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MARRIAGES

DALTON-NELSON.— At 127 King St. East, St. John, N. B., on July 30th, by Rev. W. B. Thomas, Jeremiah Dalton of Burton, P. E. I., and Fannie Nelson of Milwaukee, N. S.

DEATHS

CLARK.—At Kensington, on Wednesday, Aug. 5, 1914, Henry Clark, in the 80th year of his age.

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FRIDAY, AUGUST 7TH, 1914.

DIARY OF EVENTS

TODAY.

City Magistrate's Court, 9 a. m.
Prince Edward Theatre, 7.30 and 9 p. m.
People's Theatre, 7.45 and 9 p. m.

AUGUST.

HIGH WATER.

Table with columns: Date, Day, Time, H't., Time, H't. listing high water times for August 1st to 31st.

War Bulletin

The Guardian has arranged for a special service of War bulletins both day and night. The most important news will be posted on the Guardian bulletin boards as received.

CASE FOR ARMAMENTS

In connection with the present European crisis it is interesting to find that Lieut. A. C. Dewar, R. N. the brilliant grandson of Sir John Dewar of Perth, and second cousin of the Dewars of New Perth, this province, practically predicted the course of events in an article appearing in the current number of Everyman.

Lieut Dewar said: To declare that we have reached the stage of European federation is to cry "peace, peace," when there is no peace. There is still a risk of aggression in International policy, and the necessity of defence remains as grimly insistent as ever. But defence is not the only form of military activity. An energetic race seeks a field for the expansion and utilization of its energies, and, whatever may be said to the contrary, military power has been and still remains the principal instrument of expansion. This is the verdict of history, the verdict of the great empires, the verdict of the Norman Conquest, which in one brief day turned the stream of English civilisation from a Scandinavian to a Gallic channel.

It is true that military power does not now play a great part in our relations with the great daughter dominions overseas, but it won these dominions for Anglo-Saxon civilisation, and under the aegis of our flag they have grown to maturity, and are still protected from aggression. That colonies are merely a burden is a doctrine to which no virile and kinetic nation will subscribe. Like children, they are a blessing and a burden at one and the same time.

If we probe deeper into this new criticism we find that its depreciation of military power is partly based on a profound misconception of the nature and method of war. They talk of one nation going to war to annex or wholly eat up another. They discuss the permanent destruction of an enemy's trade, the total annihilation of Germany, or the seizure and occupation of all the British colonies. But no war staff ever dreams of such attempts. They are fragments of the imagination culled apparently from the correspondence columns of the daily press. All this is a fantasy, not war, and may be described in one word as the "annexation" fallacy. Foreign staffs do not talk about annexing England or capturing our whole trade of Canadian wheat. They discuss the capture of Malta, and the pressure which

would be exerted on us by the consequent collapse of the whole fabric of our Eastern trade and half our wheat supply. They do not talk of annexing Australia, but of capturing Sydney. When Sydney is captured, Australia submits.

A wrong conception of the methods of military power naturally leads to the theory that its exertion is economically disastrous to both combatants. This constitutes the main theme of the new school of critics. They assert that increased facilities for communication have enmeshed us in so wide a net of credit that an enemy's defeat will react through the chain of credit most disastrously on ourselves. Finance plays a great part in war and constitutes one of the main branches of the scientific study of war, but it is not the whole of war. The picture drawn of a war prevented in 1911 by financial considerations is only a partial picture. The attitude of Great Britain and the strength of her fleet contributed just as powerfully to the maintenance of peace. Again, a financial crisis does not mean the evaporation of a country's wealth. Coal, ships and houses do not fly away. The collapse of credit is due not to war alone, but to rumors of war acting on a vicious system of finance. In July, 1870, French credit did not collapse. French four and a half per cents, only fell from 104 to 99, or about a tenth of the fall of our Consols in the last ten years of peace. The collapse of credit is in itself a symptom of unpreparedness for war, and the nation that can best guard itself against such a contingency is halfway to victory. Germany's answer to this argument has been to increase the reserve in the Reichsbank by £20,000,000 and the war chest at Spandau by £12,000,000, and this has been done by buying gold "practically at a loss." To say that war will result in a collapse of credit, and is therefore futile, is to reverse the logic of facts. The real train of reasoning is that our credit will collapse because we have never faced the question of a sufficient gold reserve, and this collapse will be disastrous to us and another lever in the hands of an enemy. The new criticism says that finance is stronger than Mars—that Pluto is stronger than Mars. The Gross-General-Stab at Berlin says that finance is war, and takes care that Pluto shall assist Mars.

