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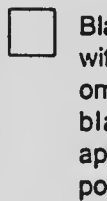
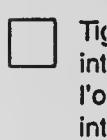
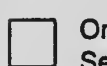
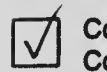
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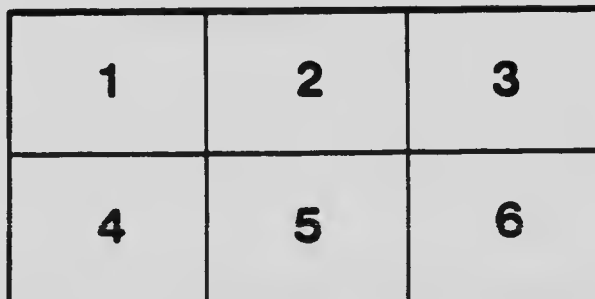
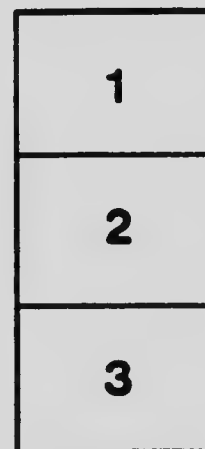
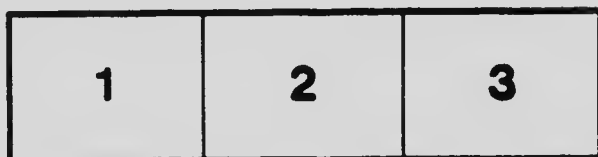
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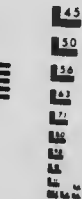
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The
BONDS of EMPIRE

Britain's Tribute
— TO THE —
Overseas Dominions

SPEECHES BY

Mr. Lloyd George, Sir Robert Borden,
Mr. Hughes, Mr. Massey and Mr. Asquith

London, June 21st, 1918



REPRINTED BY THE EMPLOYEES OF THE SHELL DEPARTMENTS OF
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A.

This series of inspiring messages from the distinguished Premiers of the Empire, gathered together under the auspices of the Empire Parliamentary Association on June 21st, 1918, will be read with deep interest.

In all the different quarters of the globe wherever men of our race have established themselves and founded a home, they have fully realized the nature of the present crisis and the danger which it involves to themselves and their corporate communities under the British Flag.

They are perfectly aware what a German victory signifies. It means an intolerant militarism. It means dominion and slavery, and above all it means the hopeless defeat of justice, mercy, liberty, and truth.

At such a time our thoughts naturally turn to the nature of our Empire; there must be something, one feels, some deep underlying sentiment, which attracts the affectionate loyalty, the immediate self-devotion of its members.

The annals of the world are full of attempts to form unions and confederacies, which after a brief success have vanished. When we contrast the British Empire with organizations of the past we are conscious at once how liberal and enlightened was the policy of our statesmen. Instead of dominion they have aimed at a vast confederation of sovereign states, granted (to the full) responsible government, and based on the inspiring influence of similar ideals.

The speeches contained in this number are a splendid illustration of those noble principles which have cemented a lasting fabric of loyalty and faith. It is our paramount duty, whatever we may suffer in the present, to hand down intact the inestimable heritage that has been confided to our care.

"Realms yet unborn, in accents now unknown,
Thy song shall learn and bless it for their own."

BRITAIN'S TRIBUTE

TO THE

Overseas Dominions

PREMIER'S EULOGY

"ONE BROTHERHOOD OF ARMS"

Beneath the roof-tree of the Mother of Parliaments, her children from overseas gathered, and were made thrice welcome. The Lord Chancellor presided, and the very remarkable company in the Royal galleries of the House of Lords included no fewer than thirteen Premiers and ex-Premiers of the Empire. Mr. Lloyd George, as befitted the circumstances of the occasion, delivered an address full of inspiration and illumined by the vision of an Imperial hope. A moving tribute to the part the Dominions have played was not lacking—as how at such a gathering could it be?—and when the Premiers from overseas replied the magnificent loyalty of the Dominions to the Allies' causes once more shone in their stirring speeches.

