

(December 6th, 1915.)

Each for All and All for Each.

BY MR. C. A. MAGRATH.*

AT a meeting of the Club, held on the 6th December, Mr. Magrath said:—

Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—I hope you will not feel dissatisfied when I say that my address is not altogether one on National Service—the topic announced. Possibly what I am about to say you may regard as even more timely.

Three years ago I had the pleasure of addressing your Club on "Canada and the Empire." I then believed in the British people, and I still believe in them. They have been a force of great good in this world. I believe that with all our faults we have done more for humanity than any other nation, and, therefore, I wished to see some cement worked into the different units of the Empire that would carry us down into the far future as a united people.

In unity there is strength. The doctrine I was then preaching was to assure the continuance of a great strong Empire, not for the purpose of dominating other races, but to give force to ideals that stand for the betterment of mankind. We have faults; our greatest, I fear, has been over-confidence in ourselves. We saw certain other nations preparing to smash everything in sight, still that concerned us but little. We kept on making money, playing politics and talking peace. Suddenly in the autumn of 1914 we found ourselves in the vortex of a great world war. Since then the Empire has gone forward with much courage, and on the whole has done nobly, considering our unpreparedness for dealing with abnormal war conditions.

I don't suppose, gentlemen, you have ever had a man before you whose mind has so oscillated in the preparation of an address as mine. Three days ago I was uncertain what I should say to you to-day. Deeply conscious of our defects in endeavoring to protect ourselves, overpowered with the gravity of the situation, I would have much preferred

*Mr. C. A. Magrath has served his country in various capacities, and is now Chairman of the Canadian Section of the Joint International Commission. He is a close student of Canadian problems.

to keep silent. It is true, several weeks ago I had prepared an address on National Service, but what is the use of talking of National Service now? Here we are sixteen months in this war—we must break the back of the enemy before we have passed through another similar period, though I am not going to say that the war even then will be over.

Therefore this is no time for platitudes, no time for vain regrets—though God knows we have ample reason to be dissatisfied with ourselves,—and no time for recriminations. (Hear, hear.) It is a case of do or die, so far as the British Empire is concerned. It is a case of a long pull and a strong pull by every unit in the Empire. Now is the time, gentlemen, to-day, not to-morrow, to throw our whole energy into this struggle. (Applause.)

It has been said by someone that Men, Munitions and Money are necessary for the winning of this war. The man who made that alliteration did not think just far enough: he should have added the word Management, because, gentlemen, you know the difference between management and mismanagement has spelt disaster for many an enterprise before this. (Hear, hear.) We cannot get sound and courageous management unless the government of Canada has the whole force of Parliament behind it. What does that mean? It means that political partyism must be positively and absolutely suppressed. (Hear, hear and applause.) Both of our parties have reached an understanding in that respect, but I regret to say that we can still see occasional glimpses of its ugly countenance here and there throughout the country. I venture to predict that after this war certain political methods common wherever the party system exists will receive a rude shock. I go further than that, gentlemen: there will be bonfires after this war is over: the fuel for some of the largest in Europe, in my opinion, will consist of old worn-out political party clothes. (Applause.) We have loved the heckler; with what delight we have listened to the verbal acrobatics of his prey. Oh! we have been expert fiddlers, and now we are struggling to quench the flames!

Party government is thought to be the best system yet devised. The game of football is played by the two parties, but public issues are sometimes more than mere footballs. If you feel as I do that indifferent methods are likely to produce unsound results, if you feel as I do about some of the evils of political partyism and especially some of the abominations of political strategy, you will be disposed to

endorse my recent attack on the system before the Canadian Club in Ottawa, when I said there had been too much running to political leaders with suggestions that practically meant that they might take chances with the taxes of the people, an occasional chance with the honor of the country, but on no account were they to do such an unholy act as to take a chance with the life of the party. You can easily conceive that my remarks met with some approval and also with some disapproval.

