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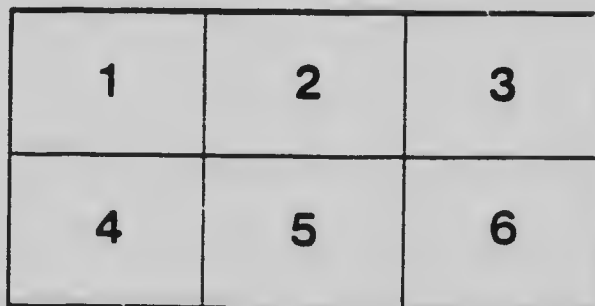
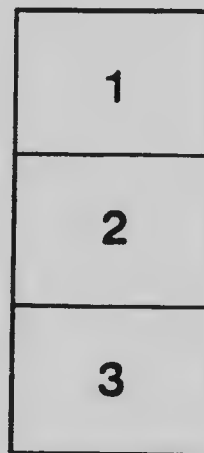
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Address

by

The Right Hon. A. J. Balfour

to

The Canadian Club of Montreal

[Faint, illegible text]

May 30, 1917

P 825.99

B 197

Chairman's Introduction

Mr. W. M. Birks

My Lords, Ladies and Gentlemen—

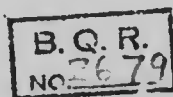
For the first time in its history, the Canadian Club is honored by one who has held the high office of Imperial Prime Minister.

To permanently record their appreciation, the Executive of the Club has tendered Honorary Membership to Mr. Balfour, which you will be glad to hear, he has graciously accepted.

May I remind you that it was Mr. Balfour, as Premier, who not only brought Russia and Japan into alliance with the Empire, but who, in 1904, concluded the great agreement with France.

Welcomed by the neighbouring Republic, doubly welcome is he here under the old flag; both for himself and for the dear old Motherland he represents—the Mother of free peoples, of the freedom for which our sons have fought and bled and died, and please God not in vain.

The Canadian Club welcomes its new member, the Right Hon. Arthur J. Balfour.



May 30, 1917

ADDRESS

By The Right Hon. A. J. Balfour

Mr. Chairman, My Lords, Ladies and Gentlemen:

Let me, in responding to the reception you have just given me, first tender my sincere thanks for the honor which the club has done me in electing me one of its honorary members. The honor is a great one, and that it is so would be sufficiently obvious to anyone who will glance around this room, and read the names of those who have honored this occasion by their presence. It gives me profound satisfaction to be admitted as a member of an institution which is not only, I believe, specially characteristic of Canada, but an institution which seems to me on its own merits to be quite admirable and eminently worthy of imitation in other countries. To be admitted, I say, as a member of such an institution is an additional cause for gratitude added to the many I have already had since I crossed over into this great Dominion.

Your Chairman in introducing me was good enough to refer to the transactions which might be accounted ancient, were it not that the effects of the transactions to which he refers are of vital importance in the present world crisis. He made indeed one slight slip and attributed to me an honor which properly belongs elsewhere. I was not a member of the Government which made the arrangement with Russia, although I was the head of the Government which made the arrangements with France and with Japan. It is not too much, in my judgment, to say that the work thus done, partly by the party of which I am a member, although parties no longer exist on the other side, and partly by my friend Sir Edward Grey, has made the present resistance to the world domination of Germany, a possibility. Had those arrangements with France in the main, and with Japan and Russia, not been made, I do not believe it would have been found possible to organize resistance in

