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New Series, Vol. 1, No. 15

TORONTO, CANADA

June 12, 1917

## NO COMPROMISE" AGAINST CONSCRIPTION

HE PERIL OF CONSCRIPTION

(By J. Bruce Glazier)

FRANCE.—The greatest of living French writers, M. Anatole, France, declares that "the horrors of our military service are such that a Frenchwoman, if she has a son, will rejoice in becoming a widow because the soon will then be exempted from two years of the martyrdom." Numerous other novelists and publicists have dealt with the degrading servitude and revolting effects of the French conscript system, including MM. Zola, Octave Mirabeau, Lucien Descaves, Emile de Girardin, M. Urbain Gohier, in his l'Armee contre la Nation, and M. Gustave Herve, in his anti-militarist propaganda, which brought him a long term of imprisonment, have also mercilessly exposed the conditions of army life in their country.

And do we not remember the shameful revelations of the notorious Dreyfus affair and the Rousset case, which, together with countless others, of which little has been heard on this side of the Channel, have intensified the antimilitarist feeling of the French working class? Here are one or two typical words of testimony:—

M. Lionel Decle, the French explorer, declares:—The three years every able-bodied Frenchman has to serve in the army are nothing but a ceaseless degradation for men possessing any self-respect.

M. Daumont, the editor of the Libre Parole, speaking in the Chamber of Deputies, declared:—Compulsory service, far from being a school of morals, is a school of drunkenness, idleness, and debauchery. . . It has gone a long way towards ruining our peasantry, and to a large extent has already debased them. . . I deem the universal military service, as it is sometimes termed, one of the saddest sacrifices our country calls on us to bear.

GERMANY .- In Germany, under conscription, the soldiers are treated with incredible harshnes by their officers, and the army caste completely dominates the civil population. The German Social Democratic Party has sustained. a ceaseless agitation against the brutality universally inflicted on the soldiers. In connection with the trial of Rosa Luxemburg (now in prison) for having exposed the hateful ystem of oppression in the army, the Social-Democratic Party prepared a list of thousands of witnesses, who were ready to support the truth of her statements. Lieutenant Bilse, for publishing his book "From a Small Garrison Town," in which the repulsive features of German military life were candidly depicted, was sentenced to six months' imprisonment and dismissed the service. Ex-Lieutenant Kraft affirms that "the German barracks are certainly not, as we often hear, and as they should be, a school for the people, but they are a great national misfortune, destroying the progress of our political and agricultural life. They undermine the foundations of humanity, so that the present state of things cannot long continue without fostering a revolution in years to come."

RUSSIA.—It is with reluctance that I cite the case of the Russian conscript soldier just now. I have no wish to reflect on our ally, but as the Russian military system is one of the greatest in the world, it is important that the state of the soldier under conscripion in Russian should be brought into view. In a report presented by the Russian Socialist Revolutionary Party to the International Socialist Congress at Amsterdam, 1911, the writer says:

"The Russian private is condemned to an antiquated, absolutely senseless discipline, and to Draconian punishment. . . The Government makes every effort to isolate and alienate the soldier from the people and to terrorize him into silent obedience. He is treated more like a prisoner than a defender of his country. Every sign of independence is suppressed with the utmost severity. A laugh in the ranks or a mere word may lead the soldier into many months or years at a 'disciplinary battalion,' where he is subjected to the most barbarous and lawless treatment.'

Kuprine, the celebrated Russian writer, who was for a time an officer in the army, thus describes in his powerful novel "In Honour's Name," the effect of conscript life on otherwise humane and decently-behaved men:—

"Yes, they (the officers) are all alike, even the best and most tender-hearted among them. At home they are splendid fathers of families, and excellent husbands, but as soon as they approach the barracks they become low-minded barbarians. . . The edious grimaces, swaggering manners, bold and scornful look—"God help the man who dares insult me"—padded shoulders, cock-ahoop defiance. They live like parasites on society."

And have not you, the workers, in our own country, had some foretaste since the war began, of what compulsion, military and industrial, may bring? I am not going into the subject of recent experiences under the Defense of the Realm and Munitions Acts. But I ask you to consider what your position would be were conscription in full blast. The evidence I have given in these pages of the feeling in the mind of

the leading advocates of compulsion should forewarn you. Remember that in case of a great industrial struggle, a telegram from the War Office might convert half a million trade unionists on strike into half a million conscript soldiers bound to obey orders which they could not question.

Remember that under conscription in Germany, France, Russia, and Italy workmen on strike have been summoned under the colours and compelled as soldiers to play the part of blacklegs against themselves as trade unionists, and even to raise their bayonets against their fellow-workers.

As nothing relating to Germany is reckoned valid just now by way of evidence of what may be done in civilized countries, I shall cite an example from France. In 1910, goaded to exasperation by their miserable conditions of long hours and small pay, and constant intimidation, the railway workers on the western and northern lines came out on strike. The Prime Minister, M. Briand, formerly a Socialist Deputy, instantly took "drastic action," with the full approval of Parliament and the press, except the Socialist Party and the Socialist and Trade Union journals. M. E. A. Vizetelley, in his Republican France, thus describes in a sentence what was done: "The Army reserves," he tells us, "were called out, the various lines were guarded by military; soldiers with a knowledge of railway work-among them being all those strikers who, as reserve men, were temporarily reincorporated in the Army-were called upon to ensure the various services, and with few exceptions they did their duty." The strike was broken, hundreds of men were punished, not merely by being refused re-employment, but by prosecution under military law.

But perhaps, you think, that would never occur in this country. One hopes not, but, if so, it will hardly be, judging from past experience, from any lack of will on the part of those in power. Let me recall the great railwaymen's strike in August, 1911. Mr. P. W. Wilson, the parliamentary correspondent of the Daily News, in an article in that journal (August 25), giving the inner history of the settlement, declared that the Government (the Liberal Asquith, Lloyd George, and Churchill Government) had at first determined on absolutely crushing that strike by a "policy of batons, bayonets, and bullets." The Government, in advance of the settlement negotiations, had, he stated, given a written carte blanche to the railway companies to call upon the troops. He

"It was this remarkable and probably unprecedented document that was heralded forth by the companies as an absolute guarantee of an adequate, if restricted, train service. The knowledge that the troops, with ball, cartridge, and naked bayonets, would be virtually under the instructions of the companies wherever picketing was effective, produced an unparalleled situation. It meant that the Briand policy had been adopted—a policy successful in France

as a means of crushing a railway strike, but fatal to the continuance of a British administration.''

It was only, Mr. Wilson tells us, when the Lawrer Party announced its resolve to move a vote of censure on the Government in the House, that the Government thought better of its bullet and bayonet project and, through the medium of Mr. Lloyd George, adopted a conciliatory policy.

## TO CRUSH TRADE UNIONISM REMARKABLE AVOWALS

But we are not dependent upon inference or surmise with respect to the hostile aims of the conscriptionists towards democracy and trades unionism. The militarists have left no room for doubt on that point. Their avowals and admissions are more than plentiful. I have only space here for a few of the more typical examples, but these, I think, will suffice. I shall begin with one of those significant remarks that give piquancy to the "heart to heart" conversations in military clubs, but seldom escape into the columns of the press.

Speaking at the Service Club, August 26, 1915, Colonel Sir Augustus Fitzgeorge (son of the late Royal Duke of Cambridge, commander-in-chief), said:

"Compulsory service was necessary at this time, when the people were getting out of hand."

There is a world of meaning, as the saying is, in that little sentence, which will be illuminated by the quotations that follows.

Lieutenant-Colonel W. H. Maxwell is brutally frank in his appreciation of conscription and martial law as a short way to crush trade unionism:

"The abuse of personal freedom has reached its climax in this country. Trade unions-that shelter for slinking shirkers-is imperiling our existence, and by its action a rot of our national soul has set in. One remedy, and one alone, can eradicate this state of rotmartial law will cure it. With the knowledge that refusal to assist in the nation's defence means "Death" to the individual so refusing, the shirkers would soon be brought to their senses and fall in wherever required. All who incite to rebellion to be shot at once by drumhead court-martial would have a steadying effect. The individual does not count to-day. If Parliament will not act, then let a Cromwell come in and settle the question. He would be welcomed."

Colonel Arthur Lee, M.P., explicitly admits that the conscriptionist's design is to use compulsory service as a means of avoiding having to pay trade union rates to soldiers, and of being able thereby to run wars more cheaply. In a speech at Fareham (August 17, 1915), which the Times commended as "well and clearly stating the facts of the matter," the colonel said:

"Not content with coaxing and pushing and bullying Britons to do their

(Continued on page Two)

## THE PERILS OF CONSCRIPTION

(Continued from Page One)

duty, we had also descended to bribing them. We had the spectacle at the-front of motor and lorry drivers drawing 6s. a day and living in ease and in safety, while their comrades who worked the machine-guns and heavy artillery, and who must also be mechanics, were paid only 1s. 6d. and were risking their lives every moment."

The right remedy, one would think, for this obviously unfair way of treating the fighting ranks would be to raise the pay of the men, skilled and unskilled alike, who were risking their lives every moment for their country, up to the rate of those living "in ease and in safety." But that is not the conscription idea. Their remedy is to cut down the pay of all the rank and file, whether riflemen, engineers, transport drivers, or telegraphists, to the continental conscript level. For, says Colonel Lee:

"Under a system of National Service, such as exists in France, all soldiers would be paid alike and each soldier would be put to the duty for which he was best suited. That was only democratic and just, and would, moreover, save an immense amount of money."

None will dispute the colonel's statement that the adoption of the National Service system as it exists in France, where soldiers are paid only a few pence, would "save an immense sum of money," but the democracy and justice of the system is a different matter. Think what it means. Workmen under National Service are to be compelled to give up their jobs and go to the front. There they must perform tasks requiring high skill, work unrestricted hours, endure every hardship, suffer terrible wounds, risk every moment their lives. And for this they are to be rewarded by having their pay reduced from 5s., 6s., 7s., perhaps 8s., or more, down to 1s. 6d., or perhaps 6d., or 2d., as in France, while their mates who are lucky enough not to be conscripted are to enjoy their full pay, and merchants and employers are to go on with their business as usual, making as big war profits as they can. Colonel Lee does indeed "well and clearly state the facts of the matter." and it is to be hoped the working class will as well and clearly grasp the meaning of his statement.

