

CANADA AND THE WAR

**National Organization
Compulsory Military Service
Conscription of Wealth**

THE ISSUES DISCUSSED BY

NEWTON W. ROWELL

THE SOLDIERS' APPEAL

"When I asked our men at the front what we could do for them in Canada, their thought was not for themselves but for the cause. They said; 'Send us more men, men completely trained and properly equipped. We are prepared to give our lives, but that alone is not sufficient. We must have reinforcements to keep our ranks full.'"

TORONTO, CANADA, SEPTEMBER, 1917

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GENERAL SIR ARTHUR CURRIE

*(Extracts from letter received by Mr. Rowell from the Commander
of the Canadian army in France, July, 1917)*

"We are all anxiously looking to Canada to see what the result of the conscription proposals of Sir Robert Borden will be.

"I am very glad that you have given your support and influence to the cause of conscription. . . .

"We are winning this war and it would seem as if the heroic sacrifices of the Canadians would be forgotten, if the troops in the field are not kept at full fighting strength.

"I attribute a great deal of our success to our fighting organization. If our units are not kept up to strength that organization breaks down, and success cannot be expected in the same measure.

"Furthermore, if our units are kept at full strength, the morale of our troops remains very high; whereas if units are allowed to become weak in numbers, the morale suffers accordingly.

"I pray that you will not relax your efforts in seeing that everything is done by Canada to furnish the necessary drafts of officers and men. The troops here expect it—let them not be disappointed."

THE WAR

Issues Discussed by Newton W. Rowell

A PERSONAL STATEMENT

To His Own Constitutents at Hickson, North Oxford, July 26th, 1917

"The Military Service Bill has cut clear across party lines. The majority in the House of Commons and the minority as well are made up from members of both parties.

"You all know my position. For nearly three years I have been giving my best thought and attention to the issues of this war and Canada's participation in it. I am convinced that by a proper organization of our manpower and resources we can reinforce and maintain our present divisions at the front without interfering with agriculture which is also vital to the nation's life, or the other essential industries which must be maintained if the war is to be successfully prosecuted. The experience of other countries at war proves that we can do this. And when this has been done, in view of what other nations have already accomplished, our sacrifice will be less in proportion than that of any nation which entered the war at the time we did.

"In order that I might better understand the real situation, I visited the battle-front last year and have endeavoured to keep in touch with conditions at the front ever since. I spent some weeks looking into the situation in Great Britain and France. I found both countries putting forth unprecedented efforts and making unparalleled sacrifices to achieve victory. I have been in close touch with the recruiting situation in this province, since the outbreak of the war, and I know something of the recruiting conditions in the other provinces.

A DEFINITE CONCLUSION

"Applying my best judgment to the conditions as I found them and knew them, I reached the conclusion some months ago that Canada could not continue to reinforce her men at the front, could not maintain her position in the battle-line, could not continue her struggle for her own freedom under the voluntary system. Having reached the conclusion that compulsory

military service was essential for the defence of Canada and the preservation of our liberties, it was my duty to say so; not because I liked compulsion, for I did not; not because I believed it would be popular, for I knew it would not be popular; but because I believed it was necessary, and that the people of Canada if they once realized the necessity would be prepared to make any sacrifice required to achieve victory.

"Strongly as I differ from the manner in which this grave issue was presented to the country, wise as I believe it would have been to consult with labour, agriculture and other interests vitally affected, before the proposal was submitted to parliament, firmly as I believe it should have been presented as a national and not as a party proposal, these considerations would not excuse me for now failing to support a measure which I am convinced is essential to meet the war conditions we are now facing.

MUST BE TRUE TO MEN

"I know some of my friends in this county and elsewhere do not agree with the conclusions I have reached. I deeply regret that I am compelled to differ from them; but few, if any of them, have seen what I have seen of the conditions at the front, or know what I know of the fierceness of the struggle and of the patient and cheerful courage of our men, buoyed up in the confidence that Canada was behind them. I would be untrue to these gallant men and to my own convictions as to Canada's clear duty if I did not support compulsory military service now that a bill has been introduced and passed in parliament, and appeal to my fellow-citizens to recognize their obligations to the State and cheerfully to accept and loyally to support compulsory service.

"But Canada must not stop with a compulsory military service measure. Men at the front feel and feel keenly that while they are giving their all for Canada and for liberty, men at home are making huge profits out of the war. In justice to the men at the front as well as to the cause for which they are fighting, we must require wealth to bear its full share of the burden. Men who are profiting by the war must make a full contribution to the cost of the war, and in addition, a radical, progressive income tax measure is urgently required. We must all proceed with the thorough organization of our resources, so that Canada may throw her full strength into this struggle in order that in this critical hour of our history she may not fail in her duty to herself, to her gallant sons at the front and to the cause of liberty for which so many of these brave men have cheerfully died."

WIN-THE-WAR CONVENTION

Toronto, August 2nd, 1917

"I am here to-night to support the principle of Compulsory Military Service, Conscription of Wealth, and the formation of a National or War Government.

"It is with the deepest regret that I find myself compelled to differ from some of my oldest and best friends. I respect their conscientious convictions as I believe they respect mine. We can only agree to differ.

"The position I should take on these vital issues has not been difficult for me to decide. The path of duty appears to me to be unmistakable.

"From my knowledge of conditions I was compelled some months ago, to come to the conclusion that we could not continue to reinforce our men at the front or to carry on our part in the war, without some form of compulsory military service; that no purely party government could hope to successfully carry through and enforce such a measure and the other measures essential to Canada's full participation in the war; and that the formation of a coalition or war government was a national necessity. That is my position to-day. Speaking in my own constituency some six months ago, I urged the enforcement of the Militia Act, subject to proper exemptions and the formation of a coalition government to meet the present emergency. Ever since that time I have been publicly advocating these proposals. To those of my friends who do not agree with my present position, I ask,—am I to abandon my convictions because a government of whose administrative record I do not and cannot approve, now proposes measures which I believe to be essential in the public interests?

PROHIBITION ISSUE COMPARED

"I find myself to-day very much in the same position as I found myself some eighteen months ago when my Honourable Friend, the Prime Minister of this Province, introduced his Prohibition Bill. I had been advocating the closing of the bars for years. If, when my Honourable Friend introduced his Bill, I had adopted an attitude of criticism and hostility to the proposal and had catered for the votes of those opposed to prohibition, I should have justly forfeited any measure of public confidence which I then enjoyed. I did not adopt an attitude of hostility. I cordially supported the Government's proposal. Were I now to criticize and oppose these important proposals made by the Borden Government—proposals in which I believe and which I have publicly advocated—and if I catered for the support, for my Party, of the vote hostile to Compulsory Military Service and to Canada's further participation in the war, I should equally deserve to forfeit any measure of public confidence which I may now enjoy. The public opinion of this province now supports the stand my colleagues and I took in advocating the abolition of the bar and in supporting the Prohibition Bill introduced by the Premier. I believe public opinion in this province

sooner or later will equally support the position of the Liberals who advocate and support compulsory military service. Just as I have already taken the ground that I could not support any Liberal candidate for the Provincial House who would not pledge himself to maintain and enforce the Prohibition Bill as against a government candidate pledged to its support, so I cannot give my support to any candidate in the approaching election for the Federal House, who is not pledged to the maintenance and enforcement of compulsory military service, and other measures necessary to put the country on a war footing.

GOVERNMENT AND OPPOSITION

"I believe the statement made by Sir Robert Borden that compulsory military service is necessary to maintain our present divisions at the front, is absolutely correct, and we are deluding ourselves with false hopes if we think voluntary enlistment alone will continue to meet our needs. May I express my hearty support of the action of the members of my own party in the Federal House of Commons, who took this view and who voted for the Military Service Bill. I was glad to see that the Ontario members of both parties, with two exceptions, supported the Bill. I believe these members voiced the real sentiments of the people of this province, and once the people of this province thoroughly understand the situation and appreciate the issue involved, they will cordially agree with and heartily support the Bill. The presence of the Premier and myself on this platform to-night as well as on other platforms during the past two months, is the best evidence that we are agreed in the support of this measure, and that so far as we are concerned, and so far as we can influence public opinion in this province, there will be no party issue on the question of compulsory military service or on the desirability of forming a truly National Government.

CANADA AT WAR

"We are here to-night because Canada is at war and not at peace. The presence of so many War Veterans—brave men who have offered their lives in our defence—is a constant reminder of the fact. The war has reached for us its most critical stage and the freedom and welfare of all our citizens and our own national future depend upon the issue.

"Canada is taking part in this war as a nation, by the free and unanimous action of her own parliament. Even if we had not been part of the British Empire we should still have been compelled to go to war to preserve our own liberty and the lives of our own citizens who have been cruelly murdered upon the high seas under orders from the German Government. This is just as truly our war as it is that of Great Britain, France or the United States, and we have no more right to abandon the struggle before victory is achieved, than have these nations.

