

1917-22

Canada at War

SPEECHES

DELIVERED BY

Rt. Hon.

Sir Robert Laird Borden

K.C., P.C., G.C.M.G.

IN

CANADA *and the* UNITED KINGDOM



DECEMBER, 1916—MAY, 1917



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A SPEECH AT MONTREAL, DECEMBER 6, 1916.

There is no occasion tonight to proclaim the justice of the cause for which the Allied Nations are contending. Someone has declared that the causes of the war have ceased to be of more than historical interest. On the contrary, I believe them to be invested with such significance that on the issue of this struggle depends the destiny, not only of our Empire, but of the world. The closing days of July, 1914, were fateful for us, as for all our Empire. If we had stood aloof and sanctioned by our inaction the devastation and destruction of Belgium, if we had abandoned France and acquiesced in her overthrow, we should have earned the contempt of the whole world, nor could we have escaped the inevitable doom to which a power dominating the world would assuredly have consigned us. Thus every oversea Dominion girded on its strength for the unequal struggle: unequal at first because we were not prepared. I shall not speak of the mighty effort of the whole Empire—an effort not felt by the foe until during the past few months; but I point with pride and gratitude to the fact that during a little more than two years nearly four hundred thousand Canadians have responded to the call of duty, more than one hundred and fifty thousand have seen service at the front and more than one hundred thousand of them are now in the fighting line.

But mere numbers do not constitute an effective army. Men must be trained, disciplined and equipped. Every arm of military service must be organized. There must be long preparation before a modern army with effective striking power can be created. And this is a war not of armies alone but of nations. Victory depends, therefore, upon the thorough organization of national strength; the organized force of all the Allied resources must be thrown into the struggle in order that the full measure of striking power may be attained. To this end,

the Government have determined that an estimate shall be made of the man power of Canada, and the Board of National Service created for that purpose will place before the people in the immediate future the means by which that estimate can be effectively made.

The work thus undertaken is of supreme importance. I have, therefore, felt it necessary to abandon for a few weeks duties of great urgency, more insistent than can be imagined by those who have not participated in them; and I have come before you tonight to urge that the response of the Canadian people shall be adequate to the need. Let me put that need before you as it lies in my own mind. It can be realized most fully by those who have seen the devastated cities and towns of France and Belgium, who have passed over the trail left by ravaging armies, who have felt the horror which war has brought to communities once as happy and peaceful as any within our own land. The indescribable atrocities committed for the purpose of intimidating the civil population of France and Belgium have been proclaimed to the world. Even now a hundred thousand Belgians, not bearing arms but peaceable citizens, desirous of using their energies in mitigating so far as possible the miseries of their country, have been forced into captivity and practically into slavery by the strong arm of the enemy for the moment triumphant. In France, although upon a smaller scale, the same infamy has been perpetrated. Upon the coast of Great Britain and in its inland communities women and children have been slaughtered by the shells of cruisers or by the bombs of zeppelins.

We live in peace and quietness within the boundaries of Canada while our kindred beyond the seas are experiencing these awful tragedies. To what do we owe our immunity, if it is not to the organized force of this Empire of which Canada forms a part? What today prevents a German cruiser from shelling the towns and cities of our coast; from sailing up the St. Lawrence; from exacting ransom from the inhabitants of this Province, or enforcing captivity and slavery upon them; from sending airships to drop bombs upon Quebec or Montreal? What is it that protects us other than the organized power of the Empire? As one of its Dominions we are bound in this crisis of its destiny to do our part as our fathers did theirs before us, if we should hope to escape in the ultimate result a like fate.

Canada is a state within a greater state, the Empire itself. Our country enjoys a constitution granted nearly fifty years ago and formulated by the wisdom of the Fathers of Confederation, Macdonald, Cartier, Brown, Tupper. Within the limits of that constitution the people of Canada govern themselves and each

citizen exercises his individual influence in determining how his country shall be governed. That is a right established by the principles upon which democratic government is based. But every right may be measured by a correlative or corresponding duty. To the citizen the state grants protection, the security of his person and property, the enforcement of law and orderly government. To the state each citizen owes a duty of service; and there never has been and perhaps there never will be an occasion in which that duty is more manifest, more insistent or more imperative than at present. To the Belgian or the Frenchman the occupation of national territory by the foe, the implacable exercise of his power, the terror of his devastating rule, bring the most eloquent and convincing testimony that there is need for the service of every loyal citizen. To us the need may seem more remote, but it is not the less real. We are within the orbit of our Empire's destiny and that destiny is threatened.

I have said and I repeat that this is a war of nations rather than armies. All the human energy and all the material forces at our command must be thrown into the scale. As men without discipline, training and equipment cannot constitute an effective army, so a nation in the face of such conditions as now confront us cannot exercise its full strength unless its power as expressed in terms of human energy is estimated and fully organized. Not only for present purposes is this necessary, but the work thus undertaken will be of inestimable advantage in meeting conditions which will arise immediately after the conclusion of peace and for which we must now prepare. Estimates of our natural resources and conclusions as to the purposes for which and the means by which they can most advantageously be utilized are equally necessary and will not be overlooked.

So the Director General and the Board of National Service find it their present duty to estimate the human energy of Canada and to have that estimate accompanied by such information as will enable each man to render for the need of the state the service he is best qualified to give, the service which will be of the most value to his country. They have invoked the aid of all representative bodies and persons who seem best qualified to give the necessary assistance. Members of Parliament and of the legislatures, the clergy, the teachers, all representative associations and societies, the boards of trade, the commercial and financial institutions of the country, all these have been asked to coöperate in this most important and necessary work. But in the end reliance must be placed upon an appreciation by the people of the need and their conception of the duty which lies at their door. The information which it is desired to tabulate is set forth in a card embodying twenty-four questions, and it is hoped that the answers to these questions will pour

in upon those appointed to receive them in the first week of the coming year. Let that week be dedicated by the people of Canada to the National Service of their country. Let us then sink all thought except that devoted to the highest duty of the citizen.

Upon the response which the people of Canada will make to this appeal much will depend. That response will bear within it an index of the character of our people. From it will be realized their conception of the duty of service; in it will be seen their ability to comprehend that the nation, as was eloquently said by Cardinal Mercier, Archbishop of Malines, is not a mere concourse of persons or families inhabiting the same soil but an association of living souls subject to a social organization to be defended and safeguarded at all costs, even the cost of life, under the leadership of those presiding over its fortunes. And let us ever be mindful of the solemn truth proclaimed on every page of history, that no national organization can be enduring unless its people are inspired with a full sense of their duty to the state and with a strong determination to preserve at every cost its ideals and its institutions.