Major-General Sir Alfred E. Turner, who has contributed a series of letters to the Spectator in favor of conscription, also lays stress of compulsory service as a means of dealing with strikes. Referring to the South Wales miners' dispute, he says:

"The strikers gained their ends, and with them an everlasting stain on their reputation, which not all the rain of heaven can wash out, the stain of showing themselves perfectly ready to betray their country for filthy lucre. Compulsory service might not produce loyalty, but it would produce a sense of duty and discipline that would prevent such disgraceful and damaging incidents."

#### ETERNAL VIGILANCE

is the Price

Speaking in the House of Commons on Thursday, 16th September, last, in the debate on conscription, Sir Alfred Mond directed his attack against the voluntary system on the ground (amongst others) that it took away too many married men and so involved too heavy an expenditure on the dependents of the killed and wounded soldiers:

"The present system is the most extravagant form of recruiting that, any country has yet undertaken. It is unnecessary to burden yourselves with the enormous separation allowances for years to come."

Numerous extracts might be given from newspaper articles and corre-

spondence urging the adoption of conscription as a means of disciplining the workers not only under the army authorities, but under their masters in the workshop. A correspondent, for example, in the Spectator (Sept. 14, 1915), writes:

"As a supporter of the National Service League I regret that compulsion is not to be applied to the shops. It is more necessary there than in the army."

A weekly journal that boasts having a circulation of over a million copies hails Prussian conscription as the remedy for strikes:

"The miners who refuse to work must be conscripted—put under military control and made to work at soldiers' pay. That is the way they do things in Germany, and that is the way we must do with them here."

In a special article in the Manchester Guardian, August 24, 1915, dealing with the intense feeling against compulsory service in Ireland, the writer says:

"The conscriptionists have come to be regarded in Ireland as a party working under cover of the political truce for wide, far-reaching, and permanent political changes, of which a conscript army would be only a symbol," and he quotes the Morning Post as saying that "the vile stuff of the political principle upon which modern England has developed was being thrown into the dust heap."

Finally, for I might fill pages more with quotations to the same effect, I shall ask my readers to ponder the testimony of Mr. Benjamin Kill, the well-known author of Social Evolution and Western Civilization. In an interview recorded in the Daily News (September 7, 1915) Mr. Kidd says:

#### A FORLORN HOPE

"I have not much hope that once compulsion is introduced we shall get free of it after the war. There are many of the advocates of conscription who press for it for purely military reasons, but there are others, some of the chief of them have frankly admitted as much to me-who desire it as the only weapon against the growing power of the trade unions. And it is in that direction that conscription must in any case inevitably tend. The whole principle of force rests on conscription, and the introduction of conscription would mean the introduction of that principle of force of which Germany is so perfect an exponent. And if you think Mr. Kidd is taking a too alarmist view of what would result from the establishment of conscription and the letting loose of the insolent militarist spirit upon the nation, let me remind you of the sentiment recently expressed by Lord Derby. Speaking at the Guildhall, London (July 15, 1915), in company with Lord Kitchener and Sir Edward Carson, his lordship evoked cheers from the gathering by declaring: "We sometimes hear of spies being taken to the Tower ditch and shot. If sometimes we could take a questioner from the floor of the House of Commons into the Palace Yard for the same operacion, I think it would have a salutary effect."

Of such, then, is conscription. Of such is compulsory military service under whatever shape or mask it is arged upon us. Of such are the conscriptionists with their lofty appeals for "national service," their grand, sloquent beseechings to the people to yield up their heritage of civicism and freedom, and to take upon themselves the yoke of militarism which has kept the democracies of Europe in thrall and strife down all the centuries, and has lragged them into the awful whirlpool of slaughter in which we see them plunged to-day.

Do not you, my readers, now perceive he true portent of this unprecedented

zeal on the part of the aristocracythe Lord Northcliffes, Lord Milners, Lord Derbys, and their kind-for the moral and physical regeneration of the working class, the welfare of the nation, the interests of the Empire. I am not alleging that the leaders of the compulsory service agitation are consciously seeking to deceive and entrap the people. They are obsessed with the militarist idea. It profoundly appeals to their class system, to their own material interests, to their craving for power over people. They doubtless sincerely believe, as all 'autocrats' and obigarchs do, and always have done, that their own interests are the true interests of the nation-a notion so familiar to us in such precepts as "The poor thrive in the prosperity of the rich," and "The interests of Capital and Labor are the same." That fallacy has been the working theory of oppression and slavery since the world began. But the world is now growing out of it, and the hopes of a new civilization abound.

#### VANCOUVER, B.C., LABOR COUNCIL AGAINST CONSCRIPTION.

"Whereas the Government of Canada contemplates passing a conscription law, and

"Whereas such a law, if passed, would not only sacrifice the workers without their consent, but would also annul those protective measures which organized labor has been able to force from the employers, and curtail to a minimum the liberties which we are popularly supposed to possess; therefore be it

"Resolved that this Trades and Labor Council declares its intention to resist by any means in its power the passage of such a law; and be it

"Resolved that a mass-meeting of all workers in Vancouver be called by the Executive Committee at the earliest possible date; and be it further

"Resolved that the executive of the B. C. Federation of Labor be instructed to take an immediate referendum, with a view to calling a general strike in this province, as soon as any conscription law is passed."

By a ninety per cent. majority, the representatives of organized labor, assembled at a special meeting of the Vancouver Trades and Labor Council, Wednesday night, passed the above resolution, declaring themselves as a body unequivocally in favor of a general strike in the event of the proposed conscription law being passed, those voting, however, in many instances, explaining that while they were opposed to conscription, they had not the sanction of their unions to vote for the whole membership. Many of these stated, however, that they were convinced that their locals would ratify their action on it being brought before them, while others informed the delegates that their unions were 100 per cent. in favor of the resolution.

#### BAINBRIDGE DEFENCE FUND.

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#### AN IRISH PACIFIST.

A recruiting sergeant stationed in the south of Ireland met Pat and asked him to join the army. The latter refused, whereupon the sergeant asked his reason for refusing.

"Aren't the king and kaiser cous-

"Yes," said the recruiting sergeant.
"Well," said Pat, "I wanst interfered before in a family squabble, and I'm not going to make the mistake

A PROTEST AGAINST ALL WARS AND FIGHTING AND THE SPIRIT THEREOF.

Prom the Society of Friends (Called Quakers), Addressed to the People of Canada.

Inasmuch as many have undertaken to stir up the minds of the people of this, our beloved country, in the interests of war, we, the above mentioned Society being a peace loving people, do feel to send this forth amongst you.

"Dearly beloved, avenge not yourselves, but rather give place unto wrath; for it is written, Vengeance is Mine; I will repay, saith the Lord." (Rom. 12, 19.)

Christ said in His sermon on the mount, "Ye have heard that it hath been said an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth; But I say unto you, That ye resist not him that is evil, R.V.; but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also." How can we actively resist evil, and yet have a clear conscience before Him who has given these charges? And if such resistance be wrong for individuals, surely it must be just as sinful for nations.

We cannot find, in all of Christ's teaching, any justification of war or the spirit thereof; for this spirit which prompts us to harm our fellow-man is that of the Evil Oone. Therefore whosoever is actuated thereby opposes Christ's teaching.

While we can rejoice over the little leaven that is working among the nations of the earth, it would be "Woe" unto us to cry "Peace, peace," when there is no peace; and there never can be, so long as armaments are being built for offence or defence.

We, as followers of Him who was proclaimed the "Prince of Peace," believe that before God all men are equal, and that He is no respector of persons; therefore, since He, our Supreme King and Law-giver, forbade the use of the sword, how can we draw it for any lesser potentate?

The Church of Christ is unfaithful to her trust if she confront not the world with the teaching of her Lord.

It is to be lamented that so many who profess to be the followers of this "Prince of Peace" do engage in the promotion of this great evil. Apart from the horrors of war, which are well known, there are evils, caused by

war, in time of peace. By various crafty and deceitful pleas we believe many innocent ones are lead to have a hand in that which they do abhor. Under a pretense of physical and moral training, the art of warfare is taught to those in the tender years of childhood and youth. There is nothing good in this which cannot be taught our children in our educational institutions without the aid of anything pertaining to war. The Society of Friends is utterly opposed to military training, in any respect whatever, in any of the schools of our country. Our children can receive physical and moral training on a peaceful principle to better advantage than otherwise; for peace promotes love, humility, submission and condescension; whilst war promotes hatred, pride, and such subordination only as is brought about through fear, not love

We do earnestly desire your serious consideration of these things, that, ere it is too late, we might yet be released from the burdensome evils now casting their shadow upon our beloved country.

Given forth at the 47th Annual Gathering of the Society of Friends, held at Pickering, Ontario, in the Sixth Month of the year, 1913.

Signed by direction and on behalf of

Canada Yearly Meeting of Friends.

Mordecai F. Starr,

Marianne Richardson,

Clerks.

Socialism will give every man an opportunity to be a real man and live the life of a real man.

12, 1917.

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undertaken people of the intermentioned people, do gst you. not yournto wrath; is Mine; I (Rom. 12,

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## The Conscription

The Government bill for conscripcion under the title "The Militia Service Act, 1917," commences with a recital of the compulsory service provisions of the Militia Act passed in 1904. It recites the clauses of that Act which render the militia liable to be sent for service in or out of Canada for the defence thereof. It explains that, owing to the large voluntary enlistment of those who otherwise would be producers in Canada and to the necessity of maintaining production at the highest possible limit under such eireumstances, the method of drafting men as provided in the Militia Act is unwise and improvident, and that the men now required should be secured by a process of selection. The bill provides for securing reinforcements, which, unless Parliament further authorizes, are not to exceed 100,000 men. It sets out ten distinct classes from whom drafts will be selected. These classes will be called

follows: Class 1-Those who have attained the age of twenty years and were born not earlier than the year 1894, and are unmarried, or are widowers but have no

out in the order named. They are as

Class 2-Those who were born in the years 1889 to 1893, both inclusive, and are unmarried, or are widowers but have

Class 3-Those who were born in the years 1883 to 1888, both inclusive, and are unmarried, or are widowers but have no child.

Class 4-Those who have attained the age of twenty years and were born not earlier than the year 1894, and are married, or are widowers who have a child or children.

Class 5-Those who were born in the years 1889 to 1893, both inclusive, and are married, or are widowers who have a child or children.

Class 6-Those who were born in the years 1883 to 1888, both inclusive, and are married, or are widowers who have a child or children.

