

Shall Canada Abandon Her Fiscal Independence

Continued From Page 1

make requests for changes of one kind or another; and the result was that after weeks of discussion in the country, and the hearing of all kinds of deputations, and after the fullest discussion in the parliament, many and repeated changes in the tariff as proposed by the government were made; duties were lowered, new duties were added, existing duties were withdrawn. In some cases the figures were changed three or four times. Finally a tariff was thrust out which was the result of the fullest discussion in the country by the people on their own account, after representations made to the government, after boards of trade had been heard and after every member in the house had had a full and effective say in regard to the tariff policy. THE RESULT WAS THAT THE TARIFF REPRESENTED FAIRLY WELL THE WISHES OF THE COUNTRY AT LARGE, AND THE VIEWS OF THE HOUSE, AND IN THAT WAY PARLIAMENT ASSERTED ITS RIGHT TO MAKE A TARIFF THAT SUITED THE CANADIAN PEOPLE IRRESPECTIVE OF EVEN THE HOME GOVERNMENT OR ANY COUNTRY OUTSIDE. EVEN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE DAY HAD TO BOW TO PARLIAMENT IN THE MATTER.

Two Men Usurp the Right of Parliament.

Now, then, I want you to mark clearly these two points: That we had achieved our fiscal independence, and that we exercised it thru the house of parliament in a full free discussion in which members could effect changes if they were able to give good reasons for them. Mark now the mighty change, the revolution that is effected by this proposed reciprocity deal—the most revolutionary change in our constitution that has ever been made; namely, under this reciprocity which we are now discussing, and on which we have to vote, THE RIGHT TO MAKE OUR TARIFF IS TAKEN AWAY FROM PARLIAMENT, IS TAKEN EVEN FROM THE GOVERNMENT OF THE DAY AND PUT IN THE HANDS OF TWO MINISTERS MORE OR LESS IN TOUCH WITH THE PRIME MINISTER, IN TREATY WITH THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES; AND PARLIAMENT IS TOLD THAT INSTEAD OF EXERCISING ITS FORMER FUNCTION OF COMPLETE CONTROL OF THE TARIFF IT MUST ACCEPT WITHOUT AMENDMENT, WITHOUT ALTERATION, AND WITHOUT ANY EFFECTIVE DISCUSSION WHATSOEVER THE DECISION REACHED BY THE TWO MINISTERS NEGOTIATING THE TARIFF. But that is not the worst.

Made at Washington.

This tariff change which we are now discussing was not even made in Canada. It was, as I said, made in Washington, AND THE MAN WHO HAD THE MOST TO SAY IN IT WAS THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES; and I say, when a country which has achieved its fiscal independence so far abandons that fiscal independence as to have its tariff made outside of the country, and to have it made by the president of the United States, more than anyone else, that country is not fit for independence. It has shown itself unworthy of the great rights of self-government conferred upon it, and is already on the downward grade towards national disintegration. I do not believe that Sir Wilfrid Laurier knew what he was doing, that he was parting with this great heritage of parliament; but, inasmuch as he has proposed this great revolutionary change, I say it is your duty and the duty of parliament when it meets, to fight to the bitter end any such abandonment of our self-governing rights, and the rights of parliament. I regard this great organic change, this fundamental change in our national life, as one of ten times the importance of the actual merits or demerits of reciprocity itself; so that to my mind, the first question that will take months to settle, will be a discussion of this great change proposed in our constitution; and until it is settled there can be no discussion of the actual facts in regard to reciprocity.

The Only Argument for the Pact. Now, for a moment, let me come to this question of reciprocity itself. Let us see all the arguments the government have advanced for their signing the deal at Washington. All that Mr. Fielding has said in support of the proposal when it was introduced in parliament was to the effect that THE GOVERNMENT SIGNED THIS TREATY BECAUSE THEY THOUGHT ALL CANADIANS WERE IN FAVOR OF RECIPROCITY. They gave no statistics, they presented no memoranda from people in Canada in favor of the deal. Without a moment's notice to the people, in fact, by keeping them absolutely in the dark, the government usurped the power of parliament or rather two ministers usurped the power of parliament, and signed a treaty that was based on opinion, and not on any study of the question!