I have spoken of the martyrdom of Belgium, whose terrible story has only in part been revealed to the world. I have spoken of the devastation of some of the fairest provinces of France, provinces which sent forth those adventurous spirits, the ancestors of some of those whom my words shall reach. What Frenchman or what Belgian does not hold himself more proudly erect today because his countrymen did not shrink from the onrush of the invader, because the soul of his nation is more unconquerable than ever? Which of them has not pledged himself to the supreme sacrifice until the soil of France and of Belgium shall no longer be profaned by the foot of the invader. Humanity calls us to aid in that endeavour, and we can best aid by so organizing our human energy and our material resources that their weight can be thrown into the balance without a moment's unnecessary delay.

Nearly four hundred thousand Canadians have voluntarily joined the armies of their country since this war began. Many have fallen, but before they died they had so borne themselves that their memory and their country are crowned with imperishable laurels. The great pioneer races of Canada have fought in this war side by side with those of the parent races who still live beyond the seas. The Entente between our British Commonwealth and the French Republic was consecrated anew when Canadians of British and of French descent stood shoulder to shoulder in some of the fiercest battles of the war and won for their country and for themselves undying renown. As the name of de Salaberry for more than one

hundred years has been a household word throughout our country, so in the years to come will be the names of men of his race who in this war fought not less gloriously and for a cause even more transcendent. Among many whose memory might fittingly be recalled tonight I pause to pay a tribute to one who without a thought save for the safety of his men sprang to hurl back a bomb which threatened to destroy them and who died in that glorious and devoted effort.

I have said that in France and in Belgium humanity itself calls us to the rescue. The hundred thousand Canadians now in the battle line and those who beyond the seas eagerly await the word—do not these also call us to their aid? There are those who speak of peace. I read not long since in an American journal the words which Abraham Lincoln uttered on the 16th of June, 1864: "We accepted this war for an object, a worthy object, and the war will end when that object is attained. Under God, I hope it never will end until that time." The words of Lincoln express the spirit of Canada in this war which we have accepted for a righteous cause.

In little more than six months our history for half a century of Confederation will have been written. That notable anniversary will perhaps come while this war is still being waged, but even so we trust that it may be solemnly and fittingly commemorated. In these first fifty years of national life we have had our problems, our trials, our difficulties and sometimes our controversies. But on the whole we have cause to be of good cheer. In that wonderful pastoral letter which Cardinal Mercier addressed to the Belgian people last year I find these eloquent words: "Let us acknowledge that we needed a lesson in patriotism. There are Belgians, and many such, who wasted their time and their talents in futile quarrels of class with class, of race with race, of passion with personal passion. Yet, when on the second of August a mighty foreign power confident in its own strength and defiant of the faith of treaties dared to threaten us in our independence, then did all Belgians without difference of party or of condition or of origin, rise up as one man, close ranged about their own King and their own Government, and cried to the invader, 'Thou shalt not go through.'" It is this united and unconquerable spirit that I would commend to my fellow countrymen if it were my last word. The Entente of Great Britain and France has been consecrated by the blood of their children shed in a cause which concerns issues greater even than the destiny of these great nations. Let that Entente be crowned likewise in Canada by our united and inspiring devotion to the same imperishable cause.

A SPEECH AT QUEBEC, DECEMBER 7, 1916.

When last I had the privilege of addressing an audience in this ancient and historic city questions of development, of commerce, transportation and material progress were uppermost in our minds. We pictured to ourselves the future of this and other great national ports of Canada, and we were concerned with the problems of government incident to such matters. The consideration of these questions of vital importance to the material future of the country was rudely interrupted by the outbreak of the world-wide war more than two years ago, and since that time the incessant demands of most insistent and important duties have not permitted me to visit Quebec. For a brief period I have put aside these duties in order that I may expose to my fellow countrymen the needs of the situation as they present themselves to those responsible for the conduct of public affairs.

I do not pause to argue or proclaim the justice of the cause for which Canada with the other Dominions of the Empire put aside all material considerations and drew the sword in August, 1914. That cause has commended itself as just and even holy to the conscience of the civilized world, and I am as confident as I am of my own existence that history will so record it to the end of time. If ever a decent regard for treaty obligations and a just respect for the rights of weaker nations was in issue, if ever the future of liberty and justice was in the balance, if ever the cause of humanity and civilization itself was at stake, it is in this war. And because I have a supreme confidence that liberty and justice will in the end prevail I entertain no shadow of doubt that the cause for which the British Commonwealth and France fight side by side in this war will assuredly be triumphant.

Of what Canada has already done in the war I speak but briefly. Nearly four hundred thousand men have joined the colours. First and last more than one hundred and fifty thousand of them have been in the fighting line. More than one hundred thousand are there today. They have proved themselves worthy of the races from which they sprang and their valour has given to Canada a place among the nations of the world that must thrill with pride the heart of every man who honours his country.

Last year I had the privilege of visiting Great Britain and France and the border line of Belgium and of realizing at first hand the meaning of organized national effort in this struggle. In Great Britain at that time the national resources whether of human energy or otherwise had not been so fully and effectively organized as in France. Throughout France from the trenches

at the front to the seacoast I found men and women conscious of the supreme need for service. To each, from the highest to the lowest, his task was appointed. From each service was demanded and so far as I could learn it was willingly given. It was only thus that the supreme need could be met; it was only thus that the full power of the nation could be thrown into the supreme effort. To the citizens of France there was little occasion to proclaim that supreme need: it was manifest to all. When I had the privilege of visiting at his headquarters the distinguished Commander-in-Chief of the French Armies I stayed overnight in a beautiful and renowned town so near to Paris that it might almost be called a suburb. Within a few miles were two other towns, one wholly and the other partially in ruins; for a German army corps had passed that way. The Mayor and several of the leading citizens of one of them had been shot upon some trivial pretext. In the town where General Joffre's headquarters were then situate I could hear the thunder of the guns at the front. Later, within range of the German guns, I saw the town of Albert in which not a building had escaped destruction. The church itself had been shelled; even the image of the Madonna and Child on the spire had not escaped the destruction which the Germans have meted out to so many a sacred edifice.