Class 7-Those who were born in the years 1876 to 1882, both inclusive, and are unmarried, or are widowers who have no child.

Class-Those who were born in the years 1876 to 1882, both inclusive, and are married, or are widowers who have a child or children.

Class 9-Those who were born in the years 1872 to 1875, both inclusive, and are unmarried, or are widowers who have no child.

Class 10-Those who were born in the years 1872 to 1875, both inclusive, and are married, or are widowers who have a child or children.

In its remaining essential points the bill provides:-

(2) For the purpose of this section, any man married after the day of ---1917, shall be deemed to be unmarried. In his speech Sir Robert Borden au-

nounced the day as June 11. (3) Any class, except 'class 1, shall include men who are transferred thereto from another class as hereinafter provided, and when who have come within class I since the previous class was

called out. (4) The order in which the classes are described in this section shall be the order in which they may be called out on active service, provided the Governor-in-Council, may divide any class into sub-classes, in which case the sub-classes shall be called out in order

#### of age, beginning with the youngest. Shall Report for Active Service.

5. (1) The Governor-in-Council may from time to time by proclamation call out on active service as aforesaid for the defence of Canada, either in Canada or beyond Canada, any class or sub-class of men descirbed in section four, and all men within the class or

sub-class so called out shall, from the date of such proclamation, be deemed to be soldiers enlisted in the military forces of Canada, and subject to military law for the duration of the present war, and of demobilization thereafter, save as hereinafter provided.

(2) Men so called out shall report and shall be placed on active service in the Canadian Expeditionary Forces as may be set out in such proclamation or in regulations, but until so placed on active service shall be deemed to be on leave of absence without pay.

(3) Any man by or in respect of whom an application for exemption is made as hereinafter provided shall, so long as such application or any appeal in connection therewith is pending and during the currency of any exemption granted him, be deemed to be on leave of absence without pay.

(4) Any man who is called out and who, without reasonable excuse, fails to report as aforesaid to remain on active service where placed shall be guilty, according to the circumstances, of deserting within the meaning of section twelve of the Army Act, or of absenting himself without leave within the meaning of section fifteen of the Army Act, shall, besides being otherwise subject to military law, be liable (a) to be tried by court-martial and convicted and punished by imprisonment, or (b) on summary conviction to imprisonment for any term not exceeding two years.

#### Local and Appeal Tribunals.

- (1) There shall be established in the manner hereinafter set out the following tribunals:
- (a) Local Tribunals.
- (b) Appeal Tribunals. (c) A Central Appeal Judge.
- (2) Any tribunal may hear evidence on oath or otherwise, as it may deem expedient, and for performance of its duties shall have all the powers vested in a Commissioner under part 1 of the Inquiries Act.
- (3) The Governor-in-Council may, upon the recommendation of the Central Appeal Judge, make regulations with respect to the establishment, constitution, functions and procedure of the said tribunals, and such regulations may contain provisions for securing uni-
- formity in the application of this Act. (4) In so far as provision is not otherwise made, the procedure of the tribunal shall be such as is determined by the tribunal.
- (5) No member of any tribunal shall be responsible at law for anything done by him in good faith in the performance of his duties under this Act, and no action shall be taken against any member of a local tribunal or an appeal tribunal in respect of the performance or non-performance.

#### For a Non-partisan Hearing.

There are to be three tribunals. First of all, local tribunals, composed of two persons, are to sit in each locality wherever designated by the Minister of Justice. One of these two men is to be chosen by the Senior County Court Judges of the district where the tribunal first sits. The other is to be chosen by a Board of Selection, and this Board of Selection is to be named, not by the Government, but by Parlia-

The Premier's intention is that it shall be composed of men acceptable to both and all elements of political faith. These local tribunals shall hear appli-cations for exemption, and the principles upon which they shall Act are set out in the bill.

Boiled down, they require that the tribunals shall decide whether or not the man who asks for exemption is best serving the national interests at the work he is at or in military servicé.

The next tribunal is called the Appeal Tribunal and is composed of one Judge of any court to be designated by

the Chief Justice of the Province where the appeal is entered. Any applicant for exemption, and anyone authorized by the Militia Department, has free right of appeal to this appeal tribunal.

#### Supreme Court Judgment.

Above the appeal tribunals throughout all the Provinces there is a Central Appeal Judge. This Central Appeal Judge is to be chosen from the present Supreme Court of Canada. He is to determine by regulation the conditions upon which appeal may be made to him. Provision is made for providing the assistance of other Judges for the Central Appeal Judge on his recommendation. It will thus be seen that the exemption provisions aim at the fair and impartial and, what is not less important, the uniform application of the exemption clauses throughout the whole of the Dominion.

A Registrar is to be appointed for each Province, whose duty it will be to receive appeals and allocate them by districts for the convenience of the Chief Justice in the selection and allocation of the appeal tribunals.

#### Those Who are Exempt.

Certificates of exemption that may be granted are evidently intended to be, in the main, conditional certificates. Men may be exempted for a limited time, or pending the happening of some event. They may also, in proper cases, be placed in the class next in order, and required to report for duty when such class is called. Applications for exemption may be made by one person on behalf of another, and may be made to any local tribunal in the Province where the applicant resides. A local tribunal, once chosen, however, by an applicant, cannot be afterwards changed.

There are also exempted clergy and ministers of religion and certain members of the Mennonites and Doukhobors promised exemption by the Dominion in 1873 and 1898.

When the class to which any man belongs is called out, each member of that class becomes a member of the militia. subject, of course, to apply. The expense and delay of registration are avoided and apparently at the same time the objects of registration are to be attained. There are only sixteen sections in the bill.

#### CORRESPONDENCE

Winnipeg Telegram.

At a convention of the S. D. P., held here last night, it was unanimously deeided to endorse the Dominion Executive Committee resolution (re conscrip-

J. BROWN.

Montreal Telegram.

Send two thousand special of anticonscription number of Forward imme-

R. BUHAY ..

Kitchener, Ont.

The reports that anti-conscription meetigs in Kitchener were broke up by soldiers are untrue. On May 26 a mass meeting was held on the Market Square. The speakers were M. Smith and Lorne Cuningham, of Guelph. Attempts at interruption by a few soldiers were not tolerated by the crowd, which was estimated at from 1,500 to

An indoor meeting was held next evening, with the same speakers. Hundreds who could not get admission to the hall lined the streets. The meeting was carried on as planed, the only disturbace coming at the end. 'Many soldiers were present.

The Kitchener Socialists succeeded admirably in bringing forward their views and organizing a tremedous sentiment against conscription. Restrictions have been placed upon their meetings by the police. Despite threats, and opposition the local is growing. We had every success in our initial effort, and though the authorities recognize our

meetings as "legal," the right to assemble has little reality. Mob violence, threats, organized ruffianism, hold the day. In view of this Kitchener local has already adopted "Russian tactics." It is evident that capitalist "liberty's is working-class slavery.

#### Local Dovercourt, No. 7'.

A study class is being held on Sunday at 2.20 p.m. at 165 Van Horne St., and will be continued. Comrades are advised to take advantage of this, Ability to state the case for Socialism is now more urgent than ever.

J. CUNNINGHAM, Secretary.

### RUSSIAN METHODS FOOLED THE POLICE

A crowd of two thousand people attended the meeting of the Anti-Conscription League, held in Alexandra Park, Bathurst and St. Patrack Streets, last night. The gathering was orderly, and the remarks of I. Bainbridge, the only speaker, were applauded. Cae or two soldiers were present, but they did not make any hostile demonstration. The following resolution was adopted:

"Resolved that this mass meeting of Toronto citizens do hereby protest against the introduction of the compulsory military service bill and condemn it as being detrimental to the best interests of the citizens of this country, and whereas militarism has proven itself to be the greatest enemy of social democracy in every part of the world, therefore be it further resolved that we, citizens in mass meeting assembled, will use all the legitimate means within our power to prevent the enactment of such legislation, and that a copy of this resolution be sent to Premier Borden and Sir Wilfrid Laurier."

Mr. Bainbridge quoted statements of Augustus Fitz George, son of the late Duke of Cambridge, Lieut.-Colonel Maxwell, Colonel A. Lee, Major Turner and Sir Alfred Mond to show that conscription was a valuable asset to those who wished to crush trade unionism, and it would undoubtedly have the same effect in Canada if enacted. He protested against the 'assumed democracy' of a government which would take the power into its own hands of passing such legislation without a fererendum vote of the people.

#### Conscriptionists Not Eligible.

He criticized the action of men who were advocating conscription from the platform who in the main were not eligible for military service themselves, he said, or would be exempt according to certain provisions for exemption. The statements that had appeared recently in a Toronto paper that Socialists in Chicago had brought about the death of several innocent citizens in that city, he characterized as absolutely untrue. The fact of the matter was that the three men referred to, whose names were not mentioned, were not members, of the Socialist party, but belonged to the society known as the Industrial Workers of the World, who believe in direct action, which principle the Socialists entirely repudiated.

He challenged the audience to show even a single instance where the Socialists in Canada had ever adpoted such tactics. All their meetings were carried on according to the rules of parliamentary procedure and the law was strictly adhered to. He further criticized the lack of action on the part of the military authorities in permitting the breaking up of properly organized and legitimate assemblies of citizens, met to consider a matter vital to the life of Canadian people. He predicted that if the measure were put to a vote of the people, it would be defeated as recently had been the case in Australia.

## PRUSSIANIZING CANADA

A meeting by Local No. 5, S.D.P., of Guelph, Ontario, was broken up by a company of soldiers about seventy-five in number. The Dominion Secretary, on receiving the news, journeyed to Guelph to investigate.

It appears that immediately after the announcement of the meeting the local soldiers organized a general attack. No civilians participated in the riot of language and abuse that followed.

The promoters of the meeting appealed to the city police for protection, and upon the request of the Mayor the police were in attendance It may be stated in passing that there are fourteen members of this local. The meeting had scarcely commenced before it became apparent that there were troublous times ahead. Notwithstanding this fact the noble fourteen plugged ahead amidst a volley of abuse and lurid lan-

Albert Farley opened with a direct appeal to the audience to keep order, stating that it needed a great deal more moral courage and manliness to take the stand they took at the present time than the average man in khaki gave warrant for. He dealt with the lawful aspect of the assemblage, and gave very prompt replies to the frothy bellowing

of the interrupters.