The Lord Chancellor proposed the toast of "The King," which was loyally pledged.

MR. LLOYD GEORGE.

Rally to the Motherland.

Mr. Lloyd George gave "Our Cabinet Colleagues from the Dominions." He said: I recommend this toast for what they are and for what they represent. They are leaders of great free communities, probably the most democratic communities in the world, and they have been chosen, after many fierce conflicts, for the high positions they hold by their fellow-citizens, who know them best. Many of us have been privileged to meet them in counsel, and we know well why they have been chosen. (Hear, hear.) We value the shrewdness, the courage, the sagacity they bring to bear on the problems of Empire, and I cannot tell you how helpful and

how stimulating to British Ministers at these periodical conferences with the statesmen of the Dominions. When men have borne incessant strain for months and years, pursuing one issue, there is no greater inspiration and support to them than to get the benefit of a conference with other minds, which are at the same time fresh and friendly. (Cheers.) Perhaps I may also be permitted to say we welcome here and greet the representative of India. (Cheers.) The Maharajah of Patiala is a ruler who has inherited a great tradition of attachment to the British Empire, and worthily has he followed that tradition. His gallant people have, not for the first time, in this war fought side by side with British troops, and in the battlefields British soldiers have welcomed them as worthy comrades in arms. (Cheers.) We also welcome Sir S. P. Sinha, a distinguished Indian lawyer, and, I believe, the first King's Counsel from that country. (Cheers.)

But we welcome, as I said, our guests not merely for what they are, but for what they represent. They represent a good deal to us. (Cheers.) They represent the consciousness of an Empire, and of a great Empire. And at a moment when a terrible enemy is compassing the destruction of our native land we may be forgiven for having almost uppermost in our minds that our guests represent a real help to our country at a moment of real need. (Cheers.) We know that they as people are fighting for the cause of freedom and right, which they deem as sacred as we do. But we also know that they came more readily, more eagerly, more speedily, into the fight because the Old Country had got herself into trouble through her championship of the fallen. (Cheers.)

There are legends in history, striking legends, of children that turned on their parents in the hour of tribulation. One of the greatest stories of the ages henceforth will be the story of a Motherland "beset by cruel foes" whose children rushed from the ends of the earth to shield her with their sturdy strength. (Cheers.) We are always glad to see our kinsmen from beyond the seas, but they must notice a special warmth in our greeting and reception since the war. (Cheers.) For the Old Country is grateful to them, and the Old Country is proud of them. (Cheers.) They have come here to take part in a great Council of Empire, of an Empire which is the most wonderful federation of human beings that the world has ever seen. I had the privilege of presiding over the first Imperial War Cabinet. Sitting round that table you found the representatives of over 400 million human beings. Most of the great races and the great faiths of the world were represented. It was an aggregation of many great nations through their representatives to concert the best methods of establishing right and justice on the earth. A fine start for an Imperial Conference. (Cheers.) In this war the British Empire has disappointed its foes, steadily, bitterly, angrily. Let us be quite candid.

It has also surprised its friends. (Cheers.) Think of what it has achieved. Think of what would have happened had it not been there. (Hear, hear.) It has held the seas, for ourselves and for our Allies. I am not in the least deprecating the value of the assistance we have had from the fleets of France, Italy, Japan and America. But they will all admit that the main burden of the task has fallen on Britain. In the early days of the war the British Fleet cleansed the seas of the craft of the foe, and when a new and more terrible danger assailed us, the deadlier and darker peril that glides under the surface of the water, the British Fleet in the main dealt with that. (Cheers.)