Shall I hear someone say, "Why are we concerned with this? Our country is peaceful and prosperous, no ravaging armies march across our territory, our cities and towns are not bombarded or held to ransom, our sons and daughters are not carried into captivity and practical slavery by the enemy." Let me ask, to what do we owe that immunity? Why is it that I do not find in your streets great shell craters such as I have seen in France, why are the spires and the roofs of your churches still intact, why have no bombs been dropped from aeroplanes and zeppelins here, and why are you not called on to mourn the death of unoffending women and children stricken down without provocation in your streets? Is this safety due to anything other than the organized power of our Empire? Are not we in Canada a part of that Empire which today, in common with France, is fighting for its existence, its liberties and, more than that, for the liberties of the whole world? There are those who prattle of peace, but surely all the sacrifice of France, of Britain, of all the Allied Nations, and above all the sacrifice which Canada herself has made, would be utterly without meaning and worse than of no avail if our cause is not in the end so triumphant that humanity shall in future be spared so awful a tribute to the lust for world domination.

We have gathered to the colours for the defence of our institutions and our liberties, for the great cause of the Entente

between the Mother Lands of our pioneer races, we have gathered together for the support of that cause nearly four hundred thousand men. But we have done more than that. The material resources of our country have been brought into play. Munitions of war have been produced in quantities which would have been beyond the belief of our kinsmen overseas and even of ourselves two years ago. Our means of transportation have been systematized so that this production can be made available for the purposes of the war. Our coastal waters have been patrolled. Every means hitherto available has been employed to secure efficiency and to make the weight of our resources effective. In speaking of these things I am not claiming credit for the Government; because I unhesitatingly and sincerely recognize that it is the spirit of the Canadian people which has made all this possible.

But the war is not yet won and much still remains to be accomplished. The resources of the nation must be thoroughly organized, and it is for the purpose of impressing this vital and solemn truth upon the Canadian people that I have put aside all duties however urgent and have devoted myself during the last month of the year to this one imperative duty. This war can only be won by thorough national organization. For us that task includes an estimate of the human energy which Canada is capable of throwing into this struggle for all purposes necessary to win the war. The number of troops trained, disciplined and equipped whom we can place in the firing line is of course a most important factor. But in addition to that the needs of the war demand that we shall utilize for the purposes of production, for the supply of everything necessary to carry on the war, all the human energy that is available in this country. It is requisite that our forces at the front shall be as large as possible; but it is hardly less important that the productive strength of our Dominion shall be maintained and that its financial, industrial and commercial stability shall not be unnecessarily impaired. Without the assistance which Canada can bring in supplying food products, in furnishing munitions of war, in assuring the needed financial provision, our national effort cannot be maintained at the highest level. Those who are capable of service to the state must realize their responsibility and their duty. They must realize that while the state has its obligation to provide protection, security of life and of property, efficient administration and orderly government, so on the other hand the individual owes a corresponding and imperative duty, the duty of such service as will preserve the existence of the state and maintain its institutions and liberties. The citizen who does not fulfil this obligation to his country fails in

a duty which is the very foundation of his right to a voice in its government.

The Director General of National Service and the Board of which he is the head have recognized the necessity of making an estimate of the man power of Canada. For that purpose they have endeavoured to enlist the influence and support of all representative bodies, societies and associations in Canada, of all individuals who, occupying in some degree a representative capacity, can bring their voice and their influence to bear in support of the National Service proposals. The members of Parliament and of the legislatures, the clergy, the teachers, the boards of trade, the fraternal societies and all other institutions and persons of a like character have been invited; and if any have through inadvertence been omitted I do now invite them to join in the effort to have a thorough and complete estimate made of the human energy which Canada can throw into our national effort. I pray that the response may be all that we can hope; that it will be worthy of the traditions which our great races have inherited. This will depend upon the spirit in which the appeal is met. There have been great tests in the past but none so great as this. To every such test there has come a splendid and a worthy response. Let us see to it that history records an answer by Canada to this appeal even more inspiring than any hitherto recorded.

It is the great central idea of this endeavour that our national strength in these fateful conditions shall not be wasted in any unnecessary purpose. Providence has endowed this western continent with abundant and even lavish national resources. The tendency of our people, perhaps less in this province than elsewhere, is to be wasteful. A few years ago a representative was sent by the government of one of the smaller European countries, a country noted for its wonderful progress in agriculture, to examine conditions in Canada. I asked what chiefly impressed him during his visit to Canada. He hesitated for a moment and I said, "I can answer, for I know what is in your mind. You are thinking of our wastefulness." He admitted I was right. Let us not waste our natural resources, let us so preserve and develop them to the uses of the people under proper safeguards that they may truly be a common asset for the nation today and a national heritage for those who are to come after us. Above all let us waste neither our energies nor our resources in this time of all times most critical.

Our nation is not to be regarded as merely a series of communities more or less isolated and scattered across half a continent. Let us rather regard it as a great living organism, and let us also remember that each individual exercises an influence however slight upon the future of the nation. Upon each indivi-

dual there is direct responsibility; and the sum of individual conception of duty means the character of the nation. That character cannot be securely or permanently founded upon wealth of material resources however great. It can only be securely based upon a high conception of national duty.

In Quebec the foundations of our Confederation were laid nearly fifty years ago. The structure of which the Fathers of Confederation then laid the corner stone has surpassed even the splendour of the vision which impelled them to their great task. The four Provinces have expanded into a mighty Dominion fronting on the two great highways of the world—the Atlantic, the great scene of the world's activities during the past century; the Pacific, which in the future will play an equally great role. It would have been our duty to celebrate with stately ceremonial the half century of national existence which will be completed on the 1st of July, 1917. Some celebration not inappropriate in the midst of the great events through which we are passing may yet be held even although the war may not then have been brought to that victorious conclusion to which our energies are directed. And nowhere in Canada can that anniversary be more worthily honoured than in this Gateway City of the Dominion where more than three hundred years ago the great French pioneers laid the foundation of the Canada that was to be.

It was inevitable from the first that in this Dominion we should have our differences, whether of party, of race or of creed. On the whole we have lived together in peace and quietness and we have worthily begun the upbuilding of the mightiest oversea nation of the British Commonwealth. If ever devotion to duty, if ever a high conception of service and of national unity, were essential in the lifetime of our country they are supremely demanded today. All controversies of a minor character sink into insignificance when the very foundation of our national existence is in danger of being overthrown. With it would disappear every safeguard enshrined in the constitution which protects the rights and liberties of Canadians in every province. I pray that the highest conception of Canada's supreme duty in this hour of trial may impress itself upon the minds and hearts of my fellow countrymen.