Lorne Cunningham was the first speaker to take the spotlight. He waded through the historical problem of patriotism and proceeded to deliberate upon the capitalistic nature of war in general. This was where the trouble began-the soldier boys would not have it that capitalism caused the war, and certainly did not lop off the hands of innocent children. Cunningham pointed out that these acts of brutality were not the cause of war, but incidental to all war, which would continue until the fall of the system.

Comrade Mervyn Smith, of Kitchener, was then demanded by the uniformed vassals, to which Smith replied "Present!" and immediately proceeded to state his case against bearing arms. His medicine was too strong for the hostile audience, and he had a rough passage from then on. There was no retreat for Mervyn; he went right on to the accompaniment of gaths, hisses, and yells, and under threats of violence compelled to singe the National Anthem.

The police stood by like lobstegs and saw the men hauled from the platform and punched and bruised-one man was thrown downstairs. The victims were then lined up outside the building and dragged into the ranks like prisoners of war with the victorious heroes on each side. An interesting incident occurred when the march began. Ed. Hill, a valiant comrade, and crippled by rheumatism, was being left out in the cold and not permitted to share the public disgrace of his comrades. Not to be denied such laurels, he hobbled into the ranks and demanded to suffer the persecution with his colleagues. This was too much for the fighters for liberty; they kicked him out, saying "We don't want cripples."

The gorgeous array proceeded to the strains of martial music and the accompaniment of oaths and curses. Jim Smith, the champion pamphleteer and rip-saw peddler, was threatened with drowning, and later had to quit his profession as barber, the soldiers threatening to destroy his domicile of clean shaves. Jim has since gone back to the land to associate with more congenial companions, deeming it more fitting to live by raising pigs than to die at the hands of things unfit even for the association of that lowly domestic

Pardon the interruption, gentle reader. Jim is worth a whole issue.

The glorious carnival then proceeded, the noble trio were then hatled, bustled, jammed, jigged, and to conclude, the dignity of the whole proceedings, they were then blanketed.

The stodgy little town of Guelph has never seen such a glorious spectacle until this day. The proceedings were fittingly concluded by singing the doxology-and "God Save the King."

SOLDIERS MOB SOCIALIST CROWD.

Break Up Meeting Called to Oppose Conscription.

Uses Crutches as Weapons.

Thrilling Scene in Labor Temple Sunday Evening as Returned Men Invade Meeting and Chase Audience Over Stairs and Roofs.

#### Wild Scene in Hall.

The scene inside was the wildest witnessed here for many a day. The crutches and sticks of disabled veterans of Ypres and the Somme were flying about; men who returned from Courcelette and Thiepval minus limbs were engaged in hand-to-hand fights with Socialists. Tables and chairs were upset and sent spinning across the room. Everybody seemed to be shouting; some were giving orders. A bugler sounded several calls. Persons offering resistance were knocked to the floor or thrown downstairs, and some who attempted to escape by the rear were chased through the windows, over roofs and down the fire-escapes.

#### Played "The Red Flag."

Harry Perkins, a stereotyper, was to be chairman of the meeting, while R. A. Rigg, M.P.P., of Winnipeg, was to have been the principal speaker. That is about as far as the meeting got. A Finnish orchestra started to play "The Red Flag," the "marching song" of the Socialists, when a veteran of Courcelette rose and demanded that the National Anthem be played. There were probably 300 or 400 war veterans present, in command of Sergt.-Major Lowery. The Socialists refused to sing "God Save the King." The war veterans cried: "We will make you sing it." And the Socialists sang "God Save the King' at the point of the bayonet, figuratively speaking.

#### "Get Out, Everybody."

The orchestra was compelled to play the National Anthem, and those who refused to doff their hats and sing were hustled out of the hall in double-quick time. The next command was, "Get out, everybody!" and those who thought discretion the better part of valor did not remain to argue the point. A number of plainclothesmen in charge of Police Inspector Geddes regulated the crowd on the stairway, and Inspector Geddes handled the whole situation with great tact, otherwise many persons would probably have been crushed in the wild rush for the exits.

#### "Pack Up Your Troubles."

After the room had been cleared of Socialists the soldiers again sang the National Anthem and marched out to the street, where a great throng had gathered. The crowd reached from Queen Street almost to Wilton Avenue, and the police regulated traffic with great difficulty. Out on the street the soldiers again sang, this time the National Anthem and "Pack Up Your Troubles in Your Old Kit Bag, and Smile, Smile, Smile."

#### Changed His Mood.

"They're looking for trouble and they'll get it," commented a foreigner who stood by as the war veterans commenced singing "God Save the King." He was as "meek as Moses" a minute later when a man in khaki stepped up to him and said, "Take your hat off,"

"All right, if you say so," he muttered as he removed his hat, and held it in his hand until the National Anthem was finished.

#### Interrupted Church Service.

The veterans then formed fours and marched off amid cheers, which disturbed divine worship in the Metropolitan Church across the street. En route to the City Hall they chased a man who is said to have displayed a German flag.

At the City Hall they held a recruiting meeting, which wound up with cheers for the King and hisses and boos for "Jimmy" Simpson .- Toronto Telegram.

Hamilton, Ont.

A meeting arranged by the Hamilton Socialist Federation to take place on June 3, 1917, was declared off by the police authorities. The following is an explanation offered by the Chief of Police and reported in the Hamilton papers:

#### ON THE JOB.

#### Chief Whatley Confiscated Bundle of Foreign Literature.

Police officials last evening confiscated a quantity of pamphlets printed in various foreign danguages which were being distributed at a meeting of Socialists held at a house on Murray street east. Just what subjects the circulars are concerned with the police do not know, as the report of the interpreter engaged in the work of translation has not yet been received.

"We have the matter in hand," said Chief Whatley, "and we will see that these foreigners do not go too far. The meetings last night seemed to be in the nature of organization meetings, but we will watch out that no large meetings are held. It has been suggested that these men are banding together to fight conscription, but whether this is true or not I can't tell until

the circulars have been translated."
Later.—Chief Whatley stated that the rest of the handbill had been translated, but that there was nothing mentioned, but the meeting Sunday after-

#### Gratified at Way in Which Socialists Obeyed Police.

Chief Whatley is well pleased with the orderly way in which the Socialists yesterday afternoon accepted the police degree that there should be no anticonscription meeting.

"Did you hear about the trouble in Toronto?" asked the chief. "We were lucky to avoid that."

"Don't you think it would have been better to let the meeting go on and then arrest the ringleaders?" the chief was asked.

"No, I think we chose the wisest plan," the chief replied. "I don't think we could have arrested the men any-

"Under what authority did you stop the meeting?" was another query put to the chief.

"We can do almost anything we like these days under the Defense of the Realms Act," declared Chief Whatley.

We beg to draw our readers' attention to the statement in the last paragraph, "We can do almost anything we like in these days," etc. It is apparent they are doing anything they like these days (either legally or illegully). Let us hear some more about "British Freedom and the Democracy of British Institutions." It reminds us of the statement made by Dr. Johnson, "Patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel."

#### The Rights of British Citizens is to Shut Up or Be Beaten Up.

The leader of the English section of the Socialist party was asked what he thought about the police stopping the

anti-conscription meeting.

'They just want to show their authority, that's all,'' declared the leader. ''We have a perfect right to hold

"What are you going to do now?" he was asked.

"We'll appeal to those higher up," was the reply. "We are almost sure to have a meeting next Sunday after-

"Was James Simpson, the Toronto Labor leader, supposed to address the meeting?" asked the reporter-

"We sent a telegram to him, but I guess it didn't arrive in time," replied the Englishman. "He hasn't come

There was one young English-speak ing individual who was specially dignant. He read a clipping from a Toronto paper in which a police official was quoted as saying that anticonscription meetings could be held as well as pro-conscription as long as nothing seditious was said. "That's what I say," the man was heard to declare. "If they can hold a pro-conscription meeting why can't

a pro-conscription meeting, why can't we hold an anti-conscription meeting?"

No one got a chance to answer this momentous question as the police told the group to move on.

The scarcity of English-speaking people amongst the crowd was much commented upon by the spectators of the scene, whose love for a "scrap" had drawn them to Gore street. They were disappointed, however, as the foreigners merely showed their disapproval in harsh grunts and vigorous gestures.

"They should arrest the whole gang of them," was one soldier's tense comment, when he saw the crowd. "They are all pro-Germans."

The meeting was to be hold under the auspices of the Hamilton International Federation of the Social Democratic Party of Canada.

Speech is the articulate expression of the human mind. Deny this expression and the mind becomes a prison, bolted and barred, from which you can never emerge without a physical evolution.

#### THE DOMINION SECRETARY IN-TERROGATES MILITIA DE-PARTMENT.

"Having received no reply to my communication of May 30, I again beg to draw your attention to the fact that soldiers, acting under instruction of superior officers, are depriving citizens of Toronto and other places of the privileges granted by the statute law to discuss matters that are of public importance at the present time relating to the proposed compulsory military service act. In view of the brutal proceedings of Sunday evening, June 3, in the Labor Temple, Toronto, I am instructed to request that you will give this letter your serious consideration and endeavor to prevent as far as posible any interference by the soldiers in properly and lawfully organized meetings. Happily no serious injury has yet been done, but the continuation of these hooligan activities may result in verp serious consequences. The civil authorities are quite competent to deal with any possible disturbances, which are extremely unlikely, so far as we are concerned.

"Trusting you will see the necessity of taking immediate action, and that the usual courtesy extended by public officials will be fulfilled in replying to this request."

We presume that the Militia Department is too busy handing out contracts. to take any notice of complaints similar to the above. By the way, it may be advisable to state that the Honorable Minister is personally interested in contracts of this nature, as many large orders have been received by his firm from the Imperial Munitions Board. Suffice to say in regard to the letters referred to, no reply has been received up to date. His silence is more profound than words, and bearing in mind the dignity of his position, the refusal to reply can only be construed as a recognition of the validity of our claim, i.e., that the acts of vandalism referred to are committed with the acquiescence and possibly the instructions of the Militia Department.

> War is Hell. Those who want H-Can go to H-

Kirkpatrick.

JUNE 12, 1917.

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## THE CANADIAN OR WARD

#### To Our Contributors-

The columns of The Canadian Forward are open to contributions from all friends of the cause. Though we can by no means undertake to publish all we may receive, everything, by whomsoever written, will receive careful attention.

No notice will be taken of anonymous communications.

All contributions intended for insertion to be addressed to the address given below, and must be authenticated by the name and address of the writer, not necessarily for publication.

