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September 1914 - August 1915

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THE CANADIAN LIBERAL MONTHLY

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BRITANNIA'S JUST CAUSE



“There is but one mind and one heart. . . We invoke the blessing of God—not the god of battles, but the God of justice and mercy. . . That union of hearts which exists in the United Kingdom exists also in Canada, in Australia, in New Zealand, yea, even in South Africa.”
—Sir Wilfrid Laurier, House of Commons, August 19, 1914.

A TRUCE TO PARTY STRIFE

IN the August number of the *Canadian Liberal Monthly*, attention was drawn to the attitude taken by the Liberal Leader, the Rt. Honourable Sir Wilfrid Laurier in emphasizing, even before the declaration of war between Great Britain and Germany, the necessity, in the presence of the then impending crisis, of calling "a truce to party strife". The patriotic stand taken by Sir Wilfrid Laurier at the outset has been chivalrously maintained by him, and was accepted with hearty unanimity by all of his followers in parliament through the whole of the special Session convened immediately after the declaration of war. In sympathy with this attitude, the *Liberal Monthly* devoted its August issue, not to any discussion of party politics, but to a review of the European war.

This review dealt with the causes, influences and forces, which operated to bring about the war, with the subsequent rise of nation against nation, and the position, as respects the war, of alliances, neutrals and the British Dominions. Owing to the limited space available, it was not possible to devote much attention to Canada, and the manner in which this country had responded to the grave responsibilities placed upon her as the leading Dominion of the British Empire. Nowhere has this responsibility been more clearly stated, or the spirit of the nation, in this time of crisis, better expressed, than in the speeches of the Leader of the Opposition and the Prime Minister in their addresses to parliament. Believing that the readers of the *Monthly* appreciate its attitude of neutrality as respect party conflict at the present moment, and that they may desire to have a detailed account of Canada's position and action, and the historic utterances of the leaders of the two great political parties, recorded in a form worthy of preservation, a considerable portion of the present issue is devoted to the speeches of Sir Wilfrid Laurier and Sir Robert Borden, and the remainder to a brief summary of the measures taken by the Government and the country to meet a situation unparalleled in its entire history. This review, which deals exclusively with Canada, is, at it were, a supplement to the review of the August number which related almost entirely to Europe.

CANADA AND THE WAR

PART I.

THE CALL OF DUTY AND THE RESPONSE

THE formal declaration of war by Austria on Serbia which led so rapidly to the rise of nation against nation throughout Europe was made in the late afternoon of Tuesday, July 28th. How little it was thought, even in Great Britain, that the murder at Sarajevo of the Archduke Francis Ferdinand, and his wife, on the 28th of the preceding month would lead to a war in which the greater part of Europe would be involved and into which the British Empire might be drawn is evidenced by the circumstance that no intimation of any such possibility appears to have been sent by the Home Government to the Government of Canada until after the war between Austria and Serbia had been declared. How little Canadian statesmen dreamed that war affecting British interests was even remotely approaching, may be gathered from the fact that at the beginning of the week which witnessed the mobilization of naval and military forces throughout Europe, His Royal Highness, the Governor-General, with members of the Royal Household were in the distant Province of British Columbia completing a farewell tour of the Dominion, the Deputy Governor, Sir Louis Davies, in Prince Edward Island down by the Atlantic Coast, the Prime Minister, Sir Robert Borden in Muskoka enjoying a brief vacation, the Minister of Militia and Defence attending a banquet at Bracebridge, Ontario, and the members of the Cabinet, almost without exception, absent from the Capital and scattered throughout the Dominion or abroad.

Meeting of the Cabinet

Once the note of warning came from Britain these gentlemen, one and all, hastened to the Capital. The Deputy Governor, the Prime Minister and several members of the Cabinet arrived on Saturday morning August 1st. A Cabinet council was speedily summoned and consideration immediately given to such measures as the crisis appeared to demand. The declaration of war between Germany and Russia followed during the course of that day; on Monday came the declaration of war between France and Germany, and on Tuesday, August 4th, the announcement of a state of war between Germany and Great Britain. His Royal Highness reached Ottawa on the morning of August 4th, and for the first time in the history of the Dominion sat in council with the Prime Minister and his colleagues.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the Leader of the Opposition, realizing the gravity of the situation returned to Ottawa on Monday, August 3rd, and though, in the absence of any meeting of Parliament, the presence of the Leader of the Opposition was not in any sense a necessity, this voluntary act on the part of Sir Wilfrid, and the patriotic announcement made by him prior to the declaration of war, that he had cancelled all the meetings of an intended transcontinental tour, and was ready to call a truce to party strife, undoubtedly went very far towards relieving the Government of all embarrassment at a moment of great anxiety. The Prime Minister, Sir Robert Borden was quick to acknowledge this chivalrous act on the part of the Leader of the Opposition, and to make public recognition of it in the opening remarks of a speech delivered by him in the House of Commons, on the subsequent assembling of Parliament.

Immediate Offer of Expeditionary Force

The first act of the Canadian Government was to send the following telegram to the Government of the United Kingdom.

August 1, 1914.

Secret. In view of the impending danger of war involving the empire my advisers are anxiously considering the most effective means of rendering every possible aid and they will welcome any suggestions and advice which Imperial naval and military authorities may deem expedient to offer. They are confident that a considerable force would be available for service abroad. A question has been mooted respecting the status of any Canadian force serving abroad as under section sixty-nine of Canadian Militia Act the active militia can only be placed on active service beyond Canada for the defence thereof. It has been suggested that regiments might enlist as Imperial troops for stated period, Canadian Government undertaking to make all necessary financial provision for their equipment, pay and maintenance. This proposal has not yet been maturely considered here and my advisers would be glad to have views of Imperial Government thereon.

This message was sent on Saturday, August 1st. On the same day the following telegram which was immediately made public was sent through His Royal Highness, the Governor-General to the Home Government.