And in closing I commend to them the eloquent words uttered by M. Paul Deschanel a few weeks ago under the caption "Rester unis." They are as follows:

"Jamais la famille française n'a été plus unie. Les Français suivaient des chemins différents; ils se sont rejoints au sommet. Même dévouement, même idéal."

**A SPEECH BEFORE THE UNITED KINGDOM
BRANCH OF THE EMPIRE PARLIAMENTARY
ASSOCIATION, AT LONDON, ENGLAND,
APRIL 2, 1917. (1)**

Little more than twenty months have elapsed since I last addressed you. We had some realization, but hardly an adequate conception even then, of the tremendous task which still lay before us in this war. In these Islands you have risen splendidly to the need; we of the Dominions have striven also to do our part. I then reminded you that three hundred and fifty thousand men had joined the colours in the oversea nations. To-day, I can tell you that not less than one million men in those Dominions have taken up arms for the Empire. The Canadian Expeditionary Force in Europe then numbered seventy-five thousand; to-day, I am proud to tell you that Canada has sent forth to aid the Allied cause more than three hundred and twenty-five thousand men. Our total enlistments exceed four hundred thousand, and in the Canadian Expeditionary Force alone more than three hundred thousand men have left the shores of our Dominion. Their achievement under the sternest test has been splendidly worthy of the traditions which are their heritage.

There is not time nor is this the occasion to dwell upon the phases of the war since my last visit to England. The most recent had its inception on the first day of February last, in the attempt to starve into submission the people of these Islands by the ruthless sinking of all ships entering a wide ocean area around your shores. I am wholly confident that this attempt will fail, but I am equally confident that to insure such failure the people of the Empire, and especially the people of these Islands, must realize that the peril is a substantial one. It must be met with a spirit which will not shrink from timely self-denial in order to avoid future need, which will command the whole-hearted and united service of the nation to preserve its existence, which will consecrate the energy of a united Empire to the one supreme purpose. Waste in time of peace is a sin; in this time of national stress and danger it is a crime. I speak of waste in the broadest

(1) On April 2, 1917, the United Kingdom Branch of the Empire Parliamentary Association gave a luncheon in the Harcourt Room of the House of Commons in honour of the overseas Ministers attending the Imperial War Cabinet and the Imperial War Conference. The Right Honourable Walter Long, Secretary of State for the Colonies, presided. The speakers were the Right Honourable Sir Robert Borden and Lieutenant-General the Right Honourable Jan Christiaan Smuts, Minister of Defence of South Africa. Sir Robert Borden spoke as above.

sense—waste of food, waste of time, waste of opportunity, waste of labour. A government can do much but it cannot do everything. The highest national achievement depends upon the self-denial, the devotion, the resolution and the strong purpose of the people.

I speak in no despondent mood, but as one disposed to face realities. The enemy are staking everything upon this last throw of the dice. All their energies are being concentrated upon this year's campaign whether on land or on sea. Any flagging of our spirit, any lack of effort, disastrous at any time, would be fatal now. Consider any sacrifice or self-denial however stern which the need may impose upon those at home, how do these compare with the privation, the danger, the suffering and too often the supreme sacrifice of those who hold the lines in France or elsewhere in the great theatres of war? If any of us should chance to be despondent let him go for confidence to the men in the trenches. If for a moment he lacks heart let him go to the wounded in the hospitals for courage. If we seek a standard for the nation's spirit let us remember the discipline and heroism of the men who lined up on the deck of the *Tyndareus* when she was sinking, and let us remember that in the end they reached port.

The German people are fighting with desperation under the belief engendered and fostered by their military autocracy that we seek to crush Germany and to terminate her national existence. No such purpose ever was or could be in the mind of the British people. It is impossible to crush in that sense a nation of seventy millions. Beyond comparison Germany was at the beginning of the war the most powerful military state in the world's history. Any idea of successful aggression against her was unthinkable. Confident in that strength the German nation following blindly the behests of militarism entered upon this war for world domination. For the health of Germany's soul her people must be taught before it ends that military aggression is neither a legitimate nor a profitable business enterprise; that world domination is impossible; that treaties are sacred; that the public conscience of the world will not permit the rape of small weak nations, will not tolerate the horrible methods of barbarity which have characterized the passage of the German armies and their occupancy of conquered territory; and finally that there is a world conscience which commands and can arouse a force sufficient to subdue any nation that runs amok. The lesson must be thoroughly learned by the German people or the Allied Nations will have taken up arms in vain. Let Germany so set her house in order that a change of ideal and of purpose

can be relied on; let her make reparation for the evil she has wrought; let her give adequate guarantees for the future. Thus but not otherwise can she have peace. For this but not to crush her the Allied Nations are fighting.

We have gathered together here from the ends of the earth to take counsel with you of the Mother Land upon the needs of the situation so as better to coördinate our common effort and consummate our common purpose. When first I spoke to you in 1912 I took leave to put forward certain views respecting future constitutional relations. Two years ago I emphasized the same considerations without dwelling upon them.

The purpose which I then had at heart still remains steadfast. It may be that in the shadow of the war we do not clearly realize the measure of recent constitutional development. I shall not attempt to anticipate any conclusion which may be reached by the Imperial War Conference now sitting in London, a Conference embracing India, now for the first time taking her place at the National Council of Empire, as well as all the great Dominions except Australia, whose absence is deeply regretted. Except with regard to India the summoning of that Conference does not mark a new stage of constitutional development. Its present duty is to consider and where necessary to determine general questions of common concern which in some cases have an intimate relation to the war and to the conditions which will arise upon its conclusion.