CANADA'S NET FORCES

"To arrive at a correct estimate of the real strength of our Canadian expeditionary force up to June 30, 1917, we must deduct from the Government's published figures, 76,038 men struck off the strength in Canada—

either discharged for physical unfitness, or deserted, or otherwise unaccounted for. These men, with the exception of those who have died, have gone back into the industrial life of the country, and the country is now receiving the benefit of their services.

"According to official figures, up to June 30th, 1917, we had sent overseas in our Canadian Expeditionary Force 329,943 men. There were in Canada on that date, 18,475, making a total of 348,418 as our contribution in men up to July 1st of the present year. If you add to this number the 76,038 struck off the strength in Canada, it gives you a total of 424,456, the reported number of enlistments in Canada up to that date. In considering our effective fighting force it should also be remembered that a number sent overseas were afterwards declared physically unfit, and therefore could not be sent into the firing line.

"Notwithstanding the statements made to the contrary by those who urge that we have already done enough in this war, it is clear that in proportion to our population we have put fewer men into the battleline than any of the nations or Dominions which entered the war at the time we did. Under these conditions Canada's contribution in men should not be less than the maintenance up to full strength of our four Divisions at the front. We cannot maintain these Divisions without large additional reinforcements, which should be already in training. If the war lasts more than a year, 100,000 additional men may not be sufficient. We should face the situation that we may require a larger number, and we must be prepared to contribute in proportion to our ability. Even if the war should be so prolonged that we may require 200,000 more men to provide the necessary reinforcements for our four Divisions, our contribution in men in proportion to our population would even then not exceed that made by Australia up to the present time.

EDUCATION NOT DENUNCIATION

"We shall not make progress if we shut our eyes to the facts. Let us frankly recognize that there are many citizens in all the provinces of Canada who have not so far come out as supporters of compulsory military service. It is important that their support should be won to the cause. We shall never win it or consolidate Canadian sentiment behind the law, by denunciation. We can only win this support by education; and what is needed at the present time is a campaign of education and not of denunciation. We should be neither surprised nor impatient because all men do not agree with us on this important measure of public policy. Before they introduced conscription in Great Britain they had a national recruiting campaign carried out under the direct auspices of the Government, the leaders of the Opposition, and of the Labour parties in the House of Commons. When the best results had been secured from this campaign they carried through a measure for compulsory national registration, whereby they ascertained every man's position and occupation, and knew as a result of the registration who were engaged in the essential industries and who in non-essential industries, and where the men were who could be spared. On the basis of this registration, the Government organized the Lord Derby recruiting campaign. In the meantime they formed a coalition or national government which included not only the members of the old, historic parties, but for the first

time included the accepted and honoured leaders of Labour in Great Britain. It was not until the Derby campaign had exhausted itself that the Government, taking counsel with Labour and the other organized forces in Great Britain, affected by the legislation, finally decided to introduce conscription. By this process public opinion was unified and solidified, so that when conscription was finally proposed by the Government, it was accepted by the people of Great Britain practically with unanimity. None of these steps were taken in Canada; and to the mass of the people, therefore, the proposal of conscription came with a large measure of surprise.

CAME AS A SURPRISE

"Coming as a surprise and as a party proposal, it aroused opposition and prejudice which might have been avoided. There is no doubt that months and months ago we should have organized our recruiting as they did in Great Britain, in Australia and in New Zealand. If the only question we had to consider was the administrative record of the Government, the course for most of us would not be difficult, but we must give first consideration to the critical war situation and the pressing need for reinforcements. We cannot remedy the past, but the mistakes of the past add to our obligation to make the best of the present.

"There is now no time for us to take all the steps which were taken in England. Germany will not wait. The situation is so urgent that we must have men enlisted for training without delay. We have worked the voluntary system so long under the conditions that prevail in Canada, that it has lost its appeal, and we must adopt other methods. We must also remember that we can only effectively protect agriculture and other essential industries from further serious embarrassment, by the selective draft, by taking the men who are not essential here. The United States has cheerfully accepted the selective draft, even without any real trial of the voluntary system. Why should we in Canada hesitate after three years of trial, and after the system has been exhausted. We should have a thorough campaign of education throughout Canada in order that our people may realize how urgent is the need and how indispensable it is that they should cheerfully accept the present measure and support candidates pledged to its enforcement.

CONSCRIPTION OF WEALTH

"When we are exercising the compulsory powers of the State and ask men to give their lives for our defence, it surely is incumbent upon us to exercise the same compulsory powers to ask the men who have profited by the war and those who are earning large incomes, to make some sort of corresponding sacrifice. The representatives of agriculture, both in Ontario and Western Canada, and the representatives of Labour throughout Canada, join with the men at the front in demanding that this be done, and I am sure public opinion in Canada will support this measure of justice to those who are making sacrifices on our behalf.

"The public interest may not require all those who have made profits out of the war to turn over the whole of the profits they have made in excess of what they would have made had there been no war; but no man would have

any just cause of complaint if the State took that position. The State should demand that a very large part of the profits made out of the war should go to defray the expenses of the war, and that we should continue to take these profits until the war is over. A progressive income tax is a step in the right direction, but we need a war measure not a peace measure like the present Bill. Why should a man in such a critical time as this, who is in receipt of a large income and who remains at home, not contribute a large share of that income to the State? The whole capital of a working man is in his life and his capacity for work. If he is placing that at the service of his country, the contribution of a man of large income, who only gives the surplus over reasonable living expenses, is but dust in the balance compared with the contribution of the man who offers his life. I do not believe we shall do justice to the men who have gone to the front, or to the financial needs of Canada at this time, unless we have conscription of wealth on a much more heroic basis than that at present proposed.

EQUALITY OF SACRIFICE

"We cannot have a united people, throwing our whole energies into this war, where one half bear all the sacrifices and the other half receive all the profits. Sacrifices and profits must be shared by all. Every interest no matter how strong or how powerful must be subordinated to the one great national objective of a united people serving and sacrificing together in defence of a common country, in the preservation of a common liberty and to secure a just and lasting peace.

ORGANIZATION OF ALL RESOURCES

"Our obligation as one of the belligerent powers is not discharged by simply providing reinforcements for our existing Divisions and increasing our taxation. Every nation engaged in this struggle has been compelled to transform its social, industrial and military organization from a peace footing to a war footing and to adopt new, radical and drastic legislative measures to ensure that the nation should put its utmost strength into the struggle. We are the only considerable nation at war which, up to this time, has not endeavoured to thoroughly organize the nation and put it on a war footing and we are suffering grievously for this neglect. We must organize without further delay.

WAR GOVERNMENT

"How can we best secure such an organization of our country as will enable us to throw our whole energies into the struggle? All the allied nations who entered the war with Canada have long since found it necessary to re-organize their governments so as to call to the service of the State the ablest men of all parties. These governments have found it impossible to carry on the great affairs of the war on a purely party basis. We are the one nation which has tried the experiment, and the present unfortunate position in which we find ourselves to-day is one of the results of our persistence in that experiment. I find men everywhere in both political parties who say that if a national or war government had been formed two years ago, one year ago, even six months ago, our present acute difficulties would

have been largely avoided and we might be moving forward to-day in a vigorous and whole-hearted manner in the prosecution of the war. But regrets for the past will not save the future. A party government has proved unequal to the task, even with Canada largely a unit in the prosecution of the war. How can we hope to successfully face the acute problems of the present and the immediate future with a purely party government? I see no prospect of any satisfactory solution of our present difficulties apart from the creation of a real national or war government. Such a government must be composed of men who command public confidence; men who have the courage to adopt, and the energy to carry out, all measures necessary to put the country on a war footing. Such a government should fairly represent all the strong forces of the nation which are determined to put the winning of the war above every other consideration, and it certainly should include not only trusted representatives of both political parties but also of labour and agriculture. It must be strong enough to command the necessary parliamentary majority essential to its continued existence and the support of such a body of public opinion as would give it the moral authority to vigorously prosecute the war to its conclusion. Such a government whenever formed will have my most cordial support. Any government short of this would be unequal to the difficult, complicated and critical situation which we face at this time. The entrance of any two or three Liberals into the present Government, as has been sometimes suggested in the press, would not in my opinion save or materially improve the situation. It would only tend to delay the formation of such a real national or war government as appears to be essential to our continued participation in the war. No government, however formed, can meet the situation unless it displays courage, vigour and administrative efficiency.

GENERAL ELECTION

"The Government has announced that there will be a general election this autumn. There is to be an election whether we approve of it or not. Let us, therefore, not spend our time in regretting the fact but accept the situation and make the best of it. The new House of Commons which will be elected in a few weeks will be responsible for the conduct of our part of this war until the conclusion of peace, and also for the settlement of the great and urgent problems arising out of the war and the period of reconstruction which will inevitably follow the war. Its tasks will be the greatest since Confederation, and its membership should include our ablest men available for these grave responsibilities. The character of the House of Commons will determine the character of our Government during this critical period of our history. All those honestly opposed to conscription, all those opposed to further participation in the war, all those out of sympathy with Canada's sacrifices in the cause of liberty, will support candidates who, they believe, will oppose the adoption of those measures which we believe to be vital to the nation's life. All those who believe in compulsory military service and who put winning the war above every other consideration should, therefore, support only candidates, Liberal or Conservative, who are definitely committed to these measures.