There is nothing in the history of sea warfare to compare with the resource, the skill, the daring, the way the British Navy, the British mariner, has fought and conquered these naval sharks who have infested the high seas. (Cheers.) But we knew that we had a great navy. (Cheers.) That is an old romance. It is true. Its last chapters have not yet been written. And not merely is the interest sustained, but the fascination of the tale grows from chapter to chapter. It is an old story, the story of the British Fleet.

Lessons of the War.

But what we have done on land as an Empire is something new, not merely in the history of our own Empire, but in the history of any Empire that has ever existed. There has been nothing quite like the British Empire, and nothing in the least like what it has accomplished during the last four years. Britain had a small army. I think it was about the size of the Bulgarian army. The Dominions had hardly an army at all. The United Kingdom, including those in arms when war was declared, has raised nearly six millions of men for sea and land. (Cheers.) The Dominions, with nothing like the same population, the nearest of them thousands of miles away from the scene of the conflict; could not hear the guns throbbing as you can hear them from our shores—they have raised a million men. (Cheers.) Germany expected to meet raw levies, brave enough, but easily swept and scattered away by her highly trained, highly disciplined legions. Instead of that they have encountered and defeated Germany's proudest warriors in a hundred fights—(cheers)—and have—for three months yesterday—baffled the carefully prepared plans of Prussia's greatest generals, and held back the gigantic hordes of her most seasoned warriors. (Cheers.) It is a great achievement. (Cheers.)

Germany thought India was seething with discontent, and that when the hour of trouble came, the British Empire India would absorb and not add to our strength. India has raised, voluntarily, every man a volunteer, including the small force she

had before the war, nearly 1,000,000 men—(cheers)—and she is about to raise another half million. (Cheers.) They have been guarding the approaches to the British Empire. They are guarding them to-day, and they will continue to guard them to the end. (Cheers.)

This war has taught us many lessons, and no lesson more striking than the lesson of the reality of the power of the British Empire. What would have happened to the world had the might of the British Empire not been a fact, and had it not been thrown into this conflict? Russia out of the conflict, America not in last year, and Germany commanding the seas, international right would have been trampled upon and military despotism would have triumphed throughout the world. The Kaiser has proclaimed to the world that God gave Hindenburg and Ludendorff to him and to Germany. I wonder who gave the British Empire to his enemies. (Cheers.) You can easily find it out if you will only ask some learned divine to tell you who planted in the heart of men wrath against injustice and love of freedom. It is these divine passions that have raised the British Empire, from north to south, from the Far East to the Far West, in one brotherhood of arms against the deeds and the designs of Prussian despotism. (Cheers.) The reality of the strength of the bonds that unite the British Empire have been underestimated by everyone. The Germans thought they were paper ties that would shrink and scorch into black dust at the first flash of the fires of war. They were mistaken. In life the most real, the most intimate ties, are the invisible ones. Here you have the ties of language, of race, of blood, of common origin. But the most potent ties of all were the ties of common aims, common sympathies, and common ideals. (Cheers.) They have stood the strain, they have drawn us closer together, and it ought to be the purpose of all statesmanship to strengthen those bonds, and defend and protect them against severance. All that is best in the world is safer to-day for the existence of the British Empire. (Cheers.)

I recollect that I said at the Imperial Conference of 1907 that the federation of free commonwealths is worth making some sacrifice for; that one never knows when its strength may be essential to the great cause of human freedom, and that is priceless. We know now. Let the knowledge of the peril averted be our means of further strength. The Imperial Conference of 1907 has become the Imperial Cabinet of to-day. That is why India has been called to our councils. That is why our councils have been converted into action. That is why we specially welcome our guests to-night as the forerunners of a succession of councillors coming from all the Empire for generations to come to protect the destiny and wield the authority and the power of the greatest communion of free nations that the world has ever seen. (Cheers.)

SIR ROBERT BORDEN.

Canada's Man-Power.