The Americans, on the contrary, before they signed the treaty had experts at work for months preparing estimates, market reports, prices and

statistics, which were presented to that government. In other words THE AMERICAN EXPERTS WERE ABLE TO SHOW TO THE PRESIDENT THAT RECIPROCITY WOULD BE A GOOD THING FOR THE UNITED STATES, and the very same figures, are by the same reasoning, sufficient to establish THAT RECIPROCITY IS A BAD THING FOR CANADA. So that this proposed reciprocity pact is a thing made in the dark, a thing made without giving Canadians any chance to be heard, and a thing which must be accepted by parliament without effective discussion, without any change whatsoever.

You Are Too Late.

As I said, formerly delegations could go to Ottawa and make representations as to the effect of the proposed tariff changes; but for the first time in the history of this country WHEN THE MARKET GARDENERS AND THE FRUIT GROWERS WENT TO OTTAWA as they did last spring and told THE PRIME MINISTER how their business would be ruined, THE ANSWER THEY GOT WAS THAT THEY HAD COME TOO LATE and that the whole thing was to be accepted without protest because Mr. Paterson and Mr. Fielding had signed it on behalf of Canada! I deny that any two men, I don't care how well posted they may be, are competent to make the tariff of Canada. THE CANADIAN PEOPLE WILL MAKE THEIR OWN TARIFF THRU PARLIAMENT AND THRU CONSULTATION WITH PARLIAMENT, AND THEY WILL MAKE IT INDEPENDENT OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES. God-bye to Canada's future if it ever comes to this, that the president of the United States is to be consulted in our tariff and IF THAT TARIFF IS TO BE MADE IN WASHINGTON IN NEGOTIATION WITH THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES AND WITHOUT THE CANADIAN PARLIAMENT HAVING A SAY WHATSOEVER.

The Americans Had Reasons.

There are some reasons, and good reasons, advanced in favor of reciprocity, but they come largely from the United States and let me give you an illustration that will bear this out. If you go into the counting rooms of the City of Toronto any morning, or if you go into the offices in this County of Waterloo or in the manufacturing towns and cities like Berlin, Brantford, like St. Thomas, like Hamilton, like London and a hundred others, you will find clerks busy opening letters containing money from all over this province, and especially from the Canadian west, being money for goods, for manufactures, for interest for insurance premiums, for thousands of things in the way of business. This stream of money that comes into Ontario every morning from the west is the lifeblood of this community of Ontario, and is making Ontario to-day one of the greatest manufacturing centres and one of the most prosperous countries in the world. The stream that comes to us daily from the Canadian west is growing by leaps and bounds.

The glory of this Province of Ontario is not Ontario itself but the newer and greater Ontario that we have created in the west. Ontario has made Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, British Columbia; we have given them our sons, our daughters, our institutions, and to-day their trade with us is on an enormous scale and on a growing scale; and a great stream of goods goes from this province out to the west, which promises to develop into one of the most enormous flows of commerce ever known to the world!

The Making of America.

For a moment I wish to divert from this to a similar condition of affairs that began in the United States about fifty or sixty years ago when the new western states like Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Kansas, Missouri and the still newer ones of them began to be settled. There began to flow from these western states a stream of money to American towns and cities in the east, to New York, to Boston and New England in payment of goods, interest, of insurance, in a similar way as money comes into Ontario to-day from the Canadian west. That stream grew abundantly and built up those great cities in the American east and those great towns in the American west. That wonderful development that we have seen in the United States is the product of that east and west trade that began with the settlement of the American prairie country.

