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NOT A FREE AGENT



PREMIER BORDEN:—"My dear fellow, I would like to come to your relief! Really I would, but—You see how it is!

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THE FIELDING BANQUET.

THE banquet tendered Hon. W. S. Fielding, by the Montreal Reform Club at the Ritz-Carlton Hotel in Montreal on December 9th was a well-merited tribute by fellow Liberals to a great Liberal statesman, who as Premier and Provincial Secretary of his native Province of Nova Scotia for twelve years, and as Minister of Finance of Canada for fifteen years, has had opportunities of public service given to but few men in the course of generations. It is perhaps the worthiest praise that can be bestowed to say that in the discharge of the responsible duties of these high offices, years of service but helped to enhance public confidence in Mr. Fielding's ability, integrity, and devotion to public duty. The occasion of the banquet was Mr. Fielding's assumption of the presidency and editorial direction of the *Daily Telegraph*, and it was the expression of Liberals generally of their continued confidence in a great administrator and a great man.

Method of Tariff Revision.

It was natural that at this banquet the Tariff should have been the principal subject of discussion, this being a time when tariff revision is uppermost in the public mind, and Mr. Fielding having been the one who, more than any other, was responsible for the fiscal legislation, which throughout the Laurier Administration helped to bring Canada her years of unparalleled prosperity and advance. It was natural, too, that Sir Wilfrid Laurier, under whose leadership the Tariff revision was effected, and the British Preference adopted, should have taken advantage of the occasion to remind his immediate hearers and the Canadian public of the methods by which he and his colleagues, on coming into office in 1896, set about the task of Tariff revision.

"I will tell you" he said "what we would do if we were in office now, what Mr. Fielding would do if he were in office. He would head a commission, on which the Minister of Trade and Commerce, the Minister of Customs and the Minister of Labor would sit, and they would go all over the country from Halifax to Victoria investigating the situation, asking the producers to give testimony, asking the consumers to give testimony, asking the workingmen to give testimony, and asking the manufacturers of every large city to find what would be the best means of reducing the tariff, so as to bring down the cost of living, and

do no injustice to anybody. We have done it before. We can do it again."

Sir Wilfrid was not less direct in setting forth the remedy proposed. "The tariff as it is today," he continued "promotes combines to increase the cost of living, to put an undue toll on articles which go upon the poor man's table, as well as upon the rich man's table. The price paid to the producer for food that comes upon the table is not the price asked for from the consumer. Knowing the condition of production the combines are able to fix the price to the farmer, and to fix it to the consumer, giving as little as possible to the farmer and charging as much as possible to the consumer. If the tariff were reduced as I propose to do we would take away the tax which unduly weighs upon the poorer classes of the community. It does not affect so much those who sit at this board. But it does affect very nearly the artisan, the mechanic, the clerk, the clergyman, the professor, the teacher".

A Contrast in Remedies Proposed.

In striking contrast to the initiative and practical foresight revealed in the policy outlined by the Liberal Leader is the helpless inactivity of the Government to which reference was also made at the banquet. Instead of a fiscal policy which may help to relieve distress and ensure prosperity, the Government, through its Minister of Labour, announced at Halifax on December 8th, that "The high cost of living is an indication of the prosperity and expansion of this country," and said to the people of Canada, "If you want cheap living let us have a few years of hard times."

Instead of a commission appointed to obtain first hand knowledge and composed of responsible Ministers with power to act, and before whom manufacturer and farmer, employer and workman, producer and consumer may publicly appear, instead of a commission which would visit all parts of the Dominion with a known and definite obligation of shaping a policy which would be submitted to Parliament, and find expression in legislation, Mr. Borden and his Conservative colleagues have appointed three members of the Civil Service to collect in private from other members of the Service, and from blue books, such statistical data as is already known, and can be brought together.

The duties of these three gentlemen are rigidly circumscribed. Their powers are severely restricted. They are kept under the thumbs of their respective Ministers. Such a body may be in name a Commission, but it is hardly less unfair to the men who compose it than to the public, that such means should be taken by the Government to clothe its incapacity, and to continue its special protection of particular interests under the pretence of serving the public weal.

The Fielding banquet was on the 9th of December. The announcement by the Government of its Departmental commission to investigate the high cost of living was made on the 18th. With the wisdom of the Laurier suggestion and the knowledge of past experience before it, the Government has deliberately sought to ignore both. Its alternative method has but helped to reveal the duty it hopes to escape and the ends it seeks to serve. The Liberal method is one of action, the Conservative, one of evasion.

THE BORDEN CABINET—IV. THE MINISTER OF FINANCE

by H. F. Gadsby.



Hon. W. T. White.

OH, father, who is the tall, thin young man, with the sad, brown eyes, and the wearied Atlas stoop, who is so busy picking dollars out of the air? Is he a great juggler?

That he is, my son. They call him Tight Money Tom. He is the Government's Pet Wizard of Finance.

Why do they call him Tight Money Tom, father?

By way of a joke, my boy. Canada is suffering from tight money, the whole world is suffering from tight money. But Tight Money Tom says he doesn't believe it. He won't believe it even when they turn down one of his Canadian loans in London. He passes it off as "undigested securities" or words to that effect. His idea is to apply Christian Science to the financial stringency. If we take the faith cure for hard times there won't be any hard times. Believe you have money in your pockets and there money is even if your pockets are as bare as Mother Hubbard's cupboard.

Why does he take this cheerful view father?

Because he is very thick with the people who keep money tight, the Interests. They put him where he is. They made him a Cabinet Minister. As long as money isn't tight with his friends there's no such thing as tightness for Tight Money Tom. He sees no more than he wants to and believes as

far as he likes. He is a clever fellow at lifting himself up by his boot straps.

What do you mean, father?

Why just this, my boy. The revenue is falling but the debt keeps mounting. Some finance ministers might go in for retrenchment, but not Tight Money Tom. Bigger budgets than ever is Tom's policy. What you need, borrow. Keep on borrowing. Then borrow some more. If you haven't got it, spend it. As long as somebody else does the paying, who gives a hang? What the country clamors for is sound financing, but what Tight Money Tom purposes is an illusion of riches, the imagination of a feast, which will gloss over the Borden Government's book-keeping.

Is that honest statesmanship, father?