"While we may all regret the distractions of an election and the inevitable

differences and bitterness which may arise out of it, let us seek to minimize the bitterness and recognize that there may be some real compensations in an election. After an election:

RESULTS OF AN ELECTION

"1. We should have a new parliament fresh from the people, with a direct mandate to vigorously prosecute the war and to organize the nation on a war footing.

"2. The West will be fully represented. It is now greatly under-represented. In proportion to their population the Western provinces have sent more men to the front than the Central, and the Eastern provinces. It is true they had more young men of military age in proportion to their population in those provinces, but their contribution in man-power and food supply has been magnificent. The men of the West are less hampered by tradition and custom than we are; and the House of Commons should be stronger, more courageous and more effective for the purposes for which it exists when the West sends down its full complement of members and the voice of the West is heard in the commanding way in which it is entitled to be heard at the present time.

"3. The leaders of public opinion in Quebec have said that while the people of Quebec are opposed to conscription, they are prepared to accept the judgment of the people of Canada on the issue, and if the people of Canada give a mandate for the enforcement of the law, either on a referendum or at a general election, the people of Quebec are law-abiding and will accept. The constitutional method for giving a mandate of the people under our system of government, both in Great Britain and in Canada is by a general election. This is the method by which the people settled the Manitoba School question in 1896. This was the method by which the people gave their judgment on Reciprocity in 1911. This is the method by which they can give their judgment on compulsory military service and the vigorous prosecution of the war.

IMPORTANCE OF INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS

"The majority for conscription in the present House is made up of the Conservative and Liberal conscriptionists. The minority is made up of Liberal and Conservative anti-conscriptionists. If in the new House of Commons the majority of the members elected are supporters of conscription, whether the members are Conservative or Liberal, this will be a direct mandate from the people of Canada, to enforce the law and secure the necessary reinforcements. It will comply with the conditions stated by the leaders from the province of Quebec, and if Canada once speaks with no uncertain voice in this issue, we have the right to expect—and I believe we may expect—Quebec frankly to accept and loyally to support this decision.

"The two great objectives towards which we must work are winning the war and preserving national unity. The unity of Canada is of the utmost importance, not only to help us win the war, but to ensure our national future. We should be able to establish the basis of unity by the mandate which will be given in this election.

WAR GOVERNMENT BEFORE OR AFTER ELECTION ?

"The question of whether a national or war government should be formed before or after a general election appears to me to depend upon the answer to the question of whether we are more likely to secure the election of a majority of the members, Liberal and Conservative, to support these policies by forming a national or war government now, or whether we are more likely to secure the majority by deferring the formation of such a government until after the election. The attitude of the political leaders of Western Canada on this question will probably be decisive. It is clear from what has developed in the House of Commons during the past two months, and particularly from the statements made by the political leaders in the West, that the new House of Commons will be composed of three or more groups or parties. Probably no one group will have a clear majority or be strong enough to form a government to administer our affairs. A coalition or national war government will then be the only course open to us. The parties must get together, for the government of the country must be carried on. The character and policy of such a government would depend upon the character and policy of the members elected to the new parliament.

"If a strong coalition or war government such as I have referred to, could be formed at the present time and make its appeal to the country in a general election, the country would then have the opportunity of giving a direct expression of opinion on the personnel and policy of such a government, and the practical benefits from such a course are obvious. But if such a government cannot be formed before a general election, its formation after a general election would appear to be inevitable.

OUR PRESENT URGENT NEED

"Our present urgent duty is to see that only candidates—whether Liberal or Conservative—who are pledged to these war measures, receive our support. In adopting this course we are not denying to others the right to express their conscientious convictions in the ballot-box, but knowing their conscientious convictions to be opposed to ours, it is equally our duty to see that our convictions find adequate expression in the new House of Commons.

"On the battle front at this very hour our soldier citizens are offering their lives in our defence. They have forgotten all except Canada and the cause of liberty. On every field they have proven themselves worthy of Canada. They, by their courage and sacrifices, have given Canada a new place among the nations. Will we now prove ourselves worthy of them and of the cause for which so many have died? To that question every citizen must make his own answer. What will your answer be?"

EARLIER SPEECHES

CANADA'S PLACE IN THE WAR

Toronto, April 1st, 1917

"The Dominions are taking part in the war by the free and spontaneous action of their own parliaments. As free nations they have joined in waging a defensive war on behalf of democracy and human liberty against the most powerful and ruthless military autoeracy in the world. This war is now just as much Canada's war as it is that of Britain, Belgium, France or Russia. The Dominions must accept all the responsibilities and consequences of their position as belligerent powers and organize their man power and resources so as to throw their whole strength into the struggle. They must do this to preserve their own national future and help save democracy and civilization.

"We are in this war not because we love war, but because we love peace, and we realize there can be no permanent peace until Prussian militarism, which has drenched the world with blood and now threatens democracy and civilization, is defeated and overthrown.

ENLISTMENTS IN CANADA

"In 1914 Canada had an estimated population of approximately 8,000,000. Up to the 1st of February, 1917, we had enlisted in our expeditionary forces for overseas service 391,600 men. We had sent overseas up to that date 284,400. Our enlistments exceeded those of Australia, but the number actually despatched overseas was slightly less than Australia. We had actually enlisted, up to the 1st of April in our expeditionary forces, 407,300 and we had actually despatched overseas up to the same date, 298,140. Our enlistments exceeded those who had gone overseas by approximately 110,000. We should not, however, understand that we had 110,000 men in Canada, or anything like this number. Our figures of enlistments included all who had been discharged in Canada since enlistment because of physical unfitness, or who had deserted, or who had been released from service for any cause. We would have to reduce our figures by over 70,000, in order to get at the enlistment of those in Canada actually available for effective service overseas, leaving our net available enlistments in Canada up to April 1st, 1917, at about 335,000.

WAR CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE DOMINIONS

“You will be interested to hear what the other Dominions have done, and how their contributions in men and money compare with those of Canada. From the most recent information available, I have compiled the following statement:—

Dominions	Estimated Population 1914	Total Enlistments for Expeditionary Forces up to February 1st, 1917
Canada.....	8,000,000.....	391,600
Australia.....	4,900,000.....	350,000
New Zealand.....	1,100,000.....	75,000
South Africa.....	1,275,000 (1911)..... (exclusive of native races)	70,000
Newfoundland.....	250,000.....	3,300

Dominions	Total Expeditionary Forces Dispatched up to February 1st, 1917	Troops in Battle-Line
Canada.....	284,400.....	4 Divisions
Australia.....	300,000.....	5 Divisions
New Zealand.....	65,000.....	1 Division
South Africa.....	60,000.....	1 Brigade in Europe, 1 Division in East and Central Africa
Newfoundland.....	3,100.....	1 Battalion

Dominions	Total War Expenditure To February 1st, 1917	Present Average Daily War Expenditure
Canada.....	\$500,000,000.....	\$1,000,000
Australia.....	500,000,000.....	1,150,000
New Zealand.....	112,000,000.....	200,000
South Africa.....	125,000,000.....	68,900

“In addition to the foregoing, all the Dominions have made contributions to the Naval forces of the Empire. In these contributions Australia with her own Navy leads.

“Canada is now passing through one of the most critical and yet one of the most inspiring hours of her history. She threw herself into this struggle for human liberty with a unanimity and enthusiasm which stirred Britain, France and America. Her sons have won for Canada imperishable glory on the battlefields of Europe, but the cause of liberty is not yet secure. Further efforts and further sacrifices are urgently needed. If we are to preserve our children and our children’s children from a repetition of the horrible crime and bloodshed of the past three years, Prussian militarism must be decisively defeated and liberty and democracy guaranteed for the future.

“It may be that in the intensity of the struggle the contributions which the Dominions of the Empire can make to the allied cause may prove the decisive factor. We may strike a blow at this time for liberty and humanity which will resound around the world. If we have the ability and fail to

use it we must accept responsibility for the disaster which may follow. If we have the ability and use it, future generations will bless the men and women of this day for the noble service they have rendered.

A CALL TO EVERY CANADIAN

"The call comes to every Canadian, no matter what his racial origin, to be worthy of Canada, the cause of liberty and the gallant men who have gone across the sea to fight for us. Our men at the front have proved themselves equal to all the tasks imposed upon them. The question which faces us is, will we prove equal to the tasks which face us at this critical hour—the tasks of organizing the whole nation for a supreme effort to achieve victory, to insure that the reinforcements so urgently needed shall be made available, to secure greater production so that the armies may be fed and the people at home not suffer want; to practise thrift and economy, so that there may be no unnecessary waste and that every dollar may make its contribution toward winning the war; to require wealth to bear its full share of the burden?

"Do we realize that the world faces the possibility of a food famine at the end of the year, unless larger crops are grown throughout the world? Do we appreciate that every additional pound of foodstuffs grown this year may prove a valuable contribution to the cause of the Allies?

