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Canada at War

SPEECHES

DELIVERED BY

Rt. Hon.

Sir Robert Laird Borden

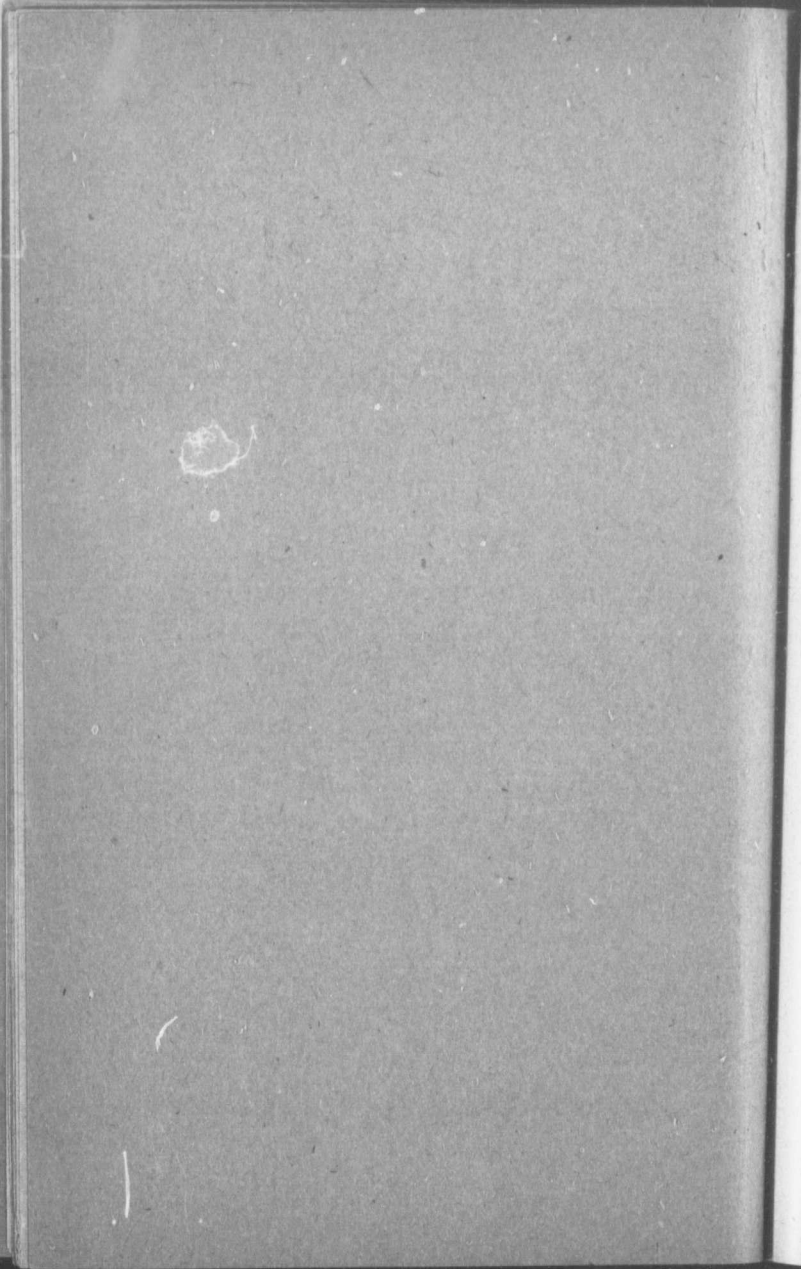
K.C., P.C., G.C.M.G.

IN

CANADA *and the* UNITED KINGDOM



JUNE—SEPTEMBER, 1918



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SIR ROBERT LAIRD BORDEN, K.C., P.C., G.C.M.G.

A SPEECH BEFORE THE UNITED KINGDOM
BRANCH OF THE EMPIRE PARLIAMENTARY
ASSOCIATION AT LONDON, ENGLAND,
JUNE 21, 1918. (1)



I desire at once most gratefully to acknowledge the very kind terms in which this toast has been so eloquently proposed by the Prime Minister and to acknowledge also the way in which you have received it. Your welcome to us has been that of kinsmen to kinsmen.

Journeys across the oceans in these days are not of the pleasantest and are sometimes protracted. Ours, fortunately, across the Atlantic, was uneventful, and both during the voyage and after arriving here it was with the deepest satisfaction that I noted a profound change in the outlook towards the submarine peril, as compared with what it was when we left here a little more than a year ago. I do not wish to be understood as suggesting that the menace has passed, but I do venture to believe, from what I have seen and from what I have heard, that the extreme peril of twelve or fourteen months ago has indeed disappeared and that in meeting that peril the British Navy has upheld the most splendid traditions of the past. And we in the Overseas Dominions, in common with you in these Islands, acknowledge—must acknowledge—with the utmost appreciation the remarkable service which the Navy has rendered to this Empire. After all this British Commonwealth of Nations can only be held together by sea power; it can only maintain its strength when the highways across the ocean are kept open. If it had not been for the Navy, what could we overseas have done to aid in this war?

(1) On June 21, 1918, the United Kingdom Branch of the Empire Parliamentary Association gave a supper in the Royal Gallery, Houses of Parliament, in honour of the Oversea Ministers attending the Imperial War Cabinet and the Imperial War Conference. The Right Honourable Lord Finlay, Lord Chancellor, presided. The other speakers were the Right Honourable David Lloyd George, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, the Right Honourable Sir Robert Borden, Prime Minister of Canada, the Right Honourable W. M. Hughes, Prime Minister of Australia, the Right Honourable W. F. Massey, Prime Minister of New Zealand, and the Right Honourable H. H. Asquith. In response to the toast "Our Cabinet Colleagues from the Dominions", proposed by Mr. Lloyd George, Sir Robert Borden spoke as above.

What indeed could you have done to aid our gallant Allies on the Continent of Europe? Not only on the surface of the ocean, but beneath it as well the Navy has done its part, and done it wonderfully and splendidly. I have often thought, in that sunlit Continent across the ocean, of the perils and the darkness, the storms and the tempests of the North Sea, and of the wonderful vigil that the men of the Navy were keeping there and throughout the oceans in order that this Empire might be held together and might play its part in this war.

I am glad that I have come back here again, because in coming I have realized that the spirit of your people, in common with the spirit of all the peoples of the Empire, is as unflinching and indomitable as it was in 1915, when I saw you, and as it was a year ago. And so it will be to the end. We realize the sacrifices that you have endured, the burdens that you have laid upon yourselves, the mighty power that you have exercised. We appreciate the spirit in which you have overcome all the traditions of the past in order that the energy and power of this nation might be systematized and co-ordinated, so that it could be thrown with all its strength into the struggle. We admire you for it, we admire the leadership that has been given, and we hope that we of the nations beyond the seas have not been wholly backward in doing our part. Perhaps it might not be amiss for me tonight, in speaking of my own country, my own Dominion, with the affairs of which I am naturally best acquainted, to give you an idea of what our effort has been, and to assure you that the spirit of our people justifies me in telling you tonight that that effort will indeed be continued until the issue is decided, and decided for the right.

When I was here a year ago we had enlisted in Canada for this war something more than 400,000 men. Today we have enlisted considerably more than 500,000 men. During the past twelve or fourteen months more than 100,000 men have joined the colours in Canada. Our forces in France—I may not tell you the number, but I may at least tell you this—that we have 35,000 more men in France than we had when I left these shores last year. Today more than 385,000 men of the Canadian Expeditionary Force have crossed the ocean, and they are still coming. In addition to that we have sent into the Air Services, during the past three and a half years of war, 14,000 men; and to the Naval Service and to the reserves of various nations we have contributed from the manhood of Canada at least 45,000 men. So that I am able to assure you that the man-power of Canada has furnished to the military

and naval forces of this Empire and of the Allies not less than 425,000 men.

And I should not be frank with you if I did not tell you that I am proud of what the Canadian forces have done in this war. I am proud of what all the forces of the Empire have done; we in Canada are as proud of what your Australians, Mr. Hughes, and your New Zealanders, Mr. Massey, have achieved as of what the men of these Islands and of our own country have done. And I should tell you also, you men of these Islands, that of the 385,000 men of the Canadian Expeditionary Force who have crossed the seas not less than 175,000 were born in these British Islands, and resident in Canada. The effort has been great, and the sacrifice has been great as well. There had been 78,000 casualties when I left these shores last year; up to the present there have been 152,000 casualties in the Canadian Expeditionary Force. I saw more than 2,000 of these men—men who had come back from the Front wounded—I saw them last Sunday morning at Epsom; and I do not believe there was one man in that room fit in a military sense to return to his duty, who was not keen and eager again to do his part and desirous of standing at the earliest possible moment alongside his comrades in France. That spirit from first to last has prevailed throughout the Empire.

Since I was here last year many important things have happened in Canada—among other things the enactment of compulsory military service. I believe that here as elsewhere the trifling disturbances, the relatively trifling disturbances, occasioned by the enforcement of that Act have been greatly exaggerated; I am happy to tell you tonight that from one end of Canada to the other the Act is accepted, and that our men are flocking to the colours. When the Act was first proclaimed some 10,000 or 12,000 men joined the colours at once without waiting for the call. There have been trifling disturbances here or there, not entirely confined to any one section of the country, and we have been obliged to enact certain amendments to the Military Service Act with a view to preventing any attempt at forcible resistance. One measure, which I think had a very happy effect, was a provision that any man forcibly resisting the Military Service Act, or encouraging forcible resistance to it, should *ipso facto* become a member of the Canadian Expeditionary Force and authorized to employ his warlike spirit against the enemies of his country. One further word about the men who have been enrolled under that Act: their spirit is as fine and as worthy of their country as that of the men who came in under volun-

tary enlistment. There are thousands of them in these Islands at present—I have not yet had the opportunity of seeing them—and I hope to see them in the early future—but my colleagues who have seen them speak in the highest terms of their admirable spirit and of their fine physique.

What have we done besides? I only desire to dwell upon this for a moment. Besides men you require food; the Empire requires food, the Allies require food. You require ships, you require munitions. We have tried to do our part in all these matters. There has been an active campaign for increased food production in Canada during the past year, and I make my grateful acknowledgment to those Premiers of the Canadian Provinces who are here tonight for their splendid co-operation in the attempt to increase food supplies. A recent report from Canada informs us that the acreage under cultivation for food purposes during this season will be at least 10 per cent greater than it was last year, and including wheat, oats, rye, and barley we expect in Canada, unless weather conditions prove unfavourable, a crop of about 900,000,000 bushels.

But we have tried to help you also with ships, and I am very glad to assure the Prime Minister that we have now some 14 shipyards at work in Canada. About 45,000 tons of shipping have recently been laid down, and we expect to lay down about 175,000 tons this year. We expect to turn out 84,000 tons dead weight during the present year, and 250,000 tons next year; and although the need may not be so great now as it was a year ago, we are endeavouring to do our part in aiding you in that way.

As to munitions you know, I think, that the industries of Canada have proved more extensive and more highly organized than you were inclined to believe possible at the commencement of the war. We have produced nearly one thousand million dollars worth of munitions, and of some particular varieties of shells Canada has turned out for the past eighteen months 40 per cent of the entire needs of the British Armies. We have done something more than that. These munitions not only had to be provided but had to be paid for, and the Canadian Exchequer has advanced four hundred and sixty million dollars and the Canadian banks one hundred million dollars as a loan to assist in paying for them.

As I am speaking to so many Members of Parliament, they may perhaps be interested to hear something of what we have done in the way of legislation. I did not lose a great deal of time when I reached Canada last year. I arrived there on the 15th May, and my first act, on the 16th May,

was to announce the extension of the suffrage to women—so that women in Canada now enjoy the same franchise as men. Not all of them voted at the last election; only those voted who had immediate relatives in the Canadian Expeditionary Force. But hereafter, through legislation enacted at our last Session, every woman in Canada of twenty-one years of age or upwards will have the right to an equal voice in the nation's affairs with the men of Canada; and the women of Canada have earned that right by their splendid devotion to our cause throughout the war.

We have adopted another very important law. Every Province of Canada except Quebec has prohibited the sale of intoxicating liquors, and the Legislature of Quebec has provided that after the 1st May, 1919, the sale of intoxicating liquor shall be prohibited throughout that Province. The Provinces, however, have not the right under our system to prohibit importation, manufacture, or transportation. After the formation of the present Government and in pursuance of a pledge given to the electorate we provided by Order-in-Council, under our War Measures Act, that the importation, manufacture, and transportation of intoxicating liquors in Canada shall be absolutely prohibited. This is the situation in all the Provinces. In Quebec the sale is permitted in the few communities in which licenses are granted until the first of May, 1919; in all the other Provinces the sale is already entirely prohibited.

Another important measure that we have enacted might not suit conditions in other parts of the Empire. It has been passed under the War Measures Act, a very important statute which confers upon the Governor General in Council practically all the powers of Parliament. We find it exceedingly convenient. The measure to which I allude is popularly known in Canada as the Anti-Loafing Law. It is a very good law in time of war, and I am not sure that it would not be an equally good law in time of peace. It provides that every man in Canada between the ages of 16 and 60 inclusive, regardless of his financial position, regardless of his income, must be engaged in some useful occupation. We have left it largely to the local authorities throughout the country to interpret and enforce it, and they are enforcing it with remarkably good results in many cases.

So far as taxation is concerned we believe that we have in Canada the highest taxation upon war profits that is to be found in any belligerent country. Whether or not you may believe that, I am convinced that the business men of Canada are entirely of that opinion because they have so assured me

over and over again. We have an income tax that is approximately the same as that of the United States. Adjoining the United States as we do, it is obvious that we cannot go very much beyond them in taxing incomes.

Last autumn the Minister of Finance called for a loan of \$150,000,000, and the subscriptions reached \$400,000,000. In domestic loans we have raised in Canada, since the beginning of this war, \$746,000,000. And if you realize that our wealth is estimated as one-thirtieth, or perhaps not more than one-fiftieth, of that of the United States, you will agree that the effort of the people of Canada in raising money for the purposes of this war has been no mean effort.

