

CANADA
AND
NATIONAL SERVICE



1916

FORE - WORD

This Pamphlet is issued by the Canadian National Service League.

After an experience of some ten months the Hamilton Recruiting League came to the conclusion that the present system of voluntary enlistment was wasteful and that some system of compulsory service was necessary in Canada.

A Memorial concerning Enlistment issued by the Hamilton Recruiting League was endorsed by Thirty-Three Leagues and Organizations. A Conference of Delegates appointed by the Endorsers of the Memorial was held in the Chateau Laurier on April 13th, 1916, and the Memorial was presented on the next day to Sir Robert Borden. Sixty-two Delegates were present.

This Pamphlet contains the Memorial and the Presentation Proceedings including the addresses of the Speakers and Sir Robert Borden's reply. Also an Appendix containing addresses of and a letter from Delegates who were unable to speak owing to lack of time.

Copies of the Presentation Proceedings were sent to Sir Robert Borden with covering letters asking for an early reply and that Parliament should not be dissolved before the legislation necessary to give effect to the Memorial had been passed.

After presentation of the Memorial the Delegates organized under the name of The Canadian National Service League (hereinafter called the "League") and appointed the following officers:

Honorary President, Chief Justice Mathers, Winnipeg.

President, John M. Godfrey, Esquire, Toronto.

Honorary Secretary, Dr. Albert H. Abbott, University of Toronto, Toronto.

Honorary Treasurer, Oliver Hezzlewood, Esquire, 128 Church Street, Toronto.

The affairs of the League will be managed by a Council and an Executive Committee, and copies of the Constitution can be procured from Dr. Abbott.

Any person endorsing the Memorial may become a Member of the League. Life Members will pay \$25.00; Ordinary, \$2.00 per annum, and Associate, \$1.00 per annum. Associate Members can attend League Meetings, but can neither vote nor hold office.

Any five paid up Life or Ordinary Members may form a Branch League, which, while five Members are in good standing shall have the right to send three Delegates to all Meetings of the League and to appoint one of these a Member of the Council.

As soon as Sir Robert Borden's answer is received a Meeting of the League to consider it will be held.

The League urge all persons receiving this Pamphlet and approving of the Memorial, at once to take steps to form Branch Leagues; to appoint Delegates; to convene Meetings of all Organizations to which they belong; to have resolutions endorsing the Memorial passed and notice of endorsement sent promptly to Sir Robert Borden and to Dr. Abbott.

LAST WORD.

Although this Pamphlet is in English, it is addressed to Canadians of every language.

The League hope that in every locality where the French language prevails, local organizations will cause this Pamphlet to be translated and circulated so that it may be read and understood by all.

Toronto,

May, 1916.

THE CANADIAN NATIONAL SERVICE LEAGUE.

John M. Godfrey, President.

Albert H. Abbott, Secretary.



Proceedings on Presentation of Memorial

A deputation of fifty-two gentlemen interested in recruiting waited upon the Premier at his office in the Parliament Buildings, Ottawa, on Friday, 14th April, 1916, at 12 o'clock noon.

The deputation was introduced by Mr. Gordon Wilson, member for Wentworth.

Lieut.-Col. A. F. Hatch of Hamilton was the first speaker. Col. Hatch said: Right Hon. Sir. It is my privilege to present to you for your consideration a document known as the Hamilton Memorial concerning enlistment. It is as follows:

COPY MEMORIAL

"To the Right Hon. Sir Robert Laird Borden, P.C., G.C.M.G., K.C., LL.D., Premier of the Dominion of Canada. The Memorial of the Hamilton Recruiting League Respectfully Sheweth:

"That the Dominion of Canada is engaged in a war involving the very existence of British institutions—a war that calls for the most rigid economy of men and means—a war that can be successfully concluded only by the fullest utilization of all our resources.

"That under the present voluntary system there is great waste of the Nation's resources.

"Therefore your Memorialists pray that a Commission be appointed for the purpose of:

"Taking a census of all men in the Dominion from eighteen years of age and upward, specifying those married and unmarried.

"Classifying the men according to their occupations or their fitness or preference for certain kinds of work.

"Classifying the industries with a view to the restriction or the ultimate elimination of such as are non-essential to the welfare of the country or are not economic factors.

"It being understood that the foregoing is urged with a view to the immediate application of some just and comprehensive system of draft, whereby the men necessary to complete the Canadian Expeditionary Forces may be readily secured.

"And your Memorialists will ever pray.

Dated this Eleventh Day of April, One Thousand Nine Hundred and Sixteen.

"Signed on behalf of the Hamilton Recruiting League.

"ARTHUR F. HATCH, President.

"A. W. KAYE, Secretary."

This Memorial Sir, has been signed by all the representatives who are here. They are earnest in what they have done

and they are backing it up not only in person before you, but are prepared to do so with instructions from the districts which they come from, and the Recruiting Leagues which they represent. I will say that the organization now is really, so far as we are concerned, only beginning. There is going to be a Dominion-wide organization which will take this matter in hand and our object in coming to you is to say that, as we realize the many heavy questions you have to deal with, we are anxious to give you our support and back you up to the extent of our abilities that we may help to bring this war to a successful conclusion.

NOTE—Attached to the Memorial was a Memorandum setting out the terms in which forty-three Recruiting Leagues endorsed the Memorial.

The Memorial bore the following endorsements:

Arthur F. Hatch, Hamilton, Ont.

W. G. Cleghorn, Berlin, Ont.

F. W. Churchill, Collingwood, Ont.

Huron County War Auxiliary, Clinton, Ont. W. Brydone.

Port Hope Recruiting League. James A. Elliott, Secretary.

Kingston Branch Eastern Ontario Speakers Patriotic League. L. W. K. Mulloy, Secretary

Central Recruiting League, Military Division No. 2, Toronto, Ont. John M. Godfrey, President; A. H. Campbell; Albert H. Abbott, Secretary.

Berlin Recruiting League. J. A. Halliman.

Renfrew Branch, Patriotic Speakers League. J. K. Rochester, Mayor of Renfrew; J. A. McArthur.

Toronto Citizens' Recruiting League. Oliver Hezzlewood, R. E. Kingsford, H. O'Brien, Controller Thompson.

Brockville Recruiting League. Herbert McDonald, President; William Shearer, Secretary.

St. Catharines Recruiting League. W. R. Robertson.

Waterloo Recruiting League. J. H. Webb.

Kent County Civilians' Recruiting League. J. G. Kerr, President; William Birmingham.

W. H. Ireland, Trenton, Ont.

R. L. Hammill, Trenton, Ont.

Algoma Civilians' Recruiting League. W. J. Thompson, Chairman.

Cobalt Branch Temiskaming Recruiting League. D. H. Way, Secretary.

Penetanguishene Recruiting League. W. R. Benson, Secretary.

Lincoln County Recruiting League. Francis C. Jones, Delegate, Beamsville, Ont.