SACRIFICE DEMANDED

"I am aware, that many people say it is irritating to talk of further production under the conditions which prevail in reference to farm labour. We should put forth every effort possible to meet the labour situation. Agricultural interests are deserving of the greatest sympathy and support in their efforts at greater production under grievous handicaps; but we should not hesitate to speak out and declare the situation as we see it. Better irritation than starvation. Better for us all to face the situation frankly and courageously, and to point out that he who can produce, and does not, may be aiding the enemy and diminishing our chances for final victory; while he who adds to his production is rendering a great and worthy patriotic service. He who lavishly wastes his money at this time, when money is so urgently needed to win the war, is also, unconsciously no doubt, aiding the enemy and diminishing our chances for final victory. We should seek to save where saving is possible, and invest in the war loan, or apply our savings in some way that will help to carry on the war work.

"Wealth in this country has not yet been called upon to bear its proper share of the burden. We should have a progressive income tax without delay on a basis commensurate with the need.

"Have we any adequate appreciation of the sacrifices of our men at the front, or of how urgently they need reinforcements? I am afraid we are only half awake at the present time to the whole war situation. Did not Sir William Robertson say the other day that the German army was never so strong as it is at this time? She has a million more men than she had last year. Germany is not yet defeated. We cannot defeat her unless we send more men to the front to reinforce our gallant men who are there. Canada can only retain her place in the war by taking the necessary steps to provide adequate reinforcements."

THE ISSUE OF THE WAR

DEMOCRACY vs. AUTOCRATIC MILITARISM

Toronto, April 29th, 1915

"The struggle in which we are engaged is vastly more than a war between nations; it is a conflict of ideals, of policies touching the welfare, not only of the nations immediately involved, but of our common humanity. It is a struggle between democracy and ruthless military autocracy.

"The ideals of militarism are domination and conquest by the power of the sword, and its watchword is "Might is the supreme right." The ideals of democracy are human liberty, free government, and equal justice to all. Its watchword is "Right is greater than might." These two forces, democracy and militarism, have been contending for the mastery in Germany during the past one hundred years. Until 1840 the policy of the Government of Prussia was one of repression, and many leaders of the democratic movement in the early part of the last century were banished and outlawed because they proclaimed the doctrines of human liberty, which are common-places to us to-day. From 1840 to 1862 the cause of democracy in Germany made very marked progress and it did look as if free, representative and responsible government would be established. You recall the great wave of democracy that swept over Europe in 1848, and which shook all the thrones of Europe to their foundations. At that time the revolution in Prussia and the other German states brought promises of reform, promises of constitutional government, promises of larger liberty to the masses of the people. From that time until 1862 the people did exercise some control over their governments in the different states of Germany. In Prussia in the election of 1862 the Liberal or Progressive forces won an overwhelming electoral victory. They were in the majority in the Prussian parliament by two to one as a result of that electoral struggle, and they determined to secure for the people a real share in the government.

BISMARCK AND CROMWELL

"That was the critical hour in the history of Prussia; as a great historian of Prussia has said, she faced at that time the same issue that Great Britain did in the days of Oliver Cromwell—the issue of whether the parliament or the king should rule. When the then king of Prussia, King William, who afterwards became Emperor of United Germany, thought of conceding to parliament the demands it was making, he called Bismarck to be his Chancellor—the man who had been a leader of the minority combating the democratic movement, and Bismarck as his chancellor undertook to govern the country on the basis of the absolutism of the monarchy supported by Prussian militarism. He defied the power of Parliament and carried on the government of the country, raised and expended public moneys and increased and strengthened the army, without the sanction of the people. Bismarck, by the policy he then adopted, struck the greatest blow which free and

democratic government received in Europe during the past century. The effect was manifest in all the other countries and we have not recovered from those effects to this day. Bismarck's biographer describes the effect of his action as follows: 'From that time the confidence of the German people in parliamentary government was broken. Moreover it was the first time in the history of Europe in which one of these struggles had conclusively ended in the defeat of parliament. The result of it was to be shown in the history of every country in Europe during the next twenty years. It is the most serious blow that the principles of representative government have yet received.' If democracy had triumphed in 1862 I believe we would have been saved this world war. From 1862 down to the present date, absolutism, based on Prussian militarism, has been steadily increasing its power and influence, not only in Prussia but throughout the other states that now make up united Germany. To-day Prussian militarism is dominant and resistless within the whole German Empire and is seeking to make itself dominant and resistless throughout the world.

BUELOW AND THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS

"One can get an excellent idea of the attitude of the German Government towards the Social Democratic party, which now largely represents the masses in Germany, by reading Prince Von Buelow's own book "Imperial Germany." He says that the Social Democratic movement is the anti-thesis of the Prussian state, that Prussia has built up her power as a state of soldiers and officials and that the strength and power of Prussia rest on these soldiers and officials. He also tells us that one of the two great problems of the German Empire to-day is in fighting the Social Democratic movement. The other great problem is the national movement, the expansion of Germany. Von Buelow says it is essential to the life of the Monarchy and the State that the Social Democratic movement be defeated. It is so vital to the life of the State that the Government must not leave it to the other political parties to fight. The State itself must wage the war. Against whom? Against the masses of their own people struggling for liberty and for a larger measure of self government. The Government of Germany has made war on human liberty within her own borders. She is now making war on human liberty beyond her own borders. Prince Von Buelow declares, at the conclusion of his book: 'It is not the duty of the Government in the present time to concede new rights to parliament, but to rouse the political interest of all classes of the nation by means of a vigorous and determined national policy, great in its aims and energetic in the means it employs.' We now know that this vigorous national policy means world domination, and the crimes and brutalities of this war are the energetic means employed for its accomplishment.

WHAT THEIR GOVERNMENT TEACHES

"In pursuance of this policy to undermine the power of the democratic movement by an aggressive national policy and also to give voice and expression to the militarist ideals, the Government has sought to educate the German people, through the public press, which is not free as with us but is

subject to the control of the Government, and through their schools and universities which are also under Government control, to accept the Government's ideals, which are that the monarchy is divinely ordained, that the State is non-moral, that war is a good thing in itself, that in national affairs Might is the Supreme Right and that World Empire is the rightful destiny of the German people. The Government has endeavoured to cultivate the feeling in Germany that other nations are jealous of German success and are arming to make war on the German people; that the democratic governments of Great Britain and France are weak and easily overthrown. Their object has been to raise up a generation which would believe that the strength of the State rested in the Monarchy and the military arm, and that its highest expression would be found in the manifestation of its military power. It is only when we realize that Germany has been educated for 40 years to hail this day of war and conquest as the consummation of the nation's ambitions that we can appreciate the strength and unity of Germany in this war.

"We now know to our sorrow what these ideals of Prussian militarism mean in practice. The crimes and barbarities of this war are the expression of Germany's present military creed. She strikes, not only to overthrow democracy, but to so terrorize our humanity with her brutalities and crimes that they will no longer resist her relentless power. Against such a power there is only one course open to free men and lovers of liberty, and that is to fight on until victory is achieved. A free and democratic Germany would be one of the best guarantees of the world's peace.

BRITISH HISTORY IN CONTRAST

"By way of contrast, what has been the history of the struggle between democracy and military autocracy in Great Britain? From the earliest times our fathers have resisted the right of the Crown to dominate and control the Government of the country; they have resisted the right of the military to control the civil power. In the days of Oliver Cromwell our fathers settled once and for all, for the Anglo-Saxon people, the question of the divine right of kings and the supremacy of the civil power.

"From the days of Oliver Cromwell, the rights of democracy in Great Britain have been steadily and increasingly enlarged. The whole history of the development of the British constitution is a history of the ever enlarging power and control of the people over the management of their own affairs. To-day Great Britain stands as the great representative democracy of the world, and she has staked her all on the cause of democracy and human liberty in this war. She has championed the cause of heroic and defenceless Belgium in the war of right against might, and in the defence of Belgium she is fighting the battle of the weak and defenceless the world over.

"Democracy fought and won its battle in Great Britain. It fought and lost in Germany. Militarism and absolutism won the victory in Germany over their own people. They are now seeking to preserve their position in their own country and carry out the ideals for which they stand by endeavouring to impose their will and their ideals upon others by the might of the sword.

SHALL WE ACCEPT ALIEN KINGS?

"Back of this world conflict lies the issue for which our fathers fought and for the triumph of which they gave their lives. Our fathers would not accept the tyranny of their own kings. Shall we, their sons, submit to the greater tyranny of alien kings? Militarism and democracy—these two great forces as represented in those two great Empires—now face each other in this the most supreme conflict which democracy has ever faced. Professor Delbrooke, who succeeded Trietschke in the chair of history, in the University of Berlin, said as late as 1914—'It will take another Sedan, effected not by us but on us, before the army and its officers will recognize the supremacy of the German Parliament.' The path of liberty for the German people themselves, the only path of liberty, lies in the overthrow of militarism and absolutism in Germany. The only path of continued freedom for us rests in our pressing this war to a victorious conclusion, for only thus can we preserve the liberties our fathers won for us.