I won't say what sort of statesmanship it is, my boy, but it's Tight Money Tom all over. He is forever buttering his conscience with that kind of sophistry. He was a Grit as you remember, but, when a portfolio was dangled in front of him he deserted his party and became a Tory to save his country. He professes ideals but he is satisfied to be Bob Rogers' man Friday and gives that genial buccaneer all he wants to spend. He yearns for pure politics and makes the cement duties "synchronize" with the Saskatchewan elections. His avowed object is to serve his country and he sits in the Cabinet as the representative of the Toronto money group of bankers, railway promoters, and food monopolizers whose occupation is squeezing the people.

But, father, couldn't they get a Finance Minister, who would be something better than an agent of the daylight robbers who steal railways and the slow murderers who starve the people by making food dear?

In that outfit, my son? I doubt it. They had to borrow a renegade Grit for two reasons. One was that they didn't have any considerable amount of brains in their own party and the other was that they wanted to give their arbitrary actions the color of patriotism. Tight Money Tom had just the sort of cant at his command that was required. And like all apostates he went the limit.

Would George Eulas Foster have done any better, father?

I think not. George is one of the Elder Statesmen, but there is reason to believe that his arithmetic is not just what it ought to be. It didn't pan out well in the Union Trust proceedings. Of course Foster doesn't like being sidetracked and he snubs White in the House. At this very moment poor old Foster is a wanderer on the face of the earth, through sheer pique, while Tight Money Tom, deals out burnished platitudes instead of reducing the tariff. Tight Money Tom is the lesser of two evils. Foster had a past like a scrambled egg.

But the high cost of living, father? Surely Tight Money Tom will do something for that? You and I can't tighten our trouser buckles much further.

He is doing something, son. You ask for cheaper meat. Tight Money Tom gives you good advice instead. According to his speech before the Canadian Club in New York sleep is an excellent substitute for breakfast. He would have the whole country sleep while his benefactors, the Interests, lay hands on what they haven't grabbed already.

But these are mere words, father. Has he done anything practical?

Oh, yes. The duty has been taken off unleavened bread, a federal bankruptcy act will be introduced this session, a High Cost of Living Commission has been appointed and the naval emergency has been put in cold storage. They are depending on the High Cost of Living Commission to get enough statistics to prevent people thinking clearly. No matter what happens the Commission is not supposed either to name or to point with alarm to the robbers who are among the best friends of the Government.

But what, father, does Tight Money Tom do in Parliament if he doesn't serve the people?

He spends his time patronizing Adam Smith who is dead and being considerably frightened of Dr. Michael Clark who is very much alive. Both these objects of Tom's attention are free traders.

But what would you say was the moral of his career?

It has no morals. He does anything to get ahead.

POLITICAL COMPLEXION OF PARLIAMENT.

WHEN Parliament meets on the 15th Mr. Borden will face the representatives of the people with exactly the same number of followers in the Commons as he did when he became the head of the Conservative Government. There have been a number of changes in personnel, but the net result of the various by-elections since September 1911 is that the Government has one more supporter from Quebec, and the Opposition one more supporter from Ontario. Out of a total membership of 221 in the House of Commons 134 sit behind the leader of the government and 87 behind the leader of the Opposition. With Conservatives and Nationalists combined, and voting full strength, Mr. Borden can command a majority of 45; without the aid of the Nationalists his straight Conservative majority would be 23.

The standing by provinces at the first session of the present Parliament was as follows:

	Con.	Nat.	Lib.
Ontario.....	73		13
Quebec.....	5	22	38
Nova Scotia.....	9		9
New Brunswick.....	5		8
P. E. Island.....	2		2
Manitoba.....	8		2
Saskatchewan.....	1		9
Alberta.....	1		6
British Columbia.....	7		0
Yukon.....	1		
Total.....	112	22	87

With the exception of the Ontario representation being—Conservative 72, Liberal 14, and the Quebec representation—Conservative 6, Nationalist 22, Liberal 37, the political complexion of the House of Commons will be as above, when Parliament meets for its third session.

After two years in power under Sir Wilfrid Laurier, the Liberals came back to the third session or their first parliament with their majority on a division increased by 18.

There are in all 87 members in the Senate. When the Borden Government assumed office, there were only 81 members, 62 Liberals and 19 Conservatives, and six vacancies. Premier Borden immediately filled the vacancies with political friends, despite pre-election denunciation of partizan ap-

pointments to the Senate. Since these appointments 18 further vacancies have occurred. Ten among the Liberals and 8 among the Conservatives. Each vacancy has been filled by the appointment of a Conservative. So to-day with its complete representation, the Senate, having regard to their political allegiance at the time of appointment, is composed of 55 Liberals and 32 Conservatives, or a Liberal majority of 23. Oddly enough the Liberal majority in the Senate is exactly the same as the straight Conservative majority in the House of Commons.

APPOINTMENT OF MEMBERS TO OFFICE.

THERE was a time when Mr. Borden and his Conservative colleagues in Parliament strongly condemned the appointment of Members of Parliament to positions of emolument under the Crown. The practise, said Mr. Borden, was "vicious", and the prospect or promise of office was "subversive of honest action by Members in the House". Two years of power have belied Mr. Borden's pre-election protestations in this, as in almost every other instance. He has already appointed nine Members of the Commons to coveted positions, or, one out of every fifteen of the men who were elected in 1911 to support his policies. The list is as follows: Messrs. George Taylor (Leeds), George Gordon, (Nipissing), Dr. Daniel, (St. John), and J. J. Donnelly (S. Bruce) to the Senate; W. D. Staples (Macdonald) to the Dominion Grain Commission; A. S. Goodeve (Kootenay) to the Dominion Railway Commission; Alex. Haggart (Winnipeg) to the Manitoba Court of Appeal; Haughton Lennox (South Simcoe) to the Ontario High Court, O. S. Crockett (York, N.B.) to the New Brunswick Supreme Court.

The appointment of other Members to Senatorships or Judgeships has been practically promised for as soon as it is found safe to open the constituencies. For the nine vacant judgeships in Ontario it is stated on good authority that there are now 130 applications fyled with the Minister of Justice including the applications of a number of Members of Parliament.

SOUTH LANARK BY-ELECTION.