How can any Government do its full duty if there are political squabbles in the air? These cannot very well appear on one side without the very human spirit of reprisal causing them to break out on the other. Surely, gentlemen, at this time we can throw overboard party shibboleths and political "safety first" ideas. That, I think, is one of the two basic conditions that must prevail before we can get the country's back properly braced for our self-imposed load. The other is the question of taxation. The Treasury Department of our Government cannot manufacture money—at least it would be dangerous to try it. We have not the liquid assets—Canada is a country in the making. It is a debtor country. We are borrowers, and we must earn the interest in order to be able to pay it. It then becomes a question of thrift on our part. Therefore, I hold that the second basic condition in Canada is thrift—thrift by national, provincial, public and private corporations, as well as by individuals. (Hear, hear.)

What is Canada's ambition in this war? That is a question that needs our serious consideration. We occasionally hear the nice-sounding phrase that "our last man and our last dollar" must be available. We need to be a little more specific than that. Our aid to the Mother Country will largely be limited by the tax load we are prepared to carry. We must pay the price, gentlemen, in treasure as well as blood.

May I say something about our sacrifice in the matter of men? The volunteer system is now struggling to get men. We have fixed the number at 250,000. To me that number does not look particularly large. What is the situation of Canada? In 1911 we had 1,080,000 men from twenty to forty years of age who had been born under the British flag. We also had 244,000 foreign-born between the same ages. Of these foreign-born citizens of Canada, some may be expected to view the struggle for freedom in the same light as we see it. Altogether we may put the number at 1,200,000. Leaving aside those physically unfit for military ser-

vice, say one-third, it would look as if after providing for all of our domestic needs we should be able to supply a greater number than that named. However, there is little use talking about an increase until the 250,000 have been obtained.

The Empire has been thrilled by the courage and devotion to duty of our men at the front. But the cry is for men and more men. How the changes have been rung in Great Britain on some method of controlling the man force of the nation versus the volunteer system! Long since, that country abandoned conscription and nailed its colors to the voluntary system, and from it she, it seems, will not depart; no man is to be compelled to go abroad to defend his home unless he is willing! To force him to do so would interfere with the sacred liberty of the individual. The policemen, it is true, is doing that, but we have grown accustomed to him, and take him as a matter of course. That principle may have been sound at the time when it took a week to get into the next township, but it is absolutely unsound to-day. (Applause.)

We hear a great deal about the voluntary system being part of our British institutions. As a historical statement I believe that to be wrong. In Anglo-Saxon times they did not rely on volunteering: to be liable to compulsory service was the sign of being a free man. One of King Alfred's great reforms was to provide a better organization for national compulsory universal service. Through the Middle Ages Englishmen were liable for military service when called upon; the free-born Englishman had to give his service when he was required, and had to provide his weapons and armor at his own expense. When the Spanish Armada threatened England it was a conscript army which Queen Elizabeth arrayed to meet the Spaniards if they landed.

Recent researches have shown that part of Cromwell's famous New Model Army was composed of conscripts. During the Seven Years' War, and during the fight with Napoleon, the Militia was raised by conscription, and kept embodied for years at a time. The Militia did not fight abroad, and so its services and its compulsory basis were forgotten in the long peace which followed Waterloo, but it was a conscript regular army used for home defence. In Canada we have always had universal liability to compulsory service. The war in 1812 was fought by us with compulsory enlistment. Until a very few years ago, every man in Canada between the ages of 17 and 60 was by statute a Militiaman—

if he did not enlist in the active Militia, he was automatically a reserve Militiaman.

In Great Britain they have taken the names of the able-bodied on a National Register. Canada had her National Register in the years in which she was becoming Canada. Once a year every able-bodied man was required to present himself and answer "Here!" when his name was called. They called it Training Day, but it really was Muster Day, the day when each man in the country was reminded that the State could claim him. In Nova Scotia for some years up to Confederation, every man of the proper age put in his appearance and did his five days' drill.

Surely we should have known that the moment the British Empire became involved in a life and death struggle with two great Powers, that had so organized themselves as to bring into play as required their full man power, we throughout the British Empire would have to organize some system of national service, not, as I have said on another occasion, to dump every man in a uniform, but rather place each man where he would do the most effective work for the nation under the circumstances. (Hear, hear and applause.)

