

the \$10,000,000 for agriculture has been wrested from Parliament by the Government through the sheer force of its majority. The money having been voted in the form it has, future expenditures under the Act come under what are termed "Statutory expenditures." The money is forthcoming without the necessity of the Government making its needs known from year to year through an item in the estimates, and having these needs supplied by a vote of Parliament.

Clause 7 of the Act provides that without any reference to Parliament whatever, by arrangement with the Lieutenant Governor-in-Council of any Province, the Government may "expend in any Province, in any year, the whole or part of the grant provided for such Province." Thus, by wresting from Parliament this appropriation for a period of ten years, the Executive has gained, as respects the \$10,000,000 appropriated, control of this amount freed from the necessity, for a period of nine years, of consulting Parliament, and is at liberty by arrangement with the Executive of any Provincial Government, but without the necessity of obtaining the approval of either the Dominion Parliament or the members of the Legislature, to spend the allotted sum as it pleases, in whole or in part. A Provincial Executive that is friendly to the Administration at Ottawa may by "arrangement" have its own political ends furthered, or further the political ends of the Federal Executive to the extent of the amount over which the Federal authorities have gained an independent control.

The Liberal Opposition sought to prevent all this and secure parliamentary control by moving amendments to the effect that any payments made to the Provinces be made "upon appropriations in that behalf from year to year by Parliament," and by moving to strike out the section that gave the Executive rather than Parliament the powers referred to, but all these amendments were strenuously opposed by the Government, and defeated by its following in the House.

The Gift of Millions to Mackenzie and Mann.

At its last session the Government, subject to a minor provision, made a straight gift from the Treasury of Canada to Mackenzie and Mann of the Canadian Northern Railway of between fifteen and sixteen million dollars. As a means of securing some measure of control by Parliament, the Liberal Opposition proposed that, instead of giving the money outright, it should be loaned to the corporation at the rate of 4% for a period of ten years, but of this the Government would not hear, and a Liberal amendment to this effect was defeated.

Three other amendments calculated to compel some recognition on the part of the railway of an obligation to the public, in return for the sum presented, were moved by the Liberals, opposed by the Government, and defeated by its majority. The Government was unwilling to admit any amendment which involved a further control by Parliament, and insisted on the money being voted in a form which would permit of its transfer to the corporation by order-in-council. So far as Parliament or the people's representatives in Parliament are concerned, the money has now passed to the Executive for transfer to the Corporation and is wholly beyond their control.

The Naval Aid Bill.

Precisely the same design was apparent in the case of the Naval Aid Bill, or, in other words, the alleged "emergency" tribute of \$35,000,000. Parliament was perfectly willing that the money should be granted, provided the Government, according to its professed intention, was prepared to submit the measure to the people for their endorsement in the first instance. The fact that the Government was prepared to sacrifice the measure rather than take that step is evidence that it believed no emergency existed, or that an unconditional appropriation of \$35,000,000 was desired that other purposes than patriotic ones might be served.

That what the Government really desired was the unconditional control of \$35,000,000 and the freedom of the Executive from Parliamentary control in the expenditure of this vast sum was made abundantly apparent by the manner in which the Premier insisted on his followers voting down an amendment proposed by the Liberal Opposition to the effect that the word "Parliament" should be substituted for "Order-in-Council" in the following clause, which was clause 3 of the Naval Aid Bill—"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 and powerful type," and the substitution of the words "a class to be approved by Parliament," for the words "the most modern and powerful type" in this section. Also by the rejection of an amendment substituting for the single vote of \$35,000,000, a clause providing for "appropriations from time to time made by Parliament." The Executive wished the \$35,000,000 and a free hand, or nothing.

For the same reason the Government was unwilling to ask for the proposed grant under the provisions of the Naval Service Act. This would have meant a measure of control by Parliament. But irresponsible power, and freedom from Parliamentary control was to be the distinguishing feature of this as of other Government measures, or the Government notwithstanding its pretensions of "urgency" and "emergency" would have none of it.

Other Measures.

To all of these measures involving the expenditure of enormous sums should be added the millions voted for the purposes of administration and in the expenditure of which the Government has a free hand.

The enactment of the Closure, and the withholding of Redistribution have had a like end in view. The one enables the Executive to stifle free discussion in the Commons and control the course of debate, the other affords a means of influencing constituencies where by-elections have taken or are about to take place. Both add to the measure of irresponsible power which the Government has gained, by helping to free the Government from parliamentary control. The government has succeeded somewhat in accomplishing its purpose. That it has not succeeded in larger measure but has been vigorously checked and thwarted at many points is due to the tenacious refusal of the Liberals in the Commons and the Senate to surrender rights of Parliament which it has taken centuries of struggle to obtain.