THE by-election returns in South Lanark mark the climax to a series of hard blows dealt the Borden Government in the Province of Ontario during 1913. This was the first vacancy to occur in the Commons representation from Ontario during the year, but was the last to be filled. The seat became vacant on the 13th of March; other vacancies were South Bruce on May 26th, and East Middlesex on June 11th. The Government brought on the by-elections in reverse order, that of East Middlesex being the first. In that election the Governments' majority was cut down by 293. In South Bruce the Government lost the seat. In South Lanark the election did not take place till December 13. The government candidate, Dr. A. E. Hanna, with the support of the Administration and personal assistance of several of the Ministers in the campaign received the bare plurality of 66 over the two candidates who opposed him, and a majority of only 133 over Colonel Balderson, who was his principal opponent. In the general elections of 1911, Hon. J. Haggart, the Government candidate received 2233 votes and had a majority of 1166; Mr. Hanna, received only 1906 votes and came within 133 of defeat.

CHANGED CONDITIONS.

"A new condition has arisen at the present time. For the first time since the year 1896 men are seeking work and are not finding work. For the first time since 1896 there is such a thing as unemployment in this country. The Mayor of Winnipeg stated yesterday according to press reports, that there were three thousand unemployed in the city of Winnipeg. He also said that three years ago he could have blessed heaven that there was not a single unemployed person in the city. To-day, as we know, in Montreal, in Toronto, in all of the large cities of Canada men are seeking employment and not finding it. That is not all, though that is bad enough. At the same time that work is decreasing, the cost of living is increasing. There is less work on the one side and a higher cost of living on the other side. We have known hard times before. There were hard times in this country from 1893 to 1896. But at that time, although there was not very much work, living was cheap. But in these modern times, in these days of the present Government, there is not sufficient work and living is dear, so that we are hit both ways. And this is Conservative prosperity!"—*Sir Wilfrid Laurier at the Fielding Banquet.*

CONTRASTS AND REFLECTIONS.

A Review of the Year 1913 in Federal Politics.

1913 in political circles was a year of contradictions. Restriction and excess, excess and restriction jostled each other in constant rivalry through the whole of its course. In part the conflict was due to circumstances beyond the power of the Government. In the main it was owing to want of vision and foresight, and the lack of a controlling hand. Incoherency in legislation, instability in administration, alternate plunging and inaction are the constantly recurring features of the Government's record in and out of Parliament. The consequences of combined incapacity and recklessness are now being revealed to no uncertain degree.

The year opened with a continuance of the prosperity which marked the development of the country during the whole of the Laurier regime. The momentum left by fifteen years of constructive statesmanship had not spent its force. Clouds, however, there were on the horizon, which the Government through want of perception and the paralyzing influence of entangling alliances, either failed to see or ignored. The clouds continued to gather through the year, and its close was marked by a reduced revenue, a declining trade, increased expenditure, increased borrowing and a growing national debt.

Decline in Credit, Trade and Employment.

The appropriations voted by Parliament totalled a quarter of a billion dollars as compared with \$122,861,250 expended during the last year of the Liberal administration. During the year the Government raised by loan in the British market \$45,000,000. Hon. Mr. White's last appeal in London for more money to the extent of \$20,000,000 met with a somewhat frigid reception, although it was a 4½ per cent loan issued at 97. The last time Hon. Mr. Fielding appealed for funds in London, a 3½ per cent loan was obtained at a fraction below par. In other words, the present Administration has been compelled to pledge the country's credit at a rate of interest greater by practically 1 per cent than was necessary three years ago. During October and November alone the public debt was increased by \$3,527,920. During the first eight months of the fiscal year the expenditures increased by nearly \$25,000,000, compared with the corresponding period of the preceding year.

A contrast not less marked has been apparent in the standard of well-being of the masses of the people. With a gradual falling off in employment there has gone hand in hand a considerable increase in the cost of the necessaries of life. Not since the closing years of the old Conservative Administration have operating staffs been as extensively reduced, or as many working people thrown out of employment, as is the case this winter, though the year opened with an abundance of work and a scarcity of labour in many of the national industries. The cost of living has risen to a point never before reached in the history of the Dominion. Nemesis has followed swift and sure upon the rejection of a policy which would have given Canadian producers wider markets in which to sell, and Canadian consumers wider markets in which to buy.

Continued Increase in the Cost of Living.

The United States, during the year, let down the tariff barriers on food stuffs, and other commodities of general use. Whilst this has helped American consumers the result to Canada has been a prompt outflow of cattle, dairy produce and other foodstuffs draining the home supply, with no return flow to re-establish the equilibrium of supply and demand. The out-flow, unfortunately, has not been of those commodities of which there is a surplus over and above what is needed to adequately supply the home market. Whilst for those products of the farm of which Canada produces a superabundance, and which are the very basis of her export trade, restriction of trade, rather than freedom, has been the watchword of the Administration. Canadian producers and Canadian consumers alike have been obliged to suffer. The increase in the high cost of living and the increase in unemployment, tell a part of the tale.

The one piece of constructive policy of the year likely to afford a measure of relief to this unfortunate situation was Sir Wilfrid Laurier's suggestion of the removal of the duty on food, as part of the more comprehensive policy of wider markets in which to buy and sell. The Government which has the control of policies, either cannot or will not effect any remedy whatever. Premier Borden has taken refuge in the favorite subterfuge of vacillating politicians, and has appointed a Commission of investigation with circumscribed powers and restricted scope.

Military and Naval Fiascos.

In defence, as in trade, the year has revealed excess and incapacity on the part of the Administration. It opened with the Government staging an alleged naval "emergency" and demanding an immediate contribution of \$35,000,000 to the Admiralty for the building of three Dreadnoughts as a first step in a policy of centralization fostered by the ultra-Imperialists of Canada and Great Britain, and as a compromise with the Nationalist allies in Quebec. The fight of Liberalism against reactionary Tory centralization of power in London was the outstanding feature of the parliamentary session. The year closed with the "emergency" dead and buried, with Germany and Great Britain on more cordial relations than for years past, with a world-wide sentiment developed demanding restrictions of armaments, with the international outlook more than ever for peace and with Canadian public sentiment overwhelmingly in favour of proceeding steadily along the lines of co-operation adhered to in the past by Canada and now permanently adopted by the other over-seas Dominions.

A ludicrous contrast in the jingo programme of the year was the spectacle of Canada's Finance Minister, opening the year by informing the world that he proposed to save the British Empire by a contribution of \$35,000,000 from the Dominion Treasury and going ere its close to the British Isles to beg from British

investors a loan of a like sum, and unable, because of his financial methods, to obtain this loan at a figure comparable with that of previous loans.