Wentworth County Recruiting League. J. H. Dickenson, Warden; John Douglas, Chairman; John E. Peart, Secretary, Hamilton, Ont.

Hamilton Recruiting League. S. F. Washington, J. P. Bell, J. W. Sutherland, J. Wagstaffe, John G. Gauld, John H. Collinson, S. Banks Nelson.

Bowmanville Recruiting League. Evan T. McLean, President.

Grey County Recruiting League. William Calder, Durham, Ont.

Nova Scotia Recruiting League. G. S. Campbell, Chairman.

New Brunswick Recruiting Association. E. A. Schofield, Treasurer.

Winnipeg Citizens' Recruiting League. T. G. Mathers, President.

Woodstock Recruiting League. C. B. Terryberry.

Haldimand Recruiting League. J. W. Sheppard; Andrew T. Thompson, Lieut.-Col. Com. 114th C.E.F., "Brock's Rangers."

J. A. Aylmer, Peterborough, Ont.

Joseph J. Duffus, Mayor of Peterborough, Ont.

Richard B. Rogers, Peterborough, Ont.

Norfolk Recruiting League. A. McCall, Simcoe, Ont.

NOTE—The following explanation accompanied the Memorial:

The Hamilton Recruiting League has been a very active agency in the enlistment of soldiers. It may fairly claim a share of the credit that is due to Hamilton for her splendid contribution to the forces of the Empire.

From its intimate knowledge of the workings of the voluntary system, the League has reached the conclusion that for Canada to continue its present methods would be highly detrimental to the welfare of the country.

Canada has without doubt attracted to the colors a very superior class of men who are actuated by the noblest principles of patriotism and duty.

Very many of these have left positions of great importance, for which competent men cannot be found.

Almost every industry and family is suffering unnecessary loss through the present haphazard method of enlistment.

The first class of men who should be called upon for service is the unmarried fit men who could be released from their occupations without serious loss to any one.

Probably this class would suffice to complete the forces which Canada is pledged to supply.

The country could thus fulfil its obligations without serious loss of revenue, or serious disturbance of its internal economy.

A system of wise Selection should appeal strongly to every loyal member of the community. It is not contrary to the spirit of true Liberty, for which the Empire is fighting. That Liberty for which a man will not fight is not deserving of the name. No man is free from the duty of defending the State.

It is not suggested that the proposed System of Selection should be permanent. Extraordinary need justifies extraordinary measures.

It is hoped that all who are in sympathy with the above Memorial will exert their utmost influence to further its objects.

MR. S. F. WASHINGTON, K.C., of Hamilton:

Sir Robert Borden, Sir George Foster and Hon. Mr. Kemp. I have the honor to represent the Hamilton Recruiting League, and at the outset I desire to point out to you, Sir, whom we represent at this meeting. We have representatives here from nearly fifty Recruiting Leagues throughout this Province and Canada generally. We have also a gentleman here from Halifax representing the Recruiting League of Nova Scotia; another from St. John representing the Recruiting League of New Brunswick, and Hon. Chief Justice Mathers, who represents the Tenth Military District, running from Port Arthur to the far boundary of Manitoba. The Recruiting Leagues in this Province and throughout the Dominion were formed because the men required to furnish Overseas Battalions were not coming, as we thought, fast enough. The first call was promptly responded to by the best and the bravest, the men who saw their duty without Recruiting Leagues or recruiting speeches. The first 100,000 came easily. We found other men were not coming. Leagues were formed by the most representative men in each community to assist the Government to furnish Overseas Contingents. Representatives of these Leagues who are now before you represent professional men, farmers, manufacturers—in fact, all classes. These men throughout the Province of Ontario have devoted a tremendous amount of time and a large amount of their own money for the purpose of securing men to the extent required. We have come to the conclusion, Sir, that the present system is a failure, and that if your promise to the British Government to back it up with the last dollar and the last man is to be carried out, some other system must be adopted.

Sir Robert Borden—"In what respect do you mean failure?"

Mr. Washington—"This. We are getting the wrong men."

Sir Robert Borden—"You are not alluding to the number?"

Mr. Washington—"Well, the number also. They are coming very slowly."

Sir Robert Borden—"Are you aware that in the month of March we enlisted 32,000 men, and since the first of the year we have enlisted at the rate of 1,000 a day?"

Mr. Washington—"I have heard it so stated, Sir. My answer is that you are getting the wrong men. I was not aware of those figures, but I know that in my district the numbers are very small."

Sir Robert Borden—"It is a question then of selection and locality rather than number?"

Mr. Washington—"We may get them, but at very excessive cost. We are getting volunteers as low as sixteen years of age. They are fit neither mentally nor physically for the work. We are getting men of over forty-five who are married men, and are imposing a greater cost to the country than is advisable. We are doing worse than that: we are demoralizing the industries of the country. A man told me the other day, the manager of a large textile industry in Hamilton, that one of his foremen had come to him and said: 'I feel it my duty to enlist.' He answered that they could not get along without him and that it would disorganize the whole factory. Others in that factory whose services were not essential had not responded to the call of duty, but that man went, who could not be spared. The worst of it is that he has a delicate wife and five children, and he is now blowing a bugle in the band, work which could be done by a boy. Manufacturers in Hamilton have begged recruiting men to keep away from factories. Not only the best men morally, but the best men considered as regards their usefulness to the community are going. Let me give you an instance. A man on an hundred-acre farm has only one son. He goes to the front and leaves the old folks to run the farm. A man on the next farm has four sons. Not one of them goes. I say, Sir, that this is what we want remedied. We have on a street in Hamilton seven brothers and they are all in uniform. In the next block there are seven brothers and there is not one in uniform. That is not right, not just, not in the interests of the country. It is not right that the best men should go to fight for their country when others less needed stay at home. It may be argued that the voluntary system is a great success, and that it is a magnificent sight to see three million men volunteering to defend their country. It is a magnificent sight, but there is a sight that would fill me with greater pleasure than that, the sight of one million slackers compelled to do their duty. Let me illustrate. Sir John Gibson of Hamilton had two sons. One went to the front and returned wounded. When he recovered he went back. His second son also went to the front and was killed. Why should Sir John Gibson sacrifice that son when hundreds of men equally eligible and under the same obligation to go are left who shirk their duty. A gentleman told me the other night that he went into a barber shop. While there two or three score of young men passed into a pool room at

the back. Such men could not be enlisted except under some system of national selection. We must have some such system. Some people think we propose to send out a press gang and bring in every man of military age. That is not what we propose. My idea is this: The Government calls for, say, 10,000 men, and they ask Hamilton for 500. We would ballot for 1000. A munitions factory man comes before a tribunal formed for the purpose who is indispensable to his work. He is sent away. A farmer comes, an only son. He is sent back. Another farmer's son, one out of four brothers; he goes. A man with no dependents, not essential to any industry, comes; he goes; and so on. That, Sir, is the system that we want the Government to carry out.