Americans Wish to Divert Our Trade. Now our American friends have become wise to this new and what promises to be a greater stream of money between Eastern and Western Canada, flowing from the western provinces to the Canadian towns and cities in the east, and having once experienced the benefit of such a trade, are most anxious to divert that trade, to dislocate it and CHANGE IT FROM THE CANADIAN CITIES IN THE EAST TO THEIR OWN AMERICAN CITIES TO THE SOUTHEAST AND TO THE ATLANTIC COAST. THAT

is to be free trade for the farmer, there must be free trade for the manufacturer; or, if there is to be protection for the manufacturer, then there must be protection for the farmer! Let me read to you an editorial in The Grain Growers' Guide of Winnipeg, published on July 26, and you will see what these farmers have in view:

On Saturday, July 22, The Canadian-American reciprocity agreement was ratified by the United States senate by a vote of 53 to 27, and will receive the signature of the president to-day. This ends all speculation in regard to the action of the United States. IT WILL ALSO BE THE FIRST SERIOUS BLOW IN HALF A CENTURY TO THE INQUITOUS PROTECTIONIST PRINCIPLE. THE CANADIAN FARMERS WILL HAVE BETTER PRICES FOR A LARGE PORTION OF THEIR PRODUCTS, AND IN ADDITION WILL BE PLACED IN A POSITION WHERE THEY CAN DEMAND THE REMOVAL OF PROTECTION FROM THE MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY. WHEN THE RECIPROCITY AGREEMENT FOR TWELVE MONTHS THE FARMERS OF CANADA WILL ALL BE CONVINCED (AS MOST OF THEM ARE NOW) THAT PROTECTION IS A DELUSION. THEY CAN THEN SAY TO THE GOVERNMENT QUITE CONSISTENTLY, "WE CAN PROSPER WITHOUT PROTECTION AND SO CAN THE MANUFACTURERS. DOWN WITH THE PROTECTIVE TARIFF. RECIPROCITY IS BUT THE FIRST STEP TOWARD WIPING OUT THE TRADE BARRIERS BETWEEN CANADA, THE MOTHER COUNTRY AND THE UNITED STATES, WHICH ARE OF BENEFIT CHIEFLY TO THOSE INDUSTRIES THAT PREY UPON THE COMMON PEOPLE. IT ALSO MARKS THE FIRST VICTORY OF THE ORGANIZED FARMERS IN THEIR FIGHT FOR A SQUARE DEAL. INSPIRED BY THIS CONQUEST, THE ORGANIZED FARMERS CAN GO AHEAD, ENCOURAGED BY THE KNOWLEDGE THAT THEY ARE A REAL POWER IN CANADIAN AFFAIRS AND THAT WITH THE CONTINUATION OF THEIR EDUCATIONAL PROPAGANDA THEY CAN COMPEL PARLIAMENT TO REMOVE ALL CONCESSIONS TO SPECIAL PRIVILEGE. THE FIGHT FOR JUSTICE HAS ONLY BEGUN AND WILL NOT END UNTIL CANADIAN INDUSTRIES STAND ON THEIR OWN FEET AND NOT UPON THE TOES OF THE CANADIAN PEOPLE."

The Question of Prices.

I am not going into the question of prices to-night under reciprocity for Canadian products, I have argued that before and I think I have been able to show that instead of prices of our natural products going up by free trade between the two countries, the only effect will be that Canadian prices will come down to the level that obtains in the west. You will find that it will not be a free trade in markets so much as it will be a free trade in competition, and the American competition will be distinctly to the detriment of Canadian raw products. The friends of reciprocity forget to tell you when they tell you that the Americans are taking down their tariff wall that WE TOO ARE TAKING DOWN OUR TARIFF WALL which has been a sure protection to Canadian natural products up to date.

Can Mackenzie King Keep His Promise.

Let me divert to a statement made by the Hon. Mackenzie King in this country, for on one minute stand up before a national policy so unjust and so unfair as the one they propose; and my only explanation of their conduct is that these men who were once free traders, but who have become friendly to the national policy, have decided to go back to their old love, as it was expressed by them, that what they wanted was FREE TRADE AS THEY HAD IN ENGLAND, and that what they hoped to do was to WIPED THE NATIONAL POLICY OFF THE FACE OF THE EARTH! This latter was what my opponent in East York declared to be his policy in 1896 and in 1900. Do you want free trade, as they have it in England? Do you want the national policy destroyed? That is the issue, and I say that Mr. King can no more maintain the national policy in that one sided shape that he is now starting, than he can sweep back the ocean with a broom. They fell down before the farmers of the west, they went on their knees before the people of the west, and they will go on their bellies before all the farmers of Canada when the united farmers' interests go to Ottawa for fair play all round.