We have adopted other important measures upon which I need not dwell. The Canada Food Board controls the use of food and endeavours to prevent its waste. We have a War Trade Board, which deals with the importation and exportation of articles essential for the purposes of the war, and restricts their use. Our Fuel Controller exercises important functions; and I should be remiss in my duty if I did not acknowledge the helpful and generous spirit in which the Government of the United States has co-operated with us in all these efforts. We depend very largely upon the resources of the United States for our coal supplies in some parts of the Dominion, and in dealing with the fuel problem that Government treated the needs of the Canadian people as generously as if Canada had been a part of the United States. A Canadian War Mission recently established at Washington has been found most useful in dealing with business questions that have to be taken up with the Departments of the United States Government. And in order that our human energy may be mobilized to the best advantage we have provided that there shall be on the 22nd day of this month of June a general registration of every man and woman in Canada above the age of sixteen years. That registration we hope will accomplish some of the good results attained in the United Kingdom, so that the man-power and woman-power of Canada may be made even more effective for the purposes of the war than in the past.

Now, I shall not speak to you at greater length except to say a word about the Imperial War Cabinet and the Imperial War Conference. A great step in the constitutional development of the Empire was taken last year by the Prime Minister when he summoned the Prime Ministers of the Overseas Dominions to the Imperial War Cabinet. We meet there on terms of perfect equality. We meet as Prime Ministers of self-governing nations. We meet there under the leader-

ship and the presidency of the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom. After all, my Lord Chancellor and gentlemen, the British Empire as it is at present constituted is a very modern organization. It is perfectly true that it is built upon the development of centuries, but as it is constituted today, both in territory and in organization, it is a relatively modern affair. Why, it is only 75 years since responsible government was granted to Canada. It is only a little more than fifty years since the first experiment in federal government—in a federal constitution—was undertaken in this Empire. And from that we went on, in 1871, to representation in negotiating our commercial treaties, in 1878 to complete fiscal autonomy, and after that to complete fiscal control and the negotiation of our own treaties. But we have always lacked the full status of nationhood, because you exercised here a so-called trusteeship, under which you undertook to deal with foreign relations on our behalf, and sometimes without consulting us very much. Well, that day has gone by. We come here as we came last year to deal with all these matters upon terms of perfect equality with the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and his colleagues. It has been said that the term Imperial War Cabinet is only a misnomer. The word Cabinet is unknown to the law. The meaning of Cabinet has developed from time to time. For my part I see no incongruity whatever in applying the term Cabinet to the association of Prime Ministers and other Ministers who meet around a common council board to debate and to determine the various needs of Empire. If I should attempt to describe it, I should say it is a Cabinet of Governments. Every Prime Minister who sits around that board is responsible to his own Parliament and to his own people; the conclusions of the Imperial War Cabinet can only be carried out by consent of the Parliaments of the different nations of our Imperial Commonwealth. Thus each Dominion, each nation, retains its perfect autonomy. I venture to believe, and I thus expressed myself last year, that in this may be found the genesis of a development in the constitutional relations of the Empire that will form the basis of its unity in the years to come.

One word before I conclude with regard to the war. We are all optimists in this war, because it has been undertaken in a cause which cannot be permanently defeated. But that cause may be temporarily defeated, and optimism alone will not by any means prevent so disastrous an outcome. It would be idle to pretend that mistakes, and serious mistakes, have not been made; it would be still more idle and foolish to dwell upon them merely for the sake of pointing them out. Against

them is to be set off as wonderful and mighty a military effort as was ever undertaken and accomplished by a non-military country. And in that military effort let us never for one moment forget the wonderful valour and heroism of those seven divisions who went to France in the early weeks of this war and made that wonderful stand which stayed the German onrush.

My Lord Chancellor and gentlemen, it is necessary for us to put into this fight not only all our energy and all our effort, but the very best brains that the Empire can produce. Let us not be turned from our purpose by any adherence to tradition or system, or by any personal considerations. The position or the career of any man or group of men is less than dust in the balance when weighed against the issues of this war. If we can draw any lesson at all from what has gone amiss in the past, in Heaven's name let us learn that lesson so thoroughly that our mistakes shall never be repeated.

I rejoice especially tonight to know that we are fighting side by side with our kinsmen in the United States. Bordering that country as we do for nearly 4,000 miles I know something of her people; I have seen thousands of her young men thronging to the colours, keen to take their part in this struggle. Germany utterly fails to realize the giant strength of the American Republic, whose people she outraged by her barbarity and provoked by her insolence until in the very name of humanity America was obliged to take up arms. There is no spirit more formidable or even more terrible than that of a peace-loving and patient people who, without lust of conquest or material gain, but purely for the vindication of public right and common justice among the nations, take up arms with reluctance, but with a relentless resolve never to lay them down until the task is accomplished. I believe that the death-knell of German militarism was sounded when the United States entered this war; I believe before peace is signed the military forces of the mighty Republic of the West will prove to be the most formidable that Germany has ever met, and that militarism will eventually go down before the onset of democracy.

In the meantime it may be that we stand at the gate of peril. If so, it is well that you of these Islands and we of the Overseas Nations should stand there together. Grave though the peril be, and keenly realized, we do not shrink from it. The line must be held and it will be held, until our kinsmen can strike with their full strength. And in the hearts of all the British people there is a profound conviction, a faith strong enough to endure and surmount any reverses that

have come or can come—a faith that this world-wide Commonwealth of free nations, founded upon the aspiration, effort, and the sacrifice of a thousand years, was not born to be destroyed or dominated by the brutal force of the Hun.

**A SPEECH BEFORE THE REPRESENTATIVES OF
THE CANADIAN PRESS AT LONDON,
ENGLAND, JULY 12, 1918. (1)**

It is an honour to be called upon to propose this toast, especially to an audience gathered to so large an extent from the sun-kissed land beyond the Atlantic which we Canadians love so well. I feel the responsibility of proposing it all the more when I recall the words of a Scottish poet, "a chiel's amang ye takin' notes, an' faith, he'll prent them." We have not one "chief" here, but about twenty-five "chiefs takin' notes," and they are all likely to print them, so one has to be discreet in his utterances.

I should like to add a word to what the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom has said as to the great services that the Press of the Empire as a whole has rendered to the common cause throughout this war. In this I speak more particularly of the Press of Canada, with which I am naturally more familiar. There have been sharp differences of opinion among journalists, as among public men in Canada, during the past; but it is only a just tribute to the Press of Canada to affirm that throughout this war they have lent their support to the Empire's cause without regard to differences of political opinion or divergences arising from local considerations. To affirm this is a tribute not only to the Press but to the spirit of our people, which is necessarily reflected in the attitude of the Press. Perhaps no democracy in the world ever underwent a sharper or sterner test than the democracy of Canada during the past year. We had been at war for more than three years. Our people were far removed from the actual scene of the conflict. There had been untold sorrow and sacrifice and burdens altogether undreamt of; yet in the

(1) On July 12, 1918, Lord Beaverbrook, Minister of Information in the Government of the United Kingdom, gave a dinner at the Savoy Hotel to welcome the representatives of the Canadian Press who were visiting the United Kingdom and the theatre of war in France as the guests of His Majesty's Government. The Right Honourable David Lloyd George, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, proposed the toast "Our Guests," which was responded to by Mr. J. H. Woods. Sir Robert Borden proposed the toast "The Canadian Expeditionary Force," to which Lieutenant General Sir Richard Turner, V.C., K.C.B., K.C.M.G., D.S.O., responded. Sir Robert Borden spoke as above.

midst of the General Election we undertook to enforce, and did enforce, compulsory military service. Only a transcendent cause and a high spirit could have brought about that result. It was not a triumph for any man or any group of men; it was simply a triumph for that cause which Canada, united with the rest of the Empire, has striven to maintain and will, please God, maintain until the very end.

Now I come to speak of the toast and to couple with it the name of a gallant and distinguished soldier, Lieutenant General Sir Richard Turner, who at the call of duty gave up service at the front, which he infinitely would have preferred, and undertook at my personal request the duty which he has since discharged with great ability and devotion. He took that course with great reluctance and because he deemed that duty to his country required it of him; and he has carried on splendidly and faithfully without a murmur ever since. He was with the Canadian Expeditionary Force from the first; and I recall those days in early August, 1914, when we stood at the threshold of this awful struggle, the horror and the length of which none of us then fully realized. The Prime Minister of the United Kingdom has spoken of the First Division. If I should tell you tonight all the incidents connected with the rallying of Canadians to the colours in the first weeks of the war, I should occupy far more time than would be appropriate. We asked for twenty thousand men; thirty-three thousand responded. There were men in the First Contingent who walked hundreds of miles in order that they might enlist. One group of Westerners—I am not sure whether from Alberta, Saskatchewan or Manitoba—were so determined to join that they seized forcibly a car of the Canadian Pacific Railway, attached it at night to a troop train, and on the following morning the Officer in Command found an unexpected reinforcement which insisted upon being attached to his unit. As the spirit of the Canadian people then was, so it is today.

I need not tell you what the Canadian Expeditionary Force has accomplished, nor would I speak of its record in a boastful way, for I do not forget the glorious achievements of the men of these islands, of the other Dominions and of India. We are fighting for a common cause, fighting side by side, inspired with that wonderful and splendid spirit which has enabled our people, although comparatively untrained in military art, to hold their own against a country which for nearly half a century has prepared for this war, whose people have been trained in arms from the first, a people who seek by their military power, organization and science to dominate

the world. The Prime Minister has referred in generous terms, for which we are grateful, to that occasion when perhaps the sternest test to which men were ever subjected came to the First Canadian Division. They were not trained soldiers; for less than a year before they had been engaged in the ordinary avocations of civil life within our Dominion. They had been immersed, as perhaps we were all then immersed, in material considerations, which are likely to influence very strongly the people of a new and rapidly developing country. They went forth with little military knowledge, with practically no military training, and they were subjected to that awful test. It is enough to say that they did hold their ground under conditions when men of wider experience and longer training might well have wavered. We remember with pride that they did bar the way of the Germans to Calais, and that perhaps they changed the destiny of the world.

From that time up to the present the record of the Canadian Expeditionary Force has been equally proud. In every test, in every engagement, they have held their own, held it gallantly and splendidly. Among some forty or fifty thousand of them whom I had the privilege of seeing and addressing in France the only complaint I heard was that during recent months they had had no opportunity of meeting the Germans. They hoped most earnestly that the Germans would attack the position which they had established on Vimy Ridge. There was no such good luck, for the Germans were fully advised of the reception they would meet.

There are four Divisions of Canadians now in France—about one hundred and twenty-five thousand men in the fighting line. We hope that the members of the Canadian Press will see them in France. We want you to see them there; more than that we want you to see the organization not only there but in the United Kingdom, and to judge whether or not Canada has any reason to be proud of its Army Corps and of that organization. We hope you will see it and realize it and give to the people of Canada your frank impressions. To those Canadians in the United Kingdom who have not had the opportunity of seeing service at the front—to those who have been engaged in other tasks here, may I say this: the issues of this war are so supreme that no man is entitled to regard the part he takes in it as small or mean or insignificant. The cause is so overmastering that every man's part in it is a great part;

for on the triumph of that cause the world's future destiny rests.

You, Gentlemen of the Press, will go to France. You will see our men and you will go back to the people of Canada with a message of courage and confidence. The nearer you go to the front the higher the confidence you will find. The nearer you go to the front the stronger determination will you meet that this war should be fought to a finish, the clearer conviction will you encounter that all our sacrifice and effort will have been absolutely in vain unless we drive out of the hearts of the German people the thought that force shall supersede right in the world's affairs and that Germany or any other nation can dominate the free democracies of the world. That is the spirit of the message which you will bring back to Canada from the men at the front who went forth freely, voluntarily and splendidly to fight the battles of Canada, of the Empire and of the world in the highest and most far-reaching cause for which humanity has ever yet taken up arms. I know you will bid them God-speed in every effort that lies before them. There may be a sterner test than any we have yet undergone, but I for one am supremely confident that the men of our Empire, whether of these Islands or of the Dominions, will endure that test as we would have them do. So it behoves us at home, holding as it were the second battle line of our country, to see to it that these men have that support, that whole-hearted full support to which their splendid efforts, their willing sacrifice and their high courage absolutely entitle them. And so with every pride in their glorious achievements, with every confidence that their courage and determination will uplift them in the future and maintain their effort to the end, I ask you to drink to the health of the Canadian Expeditionary Force.

A SPEECH AT LONDON, ENGLAND, JULY 31, 1918. (1)

During the past six weeks Ministers from the self-governing Dominions and representatives of India have been sitting with members of the British Government in the Imperial War Conference, engaged in the consideration of many important questions of common concern. The results

(1) On July 31, 1918, Sir Robert Borden was the guest at a luncheon given by Sir Robert Perks, Bart., and attended by a large number of Methodist laymen. In response to a toast he spoke as above.

of their deliberations have in a large measure been made public. A certain class of the resolutions recorded definite conclusions on matters of great moment. Another class commended to the attention of the various Governments questions that require fuller consideration as well as executive and parliamentary action in the several nations of the British Commonwealth. A third class comprises the resolutions that set up standing committees, representing the United Kingdom and the Dominions, for the purpose of reporting to the various governments concerned after necessary study and consideration. In this class are to be included demobilization, the regulation of ocean freight rates and the control of raw materials within the Empire. The subjects falling within the second and third classes were not finally dealt with by the Conference; but matters were put in train for such action as the several governments may eventually find necessary. On the whole the deliberations of the Conference were attended with important results; moreover, the wider outlook and more perfect understanding attained by discussion between representatives from all parts of the Empire will be of inestimable advantage.

Work still more urgent and vital was taken up in the Imperial War Cabinet whose deliberations are necessarily secret. There the vast and complicated problems arising out of a world-wide war had to be considered and determined. The Dominion Ministers on arriving in London were confronted with an enormous mass of documents covering in part the deliberations and conclusions of the War Cabinet since May, 1917.