#### Subscriptions (post free)-

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#### Correspondence-

All correspondence should be addressed to Business Manager, or I. BAINBRIDGE, Dominion Secretary, The Forward Press, 361 Spadina Avenue, Toronto, Canada.

Vol. 1, No. 15

TORONTO, CANADA

June 12, 1917



Who overcomes by force hath overcome but half his foe.—Milton (Paradise Lost).



#### REAPING THE WHIRLWIND.

Sir Robert Borden has presented his Conscription Bill to Parliament. All the sattelites of Capitalist Society were present in full dress regalia. An immense crowd of ladies were present. It might easily have been taken for a horse race or a dog show—rather than a Parliamentary court-martial of all Canadian able-bodied citizens between the ages of 20 and 45 years. The Premier, of course, was in fine form and made the (usual) greatest speech of his life.

From the character of the bill, especially that part relating to "Local and Appeal Tribunals," Sec. 5—Parliament might just as well be adjourned and the Government of the country vested in the hands of the militarists. The provisions of such tribunals as outlined give promise of being quite on a par with the English tribunals; and we have not the slightest doubt will be prosecuted with rigor by the selective judges of said tribunals.

Notwithstanding the solemnity of the occasion, borne upon us by the fact that such legislation is unprecedented in this country, we cannot fail to miss the "joker" associated with the exempt classes, viz.: Clergy, Ministers, Mennonites and Doukhobors. Why the Quakers are omitted under these provisions passes our comprehension, and we have no hesitation in saying that, as a body, no other organization has been so outspoken in its opposition to military service or stood more loyally in defence of conscience-notwithstanding the acid test of imprisonment that has been imposed upon them in different parts of the world. In Britain alone it is estimated over 10,000 are to-day rotting in durance vile in defence of conscience, and we can look for similar occurrences in Canada with the passage of the Conscript Bill, in which case Sir Robert Borden will find out that call of conscience is to many people more powerful than the "call of the great Empiricists."

#### A DISCORDANT NOTE.

From many parts of the Dominion we hear grunts of disapproval and rumb-

lings of social revolt against the conditions imposed upon labor in many fields of industry. The miners of Northern Ontario are putting up a great fight for better conditions, although we note regretfully that the prospect of conscription has had the much desired effect in Capitalist psychology "of inducing them to moderate their demands." We are also informed that labor in B.C. is not satisfied with the hand out they are receiving at the hands of their taskmasters-to say nothing of the munition workers' attack upon the Flavelle ilk on the way they have mismanaged the affairs of the "Imperial Munitions

The heroes of the Somme are also exhibiting signs of discontent, justifiable discontent we would call it. They are certainly receiving a raw deal, and we venture to predict that the illadvised company they are now keeping will ultimately be reversed. We can assure them of our hearty sympathy and support when they have been disillusioned as to the sincerity of the politicians who are now using them for their own ulterior purposes.

The portents of the time are of such a character that the words of Sir Robert Borden may come home to him with borrowed interest unless he takes immediate steps to commandeer the monetary resources of the country to meet the stupendous problem of feeding, housing and clothing the derelicts of his ill-conceived policy for which he has made no provision. Be careful that you do not reap the wihrlwind "Sir Robert," our hands are clean.

#### THE KIND CAPITALISTS.

We take issue with the Toronto Globe of June 12th in its editorial comment under the caption "Presuming on Kindness," in which the writer suggests that participation in political meetings by alien subjects is an abuse of liberty.

The arrest of 95 Ukrainians, mostly socialist, and anti-capitalist conscriptionists serves only to demonstrate the political nature of legal administration in the interests of the ruling class. We even go so far as to state that the socialied liberty of the British subject is not a liberty at all, but a privilege that

can be taken away any time it suits the politicians to do so. For instance, free-speech—free-press and assemblage; these are supposed to be liberties of British subjects, but there is not a sane man or woman in the city of Toronto who will to-day admit that these are features associated with our political life—to wit: A peaceful assemblage of Toronto citizens met to discuss compulsory military service were clubbed with chairs, crutches, and sticks, by a large number of soldiers in the Labor Temple on June 3rd. The police were in attendance and no person was arrested.

The fact that these same alien enemy citizens were liberated upon instructions from Ottawa, notwithstanding that the Chief of Police had expressed a desire to intern them, serves only to demonstrate that it is not the act of abusing kindness that is of vital consideration to the Government—but rather the possibility of rich profits to be made out of their hides by granting them (Liberty).

By the way, we understand that Sir Edward Kemp, Minister of Militia, employes a large number of these alien enemies at his factory on Gerrard St. E., Toronto.

Possibly this is an explanation of the liberation, deeming it more fitting to keep these boys making rich harvests rather than feeding, clothing and housing them at the public's expense.

## Class - Conscious 3 Comments

By Phillips Thompson, Oakville.

It will be time enough to send more Canadians to fight overseas when England has shown herself disposed to accept the socialist programme of "peace without annexations or indemnities," and Germany has refused to do so.

eye-to-eye with Comrade James Simpson, and have strongly criticized his campaign methods, but the stand he has taken against conscription, at no little sacrifice of popularity, is worthy of all admiration.

I have not always been able to see

The mining operators of Porcupine and Cobalt are so intensely animated with the lofty spirit of patriotism that they are only willing to pay subsistence wages to alien employees.

Good old Quebec! She may yet save Canada from Imperialism.

I have always favored all reasonable restrictions of the liquor traffic, including the abolition of the bar, but the brutal harshness and severity with which the Ontario Prohibition Act is being administered by Denison and Kingsford of Toronto and Jelfs of Hamilton, are worthy of a Prussian governor of Belgium. But capitalism must have sober slaves.

England went into the war under the pretence of preserving the independence of Belgium, and proceeded to grab the German colonies, annex Egypt, and invade Mesopotamia. Rather a round-about way to Belgium, wasn't it?

Patriotism is about the only virtue of which a man can boast and be taken seriously. If he boasts of his courage he is apt to be ridiculed as a braggart. If he vaunts his virtue he will be suspected of being a hypocrite, and a secret sinner. If he praises his own honesty, he will be regarded as a sharper. But he can mount a platform and proclaim his intense devotion to his country and the dear old flag and get away with it every time.

It would, no doubt, be unfair to class Sam Gompers as a tool of capitalism. If he has shown ordinary prudence he ought to have invested enough of the

handsome salary he receives to be considerable of a capitalist himself.

Every Socialist or Labor man opposed to conscription should at once write to the representatives of his constituency at Ottawa urging him to vote against it. No need to write at lengh. A sentence or two will do if you make it strong enough. And it won't cost anything, for postage for letters to M.P.s go free.

Independent of this conscription question, Socialists should get the letter-writing habit anyway. Don't hide your light under a bushel. Write to the papers, to public officials, to the preachers, to anybody in positions of influence. The Single Taxers are great letterwriter, and it has evidently had its effect.

There is not the slightest reason to suppose that King George has not been absolutely guided by the advice of his responsible Ministers since ascending the throne.—Toronto Mail and Empire.

And for saying the same thing, though somewhat differently worded, Wilfrid Gribble was sentenced in St. John, N.B., to two months in jail. But then, Gribble is a Socialist.

"Absolutely guided" by the orders of his boss, Lloyd George, the King has created a new batch of Canadian knights, most of whom nobody outside of a limited circle ever heard of before. Some of the party journals appear to be worrying over it. It's a pity he doesn't turn out a new lot every week. When titles get as cheap and common as "Hon." and "Col." the whole business will only excite contempt.

Toronto will be sick of militarism before long. The brutal ruffianism of the baser element among the returned soldiers will find other outlets than breaking up Socialist neetings. An outbreak of all sorts of crimes and depravity, the inevitable result of all wars, will make the respectable "loyal" citizens, who smile approvingly when Socialists are the victims, laugh on the other side of their faces.

#### Precept.

The first anly consideration is to win the war. The war cannot be won without greater sacrifices than we have yet made. \* \* Those who would shirk responsibility and seek their own comfort and peace are born too soon in human shape.—Toronto World, June 4.

#### And Practice.

Mr. Hugh John Maclean has recently sprung into prominence in Canada as a poet of considerable talent. He is the son of Mr. W. F. Maclean, M.P.—Toronto Globe, May 8..

Comment is superfluous.

Whatever Labor may think or do, the Churches are lining themselves up in favor of conscription.—Hamilton Times.

And who outside of a few sentimentalists ever imagined that the Church cared anything about Labor,

Church cared anything about Labor, except to extract as many as possible of the workingman's nickels for the contribution plate?

The heavy burdens of war that fall upon the poorer classes of the community, contracted with the huge war fortunes that have been made by a privileged few, have sown the seeds of agitation and discontent that can be extirpated only by drastic legislative reforms and firm and honest administration. " " " The country is fighting abroad the battle of democracy against a despotie autocracy, while at home there is an intolerable autocracy of wealth, which is no less intolerable because it comes in the garb of demoeracy and under the aegis of democratic rule.-Toronto Globe.

## ITEMS OF NEWS FROM ALL PARTS

ATTACK BY MISS LAURA HUGHES ON BONAR LAW AND NOTED BRITISHERS.

Under the heading, "Accusations of wickedness of the blackest kind made by a Toronto woman heard at a peace meeting," the Rochester Democrat and Chronicle prints the following in its news columns:

"Implicating Bonar Law, Lord Glen-Connor, six bishops and a dean of England directly or indirectly in an "international armament ring" which she declared is fostering the war and was partly responsible for its inception, Miss Laura Hughes, of Toronto, startled the members of the Rochester Peace Organization yesterday afternoon at the Powers Hotel with what she claimed were truths about the 'inside' of the war.

"Lord Connor is, a brother of Premier Asquith. According to Miss Hughes he is interested in five munition factories in Germany. Bonar Law, she said, is connected with the Krupps through his iron holdings. When the British Government was appealed to in 1914 to stop the shipping of nickel to Germany from the International Nickel Company in Ontario, Bonar Law said there was nothing to fear.

#### Canada Nickel for Krupps.

"Meanwhile," exclaimed the speaker, "Krupps were holding up the manufacture of some of their largest guns, waiting for Canadian nickel that would help to kill Canadian soldiers. A load of nickel from this company was taken back on the last trip of the Deutschland."

"Russian munitions," said Miss Hughes, "are largely supplied by English, French and German interests, working together. From an English officer she learned that the dial plates for the heavy British artillery came from Germany. Throughout her talk she clearly indicated her belief that the war is kept alive purely for the financial profit of those interested in the making of arms.