"Now, Sir, just a word more, because our time is limited. The people of at least the Province of Ontario were behind you to a man when you informed the British Government that the whole resources of Canada were at their backs. We are not here to carp and to find fault with this Government. We are here to help you if we can. Now, let me tell you this, Sir, I first advocated something of this kind in August. Since that time I have addressed privately and publicly thousands of people. There was but one dissenting voice, and he told me that he would sooner be a live coward than a dead hero. Six months ago, perhaps, there was a strong sentiment against conscription, but now there is a strong and growing sentiment in favor of conscription. I am something like your Minister of Militia. We were born on adjoining farms in the same Township; I understand that he boasts of the fact; at all events, Sir Robert, we both inherited a tendency for plain speaking. Now, Sir, we are here to tell you what public opinion is in the Province of Ontario. There is a great, strong sentiment throughout the whole length and breadth of Ontario in favor of this Memorial. I think, Sir, that you will find if you will travel throughout Ontario, and especially if you engage in the game of recruiting as we engage in it and get the answers we get—one of them is, 'Go chase yourself,' and there are others I cannot repeat—if you will visit that Province and talk with those you meet you will find the vast majority of them are behind this movement of ours. The great heart of the Province of Ontario, and in fact the whole Dominion of Canada, is for British justice, and it is not British justice that one should go and others should remain."

MR. SCHOFIELD of St. John, New Brunswick:

Sir Robert Borden, Sir George Foster and the Hon. Mr. Kemp. I have the honor of representing the Provincial Recruiting Association of the Province of New Brunswick, and also the Citizens' Recruiting Committee of the City of St. John.

The Provincial Committee is composed of two representatives from each county, who may fairly be said to represent the people of this county and vicinity on this important subject.

We meet once a month at a central point to review the situation and discuss recruiting matters.

I am here to-day with the rest of these delegates representing other associations situated almost from Coast to Coast to present to you this Memorial, originating with the Hamilton, Ont., Association, and to say we in New Brunswick heartily endorse it. I may also say in passing that our own local association brought practically the same resolution before our own committee some three months ago, but felt that possibly, being a small province, it might not be well for us to push it.

Let me explain, however, that I do not mention this now to claim any of the honor that may justly be due to Hamilton, but only that I feel more or less sorry that we did not push it at the time in order that it possibly might now have been well on its way, since I find a unanimous opinion among our delegation, thus expressing the views of citizens from Coast to Coast.

However, you now have it before you, and I am here to express to you the thoughts of practically all in the Province who are interested in attempting to assist your Government and Militia department to secure the men you so magnificently promised to the Mother Country.

I do not feel that I can bring this before you any more forcibly, at the present moment, than to read you just here a telegram sent on to me since I left New Brunswick, and which was received on my arrival here.

It is in the form of a resolution passed on the floor of our Local Legislature and is as follows:

“Resolved, That in the opinion of this House, in order that the 500,000 men promised by Canada to the Empire may be speedily raised, Parliament should pass an act calling to the colors all men of suitable military age. And, further it is resolved, That in the selection of men for overseas service, a system of enrollment should be adopted whereby the requirements of the industrial, agricultural and banking interests of Canada, together with the needs of persons dependent upon the earnings of men of military age, shall be given due consideration.”

Now, Sir, I have explained to you the people I personally represent here, and this is a further voice from New Brunswick, and, coming as it does from the Legislature, the men chosen by all the people of the Province, I feel, taking it altogether, as though there can be no mistake on the part of your Government as to how our Province by the sea feels on this question.

Let me say also, that this telegram has been sent on to me by Col. P. A. Guthrie, a member of our Local House, and I trust you will pardon me in referring to our noble and brave colonel—I cannot refrain from doing so.

Immediately on the outbreak of war Col. Guthrie closed his office in the City of Fredericton, put up a sign, "Office closed for the duration of the war," and offered his services to the country, was accepted, and soon appeared at the front in France as a major; took his place in the fighting line, and a little later, when his commanding officer was killed, took command and held the line through fierce fighting until relieved with reinforcements. He went through several battles, was badly wounded, and finally placed on board the *Hesperian*, invalided for home, but very soon after sailing, this vessel, as you know, was torpedoed, and our gallant Colonel, though very severely wounded, was finally rescued and eventually saved, and is now recuperating in order to go back again, when opportunity offers.

I mention all this because he also is strongly in favor of some such action as is contained in the Memorial we present here to-day, and I believe an opinion from one who has gone through what he has for King and Country should have more weight than anything I could say.

Now, Sir, my home Association first started on this recruiting work at the request of your Division Headquarters' Staff. We went at it with heart and soul, irrespective of either political party or of any religious creed, and we worked hand in hand, and I am sorry to report here that after months of experience, we feel we have made a mistake in the methods used and still in force—Volunteer Recruiting. We have had success in numbers of men only, but now that we review the work and realize the situation, we fear it has not altogether been in the best interests of the country, and all concerned; we have secured too many married men, leaving dependents, and too many young men who really are needed more at home, but whose conscience has been worked on till they could not retain their social position.

So far as those who have left wives and children dependent on them, we, perhaps, at the seaboard, realize this more than other sections might, for, after we secure these men and finally see them sail from the east side of our harbor with a cheer, we turn to the west side of the harbor and see the ship drawing to the wharf and, as she does, and the gangplank thrown out, we see their comrades returning, some minus a leg, or an arm, or their eyesight gone, or even worse, some actually insane; it brings the situation home to us more forcibly, and I for one urge upon you here and now that some such action as we ask for to-day be speedily considered, that some business system be introduced so that the cause of that I just referred to may be the more quickly disposed of, and resulting conditions disappear.

I could, of course, give many more reasons for some different system of obtaining recruits, but time at our disposal is so short I hardly feel entitled to do so, and while a movement such as we suggest here to-day may not seem a popular one, in

all Provinces, just at the moment, I feel sure, Sir, it is one that will speedily grow, as I have found in many instances, as soon as the conditions we personally know of are explained to thinking people, the most serious objections they ever had against some compulsion system immediately disappear.

This all leads us to believe that if Canada does intend to enlist another 200,000 men, and, that while your Militia Department may easily do so without the aid of any Civilian Recruiting Association, that even then we must strenuously object to present methods being continued in the effect on the interests we represent. It is our intention to organize this body into a National Association, and to continue to help in this most important work, or to offer to do so at least, provided more business methods are employed, and to further offer to assist in formulating such methods.

There is just one other thought occurs to me further, in the event of criticism on such action as is contained in the memorial presented. It is this—That Legislation has already been passed to the effect that certain profits in certain businesses have been conscripted, and I for one, hold up both hands for it, but Sir, were those businesses ever asked or consulted on the question?—these profits are the assets in most cases of older men.