New developments had taken place, fresh problems had arisen and further determination as to future action was required. Very grave questions, some of them intimately concerning the interests of the Dominions in the disposition of their troops and the future conduct of the war, are still demanding and receiving consideration and attention. The part taken by the Dominion Ministers in these deliberations has been very real and by no means nominal. Both in the Imperial War Cabinet itself and in a special Committee of Prime Ministers established since their arrival they have assumed their full responsibility and given their active co-operation. Jealous of their own autonomy they necessarily refrain from participation in the domestic affairs of the United Kingdom. That result is possible by the methods to which I alluded on several occasions here last year. The Imperial War Cabinet has been constituted to deal with matters of common Imperial concern and its deliberations

are confined to that purpose; the British War Cabinet continues to exercise its functions in respect of matters of domestic concern within the United Kingdom. Thus the line of demarcation is established with sufficient clearness to prevent unfortunate misunderstanding.

In this connection it should be clearly understood that neither the Imperial War Cabinet nor the Imperial War Conference has had under consideration this year the question of preference. The recent announcement on that subject was made on behalf of the British Government as a statement of the domestic policy of the United Kingdom. As Canada claims and exercises the right absolutely to control her own fiscal policy, so the representatives of our Dominion necessarily refrain from attempting any interference in the fiscal policy of the United Kingdom. Moreover the people of Canada would not desire the people of the United Kingdom to shape or modify their fiscal policy for the sole purpose of giving a preference to the products of Canada, especially if such change should involve any supposed injustice or should be regarded as unfair or oppressive by a considerable portion of the people of the United Kingdom.

I find the spirit of the British people firm and undaunted as it was a year ago. The inspiration of each nation of the British Commonwealth is the ideal of service. That is as it should be. The national purpose is but the sum of the individual purpose; the national effort is but the sum of the individual effort. A true realization of this must bring home to each of us a higher sense of responsibility. He who performs willingly and earnestly the service to which his duty calls him helps to hold the line against the enemy; he who shrinks from that duty, or neglects it, strengthens the enemy's line. Under the increasing strain of four years of war differences are bound to develop and sometimes to become acute. Of this there have been examples not only in these Islands, but in the Dominion that I represent. We look forward to the day when the great nations of the world will so ally themselves to preserve the world's peace that war will be impossible. It is anticipated that this supreme purpose can be accomplished by conciliation and if necessary by arbitral determination. If we in the British Commonwealth aspire to that great ideal as a consummation devoutly to be wished for, ought we not so to arrange our affairs between employers and employed, between government and people, that industrial disputes or labour difficulties shall not paralyse or impede the nation's effort? Surely this should be possible in time of war; I hope that eventually it may

not be impossible even in time of peace. Unless we show ourselves possessed of such fairness, moderation, and self-control as will make this possible there cannot be a confident hope of attaining or realizing the higher and nobler ideal that would command the peace of the world.

**A SPEECH BEFORE THE CANADA CLUB AND THE
CANADIAN ASSOCIATION, AT LONDON,
ENGLAND, AUGUST 1, 1918. (1)**

During more than two years of this war the Duke of Connaught served as Governor General of Canada, and no man ever fulfilled more truly the highest ideals of duty and of service. The same ideal has been splendidly illustrated in the devotion of the men whom I see around me. To them and to all Canadians, both men and women, who have laboured here without respite in every mission of aid and mercy I yield a grateful tribute.

It is not without inconvenience and even difficulty that Canadian Ministers have crossed the Atlantic this year, for many matters at home have demanded the gravest consideration and the most active attention. I hope I am fully conscious that my first duty is to the Canadian people; yet I am equally conscious that even from that standpoint, and not forgetting the four hundred thousand Canadians who during the past four years have crossed the ocean to fight for freedom, no duty could be more serious or more compelling than that in which I have been engaged throughout my present visit to London.

Last year we met for the first time in the Imperial War Cabinet. This year its labours have been even more unremitting and certainly not less important. In the Cabinets of the several British self-governing nations the heads of great departments of state sit around the council board; in the Imperial War Cabinet the heads of governments deliberate on matters of common concern. Each government, each nation, preserves unimpaired its perfect autonomy, while on the other hand a common purpose is maintained and effective

(1) On August 1, 1918, the Canada Club and the Canadian Association joined in a luncheon at the Savoy Hotel in honour of Sir Robert Borden and the other Canadian Ministers attending the Imperial War Cabinet and the Imperial War Conference. Field Marshal His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught presided. Sir Robert Borden spoke as above.

co-operation is secured. The system has been found not only useful and efficient but absolutely necessary in time of war. It may be found to serve also the needs of peace; but that remains to be determined by a constitutional conference summoned after the conclusion of the war, pursuant to the resolution passed by the Imperial War Conference last year.

Meanwhile the whole purpose of all the nations of the British Commonwealth must be concentrated upon the war. Into the scale of victory have been thrown during the past fifteen months the amazing energy and vast resources of the most powerful nation in the world. Germany is beginning to realize that for many months the splendid youth of the United States have been disembarking on the shores of Great Britain and France at the rate of ten thousand per day; if she is well advised she knows that this rate will be maintained for many months to come. Her troops have good reason to realize and to dread the magnificent valour, determination and vigour of these new antagonists.

And the men from the American Commonwealth have learned to appreciate the mighty task sustained and endured by the Allied Nations for four years. To them the unconquerable heroism of France, the glorious spirit of Italy, the dauntless soul of Belgium and of Servia, and last but not least the mighty effort of this Motherland and of all the nations of this Commonwealth, will not appeal in vain. At first hand they have come to realize more vividly than would otherwise be possible the fiendish malignity of the German campaign of frightfulness; for in all the annals of history there is nothing more horrible than the methods by which Germany has waged this war. Consider the systematic murder of civilian populations on land and on sea, the violation of women, the desecration of churchyards, the burning of towns and cities, the wanton destruction and annihilation of every vestige of civilization, the brutal treatment of prisoners, the bombing of hospitals, the sinking of hospital ships! In wars of the past among nations that were regarded as barbarous cities have been pillaged; but when was an entire nation so systematically pillaged as by the Germans in Belgium? The German militarists are possessed by devils whose name is legion; to Germany no less than to all humanity the world owes the duty of casting out those devils, and this war will never be well won until that task is accomplished. We Canadians know what it is to have our hospitals bombed, not only recently in France but eighteen months ago in the Balkans. The intent was as certain as its accom-

plishment was successful. If any one should doubt, what shall he say of the sinking of our hospital ship, the murder of nurses and doctors and the persistent attempts to destroy every survivor so that there should be no trace and no report?

It is horrible to reflect that all this has been brought about by the devilish ambition of the Kaiser and of the military caste that surrounds him; but the Kaiser and his militarists could never have undertaken or carried out such a purpose if they had not succeeded in casting the unholy spell over the German people that has made their name accursed among the nations. A ruder shock than any yet experienced is necessary to break that spell. There are, however, premonitory indications that the shock may not be far distant.

Probably no military expert of even the highest authority would undertake to forecast the future events of this war, and certainly it is not my purpose to make that attempt; but one may be pardoned if he feels a growing confidence as the gathering legions from beyond the Atlantic are rapidly and surely taking their place in the battle line. The Austrian has met recent defeat in Italy, and the German in France. Apart from the battle shock of armies there are, however, resources and powers available to the Allies upon which attention is being centred as the war proceeds. From first to last there has been the keenest of struggles for mastery of the air; unless all present indications are deceptive that mastery is passing and will more and more pass to the Allies. By that means, if not by the breaking of the German battle line, war can be carried into German territory with vigour and with effect; if war cannot be carried into Germany by land or sea, it can be hurled upon her from the air. Those who rejoice over the martyrdom of other nations must learn the real meaning of the horror that they forced upon the world and through which they sought to subject the nations to their will.

There is another most powerful resource at the disposal of the Allies, and especially within the power of the British Empire and of the United States. Its possibilities are beginning to be realized by the enemy. The Germans undertook this war to secure through world domination control of world resources and thereby a commercial and industrial supremacy that would brook no rivalry and could successfully defy all competition. Notwithstanding all German successes in Russia and in the East, it lies within the united purpose and power of Great Britain and the United States, through

the command of natural resources and raw materials and by other means, to place upon the industrial and commercial development and expansion of Germany restrictions against which she would struggle in vain. Germany must be made clearly to understand that this tremendous world-wide power of these two nations will be exercised relentlessly and mercilessly, not against a regenerate Germany—if even Germany may become regenerate—but against Germany as she is today. Let her prove herself regenerate by works and not by words alone; let her cast out the unclean spirit of militarism and the sordid lust of world domination; let her make such poor compensation as is humanly possible for all the horror and suffering and evil that she has wrought. Then shall we listen to her; until then let her name be Anathema!

**A SPEECH AT THE DIRECTORS' LUNCHEON,
CANADIAN NATIONAL EXHIBITION,
TORONTO, SEPTEMBER 2, 1918.**

After an absence of three months I found difficult and important questions awaiting determination, and it was not without hesitation that I put aside pressing duties in order that I might be present today.

To meet a pressing need the allied nations established a Supreme War Council which meets regularly at Versailles. For the like reason the British Prime Minister initiated at the end of 1916 the Imperial War Cabinet, in which all the Dominions, including India, are represented. Its deliberations are necessarily occupied with matters of grave concern to all parts of the Empire in relation to their war effort. Without this opportunity for full and free discussion and deliberation it would be impossible to accomplish essential unity of purpose and of effort. The duty of a Prime Minister is to centre his effort upon that which chiefly concerns the welfare of his country. No nation of the Britannic Commonwealth is more clearly entitled than Canada to have its voice heard in the deliberations of the Imperial War Cabinet, and for the time being my duty lay there. Three hundred thousand Canadians in France and Britain would have held me recreant if I had abandoned most important deliberations and permitted conclusions vitally affecting them and all our people to be reached while my country was unrepresented.

There was no departure from the decision of last year's Conference that constitutional changes should be postponed until after the war, and should then be determined by a

conference specially called for that purpose. But one important advance was made, which indeed became inevitable after the constitution of the Imperial War Cabinet. Its members communicate with each other freely and on equal terms around the council board. Henceforth during the absence of any Dominion Prime Minister from the actual meeting of the Imperial War Cabinet he may communicate direct with the British Prime Minister who presides over the Cabinet, and he may appoint a Minister to attend the Imperial War Cabinet as his representative. Canada has not made any arrangement to carry out the latter proposal, although Mr. Lloyd George has been informed that Sir Edward Kemp is ready, whenever desired, for any conference or discussion which may assist the common purpose.

Our work in the Imperial War Conference devolved almost entirely upon my colleagues, but to one question, in conjunction with Mr. Calder, I gave close personal attention. Last year's Conference accepted the principle of reciprocal regulation of immigration between India and the Dominions. That resolution was the result of a personal conference between the representatives of India and of the Dominions, which was brought about at my instance. I took it up in the same way this year and an important resolution was passed. The first clause was especially important, because it accepted the principle (for which Canada has contended throughout) that the Government of each Dominion and of India is entitled to complete control of the composition of its own population by restriction if necessary on migration from any other part of the Empire. The second clause deals with regulations respecting visits for pleasure or commerce, including temporary residence for educational purposes. The third clause provides that Indians already domiciled in other British countries shall be allowed to bring in their wives and minor children on condition that not more than one wife and her children shall be admitted for each Indian. Hitherto the admission of wives and children has been prohibited in effect by the laws of Canada, although it is allowed in other parts of the Empire. The proposed departure from previous practice is supported by the example of other parts of the Empire, is warranted by humane considerations, and is fortified by the splendid devotion and loyalty of the Indian people throughout this war. Last year the record of war effort placed before us by the Indian representatives was impressive; but this year the story of achievement and of what is yet to be undertaken is infinitely more inspiring. India is now more than redoubling her war effort, which will be no

inconsiderable factor in securing victory and peace. Remember that our Empire is waging war in no less than ten theatres, thousands of miles apart, and scattered over three continents. Our gaze is continually directed to the Western front where our own men are fighting; let us not forget that in other vital theatres, such as Mesopotamia, Palestine and Egypt, the gallant soldiers of India are bearing the brunt of the struggle.

The action of the British Government in working out the principle of preference, which it first accepted in 1917, has led to a misunderstanding, apparently not yet removed. Each Dominion adopted years ago the principle of preference, and each has worked out that policy according to its needs and conditions and the ideals of its people. After Great Britain had accepted the principle of preference in 1917 it became necessary for its Government to consider the methods by which, and the limitations within which, that policy would be carried out within the British Islands. The conclusions reached by the British Government were embodied in a public statement made by Mr. Long during our recent visit. They were never submitted to or considered by the Imperial War Cabinet or the Imperial War Conference. The policy thus announced was purely a domestic question for the United Kingdom, in which Canada was not called upon to interfere, and did not interfere. We hold ourselves free to work out the problem of preference according to Canada's needs and conditions. For the same reason Canada must avoid any attempt at interference with domestic policy in Great Britain.

Questions of great moment demand and are now receiving the attention of the Government. With one exception the largest railway proprietor in Canada is the Canadian people; and the day may come when there will be no exception. The acquisition of the Canadian Northern Railway system was brought about by conditions arising out of the war, and in my judgment it was the wisest solution of existing difficulties. The system comprises about ten thousand miles of railway, of which more than 9,700 miles are in actual operation; and, including the \$10,000,000 to be paid for the capital stock, the total cost to the country will be between \$44,000 and \$45,000 per mile. The greater portion of the line runs through a country which must develop rapidly in the early future. For this reason its future prospects are more favourable than those of the Intercolonial or Transcontinental. But if we take into account capitalization the comparison is still more favourable

to the recently acquired system. The Government system of railways, comprising the Intercolonial Railway, the Prince Edward Island Railways and other small railways in the Maritime Provinces, embraces a total of 1,941 miles, hitherto known as the Canadian Government Railways. It represents a capitalization of more than \$137,000,000 without including interest. That means a capitalization per mile of \$70,666. If however interest were included (as it has been included in the capitalization of the Canadian Northern system), the capitalization would exceed \$100,000 per mile. Comparison with the Grand Trunk Pacific is equally striking. It embraces a total of 1,748 miles. The total expenditure upon the road, equipment and rolling stock, amounts to about \$180,000,000, or more than \$100,000 per mile. The Transcontinental Railway comprises 1,811 miles, from Moncton to Winnipeg. The actual cash paid out for its construction, without including a dollar for interest, is nearly \$164,000,000, and if interest is added the amount exceeds \$200,000,000 for 1,811 miles. This represents a capitalization of \$92,000 per mile if interest is omitted, and of more than \$112,000 per mile if interest is included.