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time to meet a danger which burst upon a wholly unprepared world. Do not interpret what I say to suggest what is wholly false, that these arrangements were made with hostile intent to Germany. Germany circulates that mis-statement as she has circulated other mis-statements, for purposes which are perfectly obvious and ought to take in nobody; but I speak with knowledge and with authority when I say that the arrangement with France (that with Japan is obviously entirely outside the German question) was not directed against Germany, but was intended to bring together two great peoples who ought never again to be enemies; but between whom small, petty, yet none the less dangerous causes of friction were always arising in the absence of any understanding, and always looked upon with pleasure, and aggravated as far as possible, by the Central Power of Europe. Ladies and Gentlemen, there never was an arrangement more sincerely intended to promote the cause of peace. It has promoted the cause of peace and the cause of international friendship; and one of its most important, but quite unlooked for results, is that when Germany showed that in her opinion the time had come when she could assert her domination over the civilized world, it was found possible, it was found even easy for France, Great Britain, and every community under the British Empire, to unite together to resist an attack which if successful would be equally fatal to both France and the British Empire, and the liberties of both.

Well, so much for the past of which your Chairman has reminded you. As regards the present, you know that my mission in every part of it and in every respect was connected with the war, and with nothing but the war; to help, as far as may be, to co-ordinate the efforts of those who are engaged in a common task. That was our business and to that business we have devoted ourselves. I rejoice to think that in the course of the work with which we were entrusted by the home Government we have found it possible to spend a period all too brief but none the less valuable, among our own countrymen in Canada. I will say nothing of the kindness and the warmth of sympathy with which we were received in the United States, for on that subject I have already often

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spoken, and I hope I shall have other opportunities to speak. For the moment I only refer to this great Dominion, and I can truly say on behalf of my friends and myself, that we have been profoundly moved and touched by the welcome which you have given us. We go away,—and I am afraid this is the last day on which I shall have the opportunity of addressing a Canadian audience,—we go away enriched with many happy memories. We go away inspired by the consciousness that here on this side of the Atlantic your hearts beat in unison with ours, and separated though we be from you by thousands of miles of stormy ocean, there is no separation of sentiment, of will, of ideal, of effort. We go away yet again enriched by an increased consciousness of the fact that the value of a great Empire like our own, the value of its separate and yet united parts, is not to be measured in figures or estimated by statistics. The value of Canada to the Empire, and of the Empire to Canada, is not to be measured in men or money or ships or any other of the material elements that go to make strength or appear to constitute strength. I do not under-value those elements. I am ready to admit that the utilitarian side of Empire, as of all other human affairs, is not a side which we can neglect. But while we cannot neglect it, it is dangerous, it is false to over-emphasize it. The union of the various parts of this Empire has a profounder moral significance than any of these dry facts can possibly give it. There used to be, but there no longer is, a school of politics in Great Britain, a school which from many points of view I think has won the gratitude of free peoples, but which never could get, in this question of colonies and dominions and the fabric of Empire, beyond these narrow and shallow utilitarian calculations. They misunderstood, in my judgment, not merely the psychology of Englishmen, Scotsmen and Irishmen living at home, but the psychology of Englishmen, Scotsmen and Irishmen living elsewhere. Nothing is more constructive, nothing is more inspiring, than the feeling that, differently placed as a citizen of the Empire in Canada is from the citizen of the Empire let us say in Middlesex, different as are their environments, the likenesses of character, of training, of hopes and of beliefs are so fundamental and essential, that you

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could leave the crowded thoroughfares of London and be transported into the furthest corner of the Empire and meet a man, discuss public affairs with him, and feel on the same plane. You find that you look at things from the same point of view, that you have the same notions of public liberty and private right, as if you had talked to the man in the next street in your own home town or village. That was the great glory in time of peace, it is the great strength in time of war; and war is upon us in a shape and of a character such as has never yet been before any people since the history of the world began to be recorded.

