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Parliament Dissolved

THE PRIME MINISTER'S MANIFESTO

To the people of Canada—Parliament has been dissolved. The people of Canada, its men, and, for the first time, its women are called upon to determine, in what will inevitably be a contest far reaching and momentous in its outcome, what shall be, through the strenuous journey that very plainly lies ahead of us, the character and direction of our policy.

I have been a member of the Government through eight eventful years, and its leader for something more than one. The Government has conducted Canada's affairs through a devastating war. It has met and surmounted unprecedented difficulties, and survived the crises that such a war brings in its train. It has formulated policies by means of which the sufferings of the conflict have been and are being ameliorated and its loss and wreckage repaired. To the demands of those trying years it has devoted all its energies, and is prepared now with vigor undiminished to lead the way through the danger and unsettlement which, in common with other countries, we are passing through.

What has been achieved both in war effort and its many fields, and in our more domestic after-war activities designed to steady and direct the transition from belligerency to peace, is a total so vast when related to our population that even yet we cannot adequately measure its merits or its proportions. We are still too close to the events. A useful standard by which to gauge the efficiency of Canada's performance is a comparison with the corresponding achievements of any other nation. By such standard neither this nor any future generation of Canadians need ever fear to have their country judged.

If the leadership of the Government in all this work is subjected to attack we are prepared to meet that attack. But neither the Government nor the National Liberal and Conservative party that supports it seeks to monopolize or to turn to partisan advantages credit that belongs to the whole nation, and that constitutes now its richest legacy and asset for the future; much less would we take to ourselves any part of the glory that belongs alone to those who braved the foe in battle. History will, with the utmost impartiality, separate the permanent from the transient and distinguish big things from small; will condemn where there has been mistake, and will do full justice to plans boldly conceived and unflinchingly carried through.

For some years past, and very emphatically in recent years, a determined movement has been on foot seeking to reverse the tariff policy of the Dominion. The official Opposition in the House of Commons, now led by Hon. Mackenzie King, has made repeated and varied demands in Parliament for the wiping out of tariff schedules. Finally, that party was called into convention in August, 1919, which convention unanimously passed the following resolution:

That the best interest of

Canada demand that substantial reductions in the burden of customs taxation be made with a view to the accomplishing of two purposes of the highest importance.

First—Diminishing the very high cost of living, which presses so severely on the masses of the people.

Second—Reducing the cost of the instruments of production in the industries based on the natural resources of the Dominion, the vigorous development of which is essential to the progress and prosperity of our country.

That to these ends, wheat, wheat flour and all products of wheat; the principles of food; farm implements and machinery; farm tractors; mining and saw mill machinery and repair parts thereof; rough and dressed lumber; gasoline, illuminating, lubricating and fuel oils; nets, net twines and fishermen's equipments; cements and fertilizers, should be free from customs duties, as well as the raw materials entering into the same.

That revision downward of the tariff should be made whereby substantial reductions should be effected in the cost of wearing apparel, footwear, and other articles of general consumption, other than luxuries, as well as on raw materials entering into the manufacture of the same.

That the British preference be increased to 50 per cent. of the general tariff.

And the Liberal party hereby pledges itself to implement by legislation the provisions of this resolution when returned to power.

This resolution, though frequently evaded, and more often avoided; sometimes paraded to entice allies, sometimes suborned to conciliate friends, nevertheless stands as the solemnly recorded unanimous pledge of the Hon. Mackenzie King and his party. It is not a declaration of principle, but a concrete, binding commitment to specific acts.

But a stronger and more menacing enemy has arisen. For some years past there has been growing up first on the prairies of the west and later through selected parts of Eastern Canada, a party backed by a costly and persistent propaganda, the purpose of which is to reverse the tariff policy of this country. This movement, led by the Hon. T. A. Crerar and Mr. H. W. Wood, has also set down its immediate tariff demands in black and white. They need not be here repeated. The resolution of the Liberal convention, quoted above, substantially embodies, indeed was modelled upon the platform of the Wood-Crerar party. The latter, however, demand also the free entry of coal and vehicles, unrestrictive reciprocity with the United States, and free trade with England within five years. The Federal Liberal party of Alberta, merging its demands in the Agrarian platform, has officially demanded as well free trade with the United States within five years. There is no need of drawing fine distinctions. The great mass of those subscribing to these demands are determined opponents of any protective system in this country, and their goal they are resolved to reach, by as rapid means as they can command.