The country therefore has embarked upon a wide policy of State ownership under very favourable conditions. Difficult questions at once present themselves as to methods of operation. If the policy of State ownership is to be successful, certain conditions are essential, and the people must resolutely support the Government in maintaining them. The methods by which the operation of the road is to be carried out must be as efficient as those of any private corporation. There must be no party political interference; that would be absolutely fatal to discipline, to efficiency and to success. On the other hand, there must remain with the people and Parliament of the country a general control which is incident to and indeed inherent in ownership. The proposals of the Government will be made public almost immediately, and they will be based upon the considerations I have mentioned. The total mileage owned by Canada is very large, comprising nearly 14,000 miles and reaching from the Atlantic to the Pacific. All the lines included in this mileage should be operated as one system and under one management; this system should not be administered by a department of the Government; it should be connected as soon as practicable with steamship lines on both Atlantic and Pacific; and last but not least, its operation should be kept absolutely free from party political interference. For these reasons and for this purpose the Board of the Canadian Northern system will be reconstituted in the immediate future.

I now come to the most important part of my address. For the third time I have had the privilege and honour of seeing the Canadian Expeditionary Force under arms at the front. Taking into account all the services, including the Railway Construction Corps and the Forestry Corps, Canada's Army in France and Belgium numbers 175,000 men. You know its remarkable achievements this summer. For four weeks our men have been driving the Huns from their strongest positions. They are doing it today. The Canadian Army Corps is almost equal in numerical strength to any one of the British Armies. The force was never so strong, so formidable or so efficient as it is today. As the events of the war draw to their climax there was never greater need that it should be strong and efficient. Fifteen months ago the name of Canada and the record of the Canadian Army stood high among all the Allied nations. Today they stand higher than ever before. It must be a source of pride to every thoughtful Canadian that not only in the splendid valour and discipline of our infantry, but in all the so-called technical arms of the service, Canadians stand at the very front. In artillery efficiency, in the work of the Engineers, in the flying service, in the organization of its magnificent machine-gun establishment, in its intelligence service, the Canadian Army yields place to none. It is not too much to say that in many of these services Canada is pre-eminent. I believe that the machine-gun organization of our Army serves as an example and model to the British Army. The work of the Railway Construction Corps and of the Forestry Corps has been equally distinguished. Up to the 31st August nearly 414,000 men have gone overseas in the Canadian Army. Do you realize that in this fifth year of the war the Canadian Army, in numbers, in efficiency, in morale and in determination, is stronger than ever before? What has made this possible? The resolve of Canada to support and stand by her Army, the provision of adequate reinforcements, the maintenance of the Army at full strength; these are the factors that have sustained and enhanced the courage, resourcefulness, discipline and devotion of the Canadian soldiers. The strength of Canada's purpose reaches its highest exemplification in the men who hold her battle line. But in the ultimate issue no army can be stronger than the spirit of the people behind it.

There is complete co-operation and unity of effort between our forces in France and the troops in England, who stand ready to take their places in the line when the call comes. A most thorough system of training has been

organized. I saw many thousands of soldiers who had recently arrived from Canada, men who have been enlisted under the Military Service Act. There was but one report as to the spirit which animates them. They are as strong in their sense of duty and in their determination to win this war as those who have preceded them.

Much has been said of men remaining in England who should be at the front. I found no evidence of any such condition. Colonel Gunn, a very capable officer, was appointed many months ago to the important duty of combing out from all the various units in Great Britain, including the Forestry Corps, all men capable of military service at the front. He has gone repeatedly through every establishment from Headquarters down, and through every office in each department; he has despatched to France every man fit for military service except a few whose expert knowledge was regarded as absolutely essential to the duties they perform.

After visiting one of the Canadian camps I journeyed in the afternoon to the American camp at Winchester. Six hundred thousand men have passed through that camp on their way to France. Twenty thousand of them crossed the ocean last May in the same convoy with me. They are of splendid physique, very serious, very earnest, very determined. There are one and a half million of them on the other side of the Atlantic, men of the same type as the Canadians. Already they have taught the Germans not only to respect but to dread their fighting qualities. To realize what they have already rendered possible, consider the situation in France as it was three months ago and as it is today.

When I reached England early in June the situation on the Western front gave cause for grave apprehension. When I set out for Canada about the middle of August the position was completely changed. Apprehension had given way to confidence, and there was a well-founded belief that the grand climax of the war is approaching. Before that comes there will be much talk of peace. No inconclusive peace, which would be merely the prelude to another struggle, will be accepted by the men who have borne the burden and made the sacrifice. The issue must be settled now, and Germany must learn her lesson once for all. Fiends incarnate would shrink from the nameless outrages with which she has deliberately degraded the name of humanity; they would blush for the barbarous and brutal cynicism with which she has scorned and broken every decent convention of public law and international usage. Was it for nothing that the Americans went into battle shouting "Remember the Lusit-

ania"? Was it for nothing that the Huns heard the battle cry, "Remember the Llandovery Castle," when the Canadians made their onset? The memory of these things cannot be wiped out in a day or a year, or even a century. There is no desire to crush or humiliate the German people, but they have permitted their rulers to brand them as false, brutal and barbarous; they must prove themselves regenerate before they can be received again on equal terms with the world's commonwealth of decent nations.

And this is the message I bring you from the Canadian Army: "Stand fast to your purpose, abide the issue and vindicate the cause of justice and humanity."

A SPEECH AT THE CANADIAN NATIONAL EXHIBITION, TORONTO, SEPTEMBER 2, 1918.

It is at once a duty and a privilege to be here on Labour Day and to give to you Canadians dwelling in peace and security within our borders a message from those other Canadians whom so lately I have seen holding our battle front in that ancient and historic land from which the first pioneers came to this country. Those from whom the message comes were foremost when the first call came. Up to the 31st March last Canada had despatched overseas 364,750 men, and of these more than 227,000 were classed as "working men." These figures speak more eloquently than any words that I could utter of the devotion, the ideals and the patriotism of Canadian Labour.

It was impossible for Canada to take any other course than that which she followed in this war; and that course was taken by the unanimous voice of her free Parliament, which upheld the determination reached by the Government on that fateful first day of August more than four years ago. Men speaking in praise of her effort sometimes say that she came to the aid of the Mother-country. I have not so regarded it. Canada entered this war as one of the free nations of the great Britannic Commonwealth because the struggle imperilled her existence and because the purposes for which that struggle was undertaken were, in the opinion of her people and her Parliament, just and righteous. Even to this day the mass of the German people are seemingly deluded by the cry that Great Britain forced this war upon Germany. Two contrasts however stand forth as conclusive. Great Britain and her sister nations were utterly unprepared for aggressive military effort when the war broke out; Germany during half a century had built up for wanton aggression the most formidable military force ever known in the world's history.

Great Britain, through the untiring efforts of her statesmen, and especially Sir Edward Grey, most earnestly sought a conference, which would have prevented war; Germany, secure in her mighty preparation, spurned all arbitration except that of the sword. As she has willed it, so shall she have it. We have learned from her rulers in the flush of supposed triumph that as a victor she will be merciless. It is not our purpose to crush and enslave her as she has crushed and enslaved Belgium and Roumania; but for their soul's health her people must be purged of the savage war lust that has possessed them. It is only a regenerate Germany bringing forth fruits meet for repentance that can be again received into the community of decent and self-respecting nations. Germany must thoroughly learn her lesson before this conflict ends; otherwise it has been fought in vain.

Three months ago victory never seemed more distant; today it never seemed nearer, although the struggle may still be long. But we have domestic problems which must not be forgotten. In so vital a struggle and for so transcendent a cause no man's part can be regarded as small or insignificant; upon each of us devolves, therefore, the greater responsibility. The nation's effort is the sum of the individual effort; thus the national effort becomes mightier or feebler as each man realizes and fulfils his responsibility or fails to do so. In all the annals of history there never was a war like this; every ounce of power, every atom of human energy, of skill, of mechanical and applied science, of natural resources, is being thrown into the scale. Subtract from the national effort what you will by controversy, by division, by discord; by so much have you weakened the national purpose and the national endeavour. There is a direct and unmistakable relation between the labour of every man engaged in an essential industry or occupation and the hardship and sacrifice of those who stand in our battle lines. Surely it is not necessary, when the world's destiny hangs in the balance, to emphasize the fact that united effort is stronger than discord. I do not overlook the fact that if there be injustice or unfairness it must be considered and dealt with and removed; but may we not all agree that this can be accomplished without resorting to crude and wasteful methods which diminish the national endeavour and weaken the national purpose?

Not very long ago the great organizations of railway employees sanctioned and accepted a policy which has been embodied in an agreement made between the Canadian Railway War Board and the Railway Brotherhoods and Orders.

The Canadian Board of Adjustment thus constituted by formal agreement comprises twelve members, six of them representing the Canadian Railway War Board (which acts for the Railway Companies of Canada), and six of them representing the various organizations of employees. The powers conferred upon this Board will, I believe, enable it to redress all grievances and to adjust all differences promptly and satisfactorily; all need for strikes is avoided; transportation of food, munitions and supplies is not interfered with; the national effort is not weakened. The Canadian Board of Adjustment is to continue during the period of the present war and thereafter until it is terminated by thirty days' notice on either side. I am confident that its success will be as great as its purpose and will amply justify its continuance as a permanent arrangement.

Surely as an outcome of this war there will be some better understanding between employers and employed and more reasonable methods of settling differences. Men speak today of the possibility that the peace of the world may be secured by the establishment of a League of Nations. The purpose is so commanding that, even if its success be doubtful, we must support the effort in the hope that the world will thus be led towards higher things. But how shall nation join with nation in a scheme of arbitrament for enforcing the peace of the world if within the nation itself these important but minor difficulties between employers and employed cannot be settled without industrial war? We are learning lessons which will, I hope, open our eyes to higher possibilities and truer ideals in our domestic concerns.

War has brought with it untold sacrifice, grievous sorrow, unimagined burdens. But the very spirit which it has evoked is in itself a certain compensation. The greatness of a nation must rest finally upon the spirit of sacrifice and upon duty; in short, upon the character and ideals of its people. The two English-speaking democracies, with their vast responsibilities, extending to every continent, to every ocean and to all the islands of the sea, cannot be great through their resources or their wealth alone. They will not be true to each other, or, more than that, to themselves, if they fail to realize the duty of united purpose and effort for the world's peace. If such unity is not possible between these two nations, what hope can there be for the wider league of nations that is spoken of and hoped for? Great Britain and the United States could together have commanded the peace of the world in July, 1914. If Germany and Austria had known that war without a conference meant war, not with Russia and France alone,

but with Great Britain and the United States as well, there would have been no war; there would have been a conference and a special settlement. I do not say this with the slightest suggestion of criticism upon the Government of either country. In our democracies action involving the issue of war depends not so much upon the Government as upon the vision and purpose of the people. I pray that the people of both Commonwealths may rise to the full realization that their responsibility and duty for the world's peace are not less than their world-wide power and influence.

Meantime this message comes from your kinsmen who fight for you yonder in France and Flanders: "We have fought and we have endured; we will fight and endure to the end. As we do our part so we pray that you shall do yours until the dawn of abiding peace through victory."

**A SPEECH AT THE DIRECTORS' LUNCHEON,
CENTRAL CANADA EXHIBITION, OTTAWA,
SEPTEMBER 9, 1918.**

In the first place permit me to congratulate the Directors of the Central Canada Exhibition upon the courage and vision which has enabled them and their predecessors to build up the Exhibition to its present status and to maintain it during the past four years of war. One must be impressed with the educative value of such exhibitions; they afford the people the means of knowing our resources, their development and the abundance of opportunity in a young, rapidly growing country like Canada. Upon its educational purpose and service the permanence of any exhibition must finally depend; there must be a definite purpose beyond mere amusement or enjoyment. I have been particularly struck with the development of the Canadian National Exhibition along these lines, and doubtless the Central Canada Exhibition has had the same purpose.

Official and private visitors from European countries, such as France and Belgium and Denmark, where the density of the populations has taught the people lessons not yet learned here, have been impressed with the great wastefulness everywhere apparent in this country. It has been asserted by those who have given close attention to the subject that in almost any city in Canada enough is wasted in one week to provide food for the whole city for two days out of the seven. Perhaps that is an exaggeration, but it is perfectly true that there is great waste; for example, certain

portions of animals slaughtered for food that are utilized in other countries are thrown away in Canada. Many examples of this could be given. Several species of fish that are now used for food were regarded as valueless twenty-five years ago; indeed, many articles that in other countries are found to be both edible and nutritious have been wasted here. There is waste also in the preparation of food, as to which we have yet to learn many useful lessons.

The war will teach many other lessons. I have reason to believe that men serving in the Canadian Forestry Corps in Great Britain and France will come back to Canada with new ideas as to forest conservation, and especially as to re-forestation. Much has been said during recent years on this subject, but practical object lessons are usually much more effective than the written or spoken word.

There must be an avoidance of waste in all departments of national activity by federal, provincial and municipal governments. That can only be accomplished by the cultivation of a healthy public opinion, and by the realization of the same purpose by the people in their own personal affairs. The burdens of the country will be great, but compared with our resources, if properly developed, they will not eventually be serious. The country's resources are enormous and they must be conserved as far as possible for the benefit of the whole people. In order to conserve it is not necessary or desirable that resources should lie idle; but they must be developed in the interest of the people and not exploited for individual profit, for it must always be borne in mind that adherence to such a policy will increase that equality of opportunity which should be the sure purpose of every true democracy.

Among the great resources with which Canada has been so amply endowed are its vast water powers. While our mineral resources are enormous, nevertheless the supplies of coal, however great, must eventually become exhausted; but water powers are inexhaustible and they can be developed and utilized for the advantage of all the people without any serious difficulties in organization or distribution. The use is manifold, ranging from the operation of great transportation systems to detail work on small farms.