The assets of the younger man is his freedom. If you take one, surely there is room for argument, that you should take the other under certain conditions.

We stand ready to help, Sir, but we are anxious to see that something is done, and speedily, to improve the situation, and hope you and your colleagues will give the request an early answer.

HON. CHIEF JUSTICE MATHERS, of Winnipeg:

Sir Robert Borden. This, Sir, is the first occasion on which I have ever appeared as a member of a delegation to wait upon any minister of the Crown, Dominion or Provincial, and, Sir, I would not be here to-day if it were not for a conviction born of my experience as president of the Winnipeg Recruiting League, that the present system of recruiting is altogether wrong, and that if we mean to send forward the number of men called for without jeopardizing the vital industries of Canada, some other method must be adopted.

We come here, Sir, to-day, not as supplicants for any favour for ourselves. We come without distinction of, and some of us without allegiance to, any political party. We come representing recruiting leagues from Nova Scotia in the East to Saskatchewan in the West, as truly and as faithfully as we can, to represent to you the conditions as we, in the prosecution of our work as recruiting leagues, have found them to exist, and to point out what we consider to be the remedy. I think we can say that with one voice, without a solitary dissident, we have all arrived at the conclusion that the remedy is enforced military service under

some properly regulated system of selection.

Now, Sir, the league I represent in the City of Winnipeg was called into existence in the month of February last, by the Winnipeg Board of Trade, one of the most representative bodies of business men in Western Canada. This step was taken after consultation with the Commanding Officers of the several units with headquarters in the city, and with their entire approval.

In January, recruiting had been extremely slow. There were upwards of twenty units being recruited in the City of Winnipeg and in other parts of Military District No. 10, which at that time included Saskatchewan. Since that time Saskatchewan has been taken from District No. 10, and is now in No. 12. Recruiting officers all over the district complained of the increasing difficulty of obtaining recruits and the rapidly rising per capita expenditure necessary.

Civilian recruiting leagues were organized not only in Winnipeg, but in Brandon, Portage La Prairie, Saskatoon, and many other places. We got down to real business about the end of February, and pursued the campaign actively throughout March; and I think I can say that so far as merely getting men was concerned, we were eminently successful. Militia District No. 10 in March beat all former records and enlisted a larger number of men than any previous month since the beginning of the war. The record, therefore, seemed to justify the claim that our efforts had met with a large measure of success.

But, Sir, we found that our very success was but the measure of our failure, because we found that the vital industries, agricultural, manufacturing, mercantile and financial, were being bled to the point of exhaustion of their essential help, and that if the present system of recruiting was to proceed indefinitely some of these great industries would be bled to actual exhaustion. At the same time there still remained in non-essential industries, those which cater to the pleasure or luxury of the public, large numbers of men who had not enlisted and who were invulnerable to moral suasion and in every branch of industry many men performing work which might be equally well performed by women.

Sir Robert Borden—What was the character of those non-essential industries?

Chief Justice Mathers—I would call a billiard marker, a picture-show artist, non-essential.

Sir Robert Borden—You would hardly call a picture show an industry.

Chief Justice Mathers—The picture-show business has become quite an industry with us. Generally I would say those manufacturers engaged in the production of articles of luxury or amusement, for example, confectionery, were non-essential.

Mr. Godfrey—The jewelry business also.

Chief Justice Mathers—Yes, I intended to mention the jewelry business also. Those are some of what I have in mind, but there are many others.

I desire to specially refer to the farming industry as one which is suffering from the present system. We had combed the cities and towns for men, combed out practically every man who could be persuaded to join the ranks. This, however, did not apply to the country districts. Military men told us that the farming communities were still fruitful fields. This proved to be the case. Many men had enlisted from the farms, but there were still a great many who could be persuaded to do so, but not without seriously jeopardizing that great and vitally essential industry. Already there is a scarcity of men in Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, and additional help must be obtained if the spring seeding is to be properly done. To supply the deficiency appeals are being made to men in training in the barracks to take off their uniforms and help with the seeding. Appeals are also being made in the United States. As a last resort it is proposed that alien enemies should be taken from the internment camps and set to work. That is the condition as it exists to-day in the three prairie provinces. Let me give you a concrete instance. I recently presided at a sitting of the Court in one of the outlying districts at which a young farmer was convicted for theft. Before I imposed sentence his wife came to me and said: "I am alone on the farm. I cannot hire a man or boy in the district, they have all gone to the war, our wheat is still unthreshed in the fields, and there is no one to care for our horses and cattle but me, and I am physically unable to do it." What was I to do? I released the man on suspended sentence. (Cheers.) These are the conditions as they exist in the farming districts to-day, a condition largely due to the present voluntary system of recruiting. It is not possible to contemplate these things without arriving at the conclusion that the present system is fundamentally bad, and if pursued must result in great and unnecessary injury of the vital industries of this country. Faced by these conditions we, for the time being at least, ceased our efforts to obtain recruits in the rural districts.

I mention agriculture particularly because it is our staple industry, but the same conditions prevail in transportation, manufacturing, and mercantile industries. About that time the Hamilton Memorial came along and it appealed to us as a step towards remedying conditions which were rapidly becoming intolerable. I called together our recruiting league, not the executive merely, but the whole league, made up of representatives from every class of the community. We had the largest meeting that the league had ever held, largely because this was the most important question we ever had to deal with. The matter was threshed out pro and con and resulted in an unanim-

ous vote in favor of asking the Government to adopt some form of compulsory military service for imperial purposes. And now let me briefly enumerate the reasons presented to that meeting in favour of the resolution adopted.

First: Because it was the duty of every citizen to bear arms for the defence of the nation, and any system which enabled some to shirk that duty was fundamentally wrong. It was pointed out that already the principle of compulsion is applied in relation to all other duties which the citizens owe to the State. For example, it is applied to the paying of war taxes. At every point we are compelled by law to do something that we probably would rather not do. Only when it comes to the discharge of the highest duty of citizenship, that of bearing arms in the nation's cause, is the principle of compulsion abandoned. That duty the State permits the citizen to discharge, or not discharge, as he sees fit.

Secondly: Because under the present system the full available strength of the nation cannot be called forth without the serious impairment, if not actual extinction, of some of the vital industries of the country.

Thirdly: Because it drains the country of its best blood.

Fourthly: Because it distributes the burden of maintaining the nation's cost unequally.

Fifthly: Because it is expensive and unbusinesslike.

Sixthly: Because it is beneath the dignity of a great nation to have to coax or cajole or bully or bluff its citizens into doing their duty. I don't know how it is in other parts of Canada, but in Winnipeg you can see frantic appeals for men to join the colors posted on the fences and billboards. On the streets there are large numbers of men in uniform acting as recruiting agents appealing to young men as they pass to join the ranks. Almost every unit is so represented. I have heard criticism of the methods adopted by some of the more enthusiastic of these boys, but it is the system which compels them to adopt such methods, and not the boys, which should be criticised.