"The issue of this war makes a peculiar and compelling appeal to all Liberals. The greatest achievements of Liberalism in all lands have been the overthrow of autocratic power and the securing for the masses of the people, the right to manage their own affairs. Liberalism has fought the battle of democracy in the past: she now faces her supreme task. All other questions in which Liberalism is interested are small in comparison to this outstanding issue, which challenges all her achievements of the past two centuries. The liberties which to-day we inherit were won for us by the blood and toil of our fathers. They are now in jeopardy. No true Liberal can withhold his wholehearted support from the cause for which Canada has pledged her future.

"The very life and future of our Empire are now at stake, and all its resources in men and means must be mobilized to achieve victory. The Governments of Russia, France and Great Britain have held united conferences to discuss how the allies can best mobilize both their finances and military resources; the parliaments of Great Britain and all the self-governing dominions have held their war sessions; but so far, the supreme Council of the Empire—the Imperial Conference, representing all the free nations of the Empire—has not been called together in a war session to consider how we can most effectively mobilize the resources of the whole empire for this life and death struggle in which we are engaged.

WHY NOT AN IMPERIAL CONFERENCE?

"The Imperial Conference was called into being for the express purpose of discussing and considering questions of common interest between 'His Majesty's Government and his Governments of the Self-Governing Dominions beyond the Seas.' When in the history of our Empire has a question arisen of such common and vital interest and of such commanding importance as the one we are now facing? If there ever was a time in our history when such consideration appears both desirable and necessary, it is now. Australia has asked for it. It is said the Imperial Government and Canada do not desire a session of the conference this year. If the Imperial Government thought there was any danger of there being thrust

into the discussion at such a conference the question of the re-organization of the Empire, one need not wonder that they would hesitate about summoning such a conference. We must save the Empire before we reorganize it. One cannot think that the Imperial Government would not welcome a war session of this conference at which the sole topic for consideration would be how the resources of the Empire can be most effectively utilized to achieve victory in this struggle. Speaking only for myself, I venture to hope that one of the early acts of the new National Administration will be to invite the Premiers or other representatives of the Governments of all Dominions to meet in London for a conference on this vital issue. I am sure every portion of the Empire would cheerfully and gladly respond to the united appeal of the free nations of the Empire. And what a splendid illustration and demonstration it would be, at this hour, of the solidarity as well as of the flexibility of our free institutions, and the loyalty which springs from liberty. What a demonstration it would be of the determination of the free democracies of the Empire to combine in the performance of the Empire's task and to maintain for democracy and free government their right to a place in the earth."

GOVERNMENT SHOULD LEAD

Woodstock, December 4th, 1915

North Oxford Liberal Association

"Our success in this war depends upon our ability to place larger forces in the field than our enemies, and the call for men must be loud and insistent. We are told by those responsible for recruiting in the Province, that we have reached a crisis in connection with recruiting—that men are not coming forward as rapidly as required. Various organizations are being created and public meetings called to stimulate recruiting. May one suggest that what is most needed at the present time is a clear-cut and positive statement and appeal from the Government of Canada, setting forth the present requirements and the urgency of meeting them.

"Is it not anomalous that while we have appeals from recruiting officers, from public men in both political parties and from private citizens, urging the necessity of early and general recruiting, so far we have had no appeal from the Government of Canada, which is charged with the responsibility of securing the necessary men? Some time ago the Government authorized an increase in the forces for overseas service from 150,000 to 250,000 men, and the Government of Great Britain thanked our Government for this very welcome and timely assistance, but so far the Government of Canada has not asked the people of Canada to supply the additional men authorized.

LACK OF CO-ORDINATION

"The difficulties of the situation are increased by the fact that while one member of the Government tells us the situation is critical and immediate recruiting is urgent, another tells us they have two recruits for every one required, and others, by their inactivity, leave the public in doubt as to whether there is any real and pressing need. The unfortunate result is that men have ceased to give weight to the statements of individual Cabinet Ministers, because they do not know whether they express the opinion of the Government of Canada or simply the individual view of the Minister. It is essential that the issue before the people should be made clear by an authoritative pronouncement and appeal from the Government for the recruits required. Of course, if the Government does not want further recruits one can understand the silence, but we assume that the Dominion's promise of another 100,000 men was a bona fide response to the appeal of His Majesty.

"We have a right to ask that the Government should lead the recruiting movement. So long as this is lacking, the efforts of those engaged in recruiting are largely unavailing. In dealing with this problem we need courage, imagination, sympathy and organizing ability.

APPOINT DIRECTOR OF RECRUITING

"If the Government would make an appeal big enough to awaken the patriotic enthusiasm of Canada; if it would put the organizing of recruiting into the hands of some man of unquestioned organizing ability, who possesses public confidence, who would seek to co-ordinate all existing agencies engaged in recruiting from one end of Canada to the other, and if it would call upon all interested organizations to secure an adequate response to the Government's appeal, the Government could secure all the men needed. The present cause of the shortage of recruits is the lack of leadership and co-ordination on the part of those primarily responsible for securing the results.

"If the Government believes recruiting unsatisfactory in any particular section of Canada, that is the section in which the Government should wage an active campaign. Why should not the Government assist recruiting by at once issuing a statement giving the number of men of military age in Canada under classes 1, 2 and 3 of the Militia Act, showing how many of each class have enlisted? Why should not the Government issue a badge to those who have not been accepted by the medical authorities?

"At the most critical hour in our country's history the citizens of Canada have a right to expect and demand that their leaders should lead. Up to the present time we have only 50,000 men actually at the front. The number of men we are prepared to maintain in the trenches is the real measure of our contribution."

FACING THE ISSUE

Kingston, November 9th, 1916

"The most important question facing the people of Canada to-day is this: Are we going to maintain throughout the war our present divisions at the front, or are they to drop out of the battleline at the most critical stage of the war for want of adequate reinforcements?"

"We have two alternatives, we can maintain our divisions at the front by the necessary reinforcements; or, we can say to the British Government when our present reserves are exhausted that we can no longer maintain them, and that they must either drop out of the battleline or be reinforced by British troops.

REINFORCEMENTS LACKING

"May I again repeat what I said elsewhere, so that we all may realize the urgency of the situation, that scarcely at any time during this past summer had we a sufficient number of men in Great Britain who had completed their training, to reinforce our battalions at the front. We had plenty of men in Canada, but either they had not been enlisted in time or their training had not been sufficiently advanced or they had not been sent over to England in time to complete their training so as to be available for reinforcements. What was the result? The 4th Division, which should have gone over to relieve the 1st Division and to give them a greatly needed rest, was broken up on more than one occasion to provide reinforcements for the front. But even this did not meet the situation, and we had to send men over to the front who had not completed their training. Men insufficiently trained were drafted into our battalions at the front, to meet the best trained troops of Europe.

UNFAIR TO THE FIGHTERS

"One only needs to state the facts for everyone to appreciate all that is involved. But even with these reinforcements a number of our battalions were not reinforced up to full strength; and during the summer, and even during a portion at least of the Somme offensive, because of lack of reinforcements, battalions at considerably less than their full strength were called upon to do a full battalion's work. Would anyone say that this is fair to our men at the front?

"While we have in recent months sent thousands of men across the sea and so soon as their training is complete we shall be able to provide reinforcements for the next few months, what will happen next autumn if our troops are engaged in heavy fighting? For there is no apparent indication that the war will be over by that time.

"The troops must have months of training before it is fair to them or the cause to put them into the battleline; and if we are to provide reinforcements for next autumn we must set about the business at once. Let me re-

peat: The question which we must all fairly and squarely face, and face now, is this: Are we going to reinforce these divisions to keep them in the battleline, or are we going to withdraw them from the battleline, when our present reserves are exhausted? If we are going to keep them in the battleline, then there should not be one moment's delay in devising the necessary plans to ensure adequate reinforcements.

PRESENT VOLUNTARY METHODS INEFFECTIVE

"Every one recognizes that the old haphazard, unsystematic and unorganized methods of recruiting are no longer effective; and we should call to the task of dealing with this question the best organizing and constructive ability we have in Canada.

"I had an opportunity when in Great Britain, of learning of the organization created under Lord Derby for securing recruits under the voluntary system. If we had taken up the matter of recruiting in Canada in the same vigorous, business-like and thorough way, we would not find ourselves in the present position.

"But regrets for the past will not solve the problem for the future. I have returned to Canada with a stronger confidence than ever in Canada, in the ability and capacity of her people and in their courage and patriotism if given efficient leadership; and upon every citizen rests a share of responsibility in facing the situation which confronts us.

"No class of our citizens has such a deep and personal interest in this question as the wives and mothers and relatives of our gallant soldiers at the front; and none have made greater sacrifices for Canada and the cause than these same wives and mothers.

"And therefore I appeal to you with confidence to help see that the sacrifices which have been made and are now being made, are not rendered largely futile by our failure to provide new men to take the places of those who fall in the fight."