The Canadians who have fought so gallantly for our liberties and those of the world, and who have given to our country a great place among the world's nations, will return to Canada with a wider vision and with a higher appreciation of the opportunities that lie before them. Undoubtedly there will be difficult problems during the period of reconstruction;

no one can be sure whether these problems will be more or less difficult than we now foresee. The Governments of the Dominion and of the Provinces, all governing bodies of the whole people, must unite in an earnest endeavour to meet these difficulties, however great they may prove, with true courage, with sincere purpose, and with the most effective organization. Above all let there be unity of purpose. I have spoken of waste; but unnecessary discord and unseemly controversy are the worst possible waste of the nation's effort. Discord arises chiefly through lack of mutual understanding; Canadians of different communities and provinces should know each other better, should strive for a wider vision of each other's purpose and aims. Upon that truer understanding the united national spirit of the future must be founded.

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Canada at War

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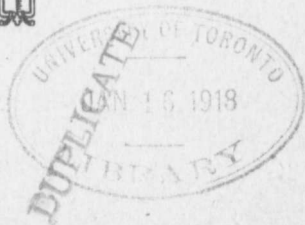
Rt. Hon.

Sir Robert Laird Borden

K.C., P.C., G.C.M.G.

IN

CANADA *and the* UNITED KINGDOM



JUNE—SEPTEMBER, 1918

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Canada at War

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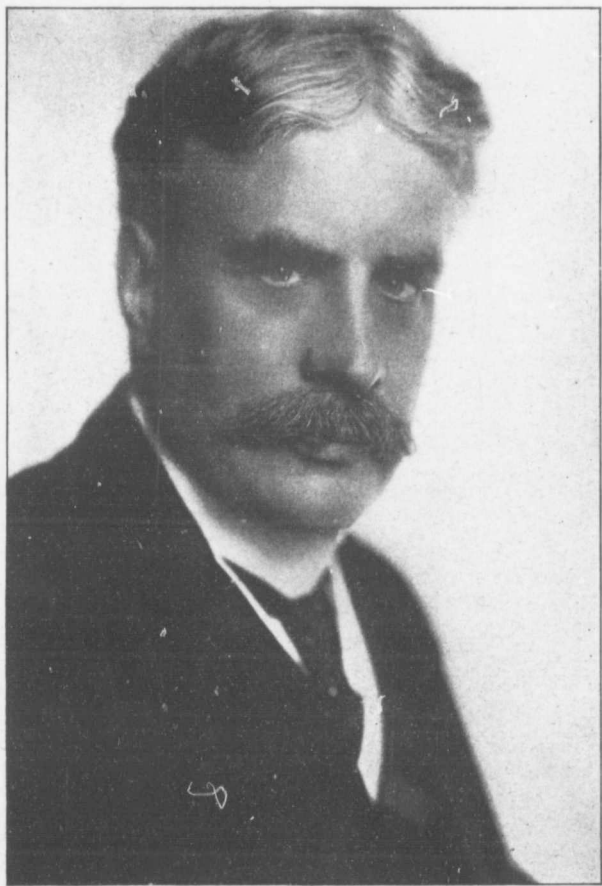
K.C., P.C., G.C.M.G.

IN

CANADA *and the* UNITED KINGDOM



JUNE—SEPTEMBER, 1918



SIR ROBERT LAIRD BORDEN, K.C., P.C., G.C.M.G.

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A SPEECH BEFORE THE UNITED KINGDOM
BRANCH OF THE EMPIRE PARLIAMENTARY
ASSOCIATION AT LONDON, ENGLAND,
JUNE 21, 1918. (1)



I desire at once most gratefully to acknowledge the very kind terms in which this toast has been so eloquently proposed by the Prime Minister and to acknowledge also the way in which you have received it. Your welcome to us has been that of kinsmen to kinsmen.

Journeys across the oceans in these days are not of the pleasantest and are sometimes protracted. Ours, fortunately, across the Atlantic, was uneventful, and both during the voyage and after arriving here it was with the deepest satisfaction that I noted a profound change in the outlook towards the submarine peril, as compared with what it was when we left here a little more than a year ago. I do not wish to be understood as suggesting that the menace has passed, but I do venture to believe, from what I have seen and from what I have heard, that the extreme peril of twelve or fourteen months ago has indeed disappeared and that in meeting that peril the British Navy has upheld the most splendid traditions of the past. And we in the Overseas Dominions, in common with you in these Islands, acknowledge—must acknowledge—with the utmost appreciation the remarkable service which the Navy has rendered to this Empire. After all this British Commonwealth of Nations can only be held together by sea power; it can only maintain its strength when the highways across the ocean are kept open. If it had not been for the Navy, what could we overseas have done to aid in this war?

(1) On June 21, 1918, the United Kingdom Branch of the Empire Parliamentary Association gave a supper in the Royal Gallery, Houses of Parliament, in honour of the Oversea Ministers attending the Imperial War Cabinet and the Imperial War Conference. The Right Honourable Lord Finlay, Lord Chancellor, presided. The other speakers were the Right Honourable David Lloyd George, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, the Right Honourable Sir Robert Borden, Prime Minister of Canada, the Right Honourable W. M. Hughes, Prime Minister of Australia, the Right Honourable W. F. Massey, Prime Minister of New Zealand, and the Right Honourable H. H. Asquith. In response to the toast "Our Cabinet Colleagues from the Dominions", proposed by Mr. Lloyd George, Sir Robert Borden spoke as above.

What indeed could you have done to aid our gallant Allies on the Continent of Europe? Not only on the surface of the ocean, but beneath it as well the Navy has done its part, and done it wonderfully and splendidly. I have often thought, in that sunlit Continent across the ocean, of the perils and the darkness, the storms and the tempests of the North Sea, and of the wonderful vigil that the men of the Navy were keeping there and throughout the oceans in order that this Empire might be held together and might play its part in this war.

I am glad that I have come back here again, because in coming I have realized that the spirit of your people, in common with the spirit of all the peoples of the Empire, is as unflinching and indomitable as it was in 1915, when I saw you, and as it was a year ago. And so it will be to the end. We realize the sacrifices that you have endured, the burdens that you have laid upon yourselves, the mighty power that you have exercised. We appreciate the spirit in which you have overcome all the traditions of the past in order that the energy and power of this nation might be systematized and co-ordinated, so that it could be thrown with all its strength into the struggle. We admire you for it, we admire the leadership that has been given, and we hope that we of the nations beyond the seas have not been wholly backward in doing our part. Perhaps it might not be amiss for me tonight, in speaking of my own country, my own Dominion, with the affairs of which I am naturally best acquainted, to give you an idea of what our effort has been, and to assure you that the spirit of our people justifies me in telling you tonight that that effort will indeed be continued until the issue is decided, and decided for the right.

When I was here a year ago we had enlisted in Canada for this war something more than 400,000 men. Today we have enlisted considerably more than 500,000 men. During the past twelve or fourteen months more than 100,000 men have joined the colours in Canada. Our forces in France—I may not tell you the number, but I may at least tell you this—that we have 35,000 more men in France than we had when I left these shores last year. Today more than 385,000 men of the Canadian Expeditionary Force have crossed the ocean, and they are still coming. In addition to that we have sent into the Air Services, during the past three and a half years of war, 14,000 men; and to the Naval Service and to the reserves of various nations we have contributed from the manhood of Canada at least 45,000 men. So that I am able to assure you that the man-power of Canada has furnished to the military

and naval forces of this Empire and of the Allies not less than 425,000 men.

And I should not be frank with you if I did not tell you that I am proud of what the Canadian forces have done in this war. I am proud of what all the forces of the Empire have done; we in Canada are as proud of what your Australians, Mr. Hughes, and your New Zealanders, Mr. Massey, have achieved as of what the men of these Islands and of our own country have done. And I should tell you also, you men of these Islands, that of the 385,000 men of the Canadian Expeditionary Force who have crossed the seas not less than 175,000 were born in these British Islands, and resident in Canada. The effort has been great, and the sacrifice has been great as well. There had been 78,000 casualties when I left these shores last year; up to the present there have been 152,000 casualties in the Canadian Expeditionary Force. I saw more than 2,000 of these men—men who had come back from the Front wounded—I saw them last Sunday morning at Epsom; and I do not believe there was one man in that room fit in a military sense to return to his duty, who was not keen and eager again to do his part and desirous of standing at the earliest possible moment alongside his comrades in France. That spirit from first to last has prevailed throughout the Empire.

Since I was here last year many important things have happened in Canada—among other things the enactment of compulsory military service. I believe that here as elsewhere the trifling disturbances, the relatively trifling disturbances, occasioned by the enforcement of that Act have been greatly exaggerated; I am happy to tell you tonight that from one end of Canada to the other the Act is accepted, and that our men are flocking to the colours. When the Act was first proclaimed some 10,000 or 12,000 men joined the colours at once without waiting for the call. There have been trifling disturbances here or there, not entirely confined to any one section of the country, and we have been obliged to enact certain amendments to the Military Service Act with a view to preventing any attempt at forcible resistance. One measure, which I think had a very happy effect, was a provision that any man forcibly resisting the Military Service Act, or encouraging forcible resistance to it, should *ipso facto* become a member of the Canadian Expeditionary Force and authorized to employ his warlike spirit against the enemies of his country. One further word about the men who have been enrolled under that Act: their spirit is as fine and as worthy of their country as that of the men who came in under volun-

tary enlistment. There are thousands of them in these Islands at present—I have not yet had the opportunity of seeing them—and I hope to see them in the early future—but my colleagues who have seen them speak in the highest terms of their admirable spirit and of their fine physique.

What have we done besides? I only desire to dwell upon this for a moment. Besides men you require food; the Empire requires food, the Allies require food. You require ships, you require munitions. We have tried to do our part in all these matters. There has been an active campaign for increased food production in Canada during the past year, and I make my grateful acknowledgment to those Premiers of the Canadian Provinces who are here tonight for their splendid co-operation in the attempt to increase food supplies. A recent report from Canada informs us that the acreage under cultivation for food purposes during this season will be at least 10 per cent greater than it was last year, and including wheat, oats, rye, and barley we expect in Canada, unless weather conditions prove unfavourable, a crop of about 900,000,000 bushels.

But we have tried to help you also with ships, and I am very glad to assure the Prime Minister that we have now some 14 shipyards at work in Canada. About 45,000 tons of shipping have recently been laid down, and we expect to lay down about 175,000 tons this year. We expect to turn out 84,000 tons dead weight during the present year, and 250,000 tons next year; and although the need may not be so great now as it was a year ago, we are endeavouring to do our part in aiding you in that way.

As to munitions you know, I think, that the industries of Canada have proved more extensive and more highly organized than you were inclined to believe possible at the commencement of the war. We have produced nearly one thousand million dollars worth of munitions, and of some particular varieties of shells Canada has turned out for the past eighteen months 40 per cent of the entire needs of the British Armies. We have done something more than that. These munitions not only had to be provided but had to be paid for, and the Canadian Exchequer has advanced four hundred and sixty million dollars and the Canadian banks one hundred million dollars as a loan to assist in paying for them.

As I am speaking to so many Members of Parliament, they may perhaps be interested to hear something of what we have done in the way of legislation. I did not lose a great deal of time when I reached Canada last year. I arrived there on the 15th May, and my first act, on the 16th May,

was to announce the extension of the suffrage to women—so that women in Canada now enjoy the same franchise as men. Not all of them voted at the last election; only those voted who had immediate relatives in the Canadian Expeditionary Force. But hereafter, through legislation enacted at our last Session, every woman in Canada of twenty-one years of age or upwards will have the right to an equal voice in the nation's affairs with the men of Canada; and the women of Canada have earned that right by their splendid devotion to our cause throughout the war.

We have adopted another very important law. Every Province of Canada except Quebec has prohibited the sale of intoxicating liquors, and the Legislature of Quebec has provided that after the 1st May, 1919, the sale of intoxicating liquor shall be prohibited throughout that Province. The Provinces, however, have not the right under our system to prohibit importation, manufacture, or transportation. After the formation of the present Government and in pursuance of a pledge given to the electorate we provided by Order-in-Council, under our War Measures Act, that the importation, manufacture, and transportation of intoxicating liquors in Canada shall be absolutely prohibited. This is the situation in all the Provinces. In Quebec the sale is permitted in the few communities in which licenses are granted until the first of May, 1919; in all the other Provinces the sale is already entirely prohibited.

Another important measure that we have enacted might not suit conditions in other parts of the Empire. It has been passed under the War Measures Act, a very important statute which confers upon the Governor General in Council practically all the powers of Parliament. We find it exceedingly convenient. The measure to which I allude is popularly known in Canada as the Anti-Loafing Law. It is a very good law in time of war, and I am not sure that it would not be an equally good law in time of peace. It provides that every man in Canada between the ages of 16 and 60 inclusive, regardless of his financial position, regardless of his income, must be engaged in some useful occupation. We have left it largely to the local authorities throughout the country to interpret and enforce it, and they are enforcing it with remarkably good results in many cases.

So far as taxation is concerned we believe that we have in Canada the highest taxation upon war profits that is to be found in any belligerent country. Whether or not you may believe that, I am convinced that the business men of Canada are entirely of that opinion because they have so assured me

over and over again. We have an income tax that is approximately the same as that of the United States. Adjoining the United States as we do, it is obvious that we cannot go very much beyond them in taxing incomes.

Last autumn the Minister of Finance called for a loan of \$150,000,000, and the subscriptions reached \$400,000,000. In domestic loans we have raised in Canada, since the beginning of this war, \$746,000,000. And if you realize that our wealth is estimated as one-thirtieth, or perhaps not more than one-fiftieth, of that of the United States, you will agree that the effort of the people of Canada in raising money for the purposes of this war has been no mean effort.

We have adopted other important measures upon which I need not dwell. The Canada Food Board controls the use of food and endeavours to prevent its waste. We have a War Trade Board, which deals with the importation and exportation of articles essential for the purposes of the war, and restricts their use. Our Fuel Controller exercises important functions; and I should be remiss in my duty if I did not acknowledge the helpful and generous spirit in which the Government of the United States has co-operated with us in all these efforts. We depend very largely upon the resources of the United States for our coal supplies in some parts of the Dominion, and in dealing with the fuel problem that Government treated the needs of the Canadian people as generously as if Canada had been a part of the United States. A Canadian War Mission recently established at Washington has been found most useful in dealing with business questions that have to be taken up with the Departments of the United States Government. And in order that our human energy may be mobilized to the best advantage we have provided that there shall be on the 22nd day of this month of June a general registration of every man and woman in Canada above the age of sixteen years. That registration we hope will accomplish some of the good results attained in the United Kingdom, so that the man-power and woman-power of Canada may be made even more effective for the purposes of the war than in the past.