There had been a fine frenzy of talk about fighting for freedom and democracy before the war, Miss Hughes remarked, but no such excuse as the treatment of Belgium was admitted at the present time by the English press.

#### War Record of Britain.

"During the Napoleonic wars," the speaker asserted, "the English people were told that to have an enduring peace Napoleon and France must be crushed to earth; that after that had been done there would be no more war for Great Britain. Of the hundred-odd years that have elapsed since then, Miss Hughes said, fully seventy-five have been fraught with war of one sort or another. No nation conquering England could have taken from the British people the rights that their own Government has taken away during the war, in her opinion.

"The Canadian woman decried military training, saying that it developed only from the chin down, teaching a man to obey another mind than his own. It made excellent slaves, she said, but bad citizens. She rather detracted from the patriotic ring of the title of her address, 'Keep the Flag Flying,' when she said she meant the flag of peace.

#### Petition for Early Peace.

"At the close of Miss Hughes' talk the following petition was drawn up, and copies of it will be signed and sent to the President and each member of Congress:

"Believing that the welfare of humanity will be served by an early peace, we petition our President and Congress to work for a cessation of hostilities and a return to normal human relations."

SOCIALIST RIOT IN STOCKHOLM.

10,000 Cause Disorder in Royal Square.

Election of Socialist Leader Precipitates Trouble.

Exclusive to The Spectator.

(By Arthur E. Mann, United Press Staff Correspondent.)

Stockholm, June 6.—Ten thousand Socialists and laborers rioted in the Royal Square Tuesday afternoon when the Premier of the Lower House of Parliament refused the election of the Socialist Leader Branting to the Upper House.

A number were wounded by sabers wielded by police and soldiers.

A big force of guards was hastily summoned to the palace and Parliament when the mob began giving indications of violence. The parade had started as a peaceable demonstration, but when the crowd found its progress barred to approaches to the palace and the Parliament Buildings, their temper changed. Stones were thrown at the police and soldiers and there were several spirited clashes.

The guards, however, were strong enough to repel all attempts of the mob to rush the Parliament Building.

#### WORKDAY SIX HOURS IN PETRO-GRAD PLANTS.

## Threatened Strike in Factories Engaged in Metal Manufactures and Other War Work Averted.

Petrograd, June 6, via London.—The threatened strike in 140 factories in Petrograd, engaged in metal manufactures and other war work, which was fixed for to-day, has been averted. The strikers' claims were granted, including the six-hour day.

In south Russia the employers in the factories of the Donetz district offered the men a fifty per cent. increase in wages. Representatives of the workers, however, refused to accept the offer.

Minister of Labor Skobeleff was the principal speaker to-day at a meeting of the Workmen's Council. His plea was for rehabilitation of Russia's finances.

"We must have money," he declared. "So far we have been compelled to follow the methods of the old regime—that is, to print paper money. Such a deceitful plan must be done away with. We must place higher taxes on war earnings—even to the extent of a hundred per cent. levy."

#### THE COMING REVOLUTION.

The peace movement, which might have ended as a capitalist peace movement a year ago, is now no longer merely pacifist, but revolutionary. In the shadow of the war looms the social revolution. From Glasgow to Naples, from Moscow to Bordeaux, resounds the ery of revolt, weak, but quickly swelling in volume. The Russian Revolution has marked the great turning point of the war. All over Europe the workers are massing behind the Social-Democracy, realizing at last that their hope lies in the overthrow of capitalism, which will carry with it the wrecks of TWELVE FORWARD ..... thrones and all the social and legal superstructure of the present system .-The Call.

#### SOCIALISTS EXPEL SIMONS, GAY-LORD.

#### County Central Committee Vote Stands 63 For to 3 Against.

By a 63-to 3 vote the country central committee of the Socialist Party expelled Winfield R. Gaylord and A. M. Sim-

ons, Wednesday night. This action sustained the charges of the executive committee which specifically accused Gaylord and Simons of the following acts:

Publicly slandering the Socialist
Party and the Socialist convention in
the capitalist press;

Publicly slandering members of the Socialist Party in the capitalist press;

Bringing the Socialist party into disrepute by accusing it of sending out treasonable matter and of treasonable conduct.

The central committee sustained the charges after receiving documentary evidence submitted by the executive committee and copies of the congressional record, containing a letter to Senator Paul Husting from Gaylord and Simons denouncing as treasonable the majority report of the recent Socialist convention in St. Louis, and recommending its suppression by the government. Senator Husting used this letter and communications from Gaylord and Simons in support of the espionage bill.

Neither of the men appeared before the meeting, but letters from both were read by E. T. Melms, county organizer.

#### NOT ALLOWED TO SAIL.

#### Mariners' Union Prevents Departure to Russia of English Labor Pacifists.

Canadian Press Despatch.

London, June 11.—The National Seamen's and Firemen's Union, which has prevented Frederick W. Jowett, M.P., president of the Independent Labor Party, and James Ramsay Macdonald, M.P., chairman of the Labor Party, from sailing to Petrograd to meet Russian Socialists, on the ground that they are pacifists, has asked the American union to prevent the departure of pacifists who may attempt to leave American ports.

The union offers no opposition to the departure for Russia of Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst, the suffrage leader, and George H. Roberts, Labor Whip, in the House of Commons.

At a meeting in Trafalgar Square yesterday to protest against the departure of Jowett and Macdonald, a telegram from a ship's captain was read, saying: "I have Macdonald and Jowett prisoners. The crew refuses to sail with them."

#### THESE WILL CARRY MACDONALD.

London, June 11.—The British Seafarers' Union of Glasgow has offered to supply a crew to take Mr. Macdonald and Mr. Jowett to Russia.

#### "LLOYD GEORGE"

#### A Retrospective View.

Mr. Lloyd George, at the Queen's Hall, July 28, 1908:-

"Look at the position of Germany. Her army is to her what our navy is to us-her sole defence against invasion. She has not got a two-power standard. She may have a stronger army than France, than Russia, than Italy, than Austria, but she is between two great Powers, who, in combination, could pour in a vastly greater number of troops than she has. Don't forget that when you wonder why Germany is frightened at alliances and understandings and some sort of mysterious workings which appear in the Press, and hints in the times and Daily Mail. . . . Here is Cermany, in the middle of Europe, with France and Russia on either side, and with a combination of their armies greater than hers. Suppose we had here a possible combination which would lay us open to invasion; suppose Germany and France, or Germany and Russia, or Germany and Austria, had fleets which, in combination, would be stronger than ours, would not we be fright-

ened? Would we not arm? Of course we should,"

Mr. Lloyd George in the Daily Chronicle. January 1, 1914:

"The German army is vital, not merely to the existence of the German Empire, but to the very life and independence of the nation itself, surrounded as Germany is by other nations, each of which possesses armies about as powerful as her own. We forget that, while we insist upon a 60 per cent. superiority (so far as our naval strength is concerned) over Germany being essential to guarantee the integrity of our own shores, Germany herself has nothing like that superiority over France alone; and she has, of course, in addition, to reckon with Russia on her Eastern frontier. Germany has nothing which approximates to a two-power tandard. She has, therefore, become alarmed by recent events, and is spending huge sums of money on the expansion of her military resources."

#### A WARNING TO TRADES UNION-ISTS—TAKE HEED!

The decision of the British Government to comb out the munition factories is another instance of the value of a scrap of paper; or, rather, of a card which is supposed to be a bit tougher than paper.

The Government entered into an arrangement with the A. S. E. in Novemher last by which that union was privileged to give trade exemption cards to its members. The threat to withdraw the cards is causing much furious thinking among the engineers. They have given up all their trade union privileges, they have submitted to the Munitions Acts and to dilution of labour, and this was the only quid pro quo they got. If it is taken from them they lose all along the line. It is already acrepted that the trade union privilege will never be restored, except after a long industrial struggle. May it be that certain influential people would rather like to see a comb-out of the engineers with a view to "disciplining" the more dangerous men-the men who would be most active after the war in fighting for the restoration of those rights.

The executive of the A. S. E. might give a passing glance at this suggestion before it quietly submits to a governmental act which, whether the Government wills it or not, can be used by employers as a means of putting active trade union spirits in the place where their power for "mischief" will be likely to disappear for ever.

In the comb the employers will keep the men they want, and "release" the men they don't want—and I don't think we need waste much time in deciding what would be their guiding rule as to the relative utility of men.

#### ....PARTY ANNOUNCEMENTS....

#### ALBERTA PROVINCIAL EX-ECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Meets on the First Wednesday in each month, at 8 p.m., at Mrs. A. Martin's, 10528 98th Street, Edmonton, Alta.

Riverdale Local No. 87 (Toronto) meets at 82 Wroxeter Ave. (off Pape) every second and fourth Friday of the month, at 8 p.m. Everybody welcome. Address enquiries and communications to the Secretary, Charles M. Thompson, care 82 Wroxeter Ave., Toronto.

The Dominion executive committee meets on the 2nd and 4th Tuesdays of the month at 363 Spadina Avenue, Toronto, secretary, I. Bainbridge.

The Ontario provincial executive committee meets on the 2nd and 4th Thursdays of the month at 363. Spadina Avenue, Toronto, secretary, I Bainbridge.

Locals and Executive Bodies may have their Adyts in the Directory for the sum of \$3.00 per year.

JUNE 12, 1917.

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### THE RUSSIAN REVOLT and THE INTERNATIONAL

By G. Tchitcherine (Russian Socialist Groups).

In view of the immensity of the historical effects of the Russian Revolution, in view of the dazzling new perspectives it is opening before the development of human society, immeasurably great are the tasks facing the proletariat of Russia and its responsibility towards the workers of all countries, immeasurably great likewise is the responsibility towards the Russian proletariat which the international situation creates for the workers of other

The suddenness of the "lightning" Revolution of March, 1917, the facility with which it was accomplished after many decades of titanic struggles which to numerous distant onlookers seemed hopeless for a long time to come, its completeness and the novelty of the thoroughly democratic forms of political life it brought into being, the semblance of unity of all forces of Russia in opposition to the fallen over-decayed regime which after the success of the Revolution became its idolon fori, all this conceals from the less thoughtful onlooker the unexampled complexity of the real situation in Russia and of the tasks facing the profoundly diverse actors in the great drama.