COMPULSORY NATIONAL REGISTRATION

Woodstock, December 2nd, 1916

North Oxford Liberal Association

"I did not find our troops much concerned about our party divisions in Canada. They were gravely concerned about the efficiency of our fighting forces and securing adequate reinforcements. Facing the foe and realizing all this war means to us, the organization, the training, the equipment and the reinforcing of our troops were the questions our officers and men were discussing. These were the vital problems to them. They are the vital questions for us. While at a time like this one frankly recognizes that there should not be carping criticism of public men who are trying to do their

duty, one is bound, where matters of grave moment are at stake, when one sees there are weaknesses which might be remedied, when there are abuses which should be removed, to draw attention to such matters in order that conditions may be improved for the benefit of our men at the front.

"After months of delay and indecision the Federal Government has now announced its intention of having a voluntary national registration of the man power of the country. It is the desire and intention of my colleagues and myself to do everything in our power to assist the Federal Government in making effective the policy they have announced.

"But I would not be doing my duty to you if I left you under the impression that I believed this measure was adequate to meet the situation. One cannot see in the proposed action of the Government, any real evidence that they yet appreciate the seriousness of the situation which confronts us. My own conviction is that the proposed measure by the Government is inadequate. We must move ahead more rapidly and more effectively than the Government has yet proposed.

COMPULSORY REGISTRATION NECESSARY

"If we are to have a registration of the man power of the Dominion, let it be a registration taken under such conditions as will insure both its accuracy and its completeness. When we have a Federal census, it is not optional as to whether people shall be recorded in that census or not, but the taking is surrounded by such safeguards as will guarantee its correctness. Assuredly, in this matter of such grave moment to Canada, registration should be surrounded by all the safeguards at least which surround our decennial census. There is still time for the Government to do this.

"We should also during next season, secure the maximum food production of which Canada is capable. We should secure the maximum production of munitions of which Canada is capable, and we should see that our gallant men at the front are provided with adequate reinforcements to maintain our divisions in the firing line. We should now be enlisting the men who will go into the firing line a year hence. They should, if possible, have a year's training in Canada and Great Britain before they go into battle.

LEADERSHIP IS NEEDED

"At our last annual meeting I pointed out the importance and urgency of leadership in the matter of recruiting. I suggested that we should place at the head of recruiting in this Dominion a man of the largest possible organizing ability and experience, who, with all the prestige of the Dominion Government behind him, might organize the country for recruiting purposes in order to secure such results as were secured by Lord Derby in England. It may be that by our delay properly to organize recruiting in Canada, we have in some measure sinned away our "day of grace," but why cannot we now have recruiting organized as it was organized in Great Britain almost two years ago? Eliminate all questions of party or personal interest and call to the service of the country men of the greatest experience and ability, who will be willing to serve their country at this time in forwarding these great objects.

"We must either withdraw our divisions from the front, or we must ask Great Britain by conscription to fill up our divisions with her men, or we must provide the necessary reinforcements for our men at the front.

"If we are to secure the largest possible agricultural production this coming summer, we must also see that adequate labour is available for this purpose, and that our essential industries are provided with the necessary workers. We can only meet the situation by a much larger utilization of the labour of women—and I am sure they are prepared to serve wherever needed,—and by a thorough organization of all our man power and all our resources for the great object we have in view. We have already spent too much time in deliberation. Action is long since past due."

PROFITEERS DENOUNCED

In conclusion Mr. Rowell scored graft and undue profits, and declared that the time had come when a man who was proved guilty of manipulating contracts to obtain undue and unfair profits, no matter how influential he was, should be subjected to the full penalties provided by law. He thought there has been cases already in which the criminal law should have been set in motion, and men brought to trial and placed before a jury of their fellow-countrymen. He could not see why in Canada those who were making large profits, and those who were in the possession of large incomes, should not contribute more largely to the expenses of the war. It was the only way some people would appreciate what the Canadians were fighting for.

Mr. Rowell said that party patronage in war matters where the issues of life and death were at stake, made one sick at heart. Surely in the midst of this crisis the people of Canada should have backbone enough to say to the Government, "This thing must cease." The patronage system should be completely wiped out, and the country's business done on a business basis. Patronage was the curse of politics, and degraded our national life. Surely at this time both parties could unite to wipe it out.

VALOUR OF OUR TROOPS

Ottawa, February 5th, 1917

"From the outbreak of the war all the Allies have underestimated Germany's offensive powers. We have, as each six months have passed, felt that Germany would show signs of weakening, and yet according to the statement of Mr. Churchill her armies are stronger and more powerful to-day than they have ever been. Do not let us underestimate Germany's defensive powers. Before we can win this war we must not only destroy her offensive power but her defensive power also. In the keenness of the conflict, and with the balancing of forces on either side, it is well within the range of possibility that the forces which the Dominions of the Empire

can throw into the scale may prove the decisive factor and win ultimate victory. If we have this opportunity, have we not the responsibility for using the opportunity, and must we not throw our whole strength into the scale so that victory may be secured and humanity relieved from the menace of Prussian militarism?

"I believe that this year will be the most critical year in our history as a people and as an empire. When all the nations engaged in this struggle are organizing so as to put every ounce of disciplined energy into it to wrest victory from seeming defeat in some cases, should not we in Canada also so organize our man power and resources that we may put every ounce of our disciplined energy into the conflict to help win the victory in which we have such vital concern? We owe this to our men at the front, and the cause for which so many have given their lives.

A NOBLE EXAMPLE

"How magnificently our men have fought! I had the opportunity of seeing something of the Princess Patricias when I was at the front. Major Adamson, who was then in command, was good enough to send for the colors of the regiment which had been presented to them by Her Royal Highness Princess Patricia in Ottawa; and I can certify that they have been under fire, for the flag bears upon its face the mark of German shrapnel. So gallantly have these men carried it that it is still with the regiment, and it is their encouragement and inspiration as they go into battle. Just a word as to the spirit of these men. In the battle of Zillebeke, in the early part of the month of June last, the Princess Patricias suffered very severely, the casualties being so heavy that a re-organization of the Battalion was necessary. In the early part of July the Battalion was largely made up of new men. There were few left of those who had joined the Battalion when it was organized. Among that limited number were five whose period of leave came early in the month of July. The Commanding Officer offered them their leave. They replied, "there are so many new men in the regiment that we must stay until they get seasoned a bit, for we must maintain the honour of the regiment." They went in with their Battalion in its next turn in the trenches. Of those five men four made the supreme sacrifice. That is the spirit of our Canadians in their struggle at the front. How can we do enough for them in looking after their wives and families here?

FAMOUS DIVISIONS

"The First Division won for itself and for Canada undying glory in the second battle of Ypres. The First and Third won a great victory when in June last they recaptured the positions that had been lost earlier in the same month—one of the most brilliant battles on the Western front, of which we have heard far too little in Canada. The Second Division had their opportunity with the others, at the Somme. Their chance came in that great advance which was planned for the 15th September, and which it was hoped would mark a new stage in the development of the war. The Second Division was entrusted with a movement of great responsibility. They had to make the advance up to the approaches to Courcellette and

capture the sugar refinery. One of the brigades of the Second Division captured the position, pushed on to Courcellette, found it held weakly and reported that fact to Headquarters. Sir Julian Byng applied to Headquarters for permission to allow the Canadians to take the new position. Permission was given to attack Courcellette. Another brigade was sent in to do it, and as it passed the brigade holding the sugar refinery, it was found that the Germans had come in to Courcellette in greater strength. Notwithstanding, they pressed the attack, and drove the Germans out of Courcellette on that famous 15th of September.

FRENCH CANADIAN REGIMENT

"In the presence of the gallant representative of the 22nd Battalion, (Capt. Languedoc), which formed part of the 5th Brigade, that captured Courcellette, let me say that it was the 22nd Battalion which held the apex of the advance in front of Courcellette. The Germans counter-attacked on the 16th, 17th and 18th. On Sunday the 17th one of our Toronto Battalions went in to relieve the 22nd.

"May I read you an extract from a letter I received from the Toronto officer who relieved Colonel Tremblay, written from the hospital a few days later. "I would like to tell you about the French Canadians at Courcellette. The official eye witness story is nothing compared to the facts. My company relieved the Twenty-Second on the 17th September and I saw their work and knew what they did. No troops, not even the Guards, could have done better. Even if Quebec has been slow in recruiting, the courage and heroism of Colonel Tremblay and his men in that fight, atones for a lot. When I relieved him, he had only two officers besides himself and eighty men left out of his battalion and they were fighting like devils still. Of course a lot of his battalion have since turned up and I presume the account of his losses in the paper is the correct one."

"When our Toronto Battalion took over the line the Germans were still counter-attacking, and in the morning of the 18th, just at dawn, as Colonel Tremblay was ready to march away with the few men he had left, he saw the Germans coming over, and he sent word to the Toronto Officer; "Shall we not stay and help you fight it out still further?" Think of that offer after all the punishment they had received. That is the spirit of our men at the front, no matter what their racial origin; and you cannot tell me that chivalry is dead in this country, that men will not respond to the story of such heroic deeds, and that men from all our provinces will not go forth to fill the places of such gallant men when they fall in the line."