Sir Robert Borden, who was greeted with loud cheers, said he desired to acknowledge the very kind words in which the toast had been proposed, and the way in which it had been received. The welcome had been as from kinsmen to kinsmen. (Cheers.) It was with the deepest satisfaction that on his arrival in this country on the present occasion he saw what a profound change there was in the feeling regarding the submarine peril, compared with when he left England the last time. He did not wish to be understood as suggesting that the menace was past, but he ventured to believe, from what he had seen and heard, that the extreme peril of twelve or fourteen months ago was indeed past, and that in meeting that peril the British Navy had preserved its most splendid traditions. The Empire could only be held together by sea power. (Cheers.) If it had not been for the navy, what could those Overseas have done to aid England in the war, and to aid our gallant Allies on the Continent? He had often thought of the wonderful vigil the men of the Navy were keeping in the North Sea in order that the Empire might be kept together. In returning to England he was glad, because he realized that the spirit of her people, in common with that of all the peoples of the Empire, was as unflinching and as indomitable as it was when he was here in 1915, and as it was a year ago—and so it would be to the end. (Cheers.)

In Canada they realized the sacrifices this country had made, and the burdens which the people had laid upon themselves. They realized the way in which this country had overcome traditions of the past in order that the power of the nation might be systematized and co-ordinated so that it could be thrown with all its strength into the struggle. They admired the leadership that had been given, and hoped that they had not been wholly backward in doing their part. (Cheers.) And the spirit they had shown would be continued till the issue was decided, and decided as it should be. (Cheers.) When he was in London a year ago Canada had enlisted for the war 400,000 men. To-day the number was considerably more than 500,000. (Cheers.) They had 35,000 more men in France than when he left this country last year. To-day their sailings from Canada numbered over 385,000, and the men were still coming. In addition, they had sent into the Air Service during the last three and a half years 14,000 men. He was proud of what Canadian forces had done in the war. (Cheers.)

Compulsory Service.

Of the 385,000 who sailed from Canada not less than 175,000 were men born within the British Islands. The effort had been great, but the sacrifice had been great as well—78,000 casualties when he left these shores last year, 152,000 casualties to-day in the Canadian Expeditionary Force. He saw more than 2,000 of those men who had come back from the front wounded, last Sunday, at Epsom, and he did not think there was one man fit in a military sense to do duty again who was not keen and eager for the work and desirous of standing at the earliest possible moment alongside of his comrades. (Cheers.) The same spirit prevailed throughout the Empire. Since he was there last year many things had happened in Canada, and among others there had been the enactment of compulsory service. He believed the comparatively trifling disturbances occasioned by the enforcement of that Act had been greatly exaggerated, and he was happy to tell them that from one end of Canada to the other the Act was accepted, and that the men were coming to the Colors. As a matter of fact, when the Act was first proclaimed some 10,000 or 12,000 men joined the Colors at once without waiting for the call. (Cheers.) The spirit of the men coming in under the Act was just as fine and as worthy of their country as the men who came under voluntary enlistment and there were thousands of them in these islands. Besides men, the Empire and the Allies required food, ships, and munitions, and Canada had tried to do her part in these matters. He had a report from Canada that the acreage under cultivation for food purposes during this season would be at least 10 per cent. greater than it was last year, and, taking wheat, oats, rye, and barley, they expected in Canada, unless the weather proved unfavorable, a crop of about 900,000,000 bushels. (Cheers.) They had enacted an anti-loafing law which provided that every man in Canada from the age of 16 to 60 must be engaged in some useful occupation. (Cheers.) So far as taxation was concerned, they believed they had the highest taxation upon war profits that was to be found in any country in the world.

In the Imperial War Cabinet, he ventured to believe, might be found the germ of a development in the constitutional relations of the Empire which would form a basis of its unity. (Cheers.) They were all optimistic in this war, because it had been under-

taken in a cause which could not be permanently defeated. It would be idle to pretend that there had not been mistakes; but against them must be set the most wonderful military effort ever undertaken by a non-military country. (Cheers.) In that effort let them never forget the great valor and heroism of those seven divisions who went to France in the early weeks of the war. (Cheers.) The death knell of German militarism was sounded when the United States entered this war, and that militarism would eventually go down before the onset of democracy. (Cheers.)