So, too, the year has witnessed an evident growth of opposition to the militaristic tendencies of Toryism. The storm of popular protest against abnormal and extravagant expenditures on militia and militarism in Canada may curb further fantastic and wasteful excesses along this line, and 1914 is not likely to witness a recurrence of increased militia expenditures by millions, of special transcontinental military trains and of hundred-thousand dollar military junkets to Europe at the public expense. Liberalism has withstood successfully during 1913 the efforts to have Canada drawn into the furnace of European controversy and European militarism.

Excesses and Restrictions in Parliament.

In so far as legislation was concerned the main items of the Government's attempted programme were the Highways' Aid Bill, the \$35,000,000, "Emergency" Contribution proposal, the Government Railways Branch Lines Bill, the Aid to Agriculture Bill, the \$15,000,000 gift to Mackenzie and Mann, and the lavish provision for public expenditures on borrowed money. Without exception, all these measures were marked by the one outstanding characteristic of having been deliberately designed as a means of placing the Cabinet in possession of large sums of money over the expenditure of which Parliament would have no further control. All were part of a well laid plan which seeks an irresponsible executive as a method of retaining political power by possible corruption of the electorate and undue influencing of constituencies.

Of these measures the last three alone survived the disclosures made by the Opposition. What there may have been of public need or of value in the three first, was sacrificed by the Government itself because of its inability to secure the grants in a form which would have helped to serve illegitimate ends.

The climax came in the restriction of the liberty of debate and of public discussion by the peoples' representatives in Parliament through the closure, and the arbitrary method of its introduction in the House of Commons.

To the lasting shame of the Borden Government, it will ever be recorded that, though thwarted in many other endeavours to restrict the liberties of the Canadian people, it was successful in taking from their representatives in Parliament the greatest of all safeguards of popular rights and liberties, an untrammelled freedom of speech within the halls of Parliament on matters of concern to the welfare of the nation as a whole.

Extravagances in Administration.

In enunciating his famous Halifax platform, Mr. Borden referred to degrading broken pledges, opportunist policy, stolen elections, indecent public appointments and robbery of the public assets, and said, "Those who know me best are aware how little I have desired a public career; and if I thought such an outcome possible I would turn with unspeakable aversion from the task before me". The past year has been a strange commentary on those brave words. Opportunist policy! Witness the revelations of Henri Bourassa in *Le Devoir* during May and June exposing all the details of the secret alliance between the Nationalists of Quebec and the Tories of Ontario. Stolen elections! Witness the by-elections in Macdonald and Chateauguay with their sordid details of wholesale bribery and corruption known to Mr. Borden and condoned by him. Indecent public appointments! Witness the continued dismissal of hundreds of civil servants on trumped-up charges of partisanship and the appointment of political workers without regard to merit or efficiency. Witness also, as one illuminating instance, the appointment of Capt. Landry, in Nova Scotia, a convicted and sentenced forger, liberated by the Minister of Justice in order that he might assume his job. Robbery of the public assets! Witness the exposures in Parliament of the Prince Albert land deal where a portion of the public domain worth at least \$100,000 was given away to a Conservative politician as a homestead! witness the contract entered into by the Postmaster-General for 350,000 mail bag locks at one dollar apiece, sufficient to supply the country for at least a quarter of a century. These are but a few of the instances of dishonest expenditure and "robbery of the public assets."

Frequent and prolonged absences of Ministers from the Capital were evidences of indifference to public duty too apparent on the part of several members of the government. The world circling tour of the Hon. Geo. E. Foster had in it the semblance of possible service, though little in the way of accomplishment. But the waste of public money in unnecessary travelling was most flagrantly exemplified in the cases of the Ministers of Militia and Labor. The trip of the Minister of Militia with a party of 24 officers, lady secretaries, and others, to Europe, on a combined military and pleasure expedition, was an expensive innovation, Hon. Mr. Crothers, Minister of Labor, committed a similar political indiscretion in going to England on a two months semi-holiday jaunt while hundreds of men were out of work on account of disastrous industrial disturbances on Vancouver Island. He aptly referred to himself as "Minister of Play".

Has the review of the year brought to Mr. Borden "unspeakable aversion for the task"? Three months of compelled absence from the Capital in search of rest and renewed health tell something of the strain that has been put upon him. The year has its moral for him as well as for the country as a whole.

HOPE



"If the tariff were reduced, as I propose to do, we would take away the cost which weighs upon the poorer classes of the community. It does not affect so much those who sit at this board, but it does affect very nearly the artisan, the mechanic, the clerk, the clergyman, the professor, the teacher. We are fighting for the wives, for the mothers, for the children; we are fighting even for those able-bodied men who, with reduced wages, have to face the coming of a cold Canadian winter."—RIGHT HONORABLE SIR WILFRID LAURIER—At the Fielding Banquet, Montreal, Que., December 9th, 1913.

THE FARMER AND THE TARIFF.

"We do not ask for favors, but merely for fair play;"
In that quotation from the tariff memorial presented to the Government on December 16th, by the Dominion Council of Agriculture, representing the organized agriculturalists of Western Canada and of Ontario, is summed up a whole fiscal philosophy.

Favors of unduly restricted competition to special interests behind tariff protection are economically unjustifiable as they are morally unjust. Fair play for any one class of the community involves fair play for all. That is, in essence, the tariff doctrine preached to the Government by the farmers. It combines real patriotism with sound economics.

The facts and figures presented in support of the fiscal arguments are deserving of the consideration of every person concerned in the main problem of Canadian politics at the present time.

Referring to the combination of interests which has taken place, the deputation said:

"The outstanding economic fact in the last few years in our country is the consummation of a large number of industrial amalgamations. In four years previous to January 1913, fifty-six industrial mergers were negotiated, with an aggregate authorized capitalization of \$456,938,266. The 56 amalgamations absorbed 248 individual companies. A few outstanding illustrations are: The Canada Cement Co., Montreal, capitalized at \$38,000,000, absorbed 11 companies with a total capital of \$17,750,000; Ames Holden & McCready, Boots and Shoes, capitalized at \$11,500,000, absorbed two companies, capital \$3,500,000; Canada Cereal & Malt- ing Co., capitalized at \$3,250,000, absorbed 8 companies with \$809,000, capital; Dominion Cann- ers, Hamilton, capitalized at \$12,500,000 absorbed 45 individual companies whose capital was given as \$1,324,000. All the other mergers are similarly inflated."