Have you ever noticed, gentlemen, our weakness for confounding pre-Millennium conditions with those things that are the habitats of that period, yet to come, of rest and peace, promised to our forefathers long since departed? When the Millennium is here, every man will understand his full rights of citizenship, and his full responsibilities as such. Then the volunteer system will be both proper and fully effective though we understand it is to be a time of no wars. What is going to happen to my race—the Irish—I don't know! (Laughter.) But it is so long ahead there is no use worrying about it.

While I hold that nothing should stand in the way when the country's back is to the wall, I appreciate the fact that there are reasons why Canada must draw her supplies through volunteering, and especially so in view of Great Britain's apparent determination not to depart from the system. Volunteering in New Canada—our West—has been most gratifying. My attention was recently called to one case, the efforts of the city of Lethbridge, out on the plains of Southern Alberta, where ten per cent. of the total population is in this fight. (Applause.) Her name, with some of our other centres, notably your own city of Toronto, I believe, will stand out prominently for all time in the records of the Empire.

Now a few words, gentlemen, regarding the financial side of the situation. All set rules are being blown to the four winds of heaven in this cataclysm; what is sound to-day may be unsound to-morrow; and, while fighting men are the main essential, it now looks as if the combatants are reaching the point where finance is going to tell. The economic situation will have a vast bearing on the issue. It has been said that this war is going to be won by silver bullets. I think it is a reasonable statement to make that Germany from the very first, for every penny expended has been getting a greater service than France and Russia, and at least double the service secured by Great Britain.

While our navy has hemmed in the Central Powers and destroyed their trade, it has thereby indirectly assisted them, as they cannot export any products. It is useless, therefore, under the circumstances, for them to expend any energy on things for sale in other countries. Therefore, the entire energy of those countries is divided into two main classes—men to fight, and men and women engaged in production to feed and clothe the entire population, as well as supplying necessary war munitions. In other words, the silver bullets—the full energy of all the people in Germany and Austria—are yielding those countries the maximum efficiency, which cannot be the case with the Allies, as they were not prepared for this struggle and must go abroad for war and other supplies.

Look at the situation in Great Britain. Figures were presented to the Canadian Club in Montreal a few days ago as to what the taxpayer in the Mother Country is undertaking, figures which fairly stagger the mind. The people of Britain have doubled their fairly heavy taxation—doing it willingly—and still they are running behind billions of dollars. At the present time Great Britain is spending either on herself or in loans to her Allies about one million dollars per hour. These figures expand in a few months almost beyond our finite minds.

Our own Canadian war expenditures are beginning to mount up. The net debt of Canada at the 31st March, 1915, was \$408,000,000. Our commitments at that date for various works under construction were, say, \$100,000,000. Our war expenditures to the 31st December, 1916, at the present rate will probably amount to \$392,000,000, making our expenditures, plus commitments, at the end of next year probably about one thousand million dollars.

Some very interesting articles appeared in August last in one of your Toronto papers on the economic situation. It was then pointed out that Canada in the last three years had reduced her annual imports by about \$250,000,000, indicating a return to more sane conditions, while the exports have gone up so that the balance of trade is now fortunately in our favor.

This of course indicates prosperity, some considerable proportion due to abnormal conditions on account of the war. As our business is to assist the Allies, we could at least give them the benefit of any prosperity brought to us through the war. (Applause.) Now, instead of using our surplus earnings, that is, the balance of trade which it seems will be in our favor during at least the life of the war, by attempting to carry on further development work in Canada, our people might lend those earnings to Great Britain for purchases by them in our own country. (Hear, hear.) We could go further to the very great advantage of Canada providing we were willing to make an effort and inaugurate a campaign of thrift, public and private. Money saved is money made. If we could get back near the homely methods of life of thirty years ago, the yearly earnings of Canada would before many years make her wealthy beyond any dreams of the present. (Hear, hear.)

No man ever made a mistake in preaching thrift, and in recent years the North American continent offered a great field for that preaching. We usually associate the Scotchman with thrift. I think the world owes him a tremendous debt of gratitude for keeping it from being entirely strangled. (Laughter.) There is no rudder to equal thrift in carrying us through the reconstruction period following the war, and which we hope will last but a few years at the most.