Now, I shall not speak to you at greater length except to say a word about the Imperial War Cabinet and the Imperial War Conference. A great step in the constitutional development of the Empire was taken last year by the Prime Minister when he summoned the Prime Ministers of the Overseas Dominions to the Imperial War Cabinet. We meet there on terms of perfect equality. We meet as Prime Ministers of self-governing nations. We meet there under the leader-

ship and the presidency of the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom. After all, my Lord Chancellor and gentlemen, the British Empire as it is at present constituted is a very modern organization. It is perfectly true that it is built upon the development of centuries, but as it is constituted today, both in territory and in organization, it is a relatively modern affair. Why, it is only 75 years since responsible government was granted to Canada. It is only a little more than fifty years since the first experiment in federal government—in a federal constitution—was undertaken in this Empire. And from that we went on, in 1871, to representation in negotiating our commercial treaties, in 1878 to complete fiscal autonomy, and after that to complete fiscal control and the negotiation of our own treaties. But we have always lacked the full status of nationhood, because you exercised here a so-called trusteeship, under which you undertook to deal with foreign relations on our behalf, and sometimes without consulting us very much. Well, that day has gone by. We come here as we came last year to deal with all these matters upon terms of perfect equality with the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and his colleagues. It has been said that the term Imperial War Cabinet is only a misnomer. The word Cabinet is unknown to the law. The meaning of Cabinet has developed from time to time. For my part I see no incongruity whatever in applying the term Cabinet to the association of Prime Ministers and other Ministers who meet around a common council board to debate and to determine the various needs of Empire. If I should attempt to describe it, I should say it is a Cabinet of Governments. Every Prime Minister who sits around that board is responsible to his own Parliament and to his own people; the conclusions of the Imperial War Cabinet can only be carried out by consent of the Parliaments of the different nations of our Imperial Commonwealth. Thus each Dominion, each nation, retains its perfect autonomy. I venture to believe, and I thus expressed myself last year, that in this may be found the genesis of a development in the constitutional relations of the Empire that will form the basis of its unity in the years to come.

One word before I conclude with regard to the war. We are all optimists in this war, because it has been undertaken in a cause which cannot be permanently defeated. But that cause may be temporarily defeated, and optimism alone will not by any means prevent so disastrous an outcome. It would be idle to pretend that mistakes, and serious mistakes, have not been made; it would be still more idle and foolish to dwell upon them merely for the sake of pointing them out. Against

them is to be set off as wonderful and mighty a military effort as was ever undertaken and accomplished by a non-military country. And in that military effort let us never for one moment forget the wonderful valour and heroism of those seven divisions who went to France in the early weeks of this war and made that wonderful stand which stayed the German onrush.

My Lord Chancellor and gentlemen, it is necessary for us to put into this fight not only all our energy and all our effort, but the very best brains that the Empire can produce. Let us not be turned from our purpose by any adherence to tradition or system, or by any personal considerations. The position or the career of any man or group of men is less than dust in the balance when weighed against the issues of this war. If we can draw any lesson at all from what has gone amiss in the past, in Heaven's name let us learn that lesson so thoroughly that our mistakes shall never be repeated.

I rejoice especially tonight to know that we are fighting side by side with our kinsmen in the United States. Bordering that country as we do for nearly 4,000 miles I know something of her people; I have seen thousands of her young men thronging to the colours, keen to take their part in this struggle. Germany utterly fails to realize the giant strength of the American Republic, whose people she outraged by her barbarity and provoked by her insolence until in the very name of humanity America was obliged to take up arms. There is no spirit more formidable or even more terrible than that of a peace-loving and patient people who, without lust of conquest or material gain, but purely for the vindication of public right and common justice among the nations, take up arms with reluctance, but with a relentless resolve never to lay them down until the task is accomplished. I believe that the death-knell of German militarism was sounded when the United States entered this war; I believe before peace is signed the military forces of the mighty Republic of the West will prove to be the most formidable that Germany has ever met, and that militarism will eventually go down before the onset of democracy.

In the meantime it may be that we stand at the gate of peril. If so, it is well that you of these Islands and we of the Overseas Nations should stand there together. Grave though the peril be, and keenly realized, we do not shrink from it. The line must be held and it will be held, until our kinsmen can strike with their full strength. And in the hearts of all the British people there is a profound conviction, a faith strong enough to endure and surmount any reverses that

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have come or can come—a faith that this world-wide Commonwealth of free nations, founded upon the aspiration, effort, and the sacrifice of a thousand years, was not born to be destroyed or dominated by the brutal force of the Hun.

**A SPEECH BEFORE THE REPRESENTATIVES OF
THE CANADIAN PRESS AT LONDON,
ENGLAND, JULY 12, 1918. (1)**

It is an honour to be called upon to propose this toast, especially to an audience gathered to so large an extent from the sun-kissed land beyond the Atlantic which we Canadians love so well. I feel the responsibility of proposing it all the more when I recall the words of a Scottish poet, "a chiel's amang ye takin' notes, an' faith, he'll prent them." We have not one "chief" here, but about twenty-five "chiefs takin' notes," and they are all likely to print them, so one has to be discreet in his utterances.

I should like to add a word to what the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom has said as to the great services that the Press of the Empire as a whole has rendered to the common cause throughout this war. In this I speak more particularly of the Press of Canada, with which I am naturally more familiar. There have been sharp differences of opinion among journalists, as among public men in Canada, during the past; but it is only a just tribute to the Press of Canada to affirm that throughout this war they have lent their support to the Empire's cause without regard to differences of political opinion or divergences arising from local considerations. To affirm this is a tribute not only to the Press but to the spirit of our people, which is necessarily reflected in the attitude of the Press. Perhaps no democracy in the world ever underwent a sharper or sterner test than the democracy of Canada during the past year. We had been at war for more than three years. Our people were far removed from the actual scene of the conflict. There had been untold sorrow and sacrifice and burdens altogether undreamt of; yet in the

(1) On July 12, 1918, Lord Beaverbrook, Minister of Information in the Government of the United Kingdom, gave a dinner at the Savoy Hotel to welcome the representatives of the Canadian Press who were visiting the United Kingdom and the theatre of war in France as the guests of His Majesty's Government. The Right Honourable David Lloyd George, Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, proposed the toast "Our Guests," which was responded to by Mr. J. H. Woods. Sir Robert Borden proposed the toast "The Canadian Expeditionary Force," to which Lieutenant General Sir Richard Turner, V.C., K.C.B., K.C.M.G., D.S.O., responded. Sir Robert Borden spoke as above.

midst of the General Election we undertook to enforce, and did enforce, compulsory military service. Only a transcendent cause and a high spirit could have brought about that result. It was not a triumph for any man or any group of men; it was simply a triumph for that cause which Canada, united with the rest of the Empire, has striven to maintain and will, please God, maintain until the very end.

Now I come to speak of the toast and to couple with it the name of a gallant and distinguished soldier, Lieutenant General Sir Richard Turner, who at the call of duty gave up service at the front, which he infinitely would have preferred, and undertook at my personal request the duty which he has since discharged with great ability and devotion. He took that course with great reluctance and because he deemed that duty to his country required it of him; and he has carried on splendidly and faithfully without a murmur ever since. He was with the Canadian Expeditionary Force from the first; and I recall those days in early August, 1914, when we stood at the threshold of this awful struggle, the horror and the length of which none of us then fully realized. The Prime Minister of the United Kingdom has spoken of the First Division. If I should tell you tonight all the incidents connected with the rallying of Canadians to the colours in the first weeks of the war, I should occupy far more time than would be appropriate. We asked for twenty thousand men; thirty-three thousand responded. There were men in the First Contingent who walked hundreds of miles in order that they might enlist. One group of Westerners—I am not sure whether from Alberta, Saskatchewan or Manitoba—were so determined to join that they seized forcibly a car of the Canadian Pacific Railway, attached it at night to a troop train, and on the following morning the Officer in Command found an unexpected reinforcement which insisted upon being attached to his unit. As the spirit of the Canadian people then was, so it is today.

I need not tell you what the Canadian Expeditionary Force has accomplished, nor would I speak of its record in a boastful way, for I do not forget the glorious achievements of the men of these islands, of the other Dominions and of India. We are fighting for a common cause, fighting side by side, inspired with that wonderful and splendid spirit which has enabled our people, although comparatively untrained in military art, to hold their own against a country which for nearly half a century has prepared for this war, whose people have been trained in arms from the first, a people who seek by their military power, organization and science to dominate

the world. The Prime Minister has referred in generous terms, for which we are grateful, to that occasion when perhaps the sternest test to which men were ever subjected came to the First Canadian Division. They were not trained soldiers; for less than a year before they had been engaged in the ordinary avocations of civil life within our Dominion. They had been immersed, as perhaps we were all then immersed, in material considerations, which are likely to influence very strongly the people of a new and rapidly developing country. They went forth with little military knowledge, with practically no military training, and they were subjected to that awful test. It is enough to say that they did hold their ground under conditions when men of wider experience and longer training might well have wavered. We remember with pride that they did bar the way of the Germans to Calais, and that perhaps they changed the destiny of the world.

From that time up to the present the record of the Canadian Expeditionary Force has been equally proud. In every test, in every engagement, they have held their own, held it gallantly and splendidly. Among some forty or fifty thousand of them whom I had the privilege of seeing and addressing in France the only complaint I heard was that during recent months they had had no opportunity of meeting the Germans. They hoped most earnestly that the Germans would attack the position which they had established on Vimy Ridge. There was no such good luck, for the Germans were fully advised of the reception they would meet.

There are four Divisions of Canadians now in France—about one hundred and twenty-five thousand men in the fighting line. We hope that the members of the Canadian Press will see them in France. We want you to see them there; more than that we want you to see the organization not only there but in the United Kingdom, and to judge whether or not Canada has any reason to be proud of its Army Corps and of that organization. We hope you will see it and realize it and give to the people of Canada your frank impressions. To those Canadians in the United Kingdom who have not had the opportunity of seeing service at the front—to those who have been engaged in other tasks here, may I say this: the issues of this war are so supreme that no man is entitled to regard the part he takes in it as small or mean or insignificant. The cause is so overmastering that every man's part in it is a great part;

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for on the triumph of that cause the world's future destiny rests.

You, Gentlemen of the Press, will go to France. You will see our men and you will go back to the people of Canada with a message of courage and confidence. The nearer you go to the front the higher the confidence you will find. The nearer you go to the front the stronger determination will you meet that this war should be fought to a finish, the clearer conviction will you encounter that all our sacrifice and effort will have been absolutely in vain unless we drive out of the hearts of the German people the thought that force shall supersede right in the world's affairs and that Germany or any other nation can dominate the free democracies of the world. That is the spirit of the message which you will bring back to Canada from the men at the front who went forth freely, voluntarily and splendidly to fight the battles of Canada, of the Empire and of the world in the highest and most far-reaching cause for which humanity has ever yet taken up arms. I know you will bid them God-speed in every effort that lies before them. There may be a sterner test than any we have yet undergone, but I for one am supremely confident that the men of our Empire, whether of these Islands or of the Dominions, will endure that test as we would have them do. So it behooves us at home, holding as it were the second battle line of our country, to see to it that these men have that support, that whole-hearted full support to which their splendid efforts, their willing sacrifice and their high courage absolutely entitle them. And so with every pride in their glorious achievements, with every confidence that their courage and determination will uplift them in the future and maintain their effort to the end, I ask you to drink to the health of the Canadian Expeditionary Force.

A SPEECH AT LONDON, ENGLAND, JULY 31, 1918. (1)

During the past six weeks Ministers from the self-governing Dominions and representatives of India have been sitting with members of the British Government in the Imperial War Conference, engaged in the consideration of many important questions of common concern. The results

(1) On July 31, 1918, Sir Robert Borden was the guest at a luncheon given by Sir Robert Perks, Bart., and attended by a large number of Methodist laymen. In response to a toast he spoke as above.

of their deliberations have in a large measure been made public. A certain class of the resolutions recorded definite conclusions on matters of great moment. Another class commended to the attention of the various Governments questions that require fuller consideration as well as executive and parliamentary action in the several nations of the British Commonwealth. A third class comprises the resolutions that set up standing committees, representing the United Kingdom and the Dominions, for the purpose of reporting to the various governments concerned after necessary study and consideration. In this class are to be included demobilization, the regulation of ocean freight rates and the control of raw materials within the Empire. The subjects falling within the second and third classes were not finally dealt with by the Conference; but matters were put in train for such action as the several governments may eventually find necessary. On the whole the deliberations of the Conference were attended with important results; moreover, the wider outlook and more perfect understanding attained by discussion between representatives from all parts of the Empire will be of inestimable advantage.

Work still more urgent and vital was taken up in the Imperial War Cabinet whose deliberations are necessarily secret. There the vast and complicated problems arising out of a world-wide war had to be considered and determined. The Dominion Ministers on arriving in London were confronted with an enormous mass of documents covering in part the deliberations and conclusions of the War Cabinet since May, 1917.

New developments had taken place, fresh problems had arisen and further determination as to future action was required. Very grave questions, some of them intimately concerning the interests of the Dominions in the disposition of their troops and the future conduct of the war, are still demanding and receiving consideration and attention. The part taken by the Dominion Ministers in these deliberations has been very real and by no means nominal. Both in the Imperial War Cabinet itself and in a special Committee of Prime Ministers established since their arrival they have assumed their full responsibility and given their active co-operation. Jealous of their own autonomy they necessarily refrain from participation in the domestic affairs of the United Kingdom. That result is possible by the methods to which I alluded on several occasions here last year. The Imperial War Cabinet has been constituted to deal with matters of common Imperial concern and its deliberations

are confined to that purpose; the British War Cabinet continues to exercise its functions in respect of matters of domestic concern within the United Kingdom. Thus the line of demarcation is established with sufficient clearness to prevent unfortunate misunderstanding.