My advisers, while expressing their most earnest hope that peaceful solution of existing international difficulties may be achieved and their strong desire to co-operate in every possible way for that purpose, wish me to convey to His Majesty's Government the firm assurance that, if unhappily war should ensue, the Canadian people will be united in a common resolve to put forth every effort and to make every sacrifice necessary to ensure the integrity and maintain the honour of our Empire.

To this telegram the following reply was received the next day.

With reference to your telegram 1st August, His Majesty's Government gratefully welcome the assurance of your Government that in the present crisis they may rely on wholehearted co-operation of the people of Canada.

To the secret despatch sent on Saturday, August 1st, the following answer was received on Monday, August 3rd, and is doubly significant in that it shows that even on that date the Home Government was not only using every endeavour to preserve peace, but had hopes of peace being maintained.

With reference to your cypher telegram 2nd August, please inform your ministers that their patriotic readiness to render every aid is deeply appreciated by His Majesty's Government but they would prefer postponing detailed observations on the suggestion put forward, pending further developments. As soon as the situation appears to call for further measures I will telegraph you again.

On the 4th of August, on the evening of the day on which war between Germany and England was declared, the following telegram in further answer to the first communication sent from the Government of Canada was received from the Government of Great Britain.

Though there seems to be no immediate necessity for any request on our part for an expeditionary force from Canada, I think, in view of their generous offer, your ministers would be wise to take all legislative and other steps by which they would be enabled without delay to provide such a force in case it should be required later.

Two days later, on the 6th of August, the Home Government sent the following despatch.

With reference to my telegram of August 4, His Majesty's

Government gratefully accept offer of your ministers to send expeditionary force to this country, and would be glad if it could be despatched as soon as possible. Suggested composition follows.

Gift of 1,000,000 Bags of Flour

On the same day, the 6th of August, the following telegram offering a gift of 1,000,000 bags of flour on behalf of the people of Canada to the people of the United Kingdom was sent through His Royal Highness, the Governor-General.

My advisers request me to inform you that the people of Canada through their Government desire to offer one million bags of flour of ninety-eight pounds each as a gift to the people of United Kingdom to be placed at the disposal of His Majesty's Government and to be used for such purposes as they may deem expedient.

Next day the following appreciative acceptance of this gift was received from the Home Government in the following words.

On behalf of the people of the United Kingdom His Majesty's Government accept with deep gratitude the splendid and welcome gift of flour from Canada which will be of the greatest use for the steadying of prices and relief of distress in this country. We can never forget the generosity and promptitude of this gift and the patriotism from which it springs.

Other action expressive of Canada's good-will towards France, and a desire to show the sympathy of the Canadian people with the French as allies of Britain was considered by the Cabinet. An account of the action taken by the Cabinet is given in the Premier's own words in the speech delivered by him on the assembling of Parliament quoted elsewhere at length in the present issue.

The Official Announcement of War and Action Taken Thereon

An extra of the Canada Gazette published on Wednesday, August 5th, is an interesting historic document, in that it contains the official record of the despatch sent from England to Canada announcing the outbreak of war between Britain and Germany and the action taken by the Canadian Government consequent upon this announcement.

The despatch announcing the outbreak of war is in the following words.

Ottawa, 4th August, 1914

His Royal Highness the Governor-General received a telegraphic despatch from the Secretary of State for the Colonies at 8.45 this evening, announcing that war has broken out with Germany.

The action of the Government, as recorded, was two-fold; first, to summon Parliament, and second, to place at the disposal of His Majesty for service in the Royal Navy, the *Niobe* and the *Rainbow*, together with the officers and seamen serving on these vessels, and to place on active service the naval volunteer forces under the Naval Service Act of 1910. Action in this particular was further anticipated by the purchase on the day before the outbreak, but after consultation with the Admiralty, of two submarines which were in the shipyards of Seattle at the time, and the manning of them with crews for the purpose of Coast defence and the protection of shipping on the Pacific.

The Orders-in-Council referring to the transfer of vessels and the placing of the naval volunteer forces on active service were supplemented by several others

rendered necessary by the sudden outbreak of war. For some of these measures there was wanting adequate legal authority, accordingly it was decided to summon Parliament almost immediately that the several measures might receive parliamentary ratification and provision be made for other legislation rendered necessary by the war.

Among emergency measures passed by Order-in-Council and subsequently ratified by Parliament, were the establishment of a censorship over communications received from abroad or being sent out of the country; measures with regard to the detention of ships, the prohibition of the export of certain articles, and respecting persons of foreign origin resident in Canada who might belong to any of the countries with which Britain or her allies were at war. With respect to the latter, the Government declared that persons born in Germany or Austria-Hungary who had come to Canada as adopted citizens of this country, whether they had become naturalized or not, were entitled to the protection of the law in Canada, and should receive it. That they were not to be molested or interfered with unless any among them should desire to aid or abet the enemy or leave Canada for the purpose of fighting Great Britain or her allies.

Protection of Credit and Gold Supply

Fearing a sudden withdrawal of gold from the banks either for the purpose of hoarding or of export abroad, the Government on August 3rd, authorized the chartered banks of Canada to make payment in bank notes instead of in gold or Dominion notes, until further official announcement. Also having regard to the world-wide financial crisis, and in view of action taken by the Imperial Government to conserve the commercial and financial interests, the Government authorized the several chartered banks of Canada to issue, until further announcement, excess circulation to amounts not exceeding 15% of the combined unimpaired capital and rest or reserve fund of the respective banks, as stated in their respective statutory monthly returns to the Minister of Finance. When Parliament assembled, this action, in addition to being ratified, was supplemented by further legislation amending the Dominion Notes Act so as to increase the amount of notes which might be issued against a 25% margin of gold from \$30,000,000 to \$50,000,000.

PART II.

