the Hun is driven to his knees.

There have been many attempts made since the war began, to get the American labour movement into a conference for the purpose of discussing questions of peace. And I may say in passing that I trust you will understand that when I use the term "America" I do not use it in the sense of the United States alone (hear, hear); I refer to America, this great American continent of ours. We have our different political systems and governments, independent of each other, but we are brothers in a great common cause. At this conference it was proposed the representatives of the labour movement of Germany and Austria should participate. We have declared that we will meet with the representatives of labour of the allied countries, but we will not confer with the representatives of enemy countries unless first the German army and hordes get out of France and Belgium and back on to German soil, or until we have smashed kaiserism, if in the meantime kaiserism is not smashed from within.

Desirous of having a general understanding, representatives of labour, of Canada

and of England, have come to the United States for conferences, and conferences have been held. Recently another delegation of British workers came to the United States for conference and for the purpose of conveying to the people the real situation and the real needs, and the duties of all. The American Federation of Labour has sent over a delegation of seven men and two women, wage workers. They have been in Great Britain now for about two and a half weeks. Your papers this morning give an account of their activities on the other side and the statement is cabled over here from London that the thought among the workers of England of conferences with the enemy countries has almost entirely disappeared.

The convention of the American Federation of Labour and our executive council have declared that we will not meet with the representatives of enemy countries until after the close of the war. We have no hatred toward the German people. We know how they have been misled; we know how they have been terrorized; and when the war has come to a triumphant conclusion there will be no one who will more readily and freely and cordially extend the fraternal hand to the German people than the organized workers of the democratic countries of the world.

I ask and appeal for the unity of the people of Canada. I cannot find words to express to you my appreciation of the magnificent courage, of the wonderful contribution which the manhood and womanhood of Canada have given to this great cause voluntarily. I appeal for still stronger and greater sacrifices if needs be. I am making the same appeal to my fellow-countrymen in the United States. I wish that I could go abroad to my fellow-workers of Great Britain and of France. I wish that I could go to the front and give a word of cheer and heartening to the fighting boys there. But I am advised that the best service I can give is to remain at home and occasionally go to the men who are in accord with us and help to spread the gospel of unity of spirit and purpose, and solidarity, and sacrifice, in order that we shall not fail; and we dare not fail.

The clock has struck. The time is tolled. Every man to his post of duty, where he can give the best possible service for the common cause. Men must fight. The men at home must sacrifice—must work, give service, buy bonds, spare all that can be spared—that our fighting men over there shall be supplied with everything that they may require to put up the fight that shall win. It is either to buy bonds and pay

taxes for freedom, or -to pay tribute and indemnity for the Kaiser and unfreedom—that is the choice. And for us, who not only understand what freedom means, but who have grown out of the loins of men whose forebears were the men

who fought for freedom—for the men of today who have freedom, enjoy freedom and practice freedom, there is no choice. Men of Canada, fight on, carry on, and victory will be yours and ours, for the whole world and for the generations yet unborn.

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