In this connection it should be clearly understood that neither the Imperial War Cabinet nor the Imperial War Conference has had under consideration this year the question of preference. The recent announcement on that subject was made on behalf of the British Government as a statement of the domestic policy of the United Kingdom. As Canada claims and exercises the right absolutely to control her own fiscal policy, so the representatives of our Dominion necessarily refrain from attempting any interference in the fiscal policy of the United Kingdom. Moreover the people of Canada would not desire the people of the United Kingdom to shape or modify their fiscal policy for the sole purpose of giving a preference to the products of Canada, especially if such change should involve any supposed injustice or should be regarded as unfair or oppressive by a considerable portion of the people of the United Kingdom.

I find the spirit of the British people firm and undaunted as it was a year ago. The inspiration of each nation of the British Commonwealth is the ideal of service. That is as it should be. The national purpose is but the sum of the individual purpose; the national effort is but the sum of the individual effort. A true realization of this must bring home to each of us a higher sense of responsibility. He who performs willingly and earnestly the service to which his duty calls him helps to hold the line against the enemy; he who shrinks from that duty, or neglects it, strengthens the enemy's line. Under the increasing strain of four years of war differences are bound to develop and sometimes to become acute. Of this there have been examples not only in these Islands, but in the Dominion that I represent. We look forward to the day when the great nations of the world will so ally themselves to preserve the world's peace that war will be impossible. It is anticipated that this supreme purpose can be accomplished by conciliation and if necessary by arbitral determination. If we in the British Commonwealth aspire to that great ideal as a consummation devoutly to be wished for, ought we not so to arrange our affairs between employers and employed, between government and people, that industrial disputes or labour difficulties shall not paralyse or impede the nation's effort? Surely this should be possible in time of war; I hope that eventually it may

not be impossible even in time of peace. Unless we show ourselves possessed of such fairness, moderation, and self-control as will make this possible there cannot be a confident hope of attaining or realizing the higher and nobler ideal that would command the peace of the world.

**A SPEECH BEFORE THE CANADA CLUB AND THE
CANADIAN ASSOCIATION, AT LONDON,
ENGLAND, AUGUST 1, 1918. (1)**

During more than two years of this war the Duke of Connaught served as Governor General of Canada, and no man ever fulfilled more truly the highest ideals of duty and of service. The same ideal has been splendidly illustrated in the devotion of the men whom I see around me. To them and to all Canadians, both men and women, who have laboured here without respite in every mission of aid and mercy I yield a grateful tribute.

It is not without inconvenience and even difficulty that Canadian Ministers have crossed the Atlantic this year, for many matters at home have demanded the gravest consideration and the most active attention. I hope I am fully conscious that my first duty is to the Canadian people; yet I am equally conscious that even from that standpoint, and not forgetting the four hundred thousand Canadians who during the past four years have crossed the ocean to fight for freedom, no duty could be more serious or more compelling than that in which I have been engaged throughout my present visit to London.

Last year we met for the first time in the Imperial War Cabinet. This year its labours have been even more unremitting and certainly not less important. In the Cabinets of the several British self-governing nations the heads of great departments of state sit around the council board; in the Imperial War Cabinet the heads of governments deliberate on matters of common concern. Each government, each nation, preserves unimpaired its perfect autonomy, while on the other hand a common purpose is maintained and effective

(1) On August 1, 1918, the Canada Club and the Canadian Association joined in a luncheon at the Savoy Hotel in honour of Sir Robert Borden and the other Canadian Ministers attending the Imperial War Cabinet and the Imperial War Conference. Field Marshal His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught presided. Sir Robert Borden spoke as above.

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co-operation is secured. The system has been found not only useful and efficient but absolutely necessary in time of war. It may be found to serve also the needs of peace; but that remains to be determined by a constitutional conference summoned after the conclusion of the war, pursuant to the resolution passed by the Imperial War Conference last year.

Meanwhile the whole purpose of all the nations of the British Commonwealth must be concentrated upon the war. Into the scale of victory have been thrown during the past fifteen months the amazing energy and vast resources of the most powerful nation in the world. Germany is beginning to realize that for many months the splendid youth of the United States have been disembarking on the shores of Great Britain and France at the rate of ten thousand per day; if she is well advised she knows that this rate will be maintained for many months to come. Her troops have good reason to realize and to dread the magnificent valour, determination and vigour of these new antagonists.

And the men from the American Commonwealth have learned to appreciate the mighty task sustained and endured by the Allied Nations for four years. To them the unconquerable heroism of France, the glorious spirit of Italy, the dauntless soul of Belgium and of Serbia, and last but not least the mighty effort of this Motherland and of all the nations of this Commonwealth, will not appeal in vain. At first hand they have come to realize more vividly than would otherwise be possible the fiendish malignity of the German campaign of frightfulness; for in all the annals of history there is nothing more horrible than the methods by which Germany has waged this war. Consider the systematic murder of civilian populations on land and on sea, the violation of women, the desecration of churchyards, the burning of towns and cities, the wanton destruction and annihilation of every vestige of civilization, the brutal treatment of prisoners, the bombing of hospitals, the sinking of hospital ships! In wars of the past among nations that were regarded as barbarous cities have been pillaged; but when was an entire nation so systematically pillaged as by the Germans in Belgium? The German militarists are possessed by devils whose name is legion; to Germany no less than to all humanity the world owes the duty of casting out those devils, and this war will never be well won until that task is accomplished. We Canadians know what it is to have our hospitals bombed, not only recently in France but eighteen months ago in the Balkans. The intent was as certain as its accom-

plishment was successful. If any one should doubt, what shall he say of the sinking of our hospital ship, the murder of nurses and doctors and the persistent attempts to destroy every survivor so that there should be no trace and no report?

It is horrible to reflect that all this has been brought about by the devilish ambition of the Kaiser and of the military caste that surrounds him; but the Kaiser and his militarists could never have undertaken or carried out such a purpose if they had not succeeded in casting the unholy spell over the German people that has made their name accursed among the nations. A ruder shock than any yet experienced is necessary to break that spell. There are, however, premonitory indications that the shock may not be far distant.

Probably no military expert or even the highest authority would undertake to forecast the future events of this war, and certainly it is not my purpose to make that attempt; but one may be pardoned if he feels a growing confidence as the gathering legions from beyond the Atlantic are rapidly and surely taking their place in the battle line. The Austrian has met recent defeat in Italy, and the German in France. Apart from the battle shock of armies there are, however, resources and powers available to the Allies upon which attention is being centred as the war proceeds. From first to last there has been the keenest of struggles for mastery of the air; unless all present indications are deceptive that mastery is passing and will more and more pass to the Allies. By that means, if not by the breaking of the German battle line, war can be carried into German territory with vigour and with effect; if war cannot be carried into Germany by land or sea, it can be hurled upon her from the air. Those who rejoice over the martyrdom of other nations must learn the real meaning of the horror that they forced upon the world and through which they sought to subject the nations to their will.

There is another most powerful resource at the disposal of the Allies, and especially within the power of the British Empire and of the United States. Its possibilities are beginning to be realized by the enemy. The Germans undertook this war to secure through world domination control of world resources and thereby a commercial and industrial supremacy that would brook no rivalry and could successfully defy all competition. Notwithstanding all German successes in Russia and in the East, it lies within the united purpose and power of Great Britain and the United States, through

the command of natural resources and raw materials and by other means, to place upon the industrial and commercial development and expansion of Germany restrictions against which she would struggle in vain. Germany must be made clearly to understand that this tremendous world-wide power of these two nations will be exercised relentlessly and mercilessly, not against a regenerate Germany—if even Germany may become regenerate—but against Germany as she is today. Let her prove herself regenerate by works and not by words alone; let her cast out the unclean spirit of militarism and the sordid lust of world domination; let her make such poor compensation as is humanly possible for all the horror and suffering and evil that she has wrought. Then shall we listen to her; until then let her name be Anathema!

A SPEECH AT THE DIRECTORS' LUNCHEON,
CANADIAN NATIONAL EXHIBITION,
TORONTO, SEPTEMBER 2, 1918.

After an absence of three months I found difficult and important questions awaiting determination, and it was not without hesitation that I put aside pressing duties in order that I might be present today.

To meet a pressing need the allied nations established a Supreme War Council which meets regularly at Versailles. For the like reason the British Prime Minister initiated at the end of 1916 the Imperial War Cabinet, in which all the Dominions, including India, are represented. Its deliberations are necessarily occupied with matters of grave concern to all parts of the Empire in relation to their war effort. Without this opportunity for full and free discussion and deliberation it would be impossible to accomplish essential unity of purpose and of effort. The duty of a Prime Minister is to centre his effort upon that which chiefly concerns the welfare of his country. No nation of the Britannic Commonwealth is more clearly entitled than Canada to have its voice heard in the deliberations of the Imperial War Cabinet, and for the time being my duty lay there. Three hundred thousand Canadians in France and Britain would have held me recreant if I had abandoned most important deliberations and permitted conclusions vitally affecting them and all our people to be reached while my country was unrepresented.

There was no departure from the decision of last year's Conference that constitutional changes should be postponed until after the war, and should then be determined by a

conference specially called for that purpose. But one important advance was made, which indeed became inevitable after the constitution of the Imperial War Cabinet. Its members communicate with each other freely and on equal terms around the council board. Henceforth during the absence of any Dominion Prime Minister from the actual meeting of the Imperial War Cabinet he may communicate direct with the British Prime Minister who presides over the Cabinet, and he may appoint a Minister to attend the Imperial War Cabinet as his representative. Canada has not made any arrangement to carry out the latter proposal, although Mr. Lloyd George has been informed that Sir Edward Kemp is ready, whenever desired, for any conference or discussion which may assist the common purpose.

Our work in the Imperial War Conference devolved almost entirely upon my colleagues, but to one question, in conjunction with Mr. Calder, I gave close personal attention. Last year's Conference accepted the principle of reciprocal regulation of immigration between India and the Dominions. That resolution was the result of a personal conference between the representatives of India and of the Dominions, which was brought about at my instance. I took it up in the same way this year and an important resolution was passed. The first clause was especially important, because it accepted the principle (for which Canada has contended throughout) that the Government of each Dominion and of India is entitled to complete control of the composition of its own population by restriction if necessary on migration from any other part of the Empire. The second clause deals with regulations respecting visits for pleasure or commerce, including temporary residence for educational purposes. The third clause provides that Indians already domiciled in other British countries shall be allowed to bring in their wives and minor children on condition that not more than one wife and her children shall be admitted for each Indian. Hitherto the admission of wives and children has been prohibited in effect by the laws of Canada, although it is allowed in other parts of the Empire. The proposed departure from previous practice is supported by the example of other parts of the Empire, is warranted by humane considerations, and is fortified by the splendid devotion and loyalty of the Indian people throughout this war. Last year the record of war effort placed before us by the Indian representatives was impressive; but this year the story of achievement and of what is yet to be undertaken is infinitely more inspiring. India is now more than redoubling her war effort, which will be no

inconsiderable factor in securing victory and peace. Remember that our Empire is waging war in no less than ten theatres, thousands of miles apart, and scattered over three continents. Our gaze is continually directed to the Western front where our own men are fighting; let us not forget that in other vital theatres, such as Mesopotamia, Palestine and Egypt, the gallant soldiers of India are bearing the brunt of the struggle.

The action of the British Government in working out the principle of preference, which it first accepted in 1917, has led to a misunderstanding, apparently not yet removed. Each Dominion adopted years ago the principle of preference, and each has worked out that policy according to its needs and conditions and the ideals of its people. After Great Britain had accepted the principle of preference in 1917 it became necessary for its Government to consider the methods by which, and the limitations within which, that policy would be carried out within the British Islands. The conclusions reached by the British Government were embodied in a public statement made by Mr. Long during our recent visit. They were never submitted to or considered by the Imperial War Cabinet or the Imperial War Conference. The policy thus announced was purely a domestic question for the United Kingdom, in which Canada was not called upon to interfere, and did not interfere. We hold ourselves free to work out the problem of preference according to Canada's needs and conditions. For the same reason Canada must avoid any attempt at interference with domestic policy in Great Britain.

Questions of great moment demand and are now receiving the attention of the Government. With one exception the largest railway proprietor in Canada is the Canadian people; and the day may come when there will be no exception. The acquisition of the Canadian Northern Railway system was brought about by conditions arising out of the war, and in my judgment it was the wisest solution of existing difficulties. The system comprises about ten thousand miles of railway, of which more than 9,700 miles are in actual operation; and, including the \$10,000,000 to be paid for the capital stock, the total cost to the country will be between \$44,000 and \$45,000 per mile. The greater portion of the line runs through a country which must develop rapidly in the early future. For this reason its future prospects are more favourable than those of the Intercolonial or Transcontinental. But if we take into account capitalization the comparison is still more favourable

to the recently acquired system. The Government system of railways, comprising the Intercolonial Railway, the Prince Edward Island Railways and other small railways in the Maritime Provinces, embraces a total of 1,941 miles, hitherto known as the Canadian Government Railways. It represents a capitalization of more than \$137,000,000 without including interest. That means a capitalization per mile of \$70,666. If however interest were included (as it has been included in the capitalization of the Canadian Northern system), the capitalization would exceed \$100,000 per mile. Comparison with the Grand Trunk Pacific is equally striking. It embraces a total of 1,748 miles. The total expenditure upon the road, equipment and rolling stock, amounts to about \$180,000,000, or more than \$100,000 per mile. The Transcontinental Railway comprises 1,811 miles, from Moncton to Winnipeg. The actual cash paid out for its construction, without including a dollar for interest, is nearly \$164,000,000, and if interest is added the amount exceeds \$200,000,000 for 1,811 miles. This represents a capitalization of \$92,000 per mile if interest is omitted, and of more than \$112,000 per mile if interest is included.