I am not going to discuss the developments, the present position or the future prospects of the war. It is a theme too great perhaps for any single occasion, certainly quite inappropriate for this occasion; but one observation I may permit myself. It is that the difficulties of war were quite different at the beginning of the struggle from what they are as the struggle draws to its conclusion. When war broke out it found us at home unprepared, it found even our more military neighbors not over well-prepared. I imagine that it found you in Canada even less organized for immediate warfare against a great power, than we were ourselves. All our efforts therefore at the beginning of the war were devoted to improvise that colossal organization without which the war could not have been carried on with the success which it has made. I believe that history will say that in spite of many blunders, in spite of many mistakes, in spite of many shortcomings, the organizing effort made by Great Britain and by all the dominions and dependencies of Great Britain, is one of the most remarkable efforts that has ever been made in the history of warfare. The situation was one that had never been seriously contemplated by military, I had almost said by either military or naval writers and thinkers. I have been concerned for many years in discussing questions of national defense with naval and military experts of the Crown, and in all those years we constantly discussed the stability of Great Britain, of India, the liability of our lines of commerce with our dominions, and other related problems, but never did we discuss or face the necessity which has now come upon us and upon

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you, of keeping a colossal land army on the continent of Europe; and let me add not only on the continent of Europe but in Egypt, and in Mesopotamia. We never contemplated the possibility that that strain would be put upon our resources. It all therefore had to be improvised. The munitions, the finding of men, the training of men, the finding of guns, all the vast financial problems which constantly burst upon the commercial world, all these had to be dealt with, without premeditation, without forethought, and under circumstances of the greatest imaginable stress and difficulty. Those were the problems we had to face when the war began. They have been faced not unsuccessfully.

The troubles and difficulties that meet us as the war draws towards its termination are of a different kind. They are of a kind which every combatant feels, which I believe our enemy is feeling even more than we ourselves are, but all of us certainly feel the difficulties that arise from the relative exhaustion of men and of material. It is inevitable. I want to say to you that it is no subject for discouragement, that it should only suggest and promote more vigorous efforts on the part of every one of the great communities concerned. When my friends and I return to the Mother country we shall, I have no doubt, find that rationing as it is called is in full swing, that it is not possible for any man, whatever be his means, to live in the manner to which in happier days he is accustomed. Sacrifices are being demanded of every individual and of every class, and sacrifices are being cheerfully made. We are near the seat of war; it is our coasts, or the trade rather as it approaches our coasts, which is chiefly menaced by that mode of naval warfare which our enemies adopted when they found it hopeless to dispute with us the command of the sea. Therefore no doubt the first weight of individual effort and sacrifice falls somewhat more heavily upon the inhabitants of the British Islands than it does upon those who are situated farther from the immediate field of action; but I know how great are the sacrifices that you have undergone, and I know that the sacrifices you are prepared to undergo are no more to be measured by any selfish standard than are those which your countrymen in the Motherland are under-

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going and are themselves prepared to undergo. We know that this great test is reaching towards its final and concluding act. We know these later stages must be marked by increased hardship and sacrifice. We know that the weight of such things presses more heavily upon our enemy than upon ourselves. We know that upon our endurance and the strength of our determination depends not merely some immediate and transitory issue, but permanent effects which generations will not wipe out; and that for good or for evil these effects are going to mould the whole future history of civilization.

Ladies and gentlemen, I am not going to touch further on any general question; but you will perhaps allow me to take this opportunity, for my friends as well as for myself, of saying words of farewell. In not many hours from now we leave your kind and hospitable shores. We carry with us memories which we shall never forget. We return to do what we can in our several positions to further the great cause in which all of us alike are engaged. We leave behind us friends who will always be our friends, and we know that they too, in their several positions, are as resolved as we are to do their portion toward the common work. That is an inspiring thought. It diminishes the pains of parting, and although the pains of parting be indeed severe, and although we cannot yet with confidence say that the end is in sight, you will allow me to state in conclusion that it is my own firm and unalterable faith that when we meet again, and may it not be long, we shall have left behind us the darkness, the clouds and the difficulties which now surround us, and we shall look back upon the great events and great deeds in which we have every one of us borne a part—humble it may be, but one of which we shall be proud and of which our children will be proud. We shall be able to look forward with serenity and with reasonable confidence to carrying out the great destiny, whether it be of Canada or of Great Britain or the Empire as a whole, in peace and in freedom; in the full consciousness that, carrying out those great destinies our fate is in our own hands, and that we are not to be dominated by any power, however well organized, however well trained to the work of destruction. We

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can then resume successfully and securely that peaceful progress which will be the highest approach to the civilization of the future.