Without further reference to the Imperial War Conference I address myself to the constitutional position which has arisen from the summoning of an Imperial War Cabinet. The British constitution is the most flexible instrument of government ever devised. It is surrounded by certain statutory limitations, but they are not of a character to prevent the remarkable development to which I shall allude. The office of Prime Minister, thoroughly recognized by the gradually developed conventions of the constitution although entirely unknown to the formal enactments of the law, is invested with a power and authority which under new conditions demanding progress and development are of inestimable advantage. The recent exercise of that great authority has brought about an advance which may contain the germ and define the method of constitutional development in the immediate future. It is only within the past few days that the full measure of that advance has been consummated. For the first time in the Empire's history there are sitting in London two Cabinets, both properly constituted and both exercising well defined powers. Over each of them the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom presides. One of them,

designated as the "War Cabinet," chiefly devotes itself to such questions touching the prosecution of the war as primarily concern the United Kingdom. The other, which is designated as the "Imperial War Cabinet," has a wider purpose, jurisdiction and personnel. To its deliberations have been summoned representatives of all the Empire's self-governing Dominions. We meet there on terms of equality under the presidency of the First Minister of the United Kingdom; we meet there as equals, although Great Britain presides *primus inter pares*. Ministers from six nations sit around the council board, all of them responsible to their respective parliaments and to the people of the countries which they represent. Each nation has its voice upon questions of common concern and highest importance as the deliberations proceed; each preserves unimpaired its perfect autonomy, its self-government and the responsibility of its ministers to their own electorate. For many years the thought of statesmen and students in every part of the Empire has centred around the question of future constitutional relations; it may be that now as in the past the necessity imposed by great events has given the answer.

The Imperial War Cabinet as constituted to-day has been summoned for definite and specific purposes publicly stated which involve questions of the most vital concern to the whole Empire. With the constitution of that Cabinet a new era has dawned and a new page of history has been written. It is not for me to prophesy as to the future significance of these pregnant events; but those who have given thought and energy to every effort for full constitutional development of the oversea nations may be pardoned for believing that they discern therein the birth of a new and greater Imperial Commonwealth.

A SPEECH AT USHER HALL, EDINBURGH, SCOTLAND, APRIL 11, 1917. (1)

I am honoured in becoming a Burgess of this ancient and beautiful city rich in its traditions of culture and learning, a city whose history and associations are inseparably connected

(1) On April 11, 1917, the Corporation of the City of Edinburgh presented the Freedom of the City to the Right Honourable Sir Robert Borden, Prime Minister of Canada, Lieutenant-Governor the Right Honourable Jan Christiaan Smuts, Minister of Defence of South Africa, and Colonel His Highness Maharaja Sir Ganga Singh Bahadur, Maharaja of Bikaner. The ceremony took place in Usher Hall. Sir Robert Borden in replying to the presentation spoke as above.

with the origin and growth of the British Commonwealth and the development of its institutions. In the great task of upbuilding that Commonwealth and in laying the firm foundations of freedom and justice upon which our Empire is based Scotland has played a notable and worthy part.

We who receive this distinction at your hands have come to sit at the great council board of the nation and to deliberate with you upon vital questions of common concern. One is a native prince of India, invested with splendid traditions of race and ancestry and united to the British Crown by ties of fealty and devotion which have never been more strikingly manifest than during the past three years. Another is a distinguished soldier and statesman who for many years has served the Empire splendidly and worthily in both capacities but who was previously fighting against us to the best of his great ability not more than fifteen years ago. To-day he and General Botha, his chief, are great assets to the Empire and, more than that, to the world. We come from different Dominions, we have sprung from different but kindred races, we have grown up under widely differing conditions. Is there not some evidence that our Empire rests on a broad foundation when I find that his conception and my own as to the course and method of future constitutional relations and development are substantially the same. It could not be otherwise, for the foundations on which the British Commonwealth stands secure are liberty and justice, autonomy and unity.

Since we have been invited to receive this honour a great event has occurred which must have a profound effect not only upon the war but on the future of our Empire. The President of the United States in a message of wonderful eloquence and lucidity and of convincing reasoning has invited Congress to declare that a state of war exists between the United States and Germany. In that splendid message he has set forth an admirable and worthy vindication of the causes which led the democracies of our Empire to take up arms. No one can deny that the Government of the United States exercised all patience and made every possible effort consistent with honour and self-respect to avoid war with Germany. The very fact that Congress by an almost unanimous vote has declared war is the last and most convincing proof that the spirit of the German military autocracy is inhuman and devilish and must be cast out.

One can hardly realize how this spirit could have exercised so profound an influence upon the German people. Their strict discipline, their unquestioning obedience to authority, their respect for military leadership, their thoroughness of

national organization, have all contributed to the result. At whatever cost they must be taught that the madness which would impel any nation to abandon the tenets of civilization and revert to the most savage barbarism, which would seek to impose upon the conscience of mankind the creed of the jungle, can lead only to self-destruction. If Germany should perish it will be because the evil spirit that possesses her has willed it.

This struggle has endured so long because of the enormous preparation of Germany, the thorough discipline and training of her people and the remarkably complete and effective organization of her national resources. The fact that we were wholly unprepared except on the ocean for such a war is a fine tribute to our peaceful purpose; but it does not bear the same convincing testimony to our foresight or our capacity to estimate the power that would be exercised remorselessly against us in the day of trial and of peril. When that day came vast industries both here and oversea were necessarily diverted to the needs of the war. Out of a confusion of widespread industrial resources organized for peace it was necessary with the utmost expedition to evolve system and order in effective and speedy preparation for war. Plowshares had to be beaten into swords and pruninghooks into spears. Let us pay our tribute to what has been accomplished. The wonder is not that mistakes were made but that our preparation so quickly followed and eventually overtook that consummated by the enemy during more than a quarter of a century.

In no part of the vast and complex organization requisite for modern warfare was there greater need for foresight, unceasing effort, mechanical genius and industrial achievement of the highest order than in the organization and equipment of the air service. Canadians have joined that service in large numbers and I am proud to know that they have been found daring, resourceful, and efficient. Any criticism of its organization and management arouses therefore my deepest interest. Throughout the Empire there is naturally in respect to the prosecution of the war much criticism of effort, of method, and of result. Criticism founded upon reliable information is healthy in stimulating the energies of those responsible for administration. If based on defective information it may give comfort to the enemy and bring unnecessary discouragement at home. In the Imperial War Cabinet we have recently had a full statement of conditions in the flying service as they were a year ago and as they are to-day. The information thus afforded was very reassuring. The greater extent of the work carried out by the