The immediate enactments which both sections of the opposition are pledged to put into effect inevitably mean the abandonment of the protective system. No system can be defended or can continue which strips hundreds of the most essential industries of this country of all protection and leaves less important duties in the enjoyment of tariff protection. It is, therefore, beyond dispute, both because of the intent of the vast majority behind these programmes and

because of the logical consequence of the programmes themselves, that the real thing we are called upon to resist at the present time is a free trade policy for Canada. The United States protective tariff, much reduced in 1913, was last March restored to the most prohibitive level in force for many years. Even as their tariff stood they had sold this country in the last five years goods to the value of nearly 1,800 million dollars over and above the value of all they bought from us. They have now imposed high customs taxes with a view of purchasing still less from us, and as a part of such policy they have placed almost prohibitive barriers against farm products of this country. Our dollar is already at a serious discount in the United States mainly because of our excessive purchases there compared with our sales. Under these circumstances it is indeed hard to conceive how serious-minded Canadians can suggest as the proper course for us the wiping out entirely of our present moderate duties on farm products coming into Canada, and the general levelling down of our tariff in order that while we are compelled to sell them less we may be induced to purchase more. To follow such advice means the loss of additional millions in the discount of our money. It means grossly unfair competition for the great mass of the farmers of Canada. It means the curtailment or the closing down of many scores of industries, the discouragement and contraction of our towns and cities, and the impairment of the best market for the products of our farms. It means the surrender of a self-contained, aggressive, industrial nation, and reversion to a position where dependence upon a more favorable American fiscal policy will become more and more a national separation. The spirit of this country will not tolerate a course so weak and disastrous.

The war is a memory, and a proud memory, but it is no longer an issue. Canada from 1914 to 1918 under the splendid leadership of Sir Robert Borden passed through one of those crises that reshape the soul of the people. We must now face with courage the gigantic task of reconstruction. We must sustain and improve services already established for assisting those who especially suffered from the war; we must choose policies that accord with our aspirations as a nation, that are suited to the present stage of our development, to our surroundings in the world, and to the troubled age in which we live.

By tradition, by the sense of common inheritance, and of common ideals, the Dominion of Canada aspires to one destiny and one only—a destiny than which there is no nobler—membership within the British Empire. I am convinced there is no single thing more vital to the best interest of the world than that the British Empire, as at present constituted, should be maintained. We enjoy the fullest autonomy, and that autonomy is not challenged, and never shall be challenged. For the maintenance of the British Empire as a league of autonomous nations there are common burdens that all must share, but these burdens are light, and the advantages abundant, in comparison with either the burdens or advantages of any other destiny than can be conceived. Sentiment and interest are in accord in upholding British connection.

Forty-two years ago Canada adopted, and ever since has consistently maintained, a protective tariff. At the time the Canadians decided on this policy experience had driven home two very important conclusions: 1. Our nearest to the United States was tending to drain the resources of our young country into the larger manufacturing establishments of the republic, there to employ American workmen in their development and American railways and other commercial interests in their distribution and sale. Hundreds of thousands of Canadians, workmen and others, were accordingly compelled to emigrate.

2. After this process had continued a change in American policy resulting in the imposition of a high protective tariff against us threw Canada into a state of reaction and depression, and to escape this penalty there was

strong temptation to assume a submissive or dependent relationship towards the United States.

Acting on the light of these experiences, the Canadian people decided to build up an industrial system of their own. To this develop our own resources and keep our people here earning wages and salaries and profits therefrom, a protective tariff was essential. A study of the last 40 years will clearly show that the conclusions drawn by our fathers in 1878 were sound and right conclusions. Those years have been years of continuous development through good times and ill; the markets of our towns and cities have become more and more the reliance of our agricultural producers. The value of our manufacturing, mineral and agricultural production has multiplied many times over. Being able to depend largely on an ever expanding home market, we have produced upon a scale that enabled us to enter markets abroad, and so successful have we been that the trade of Canada has multiplied many times over and over again. Our exports last year were 14 times in value what they were in 1890, and four times what they were as late as 1910. Our total trade is now over seven times what it was 20 years ago.

Indeed, the per capita trade of Canada stands in front of the larger nations of the world, and has stood as high as 2-1-2 times the per capita trade of the United States. We have taken the strong, self-reliant course, and have been able to pursue that course and maintain our prosperity regardless of the policy of any other nation. Against the tariff proposals of Hon. Mackenzie King and others, whom in this contest he represents, against the tariff proposals of Mr. Wood and Mr. Crerar, and all whom they represent, I ask the people of Canada to pronounce.

Already there is unsettlement of business conditions resulting in unemployment and loss to all classes. A persistent anti-protection campaign, resulting in uncertainty and lack of confidence, has so disturbed and curtailed production as to account for many thousands being out of work today. A decisive verdict by the Canadian people will be the signal for returning confidence, for renewed productive activities, and for better times. The laboring population of our country will be the first to benefit by such a verdict, and would be the heaviest sufferers should the tried and proven policy of this country be exchanged for manifestly fallacious theories, Canadian farmers would soon find that with the reduction or destruction of our industrial centres would pass away not only their most profitable market, but, at the same time, the source of the greater portion of our revenue, with the result that the burden of taxation would thereafter have to be borne more and more by themselves. The time has come to settle this issue, and the well-being of one and all depends upon it being settled right.