MR. HUGHES.

What Empire Means.

Mr. Hughes, who on rising was received with loud cheers, said he felt it a great honor to have the opportunity of meeting so many of the men responsible for the Empire's administration and guidance in this the darkest crisis in its history. When they looked back upon the great events of the past four years, the many complex and vital problems which had confronted us, and the grave dangers which had threatened us, we were proud to think that the British Empire, notwithstanding the dread trials of war, was to-day more firmly united on the vital issues of this struggle than ever before. (Cheers.) They were gathered on that occasion awaiting the issue of one of the phases of the greatest battle of all the ages. Upon the issue of this titanic struggle hung the fate, not only of the Empire, but of the world. Whether we should be bond or free, whether liberty and justice should prevail or be crushed beneath the juggernaut of military despotism—this was the tremendous issue which in all human probability the next few weeks would practically decide. We were all weary and worn with war; death and suffering and the fearful consequences of modern war hedged us closely about. Yet, throughout the Empire, we stood firm and united, not only resolved to conquer, but firmly assured of ultimate victory, and resolved to have no peace that did not rest upon the enduring foundation of justice and liberty. (Cheers.)

The objects of the association which had done them the honor to invite them that evening called for some reference to the relations between Britain and the Greater Britain beyond the seas. He had said that we faced to-day the supreme crisis of our history.

And, dark though the outlook be, we faced it unitedly. (Cheers.) On that fateful day when the tocsin sounded the alarm throughout the world, the children of the Dominions in the outer seas took the great step which at once confounded the calculations of the enemy, inspired the soul of every Britisher, and which even now constituted one of the great outstanding features of the war. (Cheers.) The Empire was in danger, and across the leagues of ocean the free sons of the scattered Dominions sprang to arms in her defence. Before that, Empire was to them an empty word—a thing vague and almost lifeless. But in the hour of trial it assumed a new and inspiring shape. That which was dead became gloriously alive. The Dominions and India had played a part in this war of which they had a right to be proud. The Dominions themselves, excluding India, had placed in the field over a million men. As to their valor, initiative, and endurance, let their deeds speak for them. (Cheers.)

League of Free Nations.

How and in what form the British Empire would hold together no man could say. That in some way it would not only hold together, but be more closely cemented by trial, tribulation, and sacrifice, they most fervently and firmly believed. For surely this Empire of theirs would endure, since it rested upon foundations of granite rock. (Cheers.) The British Empire was in very truth a league of five nations, each marching to its destiny in its own way, but linked together by ties of blood, of great ideals, of material interests. This war had drawn these free nations closer together. A clearer understanding of the problems that confronted us all would do much to make the future of the Empire certain. (Hear, hear.) They from the Dominions had realized these last few years how little they understood Britain, and even more fully how little Britain understood them. This must pass away. (Cheers.) "We have realized, too, how little we understood, and what little part we have played in the greater international policies which, alike with you, involved us in war and threatened our existence. "A day has gone by. As persons who share a common hazard, we must meet on equal terms to discuss the measures necessary for our safety. Those of our men who have gone forth to fight for Empire will in the days to come demand a voice in the councils of Empire. The old order must change. In the purpose of our visit here to-night I see, perhaps yet dimly, the first signs of that new order which shall make of us a veritable Commonwealth of Nations, marching side by side to a greater and more glorious destiny, and which linked with other free nations shall ensure to the world forever peace, justice, and liberty." (Cheers.)