THE MEETING OF PARLIAMENT

IN accordance with the proclamation issued on August 4th, the Canadian Parliament assembled on the afternoon of Tuesday the 18th. The occasion was an historic one, and the proceedings of Parliament during the days it was in session were in every respect worthy of the best traditions of the two great political parties of Canada and of British Parliamentary institutions. The Session was very brief, lasting only from the afternoon of Tuesday, August 18th until the afternoon of Saturday, the 22nd. It was the first time in the history of the Dominion of Canada, that Parliament had ever been summoned on account of war, and it was recognized by the members of both Houses that it was not a time for party debate or partisan discussion but rather an occasion for united action and the speedy despatch of emergent public business.

The Speech from the Throne

The purpose of the summoning of Parliament was set forth in the speech from the Throne which was delivered by His Royal Highness, the Governor-General at the formal opening. Having summoned the members of the House of Commons to attend at the bar of the Senate, His Royal Highness addressed the two Houses in the following words:

Honourable Gentlemen of the Senate:

Gentlemen of the House of Commons:

Very grave events vitally affecting the interests of all His Majesty's dominions have transpired since prorogation. The unfortunate outbreak of war made it immediately imperative for my ministers to take extraordinary measures for the defence of Canada and for the maintenance of the honour and integrity of our empire.

With respect to such of these measures as may require the sanction and approval of Parliament, the necessary legislative proposals will be submitted for your consideration. Other Bills authorizing additional measures which are essential for the public safety will also be presented to you without delay.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons:

Estimates will be laid before you to provide for expenditure which has been or may be caused by the outbreak of hostilities.

Honourable Gentlemen of the Senate:

Gentlemen of the House of Commons:

The critical period into which we have just entered has aroused to the full the patriotism and loyalty which have always actuated the Canadian people. From every province and indeed from every community the response to the call of duty has been all that could be desired. The spirit which thus animates Canada inspires also His Majesty's dominions throughout the world; and we may be assured that united action to repel the common danger will not fail to strengthen the ties that bind together those vast dominions in the possession and enjoyment of the blessings of British liberty.

As representative of His Majesty the King, I must add my expression of thanks and admiration for the splendid spirit of patriotism and generosity that has been displayed throughout the length and breadth of the Dominion.

The formal proceedings consequent upon the opening of Parliament being ended, both Houses adjourned until the following day at which time the customary addresses in reply to the Speech from the Throne were made. In the Commons important speeches were delivered by the Prime Minister and the Leader of the Opposition with reference to the war and its causes, and the position of Canada and Canadians in facing the gravest situation with which this country has been confronted since its existence as a British Dominion.

In the House of Commons, the address in reply to the Governor-General's speech was moved by Mr.

Donald Sutherland, member for South Oxford, and seconded by Mr. M. D. O. L'Esperance, member for Montmagny, the former speaking in English and the latter in French. Both these gentlemen made able and patriotic speeches and the utterances of each were well received on both sides of the House. When they had concluded, Sir Wilfrid Laurier rose and was followed at the conclusion of his address by the Prime Minister.

Unanimity of Proceedings

In his opening remarks, Sir Wilfrid Laurier struck a note which was taken up, not alone by his own followers, but without exception by the followers of the Government as well. So much was this the case that the Liberal Leaders' remarks might almost be said to be an epitome of the proceedings of the entire session. Sir Wilfrid said:

"It is our duty, more pressing upon us than all other duties, at once, on this first day of this extraordinary session of the Canadian Parliament to let Great Britain know, and to let the friends and foes of Great Britain know, that there is in Canada but one mind and one heart, and that all Canadians stand behind the Mother Country, conscious and proud that she has engaged in this war, not from any selfish motive, for any purpose of aggrandizement, but to maintain untarnished the honour of her name, to fulfill her obligations to her allies, to maintain her treaty obligations, and to save civilization from the unbridled lust of conquest and power."

In keeping with the tenor of these utterances, and in reference to such measures as had already been taken by the Government, and such further measures as they might introduce, Sir Wilfrid set forth the attitude of the Opposition in the following words:

"Speaking for those who sit around me, speaking for the wide constituency which we represent in this House, I hasten to say that to all these measures we are prepared to give immediate assent. If in what has been done, or in what remains to be done there may be anything which in our judgment should not be done, or should be differently done, we raise no question, we take no exception, we offer no criticism, and we shall offer no criticism so long as there is danger at the front."

Excepting the ratification of the exceptional measures taken by the Governor-in-Council prior to the meeting of Parliament, its time was occupied chiefly with the voting of \$50,000,000, the amount regarded by the Government as necessary to provide for contingencies arising out of the war and with the consideration of the ways and means by which this amount was to be provided. There was also enacted a law making provision for the incorporation of a Canadian Patriotic Fund, and upon the Governor-in-Council were conferred exceptional and special powers to adopt such orders and regulations and to take such steps and proceedings as might be deemed necessary for the defence, security, peace, order, and welfare of Canada during the continuance of the war.

There was not from the beginning to the close of its proceedings a discordant note throughout the entire session of parliament. Party differences of the past, existing differences in matters of policy, and possible criticism of measures proposed were all unmentioned or forgotten. The Government was given a free hand in the matter of securing what-ever in the light of its information, and in its judgment, might appear to be necessary in the face of the crisis confronting Canada, and the British Empire, and with this free hand was placed an entire responsibility.

SPEECH OF THE LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION

IN his address to the House of Commons, Sir Wilfrid Laurier spoke as follows:

"Mr. Speaker, the observations which I shall have to offer to the House are few and brief. In fact, apart from the usual compliments and congratulations to the mover and the secondor of the Address, which, I am glad to say, I have more than usual pleasure in extending to them, I have but one declaration to make. The gravity of the occasion which has called us together makes it incumbent upon us even to disregard the formalities and conventionalities which in ordinary times the rules of the House, written and unwritten, enjoin as a wise safeguard against precipitate action but which, on such an occasion as this, impede us in dealing with the momentous question before us.

A United Canada and a United Parliament.