"This consolidation of indi- vidual companies into combines and combines into trusts, has the further effect of centralizing capital and power in the hands of a few individuals. By an inter- locking of Directors, the same men control our banking institu- tions, our loan companies, our insurance companies, our trans- portation companies, and our industrial institutions. It is stated on good authority that Canada's economic structure is in control of about 23 Capital Directors who are members of 90 of the 121 corporations of Canada having a capitalization of \$500,000 or over."

How serious have been the effects of some of these combines and trusts which by the monopoly they have secured can dictate to the producer the price at which he must sell, and fix for the consumer, the price at which he must buy, will be apparent from the following statements contained in the farmer's memorial and which derive an added significance because of the source from whence they come. They are all important as shewing wherein taxation on food, operates to the detriment of both producers and consumers and helps to increase the high cost of living to both.

"The average price paid farmers for tomatoes last year at Ontario factories was 30 cents per bushel. In some cases the price ran as low as 27½ cents. It is stated that a bushel of these tomatoes will, under ordinary conditions, fill ten cans, the price of which to the consumer in Western Canada is 20 cents per can."

"The farmers in the Western Provinces sell their wheat at a little more than 1c per lb., the consumers pay 3c per lb. for flour. Hogs sell around 7½ cents, consumers pay 20 to 25 cents per lb. for bacon and ham. Oats sell for less than one cent per lb., oatmeal costs 3c."

The delegates of the organized farmers declared that the defeat of reciprocity, had in the past two years brought not only to the grain growers of West- ern Canada, but to all classes throughout the Dominion, a realization of the economic wisdom of giving greater freedom to producers and consumers to buy and to sell in the best market.

The following are some of the facts by which their statements were supported:

"Expansion in farming operations has ceased. Less than 100,000 acres has been broken in 1913 as against an estimate of 4,000,000 two years previous; and this in the face of the fact that upwards of half a million immigrants have been brought into that Western country within the last three years."

"The last two years have demonstrated that Western farmers are not going to continue to grow crops at a loss. They cannot grow grain at a profit in larger quantities without other markets and alternate route for shipment. So long as our grain is forced to go for export through one channel that lends itself so readily to the manipulation of grain speculation, and the imposing of ex- cessive freight charges by combinations of transportation com- panies, we need look for no great increase in production."

"In the four years, 1908 to 1911, when the growth of the West was at its height, the crop area increased from 8,312,956 acres in 1908 to 17,488,117, in 1911. The next two years showed a decrease of 1,259,617, and it remains with this Government to say whether we revert to this rapid growth of the decade ending 1911, or remain as we have since."

As producers of food stuffs, the farmers declared their willingness to face the competition of the world without any adventitious tariff aid. They empha- sized however, the cumu- lative evil effect of a pro- tective tariff maintained without regard to condi- tions of economic produc- tion in Canada. It was urged that these conditions en- abled special interests— either manufacturing, trans- portation or middlemen—

to profit at the expense of other classes of the com- munity. The time had come for some prompt measure of remedial tariff legislation.

The following is the language in which the farmers preferred their request.

"We submit that the wider market afforded us by accepting the offer of the United States for free interchange of natural prod- ucts would have the same effect in stimulating the raising of wheat, oats, barley and flax as free access to the United States market for cattle has already done for that line of farm enterprise. Not only because it would provide another market for grain, but also be- cause it would provide a competitive route for transporting grain to Europe."

"We ask that all food stuffs be placed on the free list as we be- lieve that the taxing of food is a crime against humanity."

The memorial of the deputation should be read in its entirety. It is filled with substantial argument. It bristles with questions that must be answered, and with advice which cannot pass unheeded. The following are among its observations:

The sensible thing for the Canadian people to do is to stop borrowing money, pay for what we buy and produce for export to meet our obligations.

Wherein should we tax the benefit of money invested in agri- culture for the benefit of capital invested in manufacturing?

A few men become millionaires, while the masses become poorer; a few live in mansions, while many are forced into slums.

Manufacturing is unduly expanding, while the farming in- dustry languishes because of being drained of its life blood.

Farmers do not object to pay their share of the cost of Govern- ment. They are willing to submit to any system that will be of equitable taxation, levied for revenue purposes only.

**"We ask that all Food-
stuffs be placed on the
free list as we believe
that the taxing of food is a
crime against humanity."**

*From memorial of Dominion Council of Agricul-
ture presented to the Government, December 16, 1913.*

LIBERALISM AND CITIZENSHIP.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier's appeal to the ideals of Young Canadians.

SIR Wilfrid Laurier gave an inspiring address to the students of Toronto University on the 16th of last month. He captured the hearts and the minds of his student audience by his charm of manner, his grace of diction and his happy expression of the ideals of democracy and of public service for the young men of Canada.

The whole-hearted and enthusiastic applause which marked his reception and address by the students was the natural and willing testimony of educated young Canadians to the life-work, the character and the national service of the greatest of all Canadians. No public man could have had a finer or more enthusiastic welcome from a student body. No one deserved acclaim of young Canadians more than the "Old Chief" who for nearly half a century has fought consistently and successfully for the ideals common to all who love patriotism, justice and democracy. In his life, in the cause he has championed, in national aspirations, Sir Wilfrid has ever been an exemplar and a leader for young men. At seventy-two he is more than ever a young Canadian in hope, in outlook and in enthusiasm for service of the common weal. The manner and matter of his address, the vigor and the poetry of his appeal for perseverance, courage and disinterested service in the cause of national and social progress convinced his hearers that he was still a young man's leader.