He had said that the Empire and its Allies stood undismayed and resolute before the mighty legions arrayed under the banners of military despotism. They did not underestimate the power of Germany, yet awaited her onslaught in a spirit of perfect confidence. We must face her; we must not live in a paradise of fools, but neither must we permit any weakening of our will to conquer. If we but stood firm, victory was ours. "Let those who babble of peace be silent, "Let those who for one reason or another are doing the work of Germany and trying to sap the courage of the nation hold their peace. Let us purge our minds of all doubt as well as of all fears. We may have much suffering and sacrifice ahead of us. But if we face the future with confidence and inflexible determination, then lasting victory will be ours." (Cheers.)



MR. MASSEY.

Sharing in Losses and Victory.

Mr. Massey, who was loudly cheered on rising, said though mistakes had been made during the conduct of the war, still a great deal of splendid work had been done by the administrators of public affairs in Britain, and it was only right that credit should be given where credit was undoubtedly due. Good results would certainly follow from the meetings of the Imperial War Cabinet and Conference. The people of the Empire were being drawn closer together than ever before, and to-day more soul-stirring affection was being felt by the citizens of the Empire than at any time in its past history. (Cheers.) Even when the period of restoration was reached, he believed that the representatives of the Overseas Dominions would be exceedingly useful, because they would be able to make suggestions with regard to the countries they represented which would not occur to Ministers whose only experience was limited at the heart of the Empire itself. We had experienced many disappointments since the beginning of the war, but we were not downhearted, because we had confidence in each other, confidence in our Allies, and confidence in the cause of freedom, which would never die. (Cheers.) We might presently be face to face with a war of attrition; if so, the staying

power of the British Empire was certainly more than equal to that of the Central Powers. A million times better to carry on for a generation, if necessary, than to allow Germany to dominate the world. (Cheers.) The feeling on the part of our soldiers and sailors was that they would never lay down their arms until they had accomplished what was intended when Britain unwillingly drew the sword in 1914. Great Britain had been in peril on many occasions, but the Higher Power which had protected Britain as a nation would, he felt confident, protect Britain as an Empire. He thought the darkest hour had passed, and there were indications of a glorious dawn and a perfect day. (Hear, hear.)