"This session has been called for the purpose of giving the authority of Parliament and the sanction of law to such measures as have already been taken by the Government, and any further measures that may be needed, to insure the defence of Canada and to give what aid may be in our power to the mother country in the stupendous struggle which now confronts us. Speaking for those who sit around me, speaking for the wide constituency which we represent in this House, I hasten to say that to all these measures we are prepared to give immediate assent. If in what has been done or in what remains to be done there may be anything which in our judgment should not be done or should be differently done, we raise no question, we take no exception, we offer no criticism, and we shall offer no criticism so long as there is danger at the front. It is our duty, more pressing upon us than all other duties, at once, on this first day of this extraordinary session of the Canadian Parliament, to let Great Britain know, and to let the friends and foes of Great Britain know, that there is in Canada but one mind and one heart, and that all Canadians stand behind the mother country, conscious and proud that she has engaged in this war, not from any selfish motive, for any purpose of aggrandisement, but to maintain untarnished the honour of her name, to fulfil her obligations to her allies, to maintain her treaty obligations, and to save civilization from the unbridled lust of conquest and power.

Immediate Consequences to Canada of European war.

"We are British subjects, and to-day we are face to face with the consequences which are involved in that proud fact. Long we have enjoyed the benefit of our British citizenship; to-day it is our duty to accept its responsibilities and its sacrifices. We have long said that when Great Britain is at war we are at war; to-day we realize that Great Britain is at war and that Canada is at war also. Our territory is liable to attack and to invasion. So far as invasion is concerned, I do not see that there is any cause for apprehension, for it seems to me obvious that neither Austria nor Germany, our foes in this war, can command any force able to make an attack so far from their base.

But no one pretends that our maritime cities on the Pacific and the Atlantic are free from the possibility, of assault by an audacious corsair, who, descending suddenly upon our shores, might subject us to indignity and insult, and decamp with his booty before punishment could reach him. This is not an unfounded dread of danger; this is no mere illusion; it is a real and indeed a proximate danger, since it is a matter of notoriety that both on the Pacific and on the Atlantic there are German cruisers whose mission is to inflict all the injury they can upon our commerce, and even to make a descent upon our cities should they find our harbours unguarded. We are aware that the Government has already taken measures, and very appropriately, to guard against this danger. We know that one of our battleships on the Pacific has been seeking the enemy to protect our commerce and our cities, and if she has not yet engaged the enemy it is because the enemy has eluded her pursuit.

"We have had another and more striking evidence that when Great Britain is at war we are at war, in this—that our commerce has been interrupted, and perhaps the expression would not be too strong if I were to say that it has been to some extent dislocated. From the day war was declared—nay, from the day the possibility of war was first mooted—our shipping to Great Britain and to Europe has been interrupted. Ships were lying at the docks fully loaded and ready to put to sea, but unable to do so because of the fact that when England is at war Canadian property on the high seas is liable to capture. Our ships therefore had to remain in port so long as precautions had not been taken to clear the way and to ensure their safe passage across the ocean. What measures have been taken in regard to that we have not yet been told, but I have no doubt that we shall have that information in due time. The correspondence brought down yesterday, however, has informed us that the Canadian Government has already taken steps to send a contingent of twenty thousand men or thereabouts to take their place in the firing line.

Canada's Duty to Assist the Motherland.

"Upon this occasion I owe it to the House and to myself to speak with absolute frankness and candour. This is a subject which has often been an occasion of debate in this House. I have always said, and I repeat it on this occasion, that there is but one mind and one heart in Canada. At other times we may have had different views as to the methods by which we are to serve our country and our empire. More than once I have declared that if England were ever in danger—nay, not only in danger, but if she were ever engaged in such a contest as would put her strength to the test—then it would be the duty of Canada to assist the motherland to the utmost of Canada's ability. England to-day is not engaged in an ordinary contest. The war in which she is engaged will in all probability—nay, in absolute certainty—stagger the world with its magnitude and its horror. But that war is for as noble a cause as ever impelled a nation to risk her all upon the arbitrament of the sword. That question is no longer at issue; the judgment of the world has already pronounced upon it. I speak not only of those nations which are engaged in this war,

but of the neutral nations. The testimony of the ablest men of these nations, without dissenting voice, is that to-day the allied nations are fighting for freedom against oppression, for democracy against autocracy, for civilization against reversion to that state of barbarism in which the supreme law is the law of might.

"It is an additional source of pride to us that England did not seek this war. It is a matter of history—one of the noblest pages of the history of England—that she never drew the sword until every means had been exhausted to secure and to keep an honourable peace. For a time it was hoped that Sir Edward Grey, who on more than one occasion has saved Europe from such a calamity, would again avert the awful scourge of war. Sir, it will go down on a still nobler page of history that England could have averted this war if she had been willing to forego the position which she has maintained for many centuries as the head of European civilization;—if she had been willing to desert her allies, to sacrifice her obligations to allow the German Emperor to trample upon heroic Belgium, to infringe upon the rights of isolated France, and to put down his booted heel upon continental Europe. At that price England would have secured peace; but her answer to the German Emperor was: Your proposals are infamous. And, rather than accept them, England has entered into this war; and there is not to-day all over the universe a British subject, there is not outside the British Empire a single man whose admiration for England is not greater by reason of this firm and noble attitude.

A Double Responsibility and a Double Honour.

"So to-day England is at war. Her fleets are maintaining the freedom of the ocean. Her armies have already crossed the channel towards plains made famous more than once by British valour, this time to maintain the independence of Belgium by taking a place in the fighting line beside the small and heroic Belgian army, and to render assistance to France, whose forces are concentrated in an effort to repel an invader and to maintain and to save intact that which to a proud nation makes life worth living.

"I am well aware that the small contingent of some 20,000 men which we are going to send will have to show double courage and double steadiness if they are to give any account of themselves among the millions of men who are now converging towards the frontier of France, where the battle of giants is to be decided. But, Sir, it is the opinion of the British Government, as disclosed by the correspondence which was brought down to us yesterday, that the assistance of our troops, humble as it may be, will be appreciated, either for its material value or for the greater moral help which will be rendered. It will be seen by the world that Canada, a daughter of old England, intends to stand by her in this great conflict. When the call comes our answer goes at once, and it goes in the classical language of the British answer to the call to duty: 'Ready, aye, ready.'