Canada is not only a young man's country where opportunities for material advancement are greatest but it is also the world's young country where the problems of democracy can be worked out to best advantage, where civilization is starting a new democracy with all the lessons of older, more populous and more socially complex countries to draw upon and where a well-directed public leadership has freest scope. There is still a chance to avoid in Canada the political mistakes of other countries in allowing privileged interests to usurp wealth that belongs to the community as a whole or in allowing economic and social conditions to become established that do not

make for the common happiness of the common people. Older countries like Great Britain, Germany and the United States are now struggling with the problem of rectifying conditions which have grown up with generations of governmental autocracy, serving special interests of wealth or aristocracy rather than the real interests of the democracy. The distribution of wealth has been unequal, individuals profiting at the expense of others; the ownership of the land has fallen into the hands of a small percentage of the people; wealth and luxury are for the few, while for the many there is the joyless and stern struggle for existence. These are worldwide conditions caused for the most

"My young friends, go out into the world to service. Make the highest thought of civilization your inspiration. Problems there are, big problems. Tomorrow, the day after to-morrow, it will be your turn to grapple with them. Serve God and your country. Be firm in the right as God gives you to see the right. You may not always succeed. Progress is often punctuated by reverses. You may meet reverse, but the following day stand up again and renew the conflict; for truth and justice shall triumph in the end."—Sir Wilfrid Laurier's Message to the Young Men of Canada.

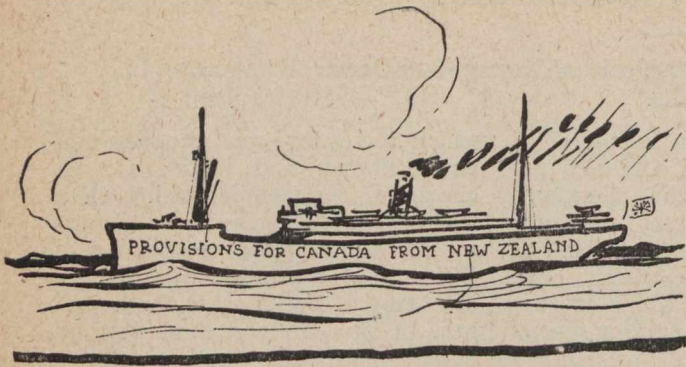
part by the application of the underlying principles of Toryism to governmental protection of the interests of wealth, position and privilege at the expense of the masses. In Canada conditions so far are better, mainly because the principles of Liberalism have always been strongly asserted by a democratic people through the forces of education, responsible government and inherited instincts of liberty and equality. But the inherent tendencies of Toryism are as marked in Canada to-day as they ever were in older countries. And, if unchecked, the same results will be produced here that have resulted elsewhere. That is why the young men of Canada should allign themselves with the political cause

which makes for social progress and equal liberty and justice for all classes of the people, rather than with a political cause based at bottom on the forces of restriction of democracy's rights to a full measure of liberty in working out the happiness of the common man through equal opportunity and equal rewards of good citizenship.

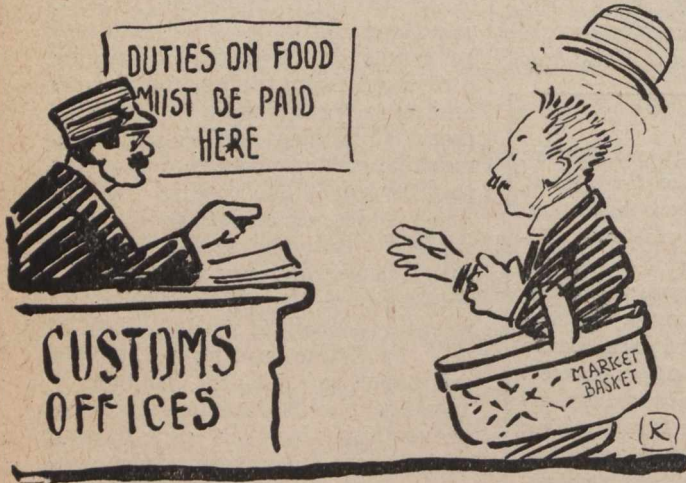
Sir Wilfrid in his address to the students did not call the principles he enunciated by the name of Liberalism. But every ideal of the new-world democracy to which he referred is a doctrine of Canadian Liberalism. The happiness of the masses of the people, he said, was the underlying consideration of government. Greedy men must be prevented from taking undue tolls and undue profits from their fellow-men. Combines and corporations must be curbed when they attempt to "fix prices one way to the producer and another way to the consumer." Labor must be given the full measure of reward for its toil. Education—cultural, industrial and scientific—must be within reach of all. Feudalism and militarism had no place in modern democracy. Intelligent arbitration as a means of preventing war between Capital and Labor or between nation and nation was the hope of civilization and a practical ideal of government.

For all these fundamental principles of Liberalism and of good government by and for the people Sir Wilfrid has stood steadfastly through half a century. The appeal of his ideals to the young men of Canada was compelling. The appeal of his whole life—the chivalry of his nature, the purity and probity of his character, the poetry and imagination of his eloquence, the wide vision and the firm hand—these are even more compelling in their personal appeal to every young man in Canada.

It is no wonder the University students of Toronto, typical of all Canadian young men who think and who have ideals, cheered and cheered again with wave after wave of enthusiasm when Sir Wilfrid concluded his address with an inspiring appeal to help in making Canada a leader in the world-progress of democracy.



I saw a ship a-sailing,
A-sailing on the sea;
And Oh! it was all laden
With eatables for me.



But when the goods were landed
I found I had to pay
Some fifty thousand dollars—
Just to take the food away.

THE CONTROL OF THE MARKET.

"The long line of distributors and middlemen between the farmer and consumer are in a position to take advantage of the market and to a certain extent control the market in both directions, because they are better organized to keep informed of crop and market conditions and to act more promptly than either farmers or consumers, who are not organized and as individuals are helpless.

"The high prices paid by consumers, ranging from 5 to nearly 500 per cent in some cases more than the farmer receives, indicate that there is plenty of room for lowering the cost of farm products to consumers and at the same time largely increase the cash income per farm without increasing farm production. —From the annual crop report of the Department of Agriculture of the United States issued, January 1914.

FOOD FROM NEW ZEALAND.

THERE is now on the Pacific Ocean a large cargo of butter, veal and mutton coming from New Zealand to feed Canadians. The shipload is attracting much attention because it marks an opening of a new source of food supplies for Canada since our own have been so much affected by the United States under their free food policy. The cargo comprises some 1,050,000 pounds of butter, on which the Canadian duty is four cents a pound, or \$42,000, 16,680 pounds of veal, on which the Canadian duty is three cents pound, or \$500.40, and 56,250 pounds of mutton, also dutiable at three cents a pound or \$1,687.50. Thus when this shipload of provisions reaches Vancouver from New Zealand, it will have to pay a tax of some \$44,187.90 before a mouthful of the food can be distributed in Canada. This sum of almost \$50,000 would be saved consumers in the United States or Great Britain as both these countries have abandoned the practice of taxation by the mouthful.