There are other subjects of importance, and these I have on several platforms discussed and shall again discuss. As respects one and all my position has been and shall be definite, understandable and consistent. There is no topic of public interest that we wish to evade; there can be no attack that we are not eager and able by the presentation of facts to repel. We have carried through these years a responsibility unprecedented in its magnitude, and for the discharge of that responsibility we are prepared to answer through all portions of the Dominion and all classes of the people of Canada.

On the shoulders of the people themselves the responsibility now is placed. They must decide, and I pray that the gravity of that decision every man and every woman will fully comprehend. They must decide between sure and ordered progress and perilous experiment; they must decide between the certain fruits of a strong and stable Government, and that sterility and despair which can be the only product of class alliances and the balancing of groups; they must decide between a tariff policy which, in Canada's position, is the very root of her prosperity, and the progressive absorption of Canadian industries

and with them Canadian manhood and womanhood in the ever expanding system of the United States.

To the women of Canada, I make special appeal. The Government now in office, supported by the party which I have the honor to lead, extended to you three years ago the Federal franchise. Your rights of suffrage are now in every respect the same as the suffrage rights of men. This was done voluntarily as an act of justice. The services of women in the war had been such that in the judgment of the Government and the party that supported their qualifications for franchise had been demonstrated and their right to franchise had been earned. Nevertheless there were those opposed to us who resisted the Government's action in this regard, and who still insist that such action was wrong. My appeal to women is not, however, on any ground peculiar to themselves, but my

appeal to them is earnestly and thoroughly to study the great issues that now confront their country, and conscientiously to seek a conclusion on that issue from the standpoint of country-loving Canadians to refuse steadfastly to be moved by reckless and unsupported calumnies of public men or by the cry of prejudice or by class appeal. Through the long struggle of the war the women of our country proved themselves equal with man in stern, unselfish patriotism and fervent devotion to duty. I confidently hope that in the execution of the trust reposed in them now they will prove to be a steady and enlightening force in our public life, that they will show forth an example of public conduct dictated by love of country alone, and will thus vindicate to all the world their rights to share with men their responsibility for public affairs.

(Signed) ARTHUR MEIGHEN

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W. J. P. McMILLAN, M.D. Physician and Surgeon. Office and Residence: 105 Kent Street CHARLOTTETOWN - P. E. I.

McKinnon & McLean Barristers, Attorneys-at-Law CHARLOTTETOWN, P. E. I. MONEY TO LOAN.

Mail Contract

SEALED TENDERS addressed to the Postmaster General will be received at Ottawa until noon on Friday, 2nd of September, 1921, for the conveyance of His Majesty's Mails, on a proposed contract for four years, six times per week, on the Charlottetown Rural Route, No. 3, from the 1st of January next.

Mail Contract

SEALED TENDERS addressed to the Postmaster General will be received at Ottawa until noon on Friday, 16th September 1921, for the conveyance of His Majesty's Mails, on a proposed contract for four years, six times per week, on the Stanley Bridge Rural Route, No. 2, from the 1st of January next.

Printed notices containing further information as to conditions of proposed Contract may be seen and blank forms of Tender may be obtained at the Post Office of Stanley Bridge and at the office of the District Superintendent. H. W. WOODS, Acting District Superintendent, Office of District Superintendent of Postal Service, St. John, N.B., July 22nd, 1921. August 17, 1921—31

Mail Contract

SEALED TENDERS addressed to the Postmaster General, will be received at Ottawa until noon on Friday, 9th September, 1921, for the conveyance of His Majesty's Mails, on a proposed contract for four years, six times per week, on the Murray River Rural Route, No. 1, from the 1st of January next.

Canadian-West Land Regulations

The sole head of a family (21 years of age or over), who was at the commencement of the present war and who has since continued to be a British subject or a subject of an allied or neutral country, may homestead a quarter section of available Dominion Land in Manitoba, Saskatchewan or Alberta.

Mail Contract

SEALED TENDERS addressed to the Postmaster General, will be received at Ottawa until noon on Friday, the 9th September, 1921, for the conveyance of His Majesty's Mails on a proposed Contract for four years, six times per week, on the New Wiltshire Rural Route No. 2, commencing at the pleasure of the Postmaster General.

Printed notices containing further information as to conditions of proposed Contract may be seen and blank forms of Tender may be obtained at the Post Office of Murray River and at the office of the District Superintendent. H. W. WOODS, Acting District Superintendent, Office of District Superintendent of Postal Service, St. John, N.B., July 25th, 1921. August 17, 1921—31

Mail Contract

SEALED TENDERS addressed to the Postmaster General, will be received at Ottawa until noon on Friday, the 9th September, 1921, for the conveyance of His Majesty's Mails on a proposed Contract for four years, six times per week, on the New Wiltshire Rural Route No. 2, commencing at the pleasure of the Postmaster General.

Printed notices containing further information as to conditions of proposed Contract may be seen and blank forms of Tender may be obtained at the Post Office of New Wiltshire, and at the office of the District Superintendent. H. W. WOODS, Acting District Superintendent, Office of District Superintendent of Postal Service, St. John, N.B., July 29th, 1921. August 10, 1921—31