It is very gratifying to hear that our Government in co-operation with our Banks is now trying to work out some system for financing, for the time being, the Mother Country in its expenditures in this country. In fact, it has very recently transpired that our Minister of Finance has been doing something of that character for some time. We all know that Great Britain has practically reached the point where those wishing to continue to sell to her must arrange some system of credits. I don't know, gentlemen, where in this world we can get better security than from the British nation. (Hear, hear and applause.)

We must, however, realize that Canada's action should not be measured by what has taken place in Great Britain. Our population is about one-sixth of hers, but that does not mean that our war obligations should bear the same proportion. It would not be possible for us to do that much. Great Britain is a creditor nation, and to some extent can live upon her income furnished by other nations, while we in Canada have to produce to meet our requirements, and in addition find money with which to pay large sums by way of interest on borrowed capital.

The days of the wizard, gentlemen, have passed away. The Minister of Finance gave the tax screw a slight turn at the last session of Parliament, but it has not been felt, owing to heavy war expenditures in the country, coupled with a magnificent crop. The screw must be turned with considerable force before long to meet the increased expenditures we are now making, and still again it will have to be turned. And we must hold up our hands for it, so long as it means the maintenance of the integrity of the British people. (Applause.)

I wonder if we are really conscious of that fact? I fear not. Our Government, therefore, must be supported by the whole people in the great problem of finding the necessary money with which to enable Canada to do its full duty in this war. That cannot be so, unless we are united. Our slogan therefore should be, "Grit is as good as Tory, Tory as good as Grit, we are brothers all!" (Applause.) Let me again say, gentlemen, this is no time for politics. When a man's flesh and blood goes into this fight, friends political and otherwise have got to step aside! (Hear, hear.)

A particularly important feature of our national life is the newspaper press, and when everybody else is called upon to make sacrifices, to put forth efforts, we have every right to expect our journalism to do the same. I think that all here should realize that the newspapers are in a very delicate and difficult position; just as I think that the newspapers ever should have in mind that their responsibilities are great. We all know that great reticence is necessary on their part in war time; indeed it is a good virtue for us all to practice now. Many things are widely known in every community which the newspapers of that community will do well to omit from their columns. Editors must know many significant things which they must suppress. When a nation is at war to-day, its enemies eagerly scan the columns of its newspapers for all sorts of information, hints as to plans of

action, bits of facts about the movements of soldiers and the making of munitions, information as to the temper of the public.

We all know that great harm has been done to nations which have had indiscreet newspapers; we all know that other nations have found a patriotic and self-sacrificing press a positive help. Now, we have a perfect right to expect our newspapers to be a positive help to us in fighting. I put aside the idea of their being a hindrance. I am not satisfied that they should be a negative, a neutral factor. To be worthy of our best national self, they should help. I think they have done very well. Their tone has been resolute. They are doing their utmost in the matter of recruiting. They have been prudent in regard to our relations with neutral nations. They have been really self-sacrificing in the matter of news; trained for generations to print almost everything which could be described as news, they have denied themselves the publication of thousands of facts, often at considerable monetary cost. They have co-operated with the authorities on the whole with excellent goodwill. Now I think there is a way in which we can help them. We here are consumers of newspapers, are their customers, are their constituency. It is a severe trial to a journalist to feel that his readers expect him to print the facts, and to be asked by someone in office to suppress these facts. I think that we, the customers of the newspapers, should assure them that we support them in their patriotic reticence (applause), that we understand their position and sympathise with them, that much as we like to read the news, we don't want them to print a single line that would help the enemy; that if there is a doubt we want the benefit of the doubt to be given to the side of reticence; in short, that in any voluntary press censorship which they may set up we are with them. (Applause.)

That is one message. The other is that in the suppression of party conflict which I have advocated, they are the most important element. I assure the gentlemen of the press that the country does not want partisan recriminations. (Hear, hear.) The newspapers are the voice of the people; the people wish to speak the words of resolute determination, not the words of electioneering. In so far as they turn the whole energy of their minds and wills to devising effectual methods of pursuing the war, in that measure do they express our mind and will. (Applause.) The figure, in fact, we cut

before the world depends upon our newspapers. Some portion of our own temper depends on their steadiness and clearness of sight. We can ask them to express the best self of this community. On the whole, they do represent our better self; let us recognize this, and applaud and support them for it. (Hear, hear.)