"If my words can be heard beyond the walls of this House in the province from which I come, among the men whose blood flows in my own veins, I should like them to remember that in taking their place to-day in the ranks of the Canadian army to fight for the cause of the allied nations, a double honour rests upon

THE FRUITS OF THE CENTURY TREE



WHICH IS THE WISER POLICY---ARMAMENT OR DISARMAMENT?

By the Rush-Bagot Agreement of 1817 concluded between Great Britain and the United States after the war of 1812-14, the disarmament of the Canadian-American frontier and of the Great Lakes was effected by limiting the Naval force to be "maintained" by each Government to 4 vessels not exceeding 100 tons burden and armed with one 18 pound cannon each. This agreement has continued in force ever since. Today the British Empire and the United States are celebrating 100 years of Peace. In Europe, where for a century international frontiers have been subjected to the curse of competitive arming, the Nations are at war.

them. The very cause for which they are called upon to fight is to them doubly sacred.

A System not a People at Fault.

"In this country we are not all of the same origin; we are not all of British or of French descent. I was struck by the words of the hon. member for South Oxford in reference to our fellow citizens of German origin. They are certainly amongst our best citizens. This has been acknowledged on more than one occasion. They are proud of the land of their adoption, which to many of them is the land of their birth, and they have shown more than once their devotion to British institutions. But, Sir, they would not be men if they had not in their hearts a deep feeling of affection for the land of their ancestors, and nobody would blame them for that. There is nothing perhaps, so painful as the situation in which mind and heart are driven in opposite directions. But let me tell my fellow countrymen of German origin that we have no quarrel with the German people. We respect and admire as much as they do the proud race from which they have their descent; we acknowledge all that the world owes to the German people for their contribution to the happiness of mankind by their progress in literature, in art and in science. But perhaps our German fellow citizens will permit me to say that in the struggle for constitutional freedom which has been universal in Europe during the last century, the German people have not made the same advance as have some of the other nations of Europe. I am sure that they will agree with me that if the institutions of the land of their ancestors were as free as the institutions of the land of their adoption, this cruel war would never have taken place. Nothing can be truer than the words which are reported to have been uttered by a German soldier made a prisoner in Belgium that this war is not a war of the German people; and if there is a silver lining to this darkest cloud which now overhangs Europe it is that, as a result and consequence of this war, the German people will take the determination to put an end forever to this personal imperialism, and to make it impossible evermore for one man to throw millions of the human race into all the horrors of modern warfare.

A Contrast in Loyalty and Patriotism.

We cannot forget that the issue of battle is always uncertain, as has been proven already in the present contest. In invading Belgium, some two weeks ago, the German Emperor invoked the memory of his ancestors and called upon the blessing of God. The German Emperor might have remembered that there is a treaty guaranteeing the independence, the integrity, the neutrality of Belgium, and that this treaty was signed in the last century by the most illustrious of his ancestors, Emperor William I of Germany. He might have remembered also that there is this precept in the divine book: 'Remove not the ancient landmarks which thy fathers have set up.' But the German Emperor threw his legions against this landmark in the fulness of his lust of power, with the full expectation that the very weight of his army would crush every opposition and would secure their passage

through Belgium. He did not expect, he could not believe, that the Belgians, few in numbers and peaceful in disposition and in occupation, would rise in his way and bar his progress; or if he harboured such a thought for one moment his next thought was that if he met such opposition he could brush it aside by a wave of his imperial hand. Sir, he should have remembered that in the sixteenth century the ancestors of the Belgians rose against the despotism of Phillip II of Spain, and, through years of blood and fire and miseries and sufferings indescribable, they maintained an unequal contest against Spain—Spain as powerful in Europe at that time as the German Empire is to-day. Sir, if there are men who forget the teachings of their fathers, the Belgians are not of that class; they have proved equal to the teachings of their fathers; they have never surrendered; the blood of the fathers still runs in the veins of the sons; and again to-day, through blood and fire and miseries and sufferings indescribable they hold at bay the armies of the proud Kaiser.

The Ultimate Triumph of Right.

"I repeat, Sir, that the issue of battle is always uncertain. There may be disappointments, there may be reverses, but we enter into this fight with full hope as to the ultimate result:

"For freedom's battle once begun,
Bequeathed from bleeding sire to son,
Tho' often lost, is ever won."

"Sir, upon this occasion we invoke the blessing of God—not the god of battles, but the God of justice and mercy; and it is with ample confidence in Providence that we appeal to the justice of our cause.

"Nay, more, already England has won a signal victory, a victory more precious, perhaps, than any that can be achieved by her fleets or by her armies. Only a few weeks ago the Irish problem was pending in the scales of destiny. The possibility of civil strife in Ireland already rejoiced the eyes of Britain's enemies. But to-day the spectre of civil war has vanished from Ireland; all Irishmen are united, ready to fight for King and country. The volunteers of the north and the volunteers of the south, forgetting their past differences, stand shoulder to shoulder ready to shed their blood for the common cause. And, Sir, may I not say that the hope is not vain that in that baptism of blood may be washed away, and forever washed away, the distrust of one another which has been the curse of Ireland in ages past.

"But it is not only in Ireland that you find this union of hearts. In the two other united kingdoms the voice of faction has been silenced. Even those who on principle do not believe in war admit that this was a just war and that it had to be fought. That union of hearts which exists in the United Kingdom exists also in Canada, in Australia, in New Zealand. Yea, even in South Africa—South Africa, rent by war less than twenty years ago, but now united under the blessing of British institutions, with all, British and Dutch together, standing ready to shed their blood for the common cause. Sir, there is in this the inspiration and the hope that from this painful war the British Empire will emerge with a new bond of union, the pride of all its citizens, and a living light to all other nations."