Sir Cecil Spring-Rice: (in response to repeated calls)

Ladies and gentlemen:—When attending any large gathering of people during the last three years I have kept a complete silence, and if I break it now I shall break it for the shortest possible time, and with a word of hearty thanks, sit down.

Baron Shaughnessy:

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen:

As your President has said in his opening remarks, the Canadian Club of Montreal is indeed favored today in having as its guest the distinguished statesman, ex-Prime Minister of Great Britain, and present Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, the Rt. Hon. Arthur J. Balfour. It was a fortunate circumstance that he was able to come across the Atlantic as Chairman of the mission to the United States, because he possessed just the attributes of mind and heart to fit him admirably for the position. The cordiality with which he was received at Washington and the enthusiasm of his welcome at every point that he visited in the United States gave evidence of the wisdom of the selection and the success of his work; and when he crossed the international boundary into his own country, because we have the right to speak of Canada as his country, he brought with him the assurance that our neighbor to the south, the great Republic of the United States, our powerful ally, is determined to give moral support, men and money, to stand steadfastly with Britain and her allies, until this war for liberty and civilization is brought to a successful conclusion.

For over a quarter of a century Mr. Balfour has been an outstanding figure in the affairs of the British Empire. I think I may safely say that in all that time there has been no man whose words have carried more weight, who has exercised a greater influence. His scholarly attainments, his high ideals, his unwavering devotion to the best interests of the nation, won for him the esteem and

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admiration of the whole British people. At his conferences with the officials of the United States, and in his communications with the people that he met there in a public and private way, he displayed such tact, he so won their affections, that misunderstandings or misapprehensions of long duration between the British people and those of the United States were quite eradicated, and there was created an atmosphere of mutual confidence and friendship that will I am sure endure indefinitely.

Mr. Balfour's address today will serve as additional inspiration to the people of Montreal, who from the beginning of this conflict have given countenance and support to every work calculated to advance the interest of the Allies, and who are quite willing today, I am satisfied, to make any further sacrifices that may be required to bring the war to a successful conclusion in the interests of civilization.

I am very sorry that my friend the Ambassador from Washington could not be induced to address you, but I can quite understand how he formed the habit of silence. For a long period he was the near neighbor of Mr. von Bernstorff and he knew the absolute necessity for keeping such silence as might prevent that adroit gentleman from knowing what his plans were.

Mr. Chairman, I might refer to some of the other gentlemen who are here with Mr. Balfour; it is unfortunate that the regulations of this club do not permit their being asked to address us.

I have much pleasure, sir, in moving a hearty vote of thanks to Mr. Balfour for his most admirable address and for his courtesy in accepting this luncheon at the hands of the Club.

The Club was honoured at this meeting by the presence of:

RT. HON. ARTHUR J. BALFOUR, M.P., O.M.

RT. HON. SIR CECIL SPRING-RICE, G.C.M.G., G.C.V.O.

ADMIRAL BROWNING.

LT. GEN. G. T. M. BRIDGES, C.M.G., D.S.O.

REAR ADMIRAL SIR DUDLEY DE CHAIR, K.C.B., M.V.O.

RT. HON. LORD CUNLIFFE OF HEADLEY.

HON. SIR. ERIC DRUMMOND, K.C.M.G.

MR. J. H. THOMAS, M.P.

MR. A. G. ANDERSON.

MAJOR H. SPENDER-CLAY, M.P.

MR. W. T. LAYTON

MR. IAN MALCOLM, M.P.

MR. BOWEFMAN, M.P.

FLEET PAYMASTER LAWFORD

MR. F. P. ROBINSON

MR. ROBINSON

MR. DAVIES

FLEET PAYMASTER MILLERS

MR. MACFADYEAN

MR. M. D. PETERSON

MR. S. MCKENNA