After Free Trade on the Farms, Free Manufactures. And now let me tell you something further on this line and it is this, while the Americans are anxious to divert our trade in natural products and to control it, their REAL OBJECT IS TO GRAB THE CANADIAN MARKET and to supply it almost exclusively WITH THEIR MANUFACTURED GOODS FROM THE UNITED STATES. That is the second and greatest reason which the American manufacturers have! They wish to manufacture for all America and that is what they mean by reciprocity. They even mean something more; they think that if they can get us into a deal in regard to trade, that if they can have a say in regard to the making of our tariff, then they can take advantage of opportunity as it presents itself and by one device and another THEY CAN GRADUALLY ABSORB THIS COUNTRY INTO THEIR UNION, and we will become half a dozen states in the American federation. Up to the time Mr. Fielding and Mr. Paterson signed this reciprocity proposal the Americans had about abandoned any hope of the absorption of Canada. They had tried it time after time and it had failed, but the moment the pact was signed an annexation plot went up in the

United States, and you can hear it reverberating to-day thruout that great country.

The president has declared that we are at the parting of the ways. Champ Clark says that annexation is the ultimate hope. Newspaper after newspaper, public man after public man, has declared that Canada now is on her way to her natural destiny, that of absorption into the union—that the name of Canada is forever to disappear from off the map of this North American continent. I don't think so, you don't think so, but it is necessary for you and for me and for every loyal Canadian to fight this proposal to a finish and to beat it as we will beat it in the elections and in parliament whenever it comes up!

An Alternative Policy. Next let me come to the question of an alternative policy. The farmers of the Canadian west have grievances that ought to be remedied. To my mind their main grievances are not a matter of tariff but a matter of railway, telegraph and express tolls, a matter of non-enforcement of federal law, a matter of the unfair exactions of trusts, both in the way of prices paid for raw products and prices charged consumers. And the same thing may be said of the people in the east, especially the consumers. Mackenzie King to-day is giving us as his main reasons for reciprocity that it will give lower prices to consumers and especially the consumers here in the east. In other words that American farm products will reduce the cost of living in this Province of Ontario.

I deny this statement and I wish to say that on the contrary substantial benefits could be given to the people of Canada, who are farmers, and who are consumers, if Sir Wilfrid Laurier did two things: secure for the people lower railway, telegraph and express charges, and secure the people substantial protection from trusts and combines.

And here I touch upon what I regard as the crucial point in this situation. THAT SIR WILFRID LAURIER IS AFRAID TO DEAL IN AN EFFECTIVE WAY WITH TRANSPORTATION FACILITIES AND ALLIED SERVICES, AND AFRAID TO DEAL WITH COMBINATIONS, AND SO HAS EVOLVED THIS CLEVER RUSE OF PROPOSING FREE TRADE BETWEEN CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES INSTEAD! When you search his policy thru and thru, that is the thing that comes home to your mind, that the panacea for existing REAL troubles in Canada, which ought to be in regular legislation, enforced by the federal power, is not found in his policy, and he tries to evade the responsibility by a mere tariff dodge. Well, I say this, that free trade were it brought about would only have the effect of increasing the transportation monopoly and putting us more at the mercy of the great transportation corporations, and would have the other effect of putting us at the mercy of American combines and trusts! The American combines and trusts to-day are more powerful than are the Canadian ones, they not only regulate the price they pay the farmer, but they regulate the price the consumer has to pay them, and we are only jumping out of the frying pan into the fire in seeking relief in free trade with the United States!

Non-Enforcement of Federal Law.