Seventhly: Because we have under the present system compulsion in its most obnoxious form. It is absurd to speak of enlistment at the present day as voluntary. In the cities of the West the man who is not in uniform is made to feel that he is a sort of social outcast. No man who joins the ranks to-day does so voluntarily. He does so because he can no longer resist the pressure of public opinion. Men are afraid to walk down the streets lest they be accosted by some recruiting agent and have no excuse to offer for not being in khaki.

Eighthly: Because all the available men cannot be recruited under the present system. When, Sir Robert, you pledged Canada's support to the Mother Country to the last man and the last dollar, you did so with the universal approval of the people of Canada. You cannot fulfil that pledge under the present

system, because the last man cannot be persuaded to join the ranks. The public have implicit confidence in your integrity and honesty, Sir Robert, and in your high Imperialism, and they look to you, Sir, to adopt such methods as will enable you to fulfil that pledge with the least possible disturbance to essential Canadian industry. I urge upon you, Sir, the adoption of the plan outlined in this Memorial, with all the sincerity of which I am capable, and in doing that I am sure that I am voicing the practically unanimous sentiment of the West.

I have never heard a man, sufficiently interested to give the subject a moment's thought, who does not agree that the present system is wrong. The only argument I have heard urged against enforced service is that it interferes with the liberty of the individual, but it does so only to the extent necessary to preserve the liberty of the nation. The great majority of thinking people are thoroughly alive to the question, and have, I believe, made up their minds that some other method of filling the ranks should be adopted. Let me refer you, Sir, to members of this House who come from the West for corroboration of what I have said. I have had a conversation with Senator Sharpe since coming to Ottawa. I had a conversation with Mr. Bradbury before leaving Winnipeg. Both of these gentlemen tell me that their experience as commanding officers of units has led them to exactly the same conclusion as has been arrived at by the various recruiting leagues, viz., that the present system is wrong and that a revolution in the method of recruiting is urgently called for.

MR. G. S. CAMPBELL, of Halifax:—

Sir Robert Borden. Coming as I do from Nova Scotia, I think I can best use the short time at my disposal by telling you of the recruiting situation there, and the reasons why we consider some change in our methods not only desirable, but essential to the business interests of the province. Since the outbreak of the war, about 22,000 men in our province have been withdrawn from civil life, and enlisted for military service. This we consider to be creditable evidence that our province recognizes its responsibility to provide men for the defence of the Empire. But still more men are required, and our problem is to get them with the least possible disturbance to the business interests of the province. The first question that arises is, have we got the men? To that question it is difficult to get a satisfactory answer, because some believe that we have already drained the province of its available young men, while others think that we could still raise thousands if we go about it in the right way. Hence the necessity for a census of men of military age, such as we ask for in this Memorial. Supposing we have the men, the next important question is how many can be spared for military duty and from what classes and industries

should they be drawn? Now that brings us to our practical difficulty. You know, Sir Robert, that a large proportion of our population is engaged in developing those natural resources that are vital to our business life, such as fishing, lumbering, mining, etc. Some of these indeed are essential to the prosecution of the war, notably coal mining, and the manufacture of iron and steel for munitions. Our coal mines are facing a most serious situation. A director of the Dominion Coal Company told me that their company had already lost 2,200 miners or more, and just before I left Colonel Cantley, the President of the Nova Scotia Steel & Coal Co., told me they had lost about 1,200 men by enlistment. Their output of coal has been reduced one-half, and he said that if further shrinkage took place they would not be able to raise enough to keep their blast furnaces and steel works going. Now that is the situation that confronts us, and it demands prompt and serious action. It is no use telling miners they should not enlist. During our last campaign, when we raised three Battalions of Highlanders, we purposely abstained from canvassing the miners, but in spite of that many of them enlisted. Now our deliberate opinion is that we have gone about as far with our voluntary system as it is safe or wise to go, and that if we go on, many of the men who enlist in future would be serving Canada and the Empire better by doing their bit at home. To show that I am not simply expressing my own opinion, I ought to say that when this memorial was sent to us from Hamilton, we sent a copy of it to every recruiting committee in the province. There are about thirty of them. We asked them to express their opinion so that I might be instructed. When I left home answers had been received from about twenty of them and they were practically unanimous in favoring some form of compulsory national service.

You, Sir Robert, have called upon Canada to furnish 500,000 men to defend the Empire. About 200,000 of these men are still required, and the honor of Canada compels us to find them. I believe Canada can, and will, find them. But to do so we must use all our available resources. Surely common sense and common prudence and true patriotism demand that we should draw these men from the classes where they can best be spared, so that we may not unnecessarily handicap the business of the country. It is because we believe that the interests of both Canada and the Empire call for prompt action along the lines we have indicated, that we earnestly ask your favorable consideration to our request for the appointment of a commission.

LT.-COL. MULLOY, of Kingston:

Sir Robert Borden, Sir George Foster and Gentlemen. I am going to be very brief and confine my remarks to making a few points against this system so-called, which we are employing at present. The first point I wish to make is that it is not British.

The average man possibly believes this. But with the exception of one or two garrison companies of artillery, such a thing as a voluntary unit was never known until the middle of the eighteenth century. But in 1757 the British Government was compelled to recognize, to regularize and incorporate for the first time, volunteer units into the forces of the country. And you can say that Britain has never gone through a war in her whole history, except, of course the South African War, which was merely a guerilla campaign, without employing the more democratic compulsory militia levy on each town and parish and county, in which each was required to furnish its quota. When, in 1757, the volunteer units were organized, they did not displace the militia levy, but became an adjunct. It is not British.

The next point I wish to make is that the voluntary system is unreliable, and I challenge any student of history, not only of our nation, but of any nation in the world, to say that it ever went through or stood the test of a real, national struggle. It never has stood the test of a real war. It will not stand the test of a struggle where every force and effort of the nation are necessary. The next point has already been touched upon. It is undemocratic, in that it does not distribute in an equitable manner the burdens imposed by the State upon the people. Surely in a struggle involving the very life of the State itself it is truer democracy that the men for that struggle should be drawn evenly from that portion of the population which is best fitted to bear the burden. The next point has already been touched upon. It is not economic. It deranges industry and will eventually become ruinous to industrial activity. In war we must have regard to producing power. We must have just as much regard to that as to our obtaining forces. I am safe in saying that we have raised 300,000 men to-day by a haphazard method of appeals which go straight home to the heart of men with disciplined minds and are utterly disregarded by others. By raising these 300,000 men in that way we are bleeding heavier industrially than if we had raised 500,000 on an organized scheme.