The peculiarity of Russia is the great variety of the stages of economic development co-existing in its internal structure. Modern capital in its highest concentration, world-finance and imperialism have forced their way into a land that had in many respects not proceeded very far from natural production and that hides in the immensity of its badly connected vastnesses thoroughly primitive forms of society, adjoining super-modern factories provided with the latest novelty in technical perfection. In the internal structure of the most numerous of the classes of Russia, the peasantry, we find the same complexity. Not very far behind was serfdom, a social form of the early middle ages. A few years ago, the dominant form of economy in the principal agricultural parts of Russia was still, under the cover of modern pecuniary liability, in its essence permanent labour services by the peasants to the manor not unlike those that predominated in Western Europe in the late middle ages. And at the same time the simultaneity of modern capitalism, with its laws/of competition and its highly developed technical machinery, made it necessary for these same peasants, while gradually emerging from their primitive state, to adopt highly modern forms of husbandry and of combination, in the shape of the tens of thousands of productive peasant co-operatives which have covered Russia with mushroom alacrity during the last years and are now one of the backbones of the new regime. And last, but not least, modern warfare has brought together the disseminated peasants, has united them among themselves and with the industrnal workers in the worm of the army, which, once revolutionized, has become a norganized body of the popular masses and an instrument of their political self-expression, while remaining at the same time also an instrument of capitalist idealogy and an object of imperialist hypnotising.

#### THE LEFTERS AND THE HYPNOTISTS

In the Russian Revolution we see in kaleidoseopical variety the fully developed industrial worker armed with the last word in class-consciousness, belonging to the Zimmerwaldian "left wing and calling his fellow-workers of allcountries to the struggle for Socialism, and we see the half-slave of yesterday enjoying the first enthusiasm of newly-

won bourgeois liberty and of the recognition of his human personality; we see the revolted peasant of the old Jacquerie seeking as yet to emerge into modern rural small bourgeoisie, and we see grandiose peasant-combinations with developed machinery and with an office in the Finsbury Pavement; we see great imperialist financiers and captains of industry, bourgeois Ministers with a thorough grasp of world-politics, subtle intellectuals trained in all the complicated ideas and in all the tricks of capitalist domination over the mind, and we see heroes of primitive accumulation quite similar to those of the eighteenth century in France, we see small craftsmen delighted at a freedom of move ment and activity unknown to them before the Revolution.

But behind all this variety lurks financial capital, binding together the primitive and the advanced forms of economy, and exploiting for the strengthening of its own domination the ideôlogies of primitive bourgeois revolutionism and its naive enthusiasms. There was no unity of the society of Russia when the Revolution was made; it was a rising of the masses, the first in the whole world during the present war. When the Revolution was victorious, then came psuedo-unity. Imperialism endeavours to apropriate it, to adapt it to its own needs. Side by side with Zimmerwaldian proletarian ideology of 1917, the enthusiasms and ideas of 1793 have poured over Russia-and Imperialism grasps at them and exploits them. Primitive bourgeois revolutionism, defiling our proletarian revolutionary emblems with "patriotic" mottoes, has become an instrument of high capitalism for the establishment of the latter's domination. Behind the enthusiasm of the half-slave of yesterday, enjoying bourgeois liberty and striving to defend it against "internal and external foes" on the model of 1793, there operates capitalism, through this medium subjecting the masses to its rule and thus counteracting its real foe, the international revolutionary proletariat.

The latter is the other force behind ha motley variety of the scenery, really facing Imprialism All the various stages of development, co-existing in Russia, are bound together behind the scene by the octopus of financial capital. And all the democratic popular forces, as far as essentially oppoed to oligarchical capitalist rule, can become the followers of the revolutionary proletarian force, in the measure in which it succeeds in opposing the "patriotic" capitalist hypnosis.

The Russian Revolution is a Janus. Imperiaism exploits it all over the world, with its help fans war-enthusiasm in Europe and in America. In this action in Russia Imperialism operates with reminiscences of 1793, it mobilises intellectuals with their elaborate machinery of seductive ideas, honeytongued Social-Patriotic imposters, old figurants of remote stages of the revolutionary development to whom the new problems are a book with seven seals. The future will show which force will be the stronger. Either it will be imperialism; in which case the result will be that a great new Imperialit State will increase the number of the existing imperialist States, the enthusiasms of the revolutionary moment will abate, the obsolete economic forms will soon dissolve, and a period of purely imperialist rule will have to be faced. Or the revolutionary class-conscious proletariat will be strong enough to withstand all the machinations of capitalism, will be the driving power of all the popular forces against imperialism; that will mean that a period of great revolutionary struggles will follow: The Russian Revolution is a Janus; of its two natures, which will prove the

stronger? The rulers manipulating the masses, or the masses opposing the

The outcome depends largely on our fellow-workers of other countries. If popular movements against the rulers in other countries follow the Russian Revolution, the later will pursue its revolutionary course, and this revolutionary course will be international. If the deluded masses uphold everywhere imperialism, imperialism will slowly strangle the present revolutionary manifestations in Russia, and its rule will be established for a long time to come.

#### HORACE GLADSTONE TWILLEY,

#### Conscientious Objector to Military Service, Leicester, England.

May 25th, 1916.—Surrendered to police under protest; remanded on £20 bail for one week.

June 1st .- Handed over to military authorities; taken by force to Glen Parva Barracks.

June 2nd.—Refused to sign papers. June 3rd.—Brought before major; again refused.

June 5th .- Brought before commanding officer; sentenced to "28 days' field punishment No 2"; in irons 2 hours daily; dragged to parade ground; refused to obey all orders.

July 3rd .- Sent to join unit at Richmond-Yorks.

July 4th.-Refused to parade; sentenced to 14 days' dettntion and trial by court-martial; remanded for that purpose; sent to cells at Richmond

July 12th .- Tried by District Court-

July 15th.—Sentenced to 112 days' imprisonment.

July 17th.—Taken under armed escort

to H. M. Prison Durham. August 29th .- Removed to H. M. Pris-

on Wormwood Scrubbs, London. August 30th.-Brought before Central Tribunal; adjudged to be a "genu-

ine conscitutious objector." August 31st .- Returned to Durham Prison.

September 7th .- Offered, and refused, "Alternative Service" (Army Reserve, Section W.).

September 11th .- Visit from mother; 20 minutes interview allowed.

Septémber 14th.-Given 24 hours to reconsider decision and told I would "be treated with utmost rigour of military law "if refusal persisted in; again refused.

September 18th.—Given 10 days more -again declined.

October 14th.-Handed over to escort; taken to unit at Brampton, near

October 15th .- Allowed one days' freedom with mother and Wilfred (with friends) at Rotterdam.

October 16th-Went back to camp; refused to parade; remanded for District Court-Martial; taken under escort to Pontefract Barrack.

October 20th .- District Court-Martial, Colonel Armstrong presiding; I pleaded "Not guilty"; case for prosecution "Not proved."

October 26th .- Again tried by D.C.M. before company on parade.

October 30th .- Promulgation of sentence; one year with hard labour; commuted to six months without hard la-

November 2nd.-Taken under escort to London.

November 3rd .- Taken to Wormwood Scrubbs Prison, arriving 12 noon.

November 4th.-Again urged to accept "Home Office Scheme" 'alternative service).

November 16th.—Saw our great leader, Clifford Allen.

December 21st .- Visit of mother and

December 25th.—Christmas Day in prison-a happy day; friends sany carols and songs throughout day outside prison walls.

January 1st, 1917.—Allowed to write

February 2nd .- Taken with 50 "absolutists" to Wandsworth Prison-"a glimpse of the throbbing world,"

February 27th.-Completed 4 months of sentence; slight improvement of diet. March 3rd .- Visit of mother and Miss

March 27th. Sent down for discharge; escort did not arrive; handed to Military Police; taken to Tower of

London. March 28th.—In the Tower of London; make friends with the soldiers.

March 29th.—Escort arrives at 6.30 a.m.; leaves London, St. Pancras, 9.50; met at Leicester by friends; dinner at cafe with mother and friends; taken to unit; allowed to stay right at home (joy unspeakable!).

March 30th .- Refused all orders; charged before captain and remanded for D.C.M.; placed under observation; conversation with captain; billeted at home; being released on word of hon; our to appear at stated times; evening at No-Conscription Fellowship Meeting.

March 31st-Khaki discarded. April 1st-Visit friends in morning; speak to Sunday School in afternoon; evening at Wycliffe Church; take Com-

munion; cordial reunion with friends. April 2nd.—During day at unit as prisoner.

April 3rd .- Lunch with friends.

April 4th and 5th .- Visit from many comrades, relatives, and friends.

April 6th .- Told I could be sent to Glen Parva for discarding khaki; courtmartial sentence, 18 months' imprisonment; taken to Welford Road Prison, Leicester, England.

G. RICHARDSON.

#### AN ENEMY OF DEMOCRACY.

With the question of militarism uppermost in most men's minds, we deem it advisable to point out-that while militarism is everything that is imputed to it, it is not always a cause of the things we deplore; but invariably an effect. No doubt it is one of the greatest enemies of all true progress, but is has played a very important role in the colonization schemes of all the great powers; and has been the best friend of exploiters the world over in forcing markets for the disposal of their surplus values as well as opening up new territory for exploitation. As a factor it has played a part in all governments since the dawn of slavery up to the present time, and the function that it originally performed in sustaining the principle of slavery will unre mittingly be carried on until the dawn of freedom and the coming of a true

To the ruling classes it always has been, and is to-day, the guardian angel that keeps the gates of Eden and prevents the sinners from entering into possession of their long lost heritage. which is only seen in its true colors when the exploiters fall out. "When rogues fall out honest men come into their own.'' A brief survey of the present struggle will suffice to prove that it is not only an instrument that can be used to defeat the ends of competitors without but can also be used to defeat the aims of the workers within its own borders. Let us not forget that the function it originally performed in the enslavement of races and the protection of stolen property, can only be abolished by the restoration of the stolen property to its rightful owners, "the common people."

Responsible Cabinet Ministers tell us that we are not waging war for purposes of conquest-but "Liberty and Democracy.'' Well, maybe so! but just note when the terms of peace come to be settled if we don't take our lesson from the "revised version."

Men's thoughts are much according to their inclination; their discourse and speeches according to their learning and infused opinions; but their deeds are often as they have been accustomed .-

## PEN PUNCHES BY THE LOCALS

LOCAL NO. 87, TORONTO, RESOLU-TION.