THE PRIME MINISTER'S SPEECH.

When Sir Wilfrid Laurier concluded, Sir Robert Borden rose. Having made reference to the speeches of the mover and seconder of the address, the Prime Minister said:

"I have listened, too, with the utmost interest and the most profound admiration to the patriotic speech which has just fallen from my right hon. friend, the Leader of the Opposition (Sir Wilfrid Laurier). Already, even before Parliament had been called, he had announced to his friends and to the country that his meetings were discontinued, that the voice of party strife was hushed for the time being, and that he and his friends would co-operate in every way with those upon whom falls the duty, the very responsible duty at this moment, of administering the affairs of this country, in taking all such measures as may be necessary for the defence of Canada and for maintaining the honour and integrity of the empire whose flag floats over us.

"The war has come upon us in the end very suddenly indeed, and perhaps we have not all of us yet adequately considered the awful responsibility that must have rested upon the Foreign Secretary of the United Kingdom and the Prime Minister when they and their colleagues took the issue which meant war—which meant the first general European war for a hundred years, and beyond all question the most appalling war history has ever known. We read in the press of the haggard faces and the tremulous lips of Mr. Asquith and Sir Edward Grey when they made their announcements; but there, as here, they were sustained by the thought that for the time being party strife was done with; and we do not forget that those in the British Isles who had protested most strongly in the first place against the participation of Great Britain in this war united in upholding the hands of the Government and in maintaining the interests and duty of the empire."

The Efforts to Preserve Peace.

Sir Robert Borden then referred to the official correspondence relating to the outbreak of war, and continued:

"The splendid efforts made by Sir Edward Grey to preserve the peace of Europe command our warmest admiration; when that proved impossible he most earnestly endeavoured to find some way of escape short of dishonour, by which Great Britain might remain neutral in that awful contest. The armed forces of Europe, as we all know, during the past twenty or twenty-five years have been increasing beyond measure and the closest students of the world's politics have believed for many years past that war was bound to come. It did come, and with startling suddenness; and it is my duty to say that after reading the documents to which I have alluded, after giving them the most careful and attentive consideration which was permitted to me in the short time that has elapsed since their arrival, I am convinced that no government ever with more whole-hearted earnestness sought to keep the peace of the world and the peace of this empire than did His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom.

"It has been the policy of the British Government for many years past to seek reduction of armaments and thus to lessen the danger which lurks in the enormous armed forces with which the nations of Europe have confronted each other. At and ever since The Hague Conference in 1907, British statesmen have pleaded with the nations of the world to reduce their armaments. At The Hague Conference, and on many occasions since, Great Britain offered to give up what would seem to be very material advantages to her in time of war if by such concessions she could induce Germany and other countries to abate the awful increase in armaments of war which has been proceeding. Mr. Asquith, Sir Edward Grey, Mr. Churchill, Mr. McKenna, Mr. Ackland—I have their utterances under my hand and could read them to the House if there were occasion, time after time, year after year, on occasion after occasion, the British Government has shown itself most truly and earnestly desirous of bringing about such conditions in Europe as would make for permanent peace if that could be accomplished. Those who will read the papers that have been laid upon the table of the House to-day will find that in the very last moments of peace, before Great Britain finally embarked in the conflict, she made this earnest proposal to the German Government: That if this most appalling crisis could be passed, she would use every influence and every effort that she could command to bring about such an understanding between Germany and her ally, on the one hand, and Russia and France, on the other hand, as would relieve Germany and Austria from any apprehension of attack from that quarter; and the minister declared himself to be inspired with a very full confidence that if this crisis could be passed, great results would be brought about."

The War Deliberately Forced.

Speaking of the causes of the war, the Prime Minister said:

"I do not think any member of this House or any man in this country can escape the conviction—that there was a deliberate determination in the first place to force war upon Serbia, regardless of any humiliation to which she might consent or of any consequences which might result from that war. I say that such is my deliberate conviction. . . .

As you know, the British Government, and particularly the Foreign Minister, upon whom this tremendous responsibility rested, made every possible attempt at mediation. On the 26th and 27th days of July he asked the great powers of the world to join in mediation, and every one of the great powers consented to that mediation except the Government of Germany. The Government of Germany accepted it in principle, but after that there was merely inaction and evasion.

"In the end the efforts at mediation were absolutely fruitless. All action was evaded, and the question arose as to what should be the course of Great Britain with regard to the war. Great Britain sought by every possible means, by negotiation and otherwise, that war should be carried on under such conditions that her intervention would not be necessary. And the great question which arose at once was as to the neutrality and independence of Belgium, and to have that neutrality and independence respected by the

great powers of Europe, particularly Germany and France, both of whom, in common with Great Britain, had guaranteed that neutrality, first of all in 1831, afterwards in 1839, and again, so far as Germany and France were concerned, during the period of the Franco-Prussian war. . . .

"I cannot resist the conclusion, and I do not think that any man who reads these documents can resist the conclusion, that it was the deliberate intention of the Government of Germany, formed many years ago, to violate the neutrality and independence of Belgium in case war should break out with France. I say that, because every man in this country, every man throughout the world, knows that plans of campaigning are not made after war breaks out. Plans of campaign are made long in advance, and the German plan of campaign which has been carried out in the present war is one which involved as a first step in their warlike operations the absolute violation of the independence of Belgium.

The Naval Service Act, 1910, Proves Canada's Means of Coast-defence.

Elsewhere in the course of his speech, the Prime Minister mentioned that in connection with the outbreak of hostilities, the Government had been obliged to take measures which would require ratification by Parliament. He then went on to state what had been attempted in the way of coast defence. In this connection, Sir Robert Borden said:

"On the very day before the war broke out we purchased two sub-marines having first consulted with the Admiralty. Crews have been procured for both, and I believe the officer in command on the Pacific coast at the present time is an expert in such matters, and that the crews are already competent to make these submarines useful for the defence of our coast and of our shipping if occasion should require. The *Rainbow*, already in commission, was furnished with the necessary ammunition and stores and her crew was supplemented by a number of naval volunteers. I think that great praise is due to those in command of her for the courageous act which they undertook in going south in face of two modern German cruisers to assist in bringing back the small boats *Algerine* and *Shearwater* which were then in the south. The *Niobe* has also been put in commission as she possesses some fighting strength and she will be manned in part by the crews of the *Shearwater* and the *Algerine* and in part by British naval reservists. All of these boats have been placed under the direction of the Admiralty under the authority contained in that behalf in the Naval Service Act, 1910."