air service as compared with that of the enemy, the higher artillery efficiency thus attained, the resulting diminution of our casualties in the trenches and the increased loss inflicted upon the Germans through information obtained by aerial observation and reconnaissance—all these considerations must be taken into account. Given a machine of equal efficiency our men may be relied upon to do their full part. There never has been any question that in personnel our flying service is superior to that of the enemy and stands second to none. The position disclosed to the Imperial War Cabinet may be briefly stated as follows: The machines which we are turning out to-day are equal if not superior to any that the Germans have hitherto produced, and they are being produced at a rapidly increasing rate the details of which it would be unwise to give. The average efficiency of our machines now in use is equal to the average of the German machines. The average of casualties on the machine which has been most severely criticised is less than the general average on all our machines. But a most important fact to realize and to remember is this: The British air service is undertaking extensive duties of vital importance to operations in the field, duties which are not being carried on and never have been attempted, at least to anything like the same extent, by the German air service. A more extensive service in the air thus carried on for essential purposes must inevitably be attended with increased losses, and the real question is as to the value of the information thus obtained when compared with the loss sustained in acquiring it. On this question the military authorities entertain no doubt. The casualties among officers are necessarily great because the proportion of officers in the air service is very much larger than in the other services. I take leave to put forward these considerations because unfounded rumour or criticism tending to discourage the spirit of British airmen is detrimental and should not be continued. If doubt arises as to the facts it would be well through an informal gathering of members, or by means of a secret session, to disclose to Parliament the information already afforded to the Imperial War Cabinet.

The profound influence of this war upon our Commonwealth is already apparent. The very force of circumstances has brought about an important advance in constitutional relations. We sit in the Imperial War Cabinet to consider matters of common concern, while a British War Cabinet, meeting at other times, considers those appertaining more especially to the United Kingdom. As is fitting, the British Prime Minister presides over each Cabinet. We have been drawn into closer touch with each other in every way. In the

great council of state, at the front, in the hospitals and convalescent homes, in the various patriotic associations, in united effort and earnest endeavour for the common good, Britain, India and the Dominions are one in this war. We have known the meaning of the word "comrade" as we never knew it before. Two weeks ago at Oxford I addressed a gathering of convalescent officers in one of the great colleges of the University converted for the time being into a hospital. Assembled there were men from Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, Newfoundland, Canada and the United Kingdom, men who had thrown aside all material considerations to render to the state the highest duty of citizenship. The officer who presided, and by whom I was introduced, was a citizen of the United States who had abandoned his practice as a physician to give his service to our cause. The occasion was unique and inspiring and it seemed a happy augury of the future. Not only the nations of the Empire but the British and American Commonwealths will be drawn more closely together through this war. They are equally democratic in ideal, method and purpose, and the differences in form are not substantial.

I hope that after the conclusion of peace our eyes may be turned more closely upon the vast and varied resources of our Empire and their future potentialities. There are questions of the gravest import touching their control, development and utilization for a common purpose, the production of an adequate food supply, the means of transportation and communication, the utilization of raw materials by the most effective methods for all needful purposes of national concern. We must take stock of our resources, exercise an effective control, and utilize them to the highest national advantage. There is reason to believe that before the war Germany had a more systematic and thorough knowledge of the resources and development of the Dominions than could be found in the United Kingdom. May we not hope after the war for a livelier interest in the progress and the spirit of the young nations of the British Commonwealth? Can it be denied that in the past ambitions or activities in minor European theatres have received attention that might better have been bestowed upon matters of common concern which have not been seen in their true perspective? Outside of Europe are great theatres of action in which the future of our Empire will ultimately be worked out. In each of the Dominions the task of speedy development is an undertaking of great magnitude and it is being carried on by a relatively small population. I speak of Canada because I know it; in that Dominion there are half-a-dozen provinces each of which is greater in area

and not less rich in resources than the United Kingdom. Are we quite sure that the work which is being carried on overseas is measurably realized here? If there is adequate vision it is clear that these considerations must continually assume larger proportions in the future purposes and activities of our Imperial Commonwealth. Meantime all effort must be consecrated to the unfinished task that still lies before us in assuring through victory the defence of our inheritance and the vindication of the world's liberties.

A SPEECH IN THE COUNCIL CHAMBER AT MANCHESTER, ENGLAND, APRIL 21, 1917. ⁽¹⁾

I deeply appreciate the honour of being admitted to the Freedom of this City in whose upbuilding vision, courage and enterprise have been so conspicuous. Let me express my hope that the success which has rewarded these qualities in the past is the herald of a still more splendid future. You have shown yourselves capable of initiating and extending great enterprises in the face of world-wide competition and equally you have maintained high standards and ideals of democracy.

The qualities displayed in these achievements are those most needed in the wider concerns of the greater British Commonwealth. The possession of so vast a heritage as is comprised within our Empire imposes corresponding responsibilities which we cannot fulfil unless we possess the vision and imagination to grasp its immense possibilities. We must admit that the astonishing abundance and variety of the Empire's resources have not been adequately estimated or realized. I confess at once that in Canada we have not yet reached a complete comprehension of our resources or of the means by which and the purpose for which they can best be utilized for development and progress. The western plains of Canada, capable of producing food supply more than sufficient for the needs of the United Kingdom, were mere potential and not actual assets until they were utilized for production by the labour of the settler. So it is of all the vast natural resources now at our command and awaiting our effort in their development.

⁽¹⁾ On April 21, 1917, the Corporation of the City of Manchester presented the Freedom of the City to the Right Honourable Sir Robert Borden, Prime Minister of Canada, the Right Honourable W. F. Massey, Prime Minister of New Zealand, and the Right Honourable Sir Edward Morris, Prime Minister of Newfoundland. The ceremony took place in the Council Chamber. Sir Robert Borden in replying to the presentation spoke as above.

If the militarist autocracy remains in control of Germany after this war we may be assured that the possession and integrity of our Empire will not remain unchallenged. We may have to face more than one method and more than one attempt by Germany to control the world. There is reason to believe that the industries of Germany will be supported and developed in the future by a more thorough and powerful state organization than was ever known. First we may anticipate the power of the German Government behind an organization charged with the duty of controlling and supplying from all available sources and at minimum prices the raw materials necessary for vast and manifold industries. Then we must expect that German state organization will be made still more effective in providing transportation for exports under conditions and at rates which will give access to markets otherwise unattainable. And lastly there is good reason to believe that the German Government will undertake by new and thorough methods the task of seizing and controlling the great markets of the world for German productions.