Just one more point and I am through. To my mind, Sir, the system smacks of insincerity on the part of the whole people. If there were a burden here which would tax the energy of four of us to lift, and I promised I would lift every ounce I could, and should then attach my muscles to that burden by means of a cord which would stand only a twenty pound test, I would be open to the charge of insincerity. While we are proclaiming to the outside world that we are in this struggle to the last dollar, the outside world know, and we know, that if we are sincere in that profession, the first step in the conduct of a great national struggle is to organize ourselves.

MR. J. P. BELL, of Hamilton:

Sir Robert Borden, Sir George Foster, Hon. Mr. Kemp, and Gentlemen. I have been asked to say a few words on the business and financial side of this question, and I regret very much it is not in better hands, but I trust that you will bear with the few rambling remarks I have to make on account of their sincerity. In the first place, I do not attempt to speak for the Bankers, but merely as a citizen and member of the recruiting league. I do not wish to give the impression that I wish to discourage recruiting, or imply that we have done our full duty. In the second place, I think it should be explained that the compulsory service referred to in the Memorial is not intended to be a dragnet to take every man of military age out of the country. We hope it will have just the opposite effect, that it will stop the practice of taking those who cannot be spared without injury to the country.

On the financial side of the matter I would like to first say a word in reference to soldiers. There is tremendous waste in having a number of battalions at half strength. There are five battalions seeking recruits in Hamilton, all of which have their full quota of officers, but not one of these is up to full strength in spite of the most strenuous efforts to obtain recruits, and yet the full expense of organization and everything else connected with them is being borne by the country. Surely that is waste, which multiplied fifty times must be costing us a very large sum. Our soldiers are the best paid in the world, and I am glad they are, and I am proud to know that their wives and families are also better looked after than those in other countries, but there are altogether too many married men enlisting and the expense is out of all proportion compared with that in other countries. Every enlisted married man costs the country \$37 per month more than a single man.

At the present time I understand the Government is spending at the rate of \$1,000,000 a month in separation allowances, and the Patriotic Fund is paying out a further \$600,000. Now it is too late, of course, to remedy that condition as far as the past is concerned; but it is surely not too late to prevent the increase which will follow if we persist in the present methods. At this stage I would like to pay my humble tribute to Sir Thomas White for his far-sighted policy in seeing that the country's financial requirements are looked after many months ahead. I believe that anyone with any knowledge of finance appreciates the work of the Minister and his wonderful grasp of financial affairs. The new tax which he has placed upon profits is one item in the most courageous budget the country has ever seen. But the ever widening chasm between income and expenditure cannot be bridged by taxes if the expenditure keeps on (as it must under the present system), increasing out

of all proportion. The particular City in which I live is known as a manufacturing City and a great many plants there are suffering severely from the drain, although the employers of labor are anxious to give recruiting all the support possible. It is not that they are not willing to let them go, but they are not willing to let those go who cannot be spared, while others less essential remain. I would just like to say a word or two as to Bank men enlisting. There has been some thoughtless criticism of young men in Banks not offering their services. I think I can say without hesitation that from 25 to 50 per cent. of all the men employed in Banks when the war began have enlisted, and the Banks have given these men ungrudgingly and filled their places with girls and machinery as far as possible, but there is a limit to that sort of thing. It must eventually result in depriving many parts of the country of banking facilities. The Banks still, I think, could supply some men, but they cannot spare many more trained men. At the present time the country is spending \$20,000,000 per month. This is a huge draft on our future, which the men who have gone will have to help pay when they return.

Sir Thomas White has put his finger on the very centre of the question. Production is the key to the situation. In the warehouses and factories, unless the matter of sufficient clerical and commercial employees is given attention, and efforts are made to mobilize labor to carry on the business of the country, we shall be confronted by a situation of great gravity. There should be co-ordination of military, industrial and agricultural needs. We owe it to the Empire, to the taxpayers, to the soldiers, and their relatives and friends, to prevent the misery and poverty which is sure to result from continuance in the present course.

MR. JOHN M. GODFREY, of Toronto:

Sir Robert Borden. I think that you have probably heard enough speeches, and I do not think I could add anything to the very excellent remarks which the former speakers have made, except one. In a remark to Mr. Washington you (Sir Robert Borden) stated the voluntary system was getting us men. I don't think it will. We have had a wonderful recruiting campaign during the last five months. I suppose you have in this room the leading representatives of recruiting organizations from all over the country. Six months ago if you had taken a poll of the men here you would have found them favorable to the voluntary system. For six months we have been going through that raging, tearing campaign, but you cannot keep up that sort of enthusiasm indefinitely. We are at the end of our tether. In the next two months there will be a great drop in recruiting, and even getting the men in this wasteful way will not succeed.

I do not think there is anything more to be said.

SIR ROBERT BORDEN:

I desire to say a few words in reply to what has been urged with very great earnestness and very great cogency before us to-day. I regret that you have arrived at a stage in the work of the session which makes it impossible to afford to the delegation a longer period for the discussion of an exceedingly important subject. This is not said by way of criticism, because the movement has been gradually gathering strength, and therefore it may not have been possible to place your views before us at an earlier period. My colleagues and I are most profoundly appreciative, not only of the opportunity of hearing your views, but also of the fine service which the various recruiting associations throughout the country have rendered to Canada and to the whole Empire in their past work, which I am confident you will carry on in future under the best conditions that the Government can establish, having regard to conditions in this country and to all the interests and considerations which the Government must keep in mind.

In our support to the armies of the Empire and of the allied nations in this war we are confined by certain limitations which it is necessary for you to bear in mind, and which the Government must take into account. We have recruited in Canada up to the present time something more than 300,000 men. It was well up to 300,000 some ten days ago. When those men are recruited they are, of course, entirely useless in the first instance as a fighting force. Something more has to be done before they can be usefully employed for the great purpose to which our Empire is devoting its energies. They must be trained. As far as training is concerned, that differs according to the various units of the force. For certain specialized services training for a year may be necessary, the minimum for infantry is not less than six months. Our troops must also be armed. We must provide rifles for them, or they must be provided by the British Government. They must be equipped with clothing and with the threescore articles which it is necessary to provide for the various arms of the service. The infantry man requires 66 different articles of equipment. In fact, the complexity of the organization and equipment of a modern army is very much greater than those imagine who have not been brought in touch with the actual necessities of the situation.

When our forces have been trained so that they may be sent overseas, to complete their training, there is something more to be considered, and it is this: First, the means of transportation across the Atlantic; as to which a great deal of difficulty has been experienced, especially during the last five or six months. Secondly, the arrangements for their accommodation on the other side of the Atlantic while they are receiving the

additional training which is necessary. So you will observe that the question is not absolutely one of raising a certain number of men in Canada and getting them enlisted. There is much more to be taken into account before they can take their place at the front in the great struggle.

Now, reference has been made by one of the speakers to battalions not recruited up to full strength. I fully appreciate the considerations that have been placed before us in that regard, and notwithstanding very urgent representations which have been made to us from some parts of the country where enthusiasm in recruiting is at its height, the acting Minister of Militia and Defence has absolutely refused for many weeks past to organize any further regiments. You may be assured that the Government has not lost sight, and will not lose sight, of that consideration, particularly as any economic waste must be avoided.