Another prime argument is that the sweep of modern commerce, the flow and interflow of trade and the increasing interdependence of nation will prevent war. It may certainly exercise a pacific influence on nations, but interdependence will no more prevent war between them than it prevents serious and crippling disputes in families and in business. The ideas of the new school on the methods of war have been summarised in the "Annexation" fallacy. Their erroneous ideas on the methods of trade are found in what may be called the "Barter-Chain" fallacy, which is equally far removed from the reality of things. A picture is drawn of a German trader (call him A) selling cinema films (a) to a Glasgow suburb (B), which sells tools (b) to an Argentine ranch (C), which sells wheat (c) to a Newcastle boilershop (D), and the result of England defeating Germany is made to vibrate right through this chain and to bring not a shadow of advantage to England. The fallacy is, of course, patent. One may pass over the minor error (though grave enough) that the units are all different and that a tradesman, a suburb, a ranch and a boilershop are all heaped on top of one another. The real fallacy is much graver. A, B, C, and D are all pictured as wholly dependent on one another, and, as localities, wholly engaged in the production of a single commodity (a, b, c, d). The markets are supposed to be closed and rigid. They are in reality open and elastic. There are a hundred thousand barter-chains all melting into one another. A Glasgow suburb has not one industry and one market but a hundred industries and a thousand markets. If it cannot get films from Germany it can get them from America or France. Trade is not a rigid thing but infinitely adapted, and can adapt itself to war, and the temporary loss of our trade with France in the Napoleonic wars was more than compensated by the acquisition of her trade with markets overseas. It is travesties of reality such as the "Annexation" and "Barter-Chain" fallacies that have induced Lord Sydenham, an authority on national defence, to say that in the "Great Illusion" he found only "a series of propositions which seemed falsified by all the history he ever knew, and a number of dogmatic and wholly inaccurate assertions." What ever the new criticism may say, the German people are convinced that the war of 1870 was for Germany the initial point of that phenomenal economic development which reads more like a romance than a reality. The beginnings of Prussia are to be found in the wars of Frederick the Great—wars of frightful economic exhaustion. And yet in the birth pangs

of that exhaustion Prussia was born. But, says the new school, would it not be better if instead of going to war the nations could all sweep forward in one great rhythmic march towards a common goal, and "in a fuller life of co-operation discover a complete realization of all the essentials of life." Here they are on sound ground, and here if they only realize the small portion of their hopes their evangelism will not be wholly in vain. But at present the majority of nations are deaf to such ideas, and it seems a little incongruous preaching co-operation to Europe when we cannot even attain it between England and Ireland at home. "Humanity," says Nietzsche, "marches to its goal in the company of two dreadful escorts—war and insanity." They will no doubt be left behind us in time, but we have to accept them for the present. Cooperation was the gospel preached by the waters of Galilee and on the hill of Areopagus. Two centuries have passed away since then, and the world refuses to be hurried. The ideas of Mr. Angell and Mr. Waechter are within the range of practical politics, and are well worth venturing, but a one-sided evangelism leading to a one-sided disarmament will merely imperil the democracy which listens to it. But in any case, co-operation is no real argument against military power till it takes definite shape.

"We speak of what is, not of what might be, and how 'twere better, if 'twere otherwise." The new criticism talks of a mysterious law of acceleration which is apparently reforming humanity at a tremendous rate. We have heard of acceleration in the sphere of physics, but not in the sphere of sociology. Enormous strides have been made in the utilisation of energy and in mechanical discovery, but there is no such progress discernible in the conversion of human nature. So far as war is concerned, the tremendous developments in science and mechanism have merely added to the force and rapidity of an enemy's blow and increased the intensity of military efforts without affecting the motives of its use.