FIRST DIVISION'S REST

"A word about the First Division. When I was at the front the First Division was awaiting the arrival of the Fourth, in order that they might receive a much needed period of rest. The First Division was one of the three or four divisions in the whole of the British forces on the Western front which had been continuously in the battleline for some sixteen or seventeen months without any real period of rest. The reason they did not have a period of rest was because the Fourth Division which was to relieve them had not been able to come over. Many of its

battalions had to be broken up in order to provide needed reinforcements for the front. But the Fourth Division was almost daily expected when I was there and the First Division was then to have its period of rest. The Fourth Division came over in the month of August. Then came the period of rest for the First Division. How do you think they got it? When the Fourth moved in the First Division moved out. When they reached their resting place they were put through the severest training under Sir Julian Byng that they had ever received. The need for thoroughly trained men was so urgent that after two weeks of such training, when the muscle of the men was like steel, they were hurried to the Somme and thrown into the thick of that terrible battle. For forty-seven days they were at the front, and for thirty-five days in the battle line. At the end of forty-seven days they moved out, all that was left of them moved out—that they might be reinforced and made fit to go into the line again. And those of the First Division who passed through these battles unscathed and those who were slightly wounded and able to return to the line, are getting their rest back in the battleline again. Others wounded and broken in those thirty-five days are in the hospitals of Great Britain being nursed back to life and health again under the tender ministry of the nurses of the Red Cross and the Army Medical Corps. But the gallant men of the First Division, whom I saw in July, by the hundred are having their rest, their last long rest, under the soil of France, and to-night a snowy mantle is their covering; they sleep within the sound of the guns.

“Will we prove worthy of these men.”

VOLUNTARY SYSTEM NO LONGER SUFFICIENT

Thamesford, North Oxford, February 12th, 1917

“Unless all signs fail we must expect the most tremendous and sanguinary conflicts of the whole war on the western front during this spring and summer. We shall also see the most murderous campaign ever carried out upon the high seas, Germany sending helpless men, women and children to the bottom of the ocean in her ruthless, barbarous effort to paralyze British shipping and to cut off Britain's supplies of food and munitions. We may expect her new submarines to be operating on our Atlantic seaboard and attempting to ascend the St. Lawrence. Let us as a people face all the facts of the situation. We do not avoid the dangers by shutting our eyes to them. A distinguished member of the French Government has recently said it is our duty to know and then to will, to look the danger fully in the face and then to will bravely and invincibly, with all the energies of the heart, to avert it and achieve success.

“Our Canadian troops will no doubt be in the thick of this conflict on the western front, and will acquit themselves worthily for Canada and the

cause of liberty. But when their ranks are depleted, where are the reinforcements to come from after those in England are used up? We are told that under present conditions we should maintain a substantial force in Canada, and that many battalions which have been months in training cannot go overseas at present, as they are required for home defence. Even if we could spare them, how are we to secure the further reinforcements to keep up to strength our present divisions at the front?

EXAMPLE OF PRESENT METHODS

"All will admit we cannot do it under existing conditions, by our present methods of recruiting. Let me give you an actual experience: I recently spoke at a recruiting campaign on behalf of one of our county battalions which was organized a year ago, and which is not yet nearly up to strength. At this meeting the Colonel of the regiment made a statement as to the result of their efforts up to that time. Ever since their return from Camp Borden they have been carrying on an active and aggressive recruiting campaign. The Premier of the Province and many other prominent public speakers have taken part in the campaign. In these months this battalion has recruited about 150 men; but during the same time they have lost in desertions and discharges almost as many as they have recruited, and after months of persistent effort and a very substantial expenditure of money they stand approximately where they did when they came down from Camp Borden. They carried on a week's active recruiting campaign last month in one of the towns in their district, in which they secured the names of 300 young men, who, in the opinion of the local committee, have no responsibilities which require them to remain in Canada, and should enlist. As a result of the week's effort they secured three recruits, one for a construction battalion and two for their own. The battalion is less than 700 strong to-day, and the wastage up to date from desertions and discharges for physical unfitness has been over 400 men.

"At a time when we need to utilize every ounce of energy to the best advantage how is it possible to excuse, let alone justify, the waste of energy and money indicated by the figures I have given you? One of the reasons given me for the large number of desertions was that the men were tired of staying here. They felt they were not accomplishing anything, and they became discouraged. While we may deeply regret their attitude, can you criticize very severely the young men who did not enlist in a battalion which has been home so long and from which large numbers have deserted? I do not suggest that the wastage in this battalion is typical of the Province, but I do know that the wastage in No. 2 Military District since the outbreak of the war has been approximately 17 per cent., and undoubtedly the wastage now is very much higher than at the outbreak of the war. If we are to get the real wastage we must add to the wastage in Canada, the discharges in England of those who are physically unfit, which according to cable despatches, was running from 10 to 30 per cent. this last fall. Under these conditions if we depend upon the enlistment figures as indicating the real strength of the force we have raised, we are only deceiving and deluding ourselves. The real strength is the men we have after deducting the wastage here and those discharged as physically unfit in Great Britain.

And if we do this our effective force enlisted and available for overseas service cannot be more than 325,000, possibly not more than 300,000.

SUGGESTED EXEMPTIONS

"What are we to do under these conditions? Various proposals have been made to meet the situation. Each has its merits. One which would appear to be practicable is to put the Militia Act into immediate operation and call out for home defence the first class, or a percentage of the first class, i.e., all unmarried men or widowers without children between the ages of eighteen and thirty. If this were done the Government should constitute small non-partisan County Boards who would pass upon applications for exemption; three or four of the strongest and most representative men in each county, with courage and capacity who would administer the law without fear, favour or affection. Let them exempt even from home service:

"(1) Any men now in agriculture who cannot be replaced; as we must keep up our agricultural production which is now suffering from a lack of farm labour.

"(2) Any skilled mechanics required for munition production, transportation or other war industries whose work cannot be done by others; for we must keep up our munition production and maintain our transportation system.

"(3) Where female or other classes of labour can be successfully utilized, employers should be led to see that it is their duty to use such labour.

BENEFICIAL RESULTS

By this procedure:

"(1) You would at once release all men in Canada who have enlisted for overseas service and permit them to go over to Great Britain to complete their training for reinforcing divisions at the front.

"(2) You would protect agriculture and our essential war industries from further dislocation by our present methods of recruiting.

"(3) From the men thus called out for home defence, after a few months training, you would undoubtedly secure thousands of volunteers for service overseas. The very anxiety of our present battalions to get to the front is the best evidence that if the men were called out for home service they would speedily wish to be transferred to service overseas.

"(4) You would put an end to the present waste of energy and money in the endeavour to secure recruits by present methods.

"(5) If your army for home defence largely enlisted for overseas service, you could replace the men by calling out others as the need arose, for no man could object to serve for home defence.

"There may be some better method than this for meeting the need. If so, let it be adopted without delay. What we urgently need is prompt and effective action. Public opinion will support the Government in prosecuting vigorously any feasible and adequate policy for dealing with the situation.

"Are there still some who think we can carry on this war without serious embarrassment to those at home, without great sacrifice on the part of the mass of the people? If so, the sooner the illusion is dispelled the better. The incomparable and self sacrificing service of our men at the front should be matched by equal service and sacrifice at home."

GOVERNMENT MUST TAKE ACTION

Parkdale, May 8th, 1917

"The measures which we should press to the front are those which have a direct relation to the successful prosecution of the war or the problems that grow out of the war. There is danger, and great danger, of the people of Canada thinking that the war is almost won. Men are now saying the war will be over in three months. They have been saying that ever since the struggle started, but there is nothing in the present situation that warrants such a prediction or justifies us in reaching that conclusion. Sir William Robertson told us the other day that Germany has a million more men in the field now than she had at the commencement of hostilities. These men have been secured by forced labour in Poland and slave raids in Belgium and Northern France, from which countries men have been taken to work in the mines, in the factories and on the farms of Germany, thus releasing Germans for the army.

"How are we going to meet the situation? The only way in which we can meet it is by sending more men to reinforce the gallant Canadian divisions who are now fighting in France. France has reached her maximum. Her sacrifices have been so great that she cannot increase her fighting forces. The losses will have to be made good from America if they are to be made good at all. We must reinforce our own brave men. Are we going to face the problem of getting recruits with folded hands and by doing nothing? Are we alive to the situation? Why does not our Government take the people into their confidence and tell us the facts? We have asked these gallant men to go to the front and they are giving their lives for us. Are we going to abandon them now? The Government talks as if it were going to support them, but acts as if it were going to abandon them when the reserves are exhausted. The Government's existing proposals for raising a Home Defence Force of 50,000 men, if made in a time of peace might be excused as a useless experiment, but when made in a time of war when reinforcements are urgently needed, is worse than a farce—it is tragedy. Canada should have been organized long ago as Britain was organized by Lord Derby. Instead of that, the enthusiasm of the people has been dampened by the conduct of those who are supposed to lead us. During the past month fifteen thousand casualties have occurred in the ranks of the Canadian army corps, mostly in the infantry regiments. There are twelve thousand infantrymen in a division, so that the infantrymen of more than one division have been put out of action. I believe the people of Canada have the courage and patriotism to respond to the need, if they are told by the Government what the need is. The Government can do what should be done by putting the Militia Act into force immediately. Parliament is now in session and can enact new measures adequate to the situation if only the Government will take hold

of things. Let the Government take its courage in its hands. Put the Militia Act in force; call out the unmarried men giving necessary exemptions for agriculture and essential industries; and see how the country will respond to real leadership. Surely in a crisis like this, when our men are falling at the front, pouring out their life blood this very night that Canada may be free, we are not going to sit silent in apathy and helplessness. Men all over the country should make it known to the Government that it is no longer our master, but our servant, and that vigorous action must be taken to meet the situation.