Now, I bring another consideration to your notice. We have endeavored with a certain amount of success to mould the scope of recruiting energies in different parts of the country. Chief Justice Mathers has alluded to industries that might be regarded as essential, and others that might not be so regarded. There are many occupations in which young men are engaged at present which might not be regarded as industries at all. Essential industries, according to my view, would be those which are necessary for the production of supplies of every kind, including munitions, that are necessary in this war.

But probably the Government would have to look, perhaps, beyond that consideration, and have some regard to the necessities of the regular industries of the country of a productive character whether included or not in the definition to which I have just given. We would have to consider whether these must not also be maintained so that Canada shall not lose its industrial, commercial and financial strength. My colleagues and I have had regard to that consideration, and in connection with some industries we have been in close touch and have endeavored so to arrange recruiting by uniform methods and by a certain control which the Government can exercise that these industries shall not be depleted. Of course it is perfectly plain to you all that the very forces that are proposed could not be raised without some industrial disturbance. I am very grateful indeed, and it speaks well for the splendid patriotism of this country that there has been so little complaint and so little outcry from our various industries. We are profoundly grateful for the spirit shown and we are also profoundly grateful to the women of the country for their willingness to come forward and do their part in the industrial, financial, and agricultural life of the country. There are many occupations in which we cannot ask them to engage, but there are other occupations in which

they can help. Some have been mentioned to-day in which the women can do a very useful and important part.

Now, as far as to the general question of conscription which you bring before us, I hope you realize that without consultation with my colleagues, without a much fuller consideration, it would be impossible for me to give you a definite or specific answer. I may remind you that this question is not peculiar to this country. The same question has been thrashed out in very minute detail in the Mother Country, and you are perhaps aware of what has been done in England in that regard, and the difficulties which have not failed to arise there even after the British Government did take a military census of the whole country. We shall study this question. We shall take into the most attentive consideration all that you have urged upon us, and I am very glad to see that a stenographic report will be laid before us. We are very desirous of having it, and that it should be made in such form that it can be laid before our colleagues and studied by them as well as by myself. I appreciate the considerations that have been urged upon us in this regard. There are, perhaps, other considerations upon which you have not very fully dwelt, but which the Government must take into account before it comes to a final conclusion. We can say no more at this moment except to thank you all for the splendid efforts which you have lent to the cause that we all have at heart. We recognize most fully what has been done by the various recruiting associations. Without your aid, the Government of this country could not have accomplished the great work that has been done. We thank you for the active, energetic endeavors involving great responsibility and the bearing of heavy burdens, which have been carried on by the gentlemen present, and those with whom they are associated throughout the country. I recognize that this work has been taken up in a most patriotic and splendid spirit by Canadians from East to West without distinction of party, creed, or condition. This spirit of United Patriotic devotion which animates the whole Canadian people, is, however, not confined to Canada, and thus augurs not only a United Canada but a United Empire after the conclusion of this war.

APPENDIX.

Owing to lack of time Messrs. Kingsford, O'Brien and Hezzlewood, members of the delegation from Toronto, who had come prepared to address Sir Robert Borden, were unable to do so.

The Addresses of Messrs. Kingsford and O'Brien follow, together with a letter to Sir Robert Borden which was prepared by Mr. Hezzlewood for insertion in this pamphlet. It was not mailed.

TORONTO CITIZENS' RECRUITING LEAGUE.

A delegation from Toronto was present to represent the Toronto Citizens' Recruiting League. This delegation comprised Controller Thompson and Messrs. Kingsford, O'Brien and Hezzlewood, representing the Citizens' League. The delegation was prepared to present the following resolution, which had been carried at a meeting of the League at Toronto:

Whereas, the present mode of recruiting has proved to be inefficient, expensive and inequitable,

And whereas, the law of the land, if put into force, would obviate the defects of the present method and enable the Government more readily and efficiently to fulfil the responsibility undertaken,

This League is of the opinion that the Dominion Government, in accordance with the Militia Act, should proceed forthwith to enrol all persons liable to service under the provisions of that Act, beginning with the Class 1, and frame and enforce such regulations as may be necessary to that end; but at the same time accepting for service all men liable to service who may volunteer for service.

MR. R. E. KINGSFORD:

As mover of the resolution, which has been carried by the League in Toronto, it is my duty to present it, but in so doing it will have to be distinctly understood that the Toronto Delegation do not consider the resolution passed by the Toronto League to be in any way in conflict with the Memorial of the Hamilton Association. On the contrary, it appears to be one method, and perhaps the readiest and most simple of carrying out the purpose of the Memorial. Therefore, although the Toronto Delegation has no precise instructions from the Toronto League to support the Hamilton Memorial, they feel that it is so clearly within their discretion to do so that they agree to support that Memorial in every possible way; and they would respectfully urge the desirability of accepting the Memorial and acting upon it with the least possible delay.

Turning to the resolution of our own League, the Toronto Delegation would beg leave to submit the considerations which have induced the carrying of the resolution.

Previous speakers have fully proved the correctness of the first recital in the resolution, viz., that the present system is "inefficient, expensive and inequitable."

These objections may be summed up as follows:—

Voluntary enlistment is unmethodical, and many men enlist who should be otherwise employed, and many men do not enlist who should be in the ranks, so that there is a great waste of power at a time when we have no margin of strength to throw away.

No system of voluntary enlistment can be relied upon at any given time in the future, for it is impossible to organize the non-combatant military resources of the nation for the support of the armies in the field without terrible, perhaps fatal losses caused by delay.

The facts and arguments presented have made it abundantly clear that the first recital in the Toronto Resolution is beyond dispute, it remains to support the second recital, which claims that the present law of the land put into force would be sufficient.

That law is contained in The Militia Act (Chapter 41 of the Revised Statutes of Canada). It is well known that by Section 10 all the male inhabitants of Canada, of the age of 18 years upwards and under 60—subject to very limited exceptions—are liable to service in the Militia. In case of necessity there also may be a levee en masse of all the inhabitants. There is therefore a liability on the part of all the men of Canada to serve in the Militia.

As is also well known, the population is divided for military purposes into four classes (Section 15):

I. All those of the age of eighteen years and upwards, but under thirty years, who are unmarried or widowers without children.

II. All those of the age of thirty years and upwards, but under forty-five years, who are unmarried or widowers without children.

III. All those of the age of eighteen years and upwards, but under forty-five, who are married or widowers with children.

IV. All those of the age of forty-five years and upwards, but under sixty.

The next, and a most important point, is that the same sec-

iton of the Act provides :

The said several classes shall be called upon to serve in the order in which they are referred to in this section.

There is therefore an imperative requirement of the law that all men liable to serve must be taken in the order of the classes provided by the Act.