The manner in which food duties are becoming increasingly heavy in Canada is shown by the fact that the duty on this one consignment is greater than the total duties collected on all fresh meats, butter and eggs imported into Canada during September, the last month for which reports are available.

The importations for that month were:

FRESH MEATS (chiefly from Great Britain, U.S. and New Zealand), 570,725 lbs., Canadian duty 3 cents lb.....	\$17,121.75
BUTTER (chiefly from Great Britain and U.S.) 54,038 lbs. Canadian duty 4 cents lb.....	2,161.52
BUTTER (from New Zealand under preferential tariff of 3 cents lb.) 69,048 lbs.	2,071.44
EGGS (chiefly from U. S.) 587,721 dozen, duty 3 cents dozen.....	17,631.63
Total.....	\$38,986.34

These figures make it plain that with the Underwood Tariff and free food for the United States in effect, Canadian food supplies will be so drained that the Canadian consumer will have to depend more and more upon foreign supplies. Practically all this food is heavily taxed. No one profits from this taxation, but the Government which collects the tariff. Everyone else loses, because everyone is a food consumer and not only do the Canadian people have to pay an equal amount on taxes collected, but also the increased cost of food due to the packing and other combines taking full advantage of the duty.

DIARY OF THE MONTH.

1913.
December.
- 1 **MR. ARTHUR HAWKES, MR. G. G. S. LINDSEY, K.C., TORONTO** and **MR. J. C. WALSH, MONTREAL** on Canadian autonomy versus Centralization at PERTH in South Lanark campaign.
 - 2 **TWENTY MILLION DOLLAR** bond issue at London announced by **HON. W. T. WHITE**; London cables state that Canada's methods are severely criticized in British press.
 - 3 **CUSTOMS REVENUE** for November shows decline of nearly \$1,500,000 compared with November, 1912.
 - 5 **SOUTH BRUCE CONSERVATIVES** file petition against election of **MR. E. TRUAX, M.P.**
 - 6 **DECREASE OF NEARLY \$1,000,000** shown in Government financial statement for November, compared with November 1912.
 - 7 **SASKATCHEWAN LEGISLATURE** unanimously resolves to demand from Dominion Government control of provincial school lands and rescission of the C.P.R. tax exemption.
 - 8 **HON. RODOLPHE LEMIEUX, M.P.** at Young Liberal Club at Montreal on **HIGH COST OF LIVING.**
 - 9 **SOUTH LANARK** and **MACDONALD BY-ELECTION NOMINATIONS.**
 - 10 **CANADIAN TWENTY MILLION DOLLAR LOAN** reported a failure, eighty-three per cent said to be left on Underwriters hands.
 - 11 **HON. MR. CROFTERS** at HALIFAX reported as saying cost of living due to too much prosperity.
 - 12 **Immigration of labour by coast and Southern frontiers** into British Columbia prohibited until March 1914, to give government time to shape a policy on oriental labour.
 - 13 **HON. G. P. GRAHAM, M.P.**, at Aylesworth Liberal Club, KING CITY, ONT., advocates "Free Food" Policy.
 - 14 **HON. W. S. FIELDING** tendered banquet by Liberal Clubs of MONTREAL upon assuming Editorship-in-Chief of MONTREAL TELEGRAPH. **WALTER C. MITCHELL, K.C.**, President of Montreal Reform Club, in chair. **SIR WILFRID LAURIER** reiterates policy of "Free Food" and states that if Liberals were revising Tariff, all revisions would be based on careful inquiry into conditions by Commission composed of Minister of Finance, Minister of Trade and Commerce, Minister of Customs and Minister of Labour. Speeches by **HON. CHARLES MARCIL, E. C. SMITH, K.C., P. EINFRET,** and **ANTONIO PERREAULT.**
 - 15 **MANITOBA LEGISLATURE** opens at WINNIPEG.
 - 16 **MR. N. W. ROWELL** at Niagara Falls Canadian Club on **IMPERIAL RELATIONS.**
 - 17 **LUNENBURG LIBERAL ASSOCIATION** at MAHONE, N.S.; addresses by **E. M. MACDONALD, M.P.**, and **A. K. MACLEAN, M.P.**
 - 18 **KINGS COUNTY (N.S.) LIBERALS** meet at Kentville, N.S. Speeches by **F. B. CARVELL, M.P., H. H. WICKWIRE, M.L.A., A. M. COVERT, M.L.A.** and **A. E. WALL, ex-M.L.A.**
 - 19 **SOUTH LANARK** and **MACDONALD BY-ELECTIONS.** **SOUTH LANARK** consequent upon death of **Hon. John Haggart**, March 13, 1913.
DR. A. E. HANNA (Gov. C.) 1907.
LT. COL. J. M. BALDERSON (Ind. C.) 1773.
ARTHUR HAWKES ("Canada First") 65.
Plurality for Hanna—69.
Maj. over Balderson—134.
Representation Unchanged.
 - 1911 1908
HON. JOHN HAGGART (C) 2233—1133 **HAGGART** (C) 759
G. F. MCKINN (L) 1087
 - 20 **MACDONALD**, consequent upon unseating of Alex Morrison (C) on October 12, 1913.
ALEX MORRISON (C) 3855—916.
DR. WYLES (L) 2939.
Representation Unchanged.
 - 1912 1911
A. MORRISON (C) 3534—794 **W. D. STAPLES** (C) 2956
A. L. RICHARDSON (L. L.) 2740 **J. S. WOODS** (L) 2795
 - 21 **MR. ARTHUR MYERS**, Leader of Opposition in **NEW ZEALAND PARLIAMENT**, endorses Government's plan of local fleet units for Naval Defence.
 - 22 **SIR WILFRID LAURIER** addresses University Students at Toronto on "The Growth of Democracy".
 - 23 **DOMINION COUNCIL OF AGRICULTURE DEPUTATION** waits upon Premier Borden and Cabinet at OTTAWA; demands free wheat and flour, free food, free agricultural implements, and increase of British preference to fifty per cent as step toward free trade with Mother Country, and general tariff reduction.
 - 24 **DELEGATION OF ONTARIO FRUIT AND LIVE STOCK MEN** oppose these requests.
 - 25 **DEPARTMENTAL COMMISSION** to investigate High Cost of Living appointed by Government; **MESSES. JOHN MACDUGALD, C. C. JAMES** and **E. H. COATS.**
 - 26 **SOUTH BRUCE LIBERALS** enter counter-petition against **WELLINGTON D. CARGILL**, defeated Conservative candidate.
 - 27 **DOMINION GRANGE** at TORONTO passes resolutions calling for tariff readjustment, proper distribution of Federal aid to Highways, referendum on naval question, etc.
 - 28 **INLAND REVENUE RECEIPTS FOR NOVEMBER** show decrease of \$72,067.
 - 29 **PREMIER BORDEN** and **HON. MESSES. WHITE, DOHERTY, NANTEL, CODERRE** and **G. P. GRAHAM** at Montreal Commercial Travellers banquet.
 - 30 **DOMINION TRADE AND LABOR CONGRESS** issues circular condemning **HON. T. CROFTERS**, Minister of Labour, for refusing a board in the NANAIMO COAL STRIKE.
 - 31 **HON. MACKENZIE KING** at Twentieth Century Liberal Club, STOUFFVILLE, ONT., on review of year in Federal Politics.
HON. G. E. FOSTER leaves for England to attend Dominions Trade Commission.
 - 32 **HON. H. F. MacLEOD**, formerly N. B. Provincial Secretary, returned by acclamation as Federal member for YORK, N.B., to succeed **O. S. CROCKET, M.P.**, appointed to the Bench.