But the natural resources of the British Empire will enable us to meet and command the situation provided our efforts are characterized by thoroughness, skill, system, and a strong and united purpose manifested in effective coöperation between the Mother Country and the Dominions. I submit that our natural resources ought to be conserved for the general national benefit; that they ought to be controlled within the Empire for essential national purposes; that their economic utilization through processes of manufacture ought to be carried on to the greatest possible extent within the Empire and not abroad; and that they ought not to be controlled, diverted or exploited for the upbuilding of industries in countries with which we are now at war. There is no comparison between the resources at our command and those available to Germany. If she should win in the final contest it will be because we were incapable or indifferent, because she had greater foresight, a firmer national purpose and a more determined national spirit.

I hope that in these matters of great and common concern there will be a clearer vision and truer conception than in the past, and that the effort and sacrifice so enormous and so regrettable which this war has entailed will not have been in vain. It is time to take thought as to what our future Imperial Commonwealth will be and as to the relation of its component parts. Some bright-eyed child whom I passed on your streets today may live to see the oversea Dominions surpass these Islands in population and perhaps in wealth. Let us fix the Empire and its future more firmly in our imagination. The achievement which crowned Vimy Ridge with an undying

glory for Canadians brings with it a deep but solemn pride, deep in its appreciation of the valour which won that crest, but solemn in its memory of the shadow which has been brought to many a happy Canadian home. The Canadians would never have come overseas to hold their own on every field from Ypres to Vimy Ridge if the Empire had not been to them a great reality.

We have come to take counsel of each other in these matters. The war has brought notable events not only on the battle field but in the council chamber. The Dominions and the Mother Country are united by the tie of common allegiance to the Crown, which personifies the power and majesty of our Imperial Commonwealth. In matters of common Imperial concern the Crown today is acting upon the advice of the Imperial War Cabinet in which sit not only the Ministers of the United Kingdom but also Ministers of the Dominions. This is a mighty step in advance and with it has come a development perhaps not designed but nevertheless equally important. Differentiated from the Imperial War Cabinet there is a British War Cabinet, which chiefly concerns itself with matters more closely touching the United Kingdom. Perhaps we have here the key of future constitutional development, and I believe we are approaching that development along the path which leads to equality of nationhood. We have departed from all precedent and established for the needs of the war a new status of constitutional relationship. In such matters practice quickly ripens into convention, and upon convention the structure of our constitutional relations has been reared. There has been much doubt and perplexity as to the future of those relations; but I have some confidence that in the light of these events the mists which have surrounded it in the past will be dissipated.

Another recent event of tremendous significance must profoundly affect the future of our Empire and of the world; it would be impossible to overestimate its influence upon the world's destiny. The great kindred nation adjoining the Dominion from which I come has been impelled by the relentless and overbearing arrogance and aggression of Germany to take up arms in the common cause of liberty and humanity. From the very foundation of the Republic the traditions of American policy have been consistently opposed to intervention in European affairs; they would never have permitted this fateful step save for the overmastering cause of honour and right. Our neighbours are a peace loving people as we are; but those who imagine that they are more greatly influenced by material considerations than other nations fail to realize or comprehend the true spirit of the people of the United States. Their astonishing progress in industry and their remarkable capacity in affairs may have

led to a false conception. I entirely agree with the appreciation recently expressed by their Ambassador and I thoroughly concur in his view that no nation is more deeply and truly influenced by idealism than the people whom he represents. Possibly they have some misconceptions with regard to us. I hold that the self-governing nations of the British Commonwealth are as truly and thoroughly democratic in their purpose, ideals and aspirations as any nation in the world. It has been wittily said that the United States might be regarded as a monarchy under an elective king and the British Empire a republic under an hereditary president. And it is perfectly true that the President has much greater executive power than the King. In all essentials the ideals of government are the same in both countries. And the spirit of the two nations is the same in this conflict. Thousands of American citizens enrolled in our forces have fought gallantly and heroically side by side with Canadians; it will be a glorious day when the Union Jack and Old Glory advance together in the same cause on freedom's battle field.

I have spoken of the responsibilities of our Empire; let me emphasize even more strongly the joint responsibilities of the American Republic and the British Commonwealth. Inspired by the same ideals, united by a common purpose and acting in unselfish and loyal coöperation, they possess a power both moral and material which can command the future peace of the world. I pray that those who guide their destinies may exercise that power for this the highest of all purposes.

I have alluded to this war's influence upon the ideals of our national life and upon our conception of duty. Let us hope that its influence will be felt elsewhere. The militarist autocracy of Germany held to the lips of their people the goblet of world domination and the people drank that wine to the very dregs. There are few signs that their madness has appreciably abated. The thunder of a world in arms at their gates may yet bring soberness and sanity, for of all the nations Germany is the most war-weary.

"He who of old would rend an oak,
Dreamed not of the rebound."

Germany must work out her own salvation; there is no other nation which can do this for her. So long as she remains intoxicated with the ideal of world conquest and still has it in her heart to assassinate other nations this war must continue. It cannot end until the purpose for which the world has taken up arms against her is accomplished in such victory as assures a lasting peace to war weary humanity.

A SPEECH AT THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE
BRITISH AND FOREIGN BIBLE SOCIETY, IN
QUEEN'S HALL, LONDON, ENGLAND,
MAY 2, 1917.

I know that you must all very deeply regret—but no one so much as myself—the inability of the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom to be here this morning to address you. I was spoken to late last evening, and, knowing the tremendous engagements and duties which he is called upon to discharge in these times of stress and urgency, I could not refuse the request he made of me to come here and speak, however inadequately and unworthily, in his stead. I have not come here with any set address. I have come with hardly any notes, so I must speak to you from my heart to-day in appreciation of the great work which this Society has done, not only in this Mother-country and in the oversea Dominions, but throughout the world; a work the importance of which it is perhaps difficult for us to estimate; a work which I hope will be even more splendid and more worthy in the future than it has been in the past.

I am very glad indeed to know that the Dominion which I have the honour to represent has contributed something to the great cause which this Society serves. In days gone by we may have leaned upon you in the Motherland for that purpose; but in this, as in other respects, the young giant beyond the seas has learned to know his strength and to put that great and constantly increasing strength to a high purpose.