It is argued that smaller nations with no military pretensions, such as Denmark and Switzerland, are prosperous and happy enough. In the case of Switzerland, mountains are a very effective form of military power, and Denmark has already had a large piece lopped off and trembles under the shadow of things to come. These smaller nations have abandoned the struggle, and their fate now lies outside them. They have no share in shaping the political future of the world, and had all nations followed their example the civilization of the world might now be Mohammedan or Oriental, and Europe might now be revolving round the Bagdad or Stamboul. Physical force, too, will always remain an ultimate argument of government, and if force is to be used it must be embodied in the form of military power, exercised and controlled by responsible and disciplined agents. As an instrument for the maintenance of law and order, military power will always remain an important function of government. Arbitration has been proposed as a substitute for force in international relations, but this course will never be accepted unreservedly by the more progressive and virile nations. As the German Chancellor says, "It would merely perpetuate the existing state of things," and finally arbitration is emphatically an expression of reason, and human affairs are not wholly controlled by reason. Nor can armaments be condemned as unproductive if they fulfil a purpose of utility and are no more intended to be productive in the strict sense of the word than a canal or a railway train. You cannot denounce a canal for not being a fish-pond, and the defence of goods is just as necessary as their transportation. Military power is not an unmixed advantage, and is often burdensome, but the same applied to children and many other inseparable adjuncts of human life. The provisions dragged by the weary Antarctic explorer over southern snows are at once a burden and a necessity. So to a certain extent is the Navy of Great Britain, but she has been peopled from the sea and knows that there, and there alone, her greatness can be secured. Behind the screen of her far-flung ships, the Empire works out its own salvation. That screen cannot solve all our riddles, but it leaves us free to solve them in our own way. Defence is one of the primary and elemental as-

pects of human life, and military power, as the expression of defence, remains an advantage in so far as the provision of a burdensome necessity, can rightly be interpreted as an advantage.

MR. J. J. HUGHES AND THE WAR

"To the Editor of The Montreal Star: If Britain is involved in war, Canada should do her duty. Borden's majority of nations are deaf to such ideas, and it seems a little incongruous preaching co-operation to Europe when we cannot even attain it between England and Ireland at home. "Humanity," says Nietzsche, "marches to its goal in the company of two dreadful escorts—war and insanity." They will no doubt be left behind us in time, but we have to accept them for the present. Cooperation was the gospel preached by the waters of Galilee and on the hill of Areopagus. Two centuries have passed away since then, and the world refuses to be hurried. The ideas of Mr. Angell and Mr. Waechter are within the range of practical politics, and are well worth venturing, but a one-sided evangelism leading to a one-sided disarmament will merely imperil the democracy which listens to it. But in any case, co-operation is no real argument against military power till it takes definite shape.

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SIR WILFRID LAURIER AND NAVAL AID

It is to be regretted that some newspapers supporting Sir Wilfrid Laurier have used the present situation in Europe as an excuse to make the claim that if the Laurier "Naval Policy" had been adopted, Canada would now have had a navy force sufficient for coast defence. Those newspapers lose sight of the fact that after Sir Robert Borden had been in consultation with the British Admiralty he arose in the House of Commons on December 5th, 1912, and in an address based upon a memorandum received from the British Admiralty defining the assistance from Canada which would be most acceptable to Britain, moved the following resolution: "Resolved that it is expedient in connection with the Bill now before this House intitled an act to authorize measures for increasing the effective naval forces of the Empire, to provide: (a) That from and out of the Consolidated Revenue Fund of Canada there may be paid and applied a sum not exceeding thirty-five million dollars for the purpose of immediately increasing the effective naval force of the Empire; (b) That the said sum shall be used and applied under the direction of the Governor in Council in the construction and equipment of battle ships or armoured cruisers of the most modern or powerful type; (c) That the said ships when constructed and equipped shall be placed in the form of military power, exercised by the Governor in Council at the disposal of His Majesty for the common defence of the Empire; (d) The said sum shall be paid, used and applied, and the said ships shall be constructed and placed at the disposal of His Majesty subject to such terms, conditions and arrangements as may be agreed upon between the Governor in Council and His Majesty's Government."

This was Sir Robert Borden's proposal for an emergency gift to the British Empire in reply to the request of that Empire as contained in the memorandum from Mr. Churchill served to bring out the full fighting strength of the Liberal party and of Sir Wilfrid Laurier against it. It is very well for Liberals, and Liberal newspapers, today, to declare that they are in favor of aid to Britain's navy. Now that the war has broken out it is not only the patriotic but politic position for the Liberals to assume. It is probably true that Sir Wilfrid Laurier is now prepared to bury political questions and unite with the Canadian Government in doing everything possible to aid the Empire, but despite all the Liberal oratory, and all the laudation which the Canadian Government made in a proposition which would have been effective, the Liberals headed by Sir Wilfrid, not only opposed it with all the force at their command but they had nothing stable to suggest in its place. Their policy, if they had any, can best be gauged by the record of their party during the time the Naval Aid question was under discussion in the House of Commons.

Reference to the files of newspapers and to Hansard of that day, show where they stood, or what they wanted, except that for political and party reasons they were in opposition to the proposal of Sir Robert Borden. This lack of consistency on the part of Laurier and his followers can be shown by a record of the votes and for the benefit of the Table.

(Continued on page six)

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