Now, gentlemen, a few moments ago I asked as to the ambition of Canada in this struggle. Speaking for myself, and I know I voice the opinion of vast numbers of men and women, it is not a question of measuring what we should do by the action of others. It is a question of doing our absolute utmost. If I am to carry an extra load, and that load is such as to make me one of a group, I say, even on selfish grounds, let me carry something additional, in order to be well up in the lead. If we have the vision and courage to pursue such a course now, it will give us prominence in the era following the war that will help us to push forward our development and quickly get our tax load back to the normal again.

That is my policy in a few words. It is no question of running neck and neck with Australia, but of having vision and courage to do our very utmost. (Applause.)

The war will end. What then, gentlemen? More than half of the world impoverished and bleeding, who can predict what will then happen? Two things we should now be doing: planning out how we can place the right people on land should the opportunity suddenly come to us; and secondly, strengthening our immigration service, so as to protect ourselves from undesirables should the worst elements in Europe break loose after the storm. (Hear, hear.)

Gentlemen, we are either in this war and mean business, or we are not and don't! (Applause.) We either mean what we say or we don't. We all say the strain on Great Britain in men and money is as much as, if not more, than she can stand. We say we have no desire to see her robbed of her power and prestige, and become a second Holland. We say that on humanitarian grounds alone we should stand up like free men and fight.

Looking at the average man on the street—he shows no particular evidence that we are reaching out after this war with all our energy. The entire man power, yes and women force, in Germany, are in the struggle, but not so with us, so far as one can see. To the credit of the women of Canada, they are doing much more than we men outside of those going to the front as soldiers (applause), but in fairness

to ourselves we need the necessary machinery to bring us together. The success of any effort may be measured by its organization. In this case it means national organization, but we are strangers to any such idea. (Applause.)

The strength of the Anglo-Saxon—his independence—is also a source of weakness. As units in the nation we would have chafed under any control looking to team play. But the lesson we are learning will cause us to change our minds in that respect. We have many good men scattered throughout the country keenly anxious to render some assistance but who through age or other causes are unable to go to the front. They seriously think of the Empire and its peril—an evidence of good citizenship. They have suggestions, good, bad and indifferent, but no machinery to sift them out, to co-ordinate them, and make use of those that might be of benefit to the country. They then comence to grumble—a safety valve of the virile—which is harmless enough provided it does not reach the point of "rocking the boat."

Personally, I have passed that stage. For my own part, I have no desire to rock the boat. Instead of stating the number of men that we should put into the fight, or the extent to which Canada should aid in the matter of finance, in my judgment those matters had better be left with the Government, and let the people get behind the Government, and tell them it is their business to put on full steam ahead! (Applause.)

A problem, common to many countries, but more acute in a growing land like Canada, is to co-ordinate the efforts of thinking men. Our men of marked ability, deeply engrossed in guiding their various projects, especially in periods of stress, are unable to render much real assistance in any occasional consultations with those in authority. Our country needs gradually to build up a great public service with trained experts to work out our complicated questions, all affecting the development of Canada.

At no time in the history of the British people have public men had such an opportunity to serve their people. It is very questionable if any such men will have a like opportunity again. The basic idea in the minds of public men to-day should be—we will serve the people with courage, we will do that which we believe to be in the best interests of the nation, no matter how extraordinary our actions may appear, and regardless of the consequences at the next election, something that is in too great evidence in the policies of both political parties.

Public men in the British Empire have opportunity to do more real work for the benefit of mankind during the next two years than has ever been possible in the most strenuous lives of any of Britain's greatest servants in the past. If they play up with courage, as great citizens of the Empire, they can afford to say at the end of this war, "We have put a life's work into a few years, and now seek an honorable discharge," and, gentlemen, what a record they will leave upon the pages of history! (Applause.)