ORGANIZATION AND EDUCATION.

CANADIAN Liberalism was never stronger in fighting spirit or in unity of purpose. A strong opposition in Parliament never confronted a weaker Government. And in so far as the ministerial forces are weak in argument, policy and in cordial public support they must place their main reliance on machine politics and organization in the constituencies. For this they have ample funds and a skilled master of political machine manipulation in the Hon. Robt. Rogers.

That is the one force which Liberalism must meet at the next election on as even terms as honesty and fair play will allow. In everything else the battle is already with the Liberal Party throughout Canada. All that is now needed to insure success and a return to power, when the next appeal is made to the electors, is thorough and effective organization in each constituency. The good work of Liberals in Parliament and its effect on public sentiment must be supplemented by equally good work in the constituencies. Under present conditions there is not a single constituency in Canada that should be considered as hopeless from the Liberal point of view.

What is needed now most of all is for the local Liberal organizations in each riding to take advantage of the opportunity afforded by a good cause, and a well prepared public sentiment. The example of the organization perfected by Mr. Reuben Truax, the Member-elect for South Bruce in the recent by-election, and the signal success which attended that organization, and the thorough personal canvass which was one of its main features, should prove a stimulus to Liberal candidates and workers all over the Dominion.

The Central Information Office, at Ottawa is prepared to actively co-operate with the local organizations in each constituency, along educational lines, but to further the educational work local organization is equally necessary.

Education and organization must go hand in hand if the educational work is to produce its best results. The voters' lists in each constituency is the starting point. Personal canvass and the personal word in season to the individual voter who may be started at this present opportune time towards a reasoned and well-grounded support of Liberalism must supplement the written appeal. The ground is prepared, the seed is ready, the harvest is sure, if the work of organization is perfected in each riding. For that the Liberal party must rely in the last analysis on the willing enthusiasm and steady persistent effort of men in each constituency who believe in the cause they represent and who are willing to give it loyal and active support.

This is the psychological moment for completing an effective and thorough organization in every constituency.

"Trust my experience. I never felt more confident than I do at the present time. I am not as young as at one time, but for this cause I will find enthusiasm and the vigour of youth as I have never before. And let me assure you, and believe me, it is true, that justice always prevails in the end."—*Sir Wilfrid Laurier at Fielding Banquet, Montreal, December 9, 1913.*

THE PEOPLE'S BLACKBOARD


TYPICAL WEEKLY EXPENDITURES FOR A FAMILY OF FIVE
ON INCOME OF \$800.00 A YEAR.

	1910	1912	INCREASE IN 2 YEARS
FOOD	\$6.74	\$7.40	66 per week or \$34.32 per year
FUEL & LIGHTING	\$1.65	\$1.82	17 " " \$8.84
RENT	\$3.81	\$4.37	56 " " \$29.12
TOTAL LEAVING FOR CLOTHING, HOUSEHOLD UTENSILS & FURNISHINGS	\$12.24	\$13.63	\$1.39 " " \$72.28
TAXES, INSURANCE, SICKNESS ETC. ETC. ETC.	\$3.14	\$1.75	

FOOD HAS INCREASED MORE THAN ANYTHING ELSE

THE BORDEN GOVERNMENT COLLECTS YEARLY OVER \$11,000,000 IN TAXES ON FOOD ALONE
A COMMISSION IS NOT NEEDED TO SHOW THAT
FREE FOOD WOULD HELP EVERY FAMILY IN THE DOMINION.

These figures are taken from the latest report of the Department of Labour Canada 1912-1913, p. 70-71.



THE HIGH COST OF LIVING—OBSERVATIONS BY A GOVERNMENT COMMISSIONER.

The following extracts are taken from a paper read before the Canadian Economic Association at Ottawa on September, 1913 by Mr. R. H. Coats, Statistician, Department of Labour, and one of the members of the High Cost of Living Commission appointed by the Government during the month of December.

Probably 40 or 50 per cent of the income of the average city is spent for food.

* * *

The cost of living has risen by over one half, in a decade and a half.

* * *

The articles which have gone up fastest have been food products, notably Canadian grown food products.

* * *

The consumer in our city is paying anything from 50 to 100 per cent more for his foods than the farmer in the country receives.

* * *

It is impossible at the present to ascertain what profits the packers are making.

Bread is cheaper in London than in Winnipeg.

* * *

Canadian bacon was selling in England about the middle of August at 80 to 84 shillings per long cwt. i.e., 17 to 18 cents per lb. In Montreal at the same date the wholesale price was 20 cents.

* * *

The beef trust beyond a doubt sets prices to consumer and producer in the United States. Trade methods we are fast adopting here are essentially the same.

* * *

The inherent danger is that the big canneries may by combination force out the little ones, and thus gain a position where they can dictate to the grower what he will get and to the consumer what he will pay.

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