Whereas, The International Social Democratic Parties, through their Annual International Congresses, have from time to time declared against wars, recognizing that modern wars have an economic basis, and are an inevitable outcome of the clashing interests of the capitalist class of the different countries; and,

Whereas, The working class of no nation has any quarrel with the working class of any other nation, and if in control of the Government would always work for peace and harmony (as witness the proletariat of Russia at the present time); and,

Whereas, The people of Canada were not consulted regarding the secret diplomatic entanglements which preceded and provoked the present ghastly slaughter; therefore, be it

Resolved, That this local go on record as being emphatically opposed to conscription or to any form of compulsory service; and be it further

Resolved, that we call upon the Government to prove their claim to being a democratic government, embodying "government by the people for the people," by initiating a referendum vote upon the subject of conscription, before attempting to enact same.

And we direct that copies of this resolution be sent to the Hon. Sir R. L. Borden, Premier of Canada, and to Sir E. Kemp, the member for this riding, and to the press.

I remain, Sir,

Yours respectfuly, CHARLES M. THOMPSON, Secretary.

#### B. C. PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE TAKES ACTION AGAINST CONSCRIPTION.

May 27th.

Sir Robert Borden, Ottawa.

The Social Democratic Party of British Columbia unhesitatingly pronounce against the policy of territorial acquisition as a precursor of future wars and suffering; The only justification for the workers' entry in the present conflict is to prevent a militarism from being imposed upon them from without. If your Government intend to introduce a military despotism in Canada, we believe it our imperative duty to warn the wage-earners to use every legitimate means to crush the danger now fast developing at home.

Harry Barnard, Member for Victoria, Ottawa.

Have wired Sir Robert Borden the position our party will take in this province if conscription is forced upon it without a referendum. We call upon you to vote against this measure if introduced or accept full responsibility for the crisis which this act will provoke.

\* The Vancouver comrades wired Borden, Laurier, and Stevens, their member, and held overflow meetings at Labor Hall, where a small minority tried to give them a little trouble. However, arrangements were made for a parade, which, no doubt, you have read of in Eastern despatches.

In this city there was no element in evidence to take the initiative in the matter, so we held an open Executive meeting and invited a number of these we knew here to be opposed to conscription. Having committed the party here to opposition of militarism through the telegram to Borden, we suggested that they might unite with us on this one question being numerically weak in

numbers and unable to fight this issue unless supported by all those opposed to the measure ..

At first there was an indication that the action adopted by the Socialist Party of Canada might prevail, that of individual action. After showing how easy it was to break this down bit by bit and the only hope of winning out was a bold front, the following resolution was put and carried and made the basis of aproach to the Trades and Labor Council of this city, who, we interviewed at their next meeting.

"We, the members of Social Democratic Party Local No. 9, of Victoria, and others, assembled, declare, in view of the attempt of the Borden Government to conscript the already depleted manpower of Canada, after giving assurance to Organized Labor that such means would not be taken to secure recruits for the army, hereby resolve we will not submit to military registration.

"We also believe, in order that the electorate may express its opinion, a referendum should be taken upon this question."

Our committee will report back Wednesday evening, June 6th, as to the position the trades unionists will take, and another committee will also report upon the results of its conferences with the Quaker and Bible student element, who are represented in large numbers

In spite of the apparent defeat of the conscription bill at this meeting, we feel that effective and immediate organization must be secured not only as a safeguard against a possible reintroduction, but to forward a movement to support the findings and recommendations of an international congress which cannot be long delayed.

Now for the general situation here, with a province thoroughly organized with various patriotic societies and auxiliaries, it is next to impossible to holdpublic meetings and obtain the results that would come from a sympathetic community. Our only hope at present is to get into the homes. The local papers here publish my telegram to Borden, but would not give us any publicity on your manifesto. In order to clear up a general misunderstanding which exists as a result of the workings of the old Socialist Party of Canada here we want the manifesto into every working home and also a clear-cut, clean declaration of where we stand in this conflict that we may renew these impressions and create the confidence which the newspapers here are trying to destroy, between ourselves and the workers. I have also a copy of the letter Arthur Ponsonby, M.P., against a continuance of the war. It is a most remarkable document and of great value to us at the present moment. Our plan is a 15,000 edition of a four-sheet newspaper distributed simultaneously here and Vancouver. If we can see our way clear to put this through, it is pretty well certain we shall never have another chance from the military authorities.

Will write you later and believe when you get a copy you will quickly realize its value in reaching those outside of our movement.

P. R. SMITH, Sec.

Lindsay, Ont.

Conscription:-At a recent meeting of Lindsay Branch of the Social-Democratic Party the following resolutions were passed unanimously.

Resolved-That while we believe it to be the duty of every free citizen to defend the democratic principles of selfgovernment in Canada and also to respect the just rights of minorities, we

very much regret the action of the present administration at Ottawa, in curtailing the liberty of responsible citizens, by depriving them of their choice of literature, in expelling from the Canadian mails a number of useful monthly magazines that are adverse to capitalistic exploitation; notably "Pearson's Monthly" and the St. Louis Melting Pot.

We heartily disapprove of this sample of German mis-government, which, if continued, we have no doubt will lead to the downfall of the Ottawa combina-

Resolved-That we endorse the old Duke of Wellington's exposure of conscription as applied to the British army, when he declared "It is quite clear that the British regular army cannot be raised by conscription or bal-

We think it unwise to compel, by Act of Parliament, the working man, as well as the so-called "slackers" of the gentlemen's sons of leisure, into the ranks of legalized killers of their kind, as contrary to the much quoted teachings of Christ-that most eminent socialistic opponent of ancient capitalistic authority, and as quite opposed to the spiritual ethics of our coming civilization.

Resolved-That, while we denounce "war" as a crime against humanity, we think it the duty of every citizen, regardless of color, creed or politics, to defend liberty and democracy in free thought, free speech and self-government; to be prepared to volunteer our services in their defence.

Resolved-That we condemn any and every form of Prussianism, preferring instead the referendum of all important measures to the open vote of all the people concerned, and that we hereby endorse the manifesto issued by the Toronto Branch of the Social-Democratic Party of Canada under date of May 22, 1917.

W. A. GOODWIN,

Secretary.

#### F. G. TIPPING'S LECTURE TOUR.

CORRESPONDENCE.

The announcement from our headquarters at Toronto in the last issue of the Canadian Forward, that a propaganda tour through Manitoba and Saskatchewan is being arranged, pleased Winnipeg comrades in more than one

In the first place, it is an indicaion that the party is at last waking up after a long period of excusable inactivity and is starting in the right direction-in educational propaganda; this is, after all, the real mission of the party at this stage of its development.

We are also particularly gratified in the excellent choice the Dominion Executive made in asking Comrade F. G. Tipping to undertake this work in the Prairie Provinces. As a forceful peaker, thoroughly versed in Marxian econs omics and the whole philosophy of Socialism, combined with an exceptional ability to present this philosophy to the masses, Comrade Tipping is second to none among the Reds in Canada. Comrade Tipping has been one of the most active workers in the party since its inception, always in the forefront, restlessly agitating the workers to get ready for the approaching social revolution. If a few men of his mettle were kept going up and down the vast stretches of Canada—this paradise to the capitalist class would soon be in the possession of the toilers. And we have no doubt that this could be done if our locals would get busy and stir themselves up out of a long slumber. Communicate with Comrade Tipping at once, start to arrange for the meetings, leave no stone unturned to make them a success. Socialists in towns having no organization yet, should not fail to take this opportunity to get Fred Tipping down; he surely will make things lively wherever he goes. Let this be a

Red summer for the Prairie Provinces! Write to the Dominion Executive or direct to Comrade F. G. Tipping, 985 Corydon Avenue, Winnipeg.

> J. PENNER, Secretary, English Local, Winnipeg.

Victoria Telegram.

Perfecting permanent organization. Issuing fifteen thousand circular letters to send through mail in British Columbia.

P. R. SMITH.

Port Arthur, Ont., June 4, 1917. Dear Editor:-Both sides were given a fair hearing at the citizens' mass meeting, which taxed the capacity of the large and magnificent auditorium of the Finnish Labor Temple.

Comrade H. Barker was chairman, and he stated in his opening remarks that after the anti-conscription speakers were through any one who wished to speak in favor of the measure would have a fair hearing if they would be so good as to give the speaker against the measure such fairness.

The first speaker called upon was Comrade A. E. Kettridge, who introduced a resolution against, which consisted of the S. D. P. of C. manifesto, omitting the last paragraph. Comrade W. N. Welsh seconded the resolution and Comrade H. Bryan supported it. After the three speakers had finished their speeches, the chairman invited speakers from the other side. Mr. Chas. Cattamach came forward and moved an amendment to the effect that the meeting support the Government. Pte. Neil Campbell rose and seconded this amendment, and it was supported by Messrs. F. B. Allen and A. E. Cole.

Comrade Checkley then rose to support. Comrade Kettridge's motion, which finished the speaking.

Comrade Barker then put the question to the house, and out of an audience of over 1,400 people, the amendment only received 28 supporters, and when Comrade Kettridge's motion was put the entire audience voted solidly for it.

There were hundreds of citizens who wished to attend the meeting, but were unable to gain admittance to the then already overcrowded auditorium.

Some day we are going to have a brilliant re-organizing in this place and I think we will then be able to go . ahead strong.

Yours for the revolution, A. E. KETTRIDGE.

Port Arthur, Ont., June 5, 1917.

Dear Editor,-

I am enclosing you a copy of resolution carried by a tremendous majority at a meeting at the Labor Temple Bay, Sunday night, June 3rd. A huge audience was in attendance and the capitalist system was attacked by your humble A. E Kettridge, W. N. Welsh, and F. A. Bryen. Tremendous applause greeted the carrying of the resolution. Only a few returned soldiers and tooolds-to-fights voed against it; any attempt of interruptions were howled down by the audience. This was certainly the greatest meeting ever held in Port Arthur, and the gospel is spreading.

Go to it. We are determined to organize as never before.

Yours for revolution. HERBERT BARKER

Department of the Secretary of State, Ottawa, June 8th, 1917.

With reference to your letter of the 20th March last addressed to the Minister of Justice, in behalf of one John Ness, now confined in the Toronto jail, I am commanded to inform you that His Excellency the Governor-General does not consider this case to be one for

I have the honour to be, Sir, Your obedient servant, THOMAS MULVEY, Under-Secretary of State.