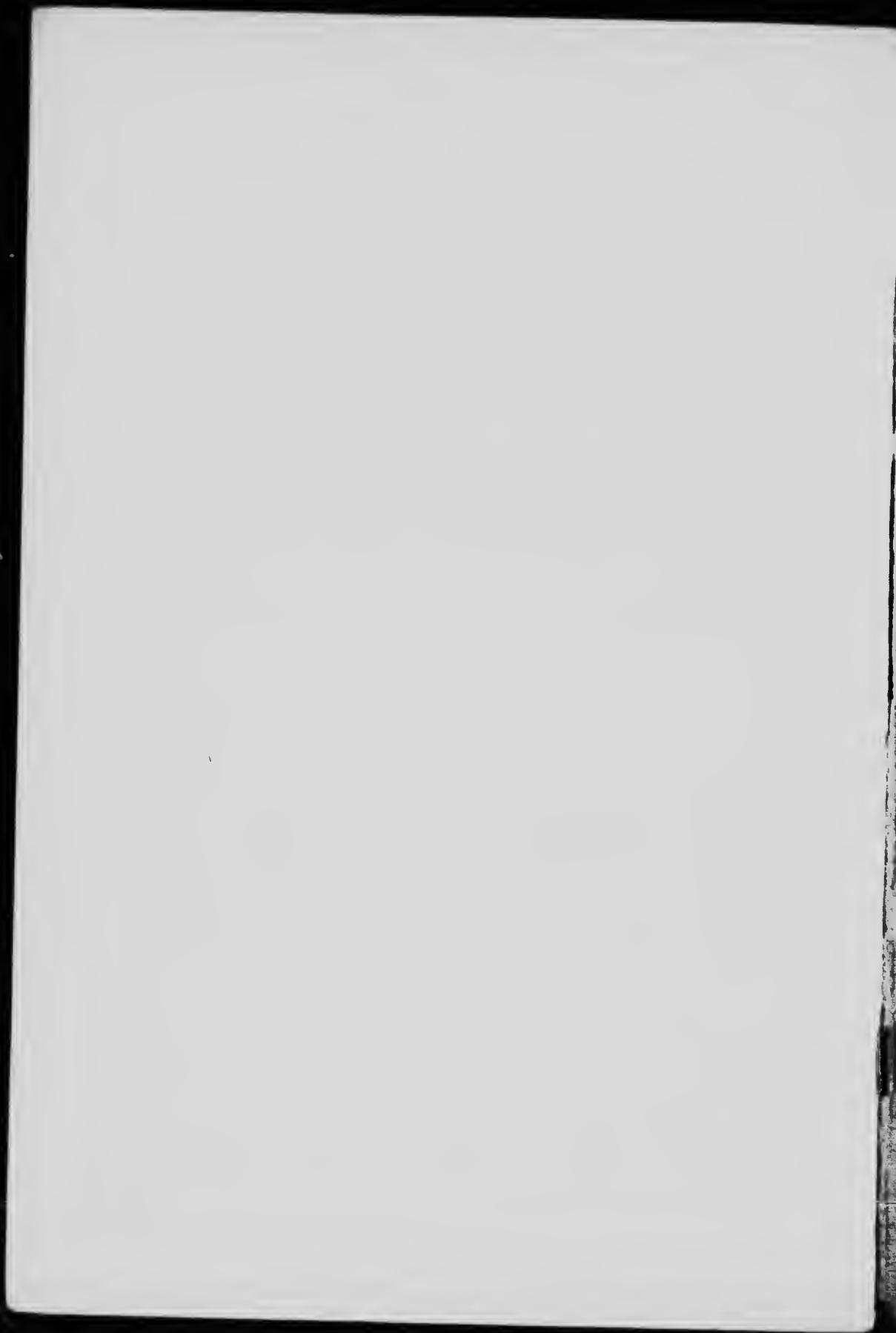
Even war was not always an unmixed evil, and the present struggle had shown that if the Empire was to remain in our possession we must be prepared to defend it and to make full use of it. The citizens of the Oversea Dominions had done their duty because they were patriotic and Imperialistic. (Cheers.) As they had shared in the losses and hardships, so they would share in the glory of victory when it came. The lives of those who had fallen would not be wasted if Germany was defeated and civilization saved. We had lost Russia as an Ally, but we had gained America, a mighty nation, and the same stock as ourselves. (Cheers.) He hoped that Britain and America would never again be estranged, but would always be prepared to come together when the occasion required, each under its own form of government, but holding those principles and ideals which are the common property of free and enlightened peoples. If we ever reached the time when war would cease it would be by a combination of such nations as Britain, France, and America, along with our other Allies, who would uphold the principles of peace on earth and goodwill to men. (Cheers.)

MR. ASQUITH.

The Future of Humanity.

Mr. Asquith, in proposing "The Lord Chancellor," said: Mr. Pitt, in the last speech he made, I think within six weeks of his death, on the morrow of Trafalgar, a great British victory, and the eve of Austerlitz, the great triumph of Napoleon, used these words, "May England, as she has saved herself by her energy, save Europe by her example." It took ten years before the aspiration was fulfilled. To-day in the same spirit we should use rather different language. We should say not that England but that the Empire, including those great Dominions so well represented here to-night, has saved the cause of freedom, not as she did then, without an Alliance, but with the Alliance of France, Italy, and now America. And we should say, with even greater confidence than animated Pitt, that these great combinations of free peoples are going to save, not merely Europe, but the civilized world, from the horrors and perils which at present confront it. It is in that spirit, whatever may be the fluctuating fortunes of the hour, that we here, and throughout the Empire, have, from the first, encountered the hazards and the issues of this war. It is in that spirit we shall persevere to the end, and we have no more doubt than Mr. Pitt had when he spoke that by united effort, in the greatest and worthiest of causes, the future of humanity will be served. (Cheers.)

The Lord Chancellor responded.



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