We are met under the shadow of events so great that probably we who are passing through them do not realize their magnitude or the significance which the historian of the future will attach to them. Every generation is in some sense, and in no small sense, a trustee for the future; but upon the men and women of this generation there rests to-day, and has rested for nearly three years, a responsibility greater perhaps than was ever laid upon the shoulders of mankind before. And I am very proud to say, and I know that you are all very proud to feel, that the spirit of our people, whether in this Motherland or elsewhere throughout the Empire, has risen fully responsive to the need. Beyond question we were very much absorbed in our own material concerns for many years before this war broke out. But when the call did come, all these ideas about immediate progress and development—the veneer, if I may call it, of materialism—were brushed aside in one moment, and we found that there was hid beneath that surface a spirit which has been con-

stant and steadfast up to the present, and which, please God, will remain constant and steadfast until the end.

No more peace-loving population ever dwelt in any part of the King's Dominions than the people of Canada, but they realized the cause of this war; they realized from the first your purpose in the United Kingdom in undertaking it; they realized to what extent democracy, liberty, the civilization, the future of the world, rested upon the issue which had been prepared by Germany. And so they, in common with all the people of the King's Dominions, were prepared, and are still prepared, to do their duty in this war to the end. It has already had a profound influence upon our people, and it must continue in all the years to come to have perhaps an even more profound influence. I have seen in hospitals and in convalescent homes hundreds, thousands of my own countrymen, who had come across the Atlantic at the call of duty, who had gone beyond the Channel to discharge the highest duty of a citizen to his country, who had offered themselves for the supreme sacrifice if necessary, and who had fought in a splendid comradeship with men from these islands, from India, and from all the oversea Dominions. What will be the outlook of these men, what the outlook of the men from these islands, after the war is over? They will come back, surely, realizing that while this Empire has been called in the past the greatest human agency for good that the world has ever known, yet it may have in the future still higher and greater opportunities for service to the world and they will come back inspired with the desire that these great responsibilities will be fulfilled. They will come back, further, conscious that in these great events in the world's greatest theatre of action they have played no inconspicuous part, and they will realize—I am speaking of the men from our Dominion—that in the contact of nations in the great events of to-day they have demonstrated, not only to you in this Mother Country, but to all the Allied nations and to the world at large, that Canada has raised herself to the full rank and dignity of nationhood in every worthy way. We have sent from the manhood of Canada to this war, in one way and another, no less than 360,000 men. I mention this to show you the spirit of self-sacrifice, self-denial, and devotion which has animated our people; it has been good for them, as for the cause which they are supporting, and it has been good in its spiritual influence upon our nation as a whole. I may tell you that the people of Canada by voluntary contributions for one benevolent patriotic purpose after another since the commencement of this war, have raised well-nigh sixty millions of dollars, or twelve million pounds, and they have done it willingly

and splendidly, in no grudging spirit, but with a full sense of their responsibility. The gratitude of the people of the whole Empire must go out to its womanhood for their splendid devotion. God bless the women of the Empire for all that they have done for the service of the nation and of the world in this great struggle in which we are now engaged.

But what, after all, is the meaning of this war to the world? What is its meaning now, and what shall be its meaning in the years to come? On the other side of the Atlantic is a great kindred nation, which after exercising infinite patience has found itself constrained by the cause for which we are fighting to throw its force into the conflict—a force which cannot be over-estimated and which can have no small influence in bringing this war to that issue which we all have at heart. In that great nation there are, to my personal knowledge, more associations and societies designed and established for the purpose of maintaining the peace of the world than there are in all the other nations put together. It may be that some of the ideals of these societies may under present conditions be entirely beyond practical realization. I care not for that. I say that the purpose is good, and I count among the great agencies which shall influence the opinion of the world those societies and the great work of a society like this. For though we may speak as much as we like of the influence of democracy, of the possibility of peace-keeping leagues of nations, the future peace of the world must rest upon one firm basis, and one firm basis alone—and that is the public opinion of the world.

The organized life of this nation and of the Dominions of the British Empire rests, in the final analysis, upon the public opinion of the people. It is upon that that our national life and our national institutions rest. And so, when we speak of leagues of nations organized to keep the peace—and no one would welcome more heartily than I would all organized efforts for that purpose—I hold that in the community of the world, as in the community of any national life, there must be the public opinion which will command the peace of the world, and that it cannot be commanded in any other way. And so I hope that this war will inspire war-weary humanity with an earnest and purposeful effort to bring about that peace; because I do not conceal from you my own conviction that unless the democracies of the world can find some means by which war on so gigantic a scale, with such awful results to humanity, can be avoided in the future, then the existing social order cannot last. But on what, after all, does democracy rest? The ideals of democracy, the purpose of democracy, the result of democracy, must rest upon the

collective conscience of the people in any community, and democracy will attain results, great or small, in so far as the conscience, the purpose, and the ideals of the people are guided by that Book which it is the purpose of this Society to circulate. And so it is the public opinion of the world that we must try to influence, and I repeat once more my high appreciation of the service that you are giving to humanity of the present and of the future in carrying on the great purpose which you have at heart and on behalf of which I have to speak to-day.

I believe that you have had in the United Kingdom, as we have had in Canada, a great spiritual uplift as the result of this war. Men and women are more concerned to-day with things spiritual than they were four years ago. It could not be otherwise; there has been so much devotion and so much self-sacrifice. More than that, there has been sorrow brought to so many a home—sorrow mingled with a most solemn pride that those who have gone forth have proved themselves worthy of the highest ideals of humanity and the best traditions of the race. It would be impossible that all this should take place without its exercising a very powerful influence indeed upon the people; and perhaps our concern should be not so much as to how that will be maintained during the war—because I believe it will be—but as to what will come afterwards. I remember, many years ago, hearing a great divine in my own country preach a sermon I shall never forget upon a text which I think I can recall: "They that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength; they shall mount up on wings as eagles; they shall run, and not be weary; they shall walk, and not faint." And he asked us, what was the meaning of the prophet in the order of this statement? Was it merely an anti-climax, or was there some great and profound thought beneath it all? And he pointed out that it is not so difficult for the nation or the government to have a great spiritual uplift under a great inspiration and to maintain it while that inspiration lasts; but there is something greater and more difficult still in maintaining that high purpose when the inspiration has passed away and when the ordinary round and routine of everyday life have come. It may be easier to mount on wings as eagles than to walk and not faint. And so I pray that the great influence which I believe has permeated all the nations of our British Commonwealth may be maintained in the future. I pray that after this war is over and material considerations have again to be taken into account, strength may be given to you in this Homeland and to us in the oversea Dominions that we may walk and not faint.