The railway law is not being enforced in this country as it ought to be enforced. Sir Wilfrid Laurier and his government have carefully avoided enforcing this law and the law against trusts and combines, for which Mackenzie King claims credit. Let me tell you the difference between the laws in these respects in the United States and Canada. Everyone of the laws regulating the railways and all the trusts in the United States contains a clause to the effect, and I will quote almost word for word: "It shall be the duty of the attorney-general of the United States to enforce this law." Congress appropriates money sufficient therefor, not only in the way of obtaining special prosecuting attorneys, but for the employment of experts, for collecting evidence, and for all other things that will be effective in the realization of the law; and all the district-attorneys of the United States are by law made to enforce it. And where a commission is appointed it shall be the duty of the commission itself wherever it sees fit to enforce the law. As a consequence you now see the railway commission of the United States giving that country much more effective service than is the Canadian commission. THE WHOLE RESOURCES OF THE UNITED STATES ARE DEVOTED TO THE ENFORCEMENT OF THE RAILWAY ACT. SIR WILFRID LAURIER REFUSED MY REQUEST FOR THE APPOINTMENT OF A LEGAL DEPARTMENT IN CONNECTION WITH OUR RAILWAY LAW. He told me, and the Hon. Mr. Aylesworth told me, that I should go to the attorney-general of the provinces for the enforcement of federal law. Nevertheless, I was able to put up such a fight that eventually they appointed a special counsel in the matter of telephone and express charges. But to-day, as a matter of fact, the enforcement of our railway act is left to the individual instead of being the work of the state, and no one individual in this country is able to, or should be expected, to fight the great railway

corporations of this country. In one hundred other ways Sir Wilfrid Laurier has denied that it is the duty of the federal government to enforce federal law, and this is one of the great objections against the Laurier Government, that I have been able to present with considerable force in the house at Ottawa.

And, Hon. Mackenzie King, who is seeking your votes, is tarred with the same stick. He has made a law on combines and left it to any man to collect evidence against combines to make good their case. What he should do, if he is in charge of this law, and he claims to be in charge of it, is to establish a department for the enforcement of law against combines, and have experts and men to seek evidence. Instead of making a law that is ineffective because not enforced, if Mackenzie King was true to his professions, he would secure you against the unfair and exorbitant charges in the matter of anthracite coal in this province to-day. The price of it is fixed by American legislation at Niagara Falls; but you see different prices obtaining thruout this province. For instance, the poor man, who can only buy a quarter ton, is made to pay about \$2.00, at a time when the man who can buy a ton gets off with a little over \$7.00; and the price in Waterloo and Berlin is unfair as compared with the price in London or Toronto; and the same thing obtains in many other ways. And the pork packers, if they are "the human hogs" Mackenzie King says they are, why does he not regulate them? Because he is afraid to, and he and his chief resort to this bogus cry of theirs of free trade rather than Canadian law in the interests of the Canadian people, enforced by the Canadian Government!

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summer, but that cure is not a run to Washington with a request for free trade! It is by courageous action on our part at home. Let us have the facts brought out by experts, and then let us show courage in making new laws and in enforcing them. I believe in regular revision of our tariff scientifically conducted. Not for one moment will I ask the farmer to submit to an unfair customs duty. But I want the facts. Our cure is in Canada for Canadian ills, not in Washington deals. Sir Wilfrid tries to put out a fire at Ottawa by starting one at Washington!

Bind Canada Together.

I have every faith in a policy being devised and put in practice that will bind all Canada together, the east with the west, by ties of trade, of race, of nationality, by ties of imperial policy. Sir Wilfrid Laurier's only hope is in the disintegration of Canada, in loss of hope in Canada, in an appeal to the generosity of Washington.

Fatal Runaway.

LINDSAY, Sept. 5.—W. S. Slinger of Kirkfield was killed when a team belonging to Sir William Mackenzie's estate ran away. It appears that the box on the wagon slid onto the horse's heels, causing them to make a bolt for liberty. Slinger was thrown out and run over, dying from internal injuries.

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