ANXIOUS TO SERVE

"There are men all over the Dominion, men in every walk of life, men of both parties, who for two and a half years have been anxious to render war service, but the opportunity has never been given to them by the Government. In other countries they have used the best brains of all political parties; in this country the Government has not even attempted to use the best brains of its own party. How can the people of Canada put the war above every other consideration unless the Government puts the war above all other considerations?"

Mr. Rowell spoke briefly of the food shortage. "If the food situation is as serious as we believe it to be," he said, "what justification is there to continue in this country the waste of food materials in the manufacture during the war time of intoxicating liquor? Why should we not have a war measure prohibiting the importation, manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquor during the the war? It is a problem for the Government at Ottawa to deal with."

Mr. Rowell said the submarine menace was more serious than some people realized, and Canada should have been building ships long ago. Indeed, Canada should have been doing a hundred and one things that she had not done to help win the war. And she might still do some of these things if the Government would only lead, or get out of the road and let somebody else lead.

"All honour to the gallant men who have fought and fallen for Canada," concluded Mr. Rowell, "and tenderest sympathy to the mothers, wives and fathers of our brave men who will return to Canada no more. Let each of us put those things first which will help to win this war, for that is a thousand times more important than any political party or a hundred political parties combined."

THE MILITARY SITUATION

Woodstock, North Oxford, May 13th, 1917

Mr. Rowell referred to the fact that fifty millions of men had been called to the colours of the various belligerents to face each other along the various battle fronts, the total extent of which amounted to 2,500 miles. This war was not being fought by armies but by nations. All the European

nations engaged in the struggle had mobilized all their resources and had organized in such a way that practically every man and every woman was doing his or her part. No nation could take part in this struggle with hope of success unless it was so organized, and this applied to Canada as well as to all the other belligerent nations.

Command of the sea still remained with Britain, thanks to the navy; but Germany, by the development to an unprecedented extent of her submarine forces, had been able to create a situation which was more serious for the Allies than many people realized or were prepared to admit. Unless some plan for dealing with this menace effectively could be evolved, or unless the construction of shipping could be speeded up to such an extent as to offset the losses, the Allies would not be able to meet the situation indefinitely.

The seriousness of the financial situation at the time of the intervention of the United States might be estimated from the fact that just before America declared war the C.P.R. had arranged with the British Government to make a \$200,000,000 bond issue in order to provide funds for the Government. Great Britain up to that time had been financing not only herself but her allies, putting up as security for loans to those allies collateral of her citizens.

DRASTIC MEASURES

In the matter of man power reserves France had reached the maximum of her resources, and in England a recent enactment had authorized the re-examination of men discharged as medically unfit or previously exempted for the purpose of providing absolutely necessary reinforcements. The mother country already had enlisted over five million men for the army and navy, representing more than eleven per cent. of her total population, and if the additional 500,000 men, which Sir William Robertson declared must be raised by July, were secured, the percentage would be more than twelve. If Canada had enlisted a million men she would not have done more than Britain.

Mr. Rowell said that at a meeting in New York recently of newspaper publishers at which he was present, Mr. Gerard, ambassador to Germany up to the time of the severance of diplomatic relations between that country and the United States, had made the statement that, at the time he had left Germany, the high military officials were still sincerely confident of winning the war through the submarine campaign; they expected by the submarine to bring England to her knees, capture the British navy, and, with the combined navies cross the Atlantic and levy the whole cost of the war on America.

"If that should happen," said Mr. Rowell, "where would Canada be? You may say that the young men of this country would willingly come forward if an enemy were actually on our soil. But would you prefer they should fight in Canada while your homes were being ravaged and the country laid waste, or would you prefer that they should meet the enemy and defeat him on a battlefield three or four thousand miles away?"

The speaker went on to say that the financial situation had greatly improved since the intervention of the United States. But the submarine issue and the matter of reserves of men were still critical problems, and

Canada must be prepared to decide whether she would play her full part in solving these problems.

WHEN WILL CANADA AWAKE?

"When will Canada awake? When will the Government and people of Canada awake to the fact that this is the supreme hour of our responsibility and the critical hour of our destiny?" he asked. He referred to the fact that because men had not been enlisted quickly enough during 1915, the number of men available who had completed their training in July, 1916, was insufficient to fill the gaps at the front, and the result had been that the Fourth Division which was to have relieved the First Division, so that the First could have a much needed rest after having been at the front since March, 1915, had to be broken up to provide reinforcements. And even that was not sufficient to repair the wastage, and men were sent to the front whose officers were not able to certify that they had been trained sufficiently to fit them for work in the firing line.

And now the proposal to send a fifth division was mooted. To repair the normal wastage in five divisions would involve the recruiting of over 10,000 men every month. Where were the men coming from? Six or seven training camps had been opened in Canada, but there were no soldiers to send to them. The whole system of recruiting in Canada would have to be changed if we were to keep even Four divisions in the firing line. Even if a start were made now, Mr. Rowell declared, he feared the men could not be trained soon enough to avoid a repetition of the conditions which existed at the front last Autumn, when many battalions, five or six hundred strong, were compelled to do the work in the fighting line of full battalions of eleven hundred men.

FRANKNESS AN ESSENTIAL

"The time is too critical not to speak out frankly," he said, adding, "We cannot meet the situation any longer by means of voluntary enlistment. We must call out the young men still available, or desert our men who have fought so gallantly at the front. The issue is clear and must be faced by every individual, as well as by the country at large. It is an issue so large that it is altogether above party or party politics. The one paramount duty of the whole united country is to win the war without consideration of party interests."

Mr. Rowell made it clear that he did not advocate taking men from the work of food production, which was of supreme importance, but, other things being equal, he believed that a man of military age and physically fit could do his part best in khaki.

From the start, Mr. Rowell said, we had underestimated the power of Germany. Sir William Robertson had sounded a serious warning when he said that the way to victory might be long, and it certainly would be difficult. We in Canada had done magnificently in the matter of contribution, judged by the standards which would have applied to any war of the past, but the standard now had changed. The measure of our responsibility was the measure of our ability. We should not have done our duty until we had

done everything we could, and it would be idle to say that Canada had done everything she could do.

In conclusion, Mr. Rowell stated that during his visit to New York on the occasion of the meeting already referred to, a prominent publisher had asked him whether it were true that the Canadians had been put into the front of the battle to undertake tasks which the British themselves would not undertake. He had made the reply that the report was absolutely untrue. He had added, however, that Canadians had not gone overseas to fill comfortable and safe billets. It was their glory that at St. Julienne, at Festubert, at Givenchy, at Ypres, at Zillebeke, and on the Somme, they had struck great blows for liberty; and it was their crowning glory that they had been given the task of storming and capturing Vimy Ridge, that vital position in Germany's line of defence. No soldiers had fought more bravely than the Canadians; no soldiers could fight more bravely than they had done. It remained to be seen whether Canada would stand by them or desert them in the critical hour.

INDEX

Introduction (General Currie's Message)	Page 2
A Personal Statement	" 3
Win the War Convention	" 5
Canada's Place in the War	" 13
The Issue of the War	" 16
Government Should Lead	" 20
Facing the Issue	" 22
Compulsory National Registration	" 23
Valour of Our Troops	" 25
Voluntary System no Longer Sufficient	" 28
Government Must Take Action	" 31
The Military Situation	" 32
Conscription of Wealth	Back cover

Conscription of Wealth

“The men at the front feel, and feel keenly, that while they are giving their all for Canada, men at home are making huge profits out of the war. In justice to the men at the front as well as to the cause for which they are fighting, we must require wealth to bear its full share of the burden. Men who are profiting by the war must make a full contribution to the cost of the war.

“In the official returns about 65 per cent. of the soldiers in the Canadian Army are given as manual labourers. The working men of Canada have invested their all (for a working man's whole capital is his capacity to work) for the defence of Canada and for the preservation of our liberties, and if we are to judge by the experience of Belgium, of Northern France, and of Serbia, they have done it also for the defence and preservation of the property of property-owners in Canada. We must realize that many of the men who have risked their lives will not be content after the war to resume the conditions under which they found themselves compelled to live before the war. They have saved our inheritance; they will expect a share in it. And we cannot be less just than to recognize their demands for new and better conditions.”

NEWTON W. ROWELL

September, 1916

NOTE:—All the speeches in this pamphlet, except “A Personal Statement,” and “Win the War” were delivered before the Government proposed either Conscription or Coalition.