Speaking of what was being done by Canada to assist the Mother Country, the Premier spoke first of the sending of a division comprising about 22,500 men. Referring to this division, and to the gift of flour which was being sent, Sir Robert said:

Canada Sends Men and Flour to Motherland.

"The men of Canada who are going to the front are going as free men by voluntary enlistment, as free men in a free country. They are coming forward

voluntarily for the purpose of serving this Dominion and this empire in a time of peril. Already I am informed by the Minister of Militia that thousands more than will be required have volunteered to go. I desire to express my absolute concurrence with the view put forward by the hon. member for South Oxford (Mr. Sutherland) in his eloquent address, namely, that it is the duty of the people of Canada and of the Government of Canada too, so far as may be necessary, to make all suitable provision for the families and children of those who are going to the front. We are giving to our country and our empire at this time of our best, and we are proud to do it; but we must not forget our duty to those who are left behind. Neither the people of Canada nor the Government of Canada will ever for one moment forget that duty.

"There has also been made public a telegram which we despatched to the mother country with regard to a provision which we thought might be very welcome, not only for the material assistance which it would afford, but as a reminder to the mother country that the people of the dominions were with them in every sense, and that this great Dominion of ours has been justly called the granary of the Empire. Therefore, we sent on the 6th day of August through His Royal Highness the Governor General this telegram:

"My advisers request me to inform you that the people of Canada through their Government desire to offer one million bags of flour of ninety-eight pounds each as a gift to the people of United Kingdom to be placed at the disposal of His Majesty's Government and to be used for such purposes as they may deem expedient."

"It was thought desirable that this should go as a gift from people to people, but that it should be placed at the disposal of the Imperial Government to be used for any such purposes as they might determine. We received in reply to that the following telegram under date of August 7, expressing the greatest possible appreciation:

"On behalf of the people of the United Kingdom His Majesty's Government accept with deep gratitude the splendid and welcome gift of flour from Canada which will be of the greatest use for the steadying of prices and relief of distress in this country. We can never forget the generosity and promptitude of this gift and the patriotism from which it springs."

France Also Remembered.

In connection with the gift to Great Britain, of a million bags of flour, the Premier said that the Government had been in correspondence with Mr. Perley, the Acting High Commissioner in London, with a view to offering to the Government of France, if they should desire to accept it, a hospital of fifty beds which Canada would be prepared to acquire, equip and maintain.

Sir Robert said:

"The proposal has been put forward through Mr. Perley, as High Commissioner, who had been instructed to ascertain the wishes of the French Government with regard thereto. I believe a similar proposition has been made by the British Government to the

French Government. But in the appalling stress and pressure of affairs which confront the Government of France at the present time, the British Government have not been able to obtain an answer to their own request, and so we have not been able to obtain an answer to ours. But I thought it desirable that I should here publicly state that the Government of Canada, with the approval of Parliament which I am sure will not be withheld, are prepared to establish, equip and maintain, in Paris or elsewhere, a hospital making provision for fifty beds for the comfort of those who may be wounded in the war."

Concluding his speech, the Premier said:

"It is not fitting that I should prolong this debate. In the awful dawn of the greatest war the world has ever known, in the hour when peril confronts us such as this empire has not faced for a hundred years, every vain or unnecessary word seems a discord. As to our duty, all are agreed; we stand shoulder to shoulder with Britain and the other British dominions in this quarrel. And that duty we shall not fail to fulfil as the honour of Canada demands. Not for love of battle, not for lust of conquest, not for greed of possessions, but for the cause of honour, to maintain solemn pledges, to uphold principles of liberty, to withstand forces that would convert the world into an armed camp; yea, in the very name of the peace that we sought at any cost save that of dishonour, we have entered into this war; and while gravely conscious of the tremendous issues involved and of all the sacrifices that they may entail, we do not shrink from them, but with firm hearts we abide the event."

THE WAR TAXATION.

At a subsequent stage in the proceedings of parliament, the Prime Minister explained that the special vote of \$50,000,000 was required for an additional outlay on the defence and security of Canada, the conduct of military and naval operations in or beyond Canada, promoting the continuance of trade, industry and business communications whether by means of insurance or indemnity against war risk or otherwise, and the carrying out of any measures deemed necessary or advisable by the Governor-in-Council in consequence of the existence of a state of war. It was thought that of this amount there might be a possible expenditure of \$6,000,000 on Naval service account, exclusive of the submarines purchased at a cost of \$1,150,000. On military outlays, including cost of mobilization and the Canadian overseas contingent, the estimated expenditure for the ensuing seven months was put at \$30,000,000. It was explained that the troops to be sent over seas as the Canadian contingent would constitute the equivalent of an Army Division, to form part of the Imperial forces, and be subject to the orders of the Imperial authorities. In all, the numbers would equal about 21,000 men. This force was being mobilized at Valcartier, Quebec. In addition to the force being sent overseas, it was the intention of the Government to have a certain number of the active militia on active service for the defence of Canada at Atlantic, Pacific and other points.

The New Duties Imposed.

Hon. W. T. White, the Finance Minister, explained that he proposed to partially meet the special war expenditure by increasing the rates of duties of Customs and Excise upon coffee, sugar, spirits and tobacco.

The following tables give, in barest outline, the increases proposed, and which have since gone into effect, and the amounts which according to the Minister's view, would be raised in additional revenue from these sources..

