

William Ewart Gladstone. The statement helps to make clear the Liberal principle in contrast to the Conservative, by which it is opposed; it may not be wholly pleasing to some hon. gentlemen opposite, but nevertheless I think it is true. Gladstone said:

The principle of Liberalism is trust in the people, qualified by prudence. The principle of Conservatism is mistrust of the people, qualified by fear.

There you have the dividing line between the old political parties. The Liberal party has consistently trusted the people; it has sought legislation in the general interests of the people, but it has qualified its course by prudence. That is what I am seeking to advocate should be done at the moment; while we are striving for improvements in our economic order let us trust the people but let us also be guided by prudence. Consider on the other hand the legislation that has been enacted and the course followed by hon. gentlemen opposite since this present parliament came into being; let me ask them if anything they have done contradicts Mr. Gladstone's statement that the principle of Conservatism is mistrust of the people qualified by fear. They have taken away, as they well know, from this House of Commons, which represents the people, all control of expenditures that have been made in connection with unemployment relief. They have dealt with these expenditures, as they also have with most matters affecting the tariff, through an autocratic executive, thereby depriving this parliament of the control which parliament should have as the representatives of the people over taxation and all fiscal matters. I could mention numerous other instances of unwillingness to trust even the people's representatives in parliament, but perhaps the ones I have mentioned are sufficient to illustrate my point.

Let me quote from another great Liberal leader, the Right Hon. the Earl of Oxford and Asquith. I shall quote from the last address made by Lord Oxford as leader of the Liberal party. It was delivered at Greenock at the time Lord Oxford tendered his resignation of the leadership of the party. He chose as the theme of his farewell address to those who over many years had been his supporters and friends what in his opinion Liberalism in its essence stood for, and had stood for during the many years he had led his party. It was as it were a handing on of the torch. Having regard to the occasion, and having regard to the vast experience of Lord Oxford as Prime Minister of Great Britain for so many years, his words ought to carry very great weight in any popular assembly. In the course of his remarks Lord Oxford said:

[Mr. Mackenzie King.]

Both on its constructive and its defensive side, Liberalism means two things—the preservation and extension of liberty in every sphere of our national life, and the subordination of class interests to the interests of the community. Those two ideals were and are the life-breath of the Liberal faith. And liberty, in our understanding of it, means liberty in its positive as well as in its negative sense. . . .

It is in the same large sense that you must understand our other root principle—the supremacy of the general interest over particular interests. It matters nothing for our purpose whether the class which is seeking for a privileged or paramount position is great or small; whether it relies upon birth, or wealth, or numbers and organization; whether its mouthpiece is, for the time being, the Duke of Northumberland or Mr. Cook. The good of all in our view is, in the long run, the good of each; we are all members of one another.

And a little further on:

The Liberal party has this advantage, an advantage which I claim for it as against all competitive parties in the state, that it can point to the richest record of actual achievement in the removal of abuses and the extension of freedom, in securing step by step, that predominance of the general over the particular interest, which I have described as one of its great principles.

There is one other quotation I should like to give in setting out the principles of Liberalism which govern our party in Canada to-day as they governed Liberalism in the old land in its best days. This quotation comes also from an especially interesting source. As hon. members well know, there was a time when the late Right Hon. Joseph Chamberlain was an ardent Liberal, when Mr. Chamberlain stood and fought for the principles for which Liberalism stands. I want to give to the members of the house Mr. Chamberlain's definition of Liberalism as he understood it in those days:

Progress is the law of the world; and Liberalism is the expression of this law in politics.

Through its agency we have gained all that free men may justly prize in our existing institutions, and to it we look for the further changes that will bring them into complete harmony with the needs and aspirations of the people.

True Liberalism seeks constantly the greatest happiness of the greatest number, and will attain its end through the wise cooperation of a self-governed commonwealth.

I have chosen that particular quotation because of the concluding words, "will attain its end through the wise cooperation of a self-governed commonwealth." Not a commonwealth where the state is going to govern everything, but a self-governed commonwealth where those who are members share each other's needs, rights and responsibilities.

May I add a few words which may further serve to indicate wherein I share some of the views which are held by those who are