The country therefore has embarked upon a wide policy of State ownership under very favourable conditions. Difficult questions at once present themselves as to methods of operation. If the policy of State ownership is to be successful, certain conditions are essential, and the people must resolutely support the Government in maintaining them. The methods by which the operation of the road is to be carried out must be as efficient as those of any private corporation. There must be no party political interference; that would be absolutely fatal to discipline, to efficiency and to success. On the other hand, there must remain with the people and Parliament of the country a general control which is incident to and indeed inherent in ownership. The proposals of the Government will be made public almost immediately, and they will be based upon the considerations I have mentioned. The total mileage owned by Canada is very large, comprising nearly 14,000 miles and reaching from the Atlantic to the Pacific. All the lines included in this mileage should be operated as one system and under one management; this system should not be administered by a department of the Government; it should be connected as soon as practicable with steamship lines on both Atlantic and Pacific; and last but not least, its operation should be kept absolutely free from party political interference. For these reasons and for this purpose the Board of the Canadian Northern system will be reconstituted in the immediate future.

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I now come to the most important part of my address. For the third time I have had the privilege and honour of seeing the Canadian Expeditionary Force under arms at the front. Taking into account all the services, including the Railway Construction Corps and the Forestry Corps, Canada's Army in France and Belgium numbers 175,000 men. You know its remarkable achievements this summer. For four weeks our men have been driving the Huns from their strongest positions. They are doing it today. The Canadian Army Corps is almost equal in numerical strength to any one of the British Armies. The force was never so strong, so formidable or so efficient as it is today. As the events of the war draw to their climax there was never greater need that it should be strong and efficient. Fifteen months ago the name of Canada and the record of the Canadian Army stood high among all the Allied nations. Today they stand higher than ever before. It must be a source of pride to every thoughtful Canadian that not only in the splendid valour and discipline of our infantry, but in all the so-called technical arms of the service, Canadians stand at the very front. In artillery efficiency, in the work of the Engineers, in the flying service, in the organization of its magnificent machine-gun establishment, in its intelligence service, the Canadian Army yields place to none. It is not too much to say that in many of these services Canada is pre-eminent. I believe that the machine-gun organization of our Army serves as an example and model to the British Army. The work of the Railway Construction Corps and of the Forestry Corps has been equally distinguished. Up to the 31st August nearly 414,000 men have gone overseas in the Canadian Army. Do you realize that in this fifth year of the war the Canadian Army, in numbers, in efficiency, in morale and in determination, is stronger than ever before? What has made this possible? The resolve of Canada to support and stand by her Army, the provision of adequate reinforcements, the maintenance of the Army at full strength; these are the factors that have sustained and enhanced the courage, resourcefulness, discipline and devotion of the Canadian soldiers. The strength of Canada's purpose reaches its highest exemplification in the men who hold her battle line. But in the ultimate issue no army can be stronger than the spirit of the people behind it.

There is complete co-operation and unity of effort between our forces in France and the troops in England, who stand ready to take their places in the line when the call comes. A most thorough system of training has been

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organized. I saw many thousands of soldiers who had recently arrived from Canada, men who have been enlisted under the Military Service Act. There was but one report as to the spirit which animates them. They are as strong in their sense of duty and in their determination to win this war as those who have preceded them.

Much has been said of men remaining in England who should be at the front. I found no evidence of any such condition. Colonel Gunn, a very capable officer, was appointed many months ago to the important duty of combing out from all the various units in Great Britain, including the Forestry Corps, all men capable of military service at the front. He has gone repeatedly through every establishment from Headquarters down, and through every office in each department; he has despatched to France every man fit for military service except a few whose expert knowledge was regarded as absolutely essential to the duties they perform.

After visiting one of the Canadian camps I journeyed in the afternoon to the American camp at Winchester. Six hundred thousand men have passed through that camp on their way to France. Twenty thousand of them crossed the ocean last May in the same convoy with me. They are of splendid physique, very serious, very earnest, very determined. There are one and a half million of them on the other side of the Atlantic, men of the same type as the Canadians. Already they have taught the Germans not only to respect but to dread their fighting qualities. To realize what they have already rendered possible, consider the situation in France as it was three months ago and as it is today.

When I reached England early in June the situation on the Western front gave cause for grave apprehension. When I set out for Canada about the middle of August the position was completely changed. Apprehension had given way to confidence, and there was a well-founded belief that the grand climax of the war is approaching. Before that comes there will be much talk of peace. No inconclusive peace, which would be merely the prelude to another struggle, will be accepted by the men who have borne the burden and made the sacrifice. The issue must be settled now, and Germany must learn her lesson once for all. Fiends incarnate would shrink from the nameless outrages with which she has deliberately degraded the name of humanity; they would blush for the barbarous and brutal cynicism with which she has scorned and broken every decent convention of public law and international usage. Was it for nothing that the Americans went into battle shouting "Remember the Lus-

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ania"? Was it for nothing that the Huns heard the battle cry, "Remember the Llandoverly Castle," when the Canadians made their onset? The memory of these things cannot be wiped out in a day or a year, or even a century. There is no desire to crush or humiliate the German people, but they have permitted their rulers to brand them as false, brutal and barbarous; they must prove themselves regenerate before they can be received again on equal terms with the world's commonwealth of decent nations.

And this is the message I bring you from the Canadian Army: "Stand fast to your purpose, abide the issue and vindicate the cause of justice and humanity."

A SPEECH AT THE CANADIAN NATIONAL EXHIBITION, TORONTO, SEPTEMBER 2, 1918.

It is at once a duty and a privilege to be here on Labour Day and to give to you Canadians dwelling in peace and security within our borders a message from those other Canadians whom so lately I have seen holding our battle front in that ancient and historic land from which the first pioneers came to this country. Those from whom the message comes were foremost when the first call came. Up to the 31st March last Canada had despatched overseas 364,750 men, and of these more than 227,000 were classed as "working men." These figures speak more eloquently than any words that I could utter of the devotion, the ideals and the patriotism of Canadian Labour.

It was impossible for Canada to take any other course than that which she followed in this war; and that course was taken by the unanimous voice of her free Parliament, which upheld the determination reached by the Government on that fateful first day of August more than four years ago. Men speaking in praise of her effort sometimes say that she came to the aid of the Mother-country. I have not so regarded it. Canada entered this war as one of the free nations of the great Britannic Commonwealth because the struggle imperilled her existence and because the purposes for which that struggle was undertaken were, in the opinion of her people and her Parliament, just and righteous. Even to this day the mass of the German people are seemingly deluded by the cry that Great Britain forced this war upon Germany. Two contrasts however stand forth as conclusive. Great Britain and her sister nations were utterly unprepared for aggressive military effort when the war broke out; Germany during half a century had built up for wanton aggression the most formidable military force ever known in the world's history.

Great Britain, through the untiring efforts of her statesmen, and especially Sir Edward Grey, most earnestly sought a conference, which would have prevented war; Germany, secure in her mighty preparation, spurned all arbitrament except that of the sword. As she has willed it, so shall she have it. We have learned from her rulers in the flush of supposed triumph that as a victor she will be merciless. It is not our purpose to crush and enslave her as she has crushed and enslaved Belgium and Roumania; but for their soul's health her people must be purged of the savage war lust that has possessed them. It is only a regenerate Germany bringing forth fruits meet for repentance that can be again received into the community of decent and self-respecting nations. Germany must thoroughly learn her lesson before this conflict ends; otherwise it has been fought in vain.

Three months ago victory never seemed more distant; today it never seemed nearer, although the struggle may still be long. But we have domestic problems which must not be forgotten. In so vital a struggle and for so transcendent a cause no man's part can be regarded as small or insignificant; upon each of us devolves, therefore, the greater responsibility. The nation's effort is the sum of the individual effort; thus the national effort becomes mightier or feebler as each man realizes and fulfils his responsibility or fails to do so. In all the annals of history there never was a war like this; every ounce of power, every atom of human energy, of skill, of mechanical and applied science, of natural resources, is being thrown into the scale. Subtract from the national effort what you will by controversy, by division, by discord; by so much have you weakened the national purpose and the national endeavour. There is a direct and unmistakable relation between the labour of every man engaged in an essential industry or occupation and the hardship and sacrifice of those who stand in our battle lines. Surely it is not necessary, when the world's destiny hangs in the balance, to emphasize the fact that united effort is stronger than discord. I do not overlook the fact that if there be injustice or unfairness it must be considered and dealt with and removed; but may we not all agree that this can be accomplished without resorting to crude and wasteful methods which diminish the national endeavour and weaken the national purpose?

Not very long ago the great organizations of railway employees sanctioned and accepted a policy which has been embodied in an agreement made between the Canadian Railway War Board and the Railway Brotherhoods and Orders.

The Canadian Board of Adjustment thus constituted by formal agreement comprises twelve members, six of them representing the Canadian Railway War Board (which acts for the Railway Companies of Canada), and six of them representing the various organizations of employees. The powers conferred upon this Board will, I believe, enable it to redress all grievances and to adjust all differences promptly and satisfactorily; all need for strikes is avoided; transportation of food, munitions and supplies is not interfered with; the national effort is not weakened. The Canadian Board of Adjustment is to continue during the period of the present war and thereafter until it is terminated by thirty days' notice on either side. I am confident that its success will be as great as its purpose and will amply justify its continuance as a permanent arrangement.

Surely as an outcome of this war there will be some better understanding between employers and employed and more reasonable methods of settling differences. Men speak today of the possibility that the peace of the world may be secured by the establishment of a League of Nations. The purpose is so commanding that, even if its success be doubtful, we must support the effort in the hope that the world will thus be led towards higher things. But how shall nation join with nation in a scheme of arbitration for enforcing the peace of the world if within the nation itself these important but minor difficulties between employers and employed cannot be settled without industrial war? We are learning lessons which will, I hope, open our eyes to higher possibilities and truer ideals in our domestic concerns.

War has brought with it untold sacrifice, grievous sorrow, unimagined burdens. But the very spirit which it has evoked is in itself a certain compensation. The greatness of a nation must rest finally upon the spirit of sacrifice and upon duty; in short, upon the character and ideals of its people. The two English-speaking democracies, with their vast responsibilities, extending to every continent, to every ocean and to all the islands of the sea, cannot be great through their resources or their wealth alone. They will not be true to each other, or, more than that, to themselves, if they fail to realize the duty of united purpose and effort for the world's peace. If such unity is not possible between these two nations, what hope can there be for the wider league of nations that is spoken of and hoped for? Great Britain and the United States could together have commanded the peace of the world in July, 1914. If Germany and Austria had known that war without a conference meant war, not with Russia and France alone,

but with Great Britain and the United States as well, there would have been no war; there would have been a conference and a special settlement. I do not say this with the slightest suggestion of criticism upon the Government of either country. In our democracies action involving the issue of war depends not so much upon the Government as upon the vision and purpose of the people. I pray that the people of both Commonwealths may rise to the full realization that their responsibility and duty for the world's peace are not less than their world-wide power and influence.

Meantime this message comes from your kinsmen who fight for you yonder in France and Flanders: "We have fought and we have endured; we will fight and endure to the end. As we do our part so we pray that you shall do yours until the dawn of abiding peace through victory."

**A SPEECH AT THE DIRECTORS' LUNCHEON,
CENTRAL CANADA EXHIBITION, OTTAWA,
SEPTEMBER 9, 1918.**

In the first place permit me to congratulate the Directors of the Central Canada Exhibition upon the courage and vision which has enabled them and their predecessors to build up the Exhibition to its present status and to maintain it during the past four years of war. One must be impressed with the educative value of such exhibitions; they afford the people the means of knowing our resources, their development and the abundance of opportunity in a young, rapidly growing country like Canada. Upon its educational purpose and service the permanence of any exhibition must finally depend; there must be a definite purpose beyond mere amusement or enjoyment. I have been particularly struck with the development of the Canadian National Exhibition along these lines, and doubtless the Central Canada Exhibition has had the same purpose.

Official and private visitors from European countries, such as France and Belgium and Denmark, where the density of the populations has taught the people lessons not yet learned here, have been impressed with the great wastefulness everywhere apparent in this country. It has been asserted by those who have given close attention to the subject that in almost any city in Canada enough is wasted in one week to provide food for the whole city for two days out of the seven. Perhaps that is an exaggeration, but it is perfectly true that there is great waste; for example, certain

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portions of animals slaughtered for food that are utilized in other countries are thrown away in Canada. Many examples of this could be given. Several species of fish that are now used for food were regarded as valueless twenty-five years ago; indeed, many articles that in other countries are found to be both edible and nutritious have been wasted here. There is waste also in the preparation of food, as to which we have yet to learn many useful lessons.

The war will teach many other lessons. I have reason to believe that men serving in the Canadian Forestry Corps in Great Britain and France will come back to Canada with new ideas as to forest conservation, and especially as to re-forestation. Much has been said during recent years on this subject, but practical object lessons are usually much more effective than the written or spoken word.

There must be an avoidance of waste in all departments of national activity by federal, provincial and municipal governments. That can only be accomplished by the cultivation of a healthy public opinion, and by the realization of the same purpose by the people in their own personal affairs. The burdens of the country will be great, but compared with our resources, if properly developed, they will not eventually be serious. The country's resources are enormous and they must be conserved as far as possible for the benefit of the whole people. In order to conserve it is not necessary or desirable that resources should lie idle; but they must be developed in the interest of the people and not exploited for individual profit, for it must always be borne in mind that adherence to such a policy will increase that equality of opportunity which should be the sure purpose of every true democracy.

Among the great resources with which Canada has been so amply endowed are its vast water powers. While our mineral resources are enormous, nevertheless the supplies of coal, however great, must eventually become exhausted; but water powers are inexhaustible and they can be developed and utilized for the advantage of all the people without any serious difficulties in organization or distribution. The use is manifold, ranging from the operation of great transportation systems to detail work on small farms.

The Canadians who have fought so gallantly for our liberties and those of the world, and who have given to our country a great place among the world's nations, will return to Canada with a wider vision and with a higher appreciation of the opportunities that lie before them. Undoubtedly there will be difficult problems during the period of reconstruction;

no one can be sure whether these problems will be more or less difficult than we now foresee. The Governments of the Dominion and of the Provinces, all governing bodies of the whole people, must unite in an earnest endeavour to meet these difficulties, however great they may prove, with true courage, with sincere purpose, and with the most effective organization. Above all let there be unity of purpose. I have spoken of waste; but unnecessary discord and unseemly controversy are the worst possible waste of the nation's effort. Discord arises chiefly through lack of mutual understanding; Canadians of different communities and provinces should know each other better, should strive for a wider vision of each other's purpose and aims. Upon that truer understanding the united national spirit of the future must be founded.