Article.	Amount of Increase of Customs Duty.		Increase of Revenue Expected.
	Under British Preference.	Under General Tariff.	
Green coffee.....	.02½ per lb.	.03 per lb.	\$ 500,000
Raw sugar— (testing 75 degrees)	.63 per 100 lbs.	.80 per 100 lbs.	
Raw sugar— (testing 96 degrees)	.63 per 100 lbs.	.80 per 100 lbs.	} 5,000,000
Refined sugar.....	.80 per 100 lbs.	\$1.00 per 100 lbs.	
Refined sugar— (testing 99 degrees)	½ cent per lb.	.01 per lb.	} 2,500,000
Whiskey, brandy, gin and other distilled spirits.....	.60 per gallon	
Cigars, cigarettes— (specific rate).....	.50 per lb.	200,000
			\$5,200,000

Article.	Amount of Increase Excise Duty.	Increase of Revenue Expected.
Spirits.....	.50 per gallon	\$6,600,000
Malt liquor.....	.05 per gallon	
Malt.....	.01½ per lb.	
Cigars.....	\$1.00 per thousand	
Manufactured tobacco.....	.05 per lb.	

These increases, if realized, would make a total additional revenue of \$14,800,000 within a year, or about \$7,000,000 during the remainder of the present fiscal year. This, the Minister explained, left over \$36,000,000 to be provided by borrowing. Of this \$15,000,000 would be raised as free money borrowed from Canadians upon the Dominion's credit, through the legislation amending the Dominion Notes Act, and loans for the balance would be issued as opportunity offered.

Alternatives Suggested for Consideration.

In accordance with the declaration of the Leader of the Opposition at the outset, that objection would not be offered to measures which the Government proposed, exception was not taken by the Opposition in any party division to the proposals of the Finance Minister. At the same time, members of the Opposition did not hesitate to strongly urge upon the Government alternative methods of raising taxation which they believed, existing conditions being what they are, and what they promise to become, the Government should adopt. Dr. Michael Clark, M. P., expressed a point of view which was emphasized by several other speakers on the Liberal side, and which voiced the attitude of the Opposition when he said:

"I think it most unfortunate that the Government at this time should have had recourse to the increase of the duty upon two of what are the necessities of life of the poor in this country. . . . The poor in this combat, whether in this country or the old land will bear more than their share of the suffering that the war will entail. . . . When you tax the sugar and coffee of the country you make it certain that by the pressure of your taxation the poor will bear more than their share."

As alternatives to a tax on sugar and coffee, Liberal speakers suggested the consideration of a direct tax on incomes above a certain amount, a stamp duty on checks and bills of exchange and promissory notes, heavier taxation upon liquors and tobacco, a tax upon automobiles and a tax upon patent medicines.

It was pointed out that the coming winter was likely to be one of great hardship for thousands of persons all over Canada, that already the numbers of unemployed were being augmented to alarming proportions, and Liberal speakers urged that instead of imposing taxation which would lay heavier burdens by increasing the price of food, the Government should consider if it were not possible to lessen the cost of food products in some particulars, as for example, by taking the duty either in whole or in part off of some of the food stuffs obtainable from other countries.

Mr. A. K. Maclean, urged that the Government should anticipate the opportunity offered by the war for obtaining for Canadian manufacturers and exporters, markets which hitherto they had been unable to enter. It was also suggested that where it was in the power of the Government to increase the selling power of Canadian producers special attention should be given to this. It was pointed out that by approaching the United States government with a view of removing the embargo on potatoes, the producers of the Maritime Provinces would be vastly benefitted, and that by removing the duty on flour, the price of this commodity would be kept at a normal rate, and the country saved from the possible evil effect of a combine among millers and dealers to raise prices. Almost without exception, the Opposition speakers emphasized the necessity of the Government taking active steps to control prices and protect consumers.

Patriotic Gifts from Provinces and Individuals

The assistance which it has been sought to render Great Britain and her allies in this world crisis has not been confined to action taken by the Federal Govern-

ment on behalf of the people of the Dominion as a whole, the Governments of the several Provinces, municipalities, industrial and commercial corporations, societies, organizations and individuals have come forward with voluntary offerings of generous, and in many instances, munificent proportions, which have gone either direct to the Mother Country, or been accepted by the Government of Canada, or authorized associations, as contributions towards expenditures and emergencies arising out of the war.

Among contributions made by the Provinces and accepted before the beginning of September, were: 100,000 tons of coal from Nova Scotia; 100,000 bushels of oats from Prince Edward Island; 100,000 bags of potatoes from New Brunswick, 4,000,000 lbs. of cheese from Quebec; 250,000 bags of flour from Ontario; and 500,000 bushels of oats from Alberta. At the time these gifts were announced, the Governments of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and British Columbia were also in communication with the Federal Government as to gifts which would be acceptable from them, and which will be made in due course. Municipalities have vied with each other in raising sums of money to be contributed to the Canadian Patriotic Fund, inaugurated by His Royal Highness, the Duke of Connaught, to provide in case of need, adequate support to the wives, children and dependent relatives of men residents of Canada who are serving with any of the naval and military forces of the British Empire, or with Great Britain's allies.

What has already been donated and is likely still to be contributed to this Fund, to the Hospital Ship Fund, to the Red Cross Society, and to the Government or other organizations for use in a variety of ways, and what will be incurred for patriotic ends in voluntary sacrifice in other ways by countless numbers of citizens will soon outrun the amount appropriated by Parliament at its special session. The honour list in this connection, if it could be printed in full, would stir with pride the heart of every Canadian. Fortunately, already it is too large to admit even of a summary. Some day, when the work of destruction is ended, when the noise of battle has been hushed, and the many dead lie silent in their graves, when the world's great sacrifice is being weighed in the balances of Time, this expression of Canada's devotion to the Motherland may prove the consolation that will help to assuage the grief; this, and the thought that our country has been privileged to share in the world's greatest struggle for Freedom against Aggression, for Liberty against Oppression, and for Honour against Might.

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