As the Census returns do not divide the population according to the classes prescribed by the Militia Act, an estimate of the number of men coming under Class 1 can be furnished only by analogy. In 1911 there were in Canada, out of a total population of 3,821,995 males of all ages 1,151,726 between the ages of 25 and 44 years. These ages do not agree with Class 1, but they offer a fair analogy, and it is not an unfair estimate to make that probably one man out of every four would come within the ages of 18 and 30 years.

Of the above total of 3,821,995 males in Canada, 2,369,766 are single, that is to say, something over fifty per cent. Probably the same proportion would hold good in the case of those between 18 and 30. Therefore fifty per cent. of the 1,151,726, taking that figure as about the equivalent of those between 18 and 30 years would place in the first class to be called on first between 575,000 and 600,000 men.

No systematic attempt has been made to enrol this large body of available men. On the contrary, all the other classes in varying proportion have been taken into the ranks to the great detriment of the social and economic strength of the country.

By Section 69 of the Act

"The Governor in Council may place the Militia or any part thereof on active service anywhere in Canada, and also beyond Canada for the defence thereof at any time when it appears advisable so to do by reason of emergency."

By Secion 73 the war service is fixed at one year, but the Governor in Council may, "in cases on unavoidable necessity of which the Governor in Council shall be the sole judge," extend the service for six months.

Finally, section 25 of the Act enacts as follows:

The Governor in Council shall, from time to time, make all regulations necessary for the enrolment of persons liable to military service, and of cadets, and for all procedure in connection therewith, and for determining, subject to the provisions of this Act, the order in which the persons in the classes fixed by this Act shall serve.

The necessary balloting is fully provided for by Section 26.

The Regulations provided for cover every point that the League is asking as a matter of immediate urgency, Section 27 is as follows:—

The Governor in Council may, from time to time, make regulations:

(a) For fixing the day on which the taking of the enrolment shall be commenced in each of the several military districts, respectively;

(b) For notifying the men liable to be taken, or those balloted for service in any quota;

(c) For finally deciding claims of applicants for exemption, and for the administration of oaths before a commissioned officer of a corps.

(d) For ascertaining the facts in reference to claims for exemption, for medical examinations, and for the discharge of such men as are unfit to serve; and

(e) Relating to every other matter and thing not inconsistent with this Act, and necessary to be done in the enrolling, balloting, warning and bringing into service of such number of men as are required at any time.

You will see by looking at the matters provided for in these regulations everything can be covered if only the Government will act. They have the power to act after the Session subject to laying their Regulations before Parliament at the next Session.

It will be observed that Section 25 is imperative, not merely permissive. The word used is "shall." The duty of carrying out the Act is thus in so many words cast upon the Government.

The Delegation are well aware of the reasons which no doubt prevent the Government from carrying out, at the outset of the war, the Act by enrolling the militia according to the classes fixed by the Act. Public opinion would then, and for some considerable time, have been hostile to any attempt even to begin an enrolment; and the League has that in mind in their resolution; but what the Delegation from Toronto would most respectfully urge is that the time has arrived, and more than arrived, for carrying out the procedure demanded by the Act by taking such a Census as would specify the various classes and so enable the Government to apportion to the male population their respective duties either as workers or soldiers, and without

delay to put in training those who would be assigned to military duties. No reasonable complaint could be made to this. The law of the land would be enforced and the present evils would not exist. The division into classes is sensible and follows what common reason dictates as the proper sequence.

I conclude by repeating as my closing remark my introductory statement that the Toronto Delegation heartily supports the Hamilton Memorial, while at the same time presses respectfully on the Government the Toronto resolution as the most legal method and the readiest and most economical method of putting in the field reinforcements of the best type. They have in their minds the quickest and best way of solving the problem of keeping up forces in the field and assisting the Government to supply the five hundred thousand men pledged the Imperial Government.

MR. HENRY O'BRIEN, K. C. :

As seconder of the Resolution of the Toronto Citizens' Recruiting League, I cordially endorse all that Mr. Kingsford has advanced, and trust that the Government will see its way to prompt action.

MR. OLIVER HEZZLEWOOD'S LETTER.

(Not Sent.)

Toronto, April 21st, 1916.

To iSr Robert Borden, K.C.M.G.,
Prime Minister of Canada,
Ottawa.

Sir:—

Time prevented me from urging certain considerations re "National Service," when the delegation waited upon you at your office recently. I have been asked to reduce those considerations to writing and present them to you now. They are as follows:—

1st. Registration and allotment or draft under some kind of authority is necessary to insure the respect of the community for those to whose own judgment and to the judgment of their immediate friends or advisers their work at home is of greater value than their services at the front could be. For instance, a munition worker may help his country by staying at home far more than by enlisting, but the community may think he should go. He stays and loses the respect of his fellow citizens, but if he were allotted to the home work there could be no loss of respect.

To-day this very condition faces the young farmers. Many of them are going. Essential production is being curtailed. They know it, and yet they feel that without some governmental sanction they cannot remain.

Registration and allotment would assign them or others to their places as producers and remove all consciousness of shirking.

The voluntary system will produce an after-war aristocracy of those who enlisted, and another class who will be looked down upon because they did not.

You should take steps to secure our 500,000 men, so that there will be no subsequent animosities.

2nd. The voluntary system is too expensive, not only in a monetary sense, but it diverts too much human energy.

There are to-day battalions, who, after three months' recruiting, are less than half filled up with men, but with a full complement of officers. Most of their time is wasted so far as real essential drill is concerned until the unit is recruited approximately to strength.

It has been estimated that it costs the country five dollars per day to keep each recruit in training. A battalion taking six months to recruit (and some hereafter will take much more), means a direct cost of approximately \$300,000 before the unit is ready to go into camp at full strength and get the essential training there. To this enormous cost is to be added the loss of the men's time spent in chasing after recruits and taking drill over and over again long before the unit is completed. All of which drill has to be gone over again until the early recruits are spirit broken and heart sick. I submit that hereafter the country will be impoverished to the extent of half a million dollars per battalion more if enlisted by the voluntary system than if raised under a registration or draft system wisely carried out.

It therefore follows that to obtain the 200,000 men yet needed it will cost the country approximately \$100,000,000. Deduct from this the cost of a proper registration and there still remains an appalling loss to be faced chargeable to voluntarism.

Thirdly, may I respectfully draw your attention to the fact that the British Government, through dilly dallying with this question, seems to have arrived at the brink of the precipice. I also beg to refer you to an article in the Nineteenth Century for February, by Mr. J. Ellis Barker on "Democracy and the Iron Broom of War," in which, among other things, he points out the need for a strong, over-mastering will in cases of stress, if democracy is to survive.

Canada is to-day looking TO YOU to exercise that will and save us from a future of self condemnation and regret.

Very sincerely yours,

(Signed) OLIVER HEZZLEWOOD.



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