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22 Nov. 1921	Newmarket: The Meighen autocracy.	D 5805
23 Nov. 1921	Woodstock: Campaign speech.	D 5809
24 Nov. 1921	Brantford: Campaign speech.	D 5813
25 Nov. 1921	Chesley: Campaign speech.	D 5820
26 Nov. 1921	Peterborough: Campaign speech.	D 5822
28 Nov. 1921	Pembroke: The farmer groups and Meighen rule.	D 5825
29 Nov. 1921	Oshawa: Campaign speech.	D 5829
30 Nov. 1921	Gananoque: Tariff issues.	D 5835
30 Nov. 1921	Kingston: The women's vote; senate appointments; railways.	D 5839
1 Dec. 1921	North Bay: Campaign speech.	D 5842
2 Dec. 1921	Holland Landing: Tory autocracy; King's war record.	D 5846
3 Dec. 1921	North York: Campaign speech.	D 5850
11 Dec. 1921	Ottawa: Tribute to Marshall Foch.	D 5853
13 Dec. 1921	Aurora: Expression of thanks to supporters in North York.	D 5867
14 Dec. 1921	Newmarket: Expression of thanks to supporters in North York.	D 5870

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8 Jan. 1916

Ottawa Women's
Canadian Club

"THE WORK OF THE ROCKEFELLER
FOUNDATION

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Ottawa Women's Canadian Club

Madam,—

THE HON. W. L. MACKENZIE KING, C.M.G.,

will be the guest of honour at the next meeting of the club, which will be held in the ball room of the Chateau Laurier, on Saturday afternoon, January 8th, 1916, at three o'clock.

Mr. King, who is well known to Ottawa audiences as an easy and delightful speaker, will address the members on

THE WORK OF THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION

with which he has been connected for some time.

While special reference will be made to the heroic labours of this organization among the refugees in Belgium and Serbia, Mr. King will also discuss those wider activities in directions which are perhaps not so well known to the general public.

Members will be admitted to this meeting free on presentation of 1915-16 season ticket, and nonresident visitors may attend upon payment of 25 cents, when accompanied by a member.

Yours truly,
ETHEL W. THOMAS,
HONORARY SECRETARY

The Aylmer Apts.

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CANADA

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CANADA POSTAGE 1 CENT 1

Hon. Mr. L. Mackenzie King Esq

~~The Chateau Laurier~~

The Roxborough

Ottawa

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The Work of The Rockefeller Foundation

Introduction

The nature of the Foundation
Trustees and powers of
Amount of gifts received, $100,000,000.
Objects of making scope broad
'A University of human need'
Methods of
Policies
Advancement of public health, through medical research and education
To find the man interested in his subject
Demonstrated that it can be made of service to mankind.

The International Health Commission

Dr. Rose's work in hook-worm disease in U.S.
2 million people in U.S. infected
Extension by Foundation to Europe
Visit to England, 1913
Work in Egypt, ($60,000 spent annually, ½ by Govt. (½ by Rockefeller Foundation)
Ceylon, Malay States, Br.West Indies, Central America and Panama
In British Colonies alone, over 100,000 examined
50% infected; 25% cured.
Altogether, Treated more than ½ million people
½ million dollars a year appropriated for this work.

Medical Work in China

China's great need
January 1914, Commission sent to China
Needs re medical education and public health
China Medical Board established
$5,000,000 appropriated.

January 10, 1916.

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John R. Mott, April 1914, presented on behalf of leading foreign missionary Boards of the continent, a program of co-operation and co-ordination.
Common headquarters in New York for united foreign missionary interests and comprehensive missionary research library.
$25,000 pledged for providing and equipping offices, and about ½ million, spread over 10 years to aid work.

Belgian Relief

Belgian Relief Committee in U.S. - solicits
Rockefeller Foundation: donations.
Charters ship - 4,000 tons food supplies
Provides steamship pier
charters other ships, transports, etc.
4 cargoes of food sent (see exhibit),
October to December 1914
Page's reference to British Navy
1 million dollars in relief.
Broad policy of relief to suffering non-combatants of Europe
War Relief Commission
Visits Holland
Conditions there - 800,000 refugees
Idleness vs. homelessness
Lack of work for people to do
Lack of clothing to keep them warm.
Distribution of clothing
At first, warehouse 150 to 300 cases a day
Later, 2 warehouses, 300 to 550 cases a day
12,476 cases in less than 2 months
1,386,572 articles of clothing.
Contribution of workshops
for undergarments
extended to 11 provinces of Holland
5,000 women & girls at work by Apr.1,1915
Product supplied free to Belgians,
bonus to workers.
Foundation purchased 10,000 undergarments

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Destitution and Disease in Serbia

Primitive conditions and destitution
Spread of epidemic diseases
Threaten extermination of Serbian Population
One-seventh of physicians dea from Typhus
Rockefeller Foundation joins with Am. Red Cross
American Sanitary Commission, Dr. Strong,
backed by 2 organizations
Death list several hundred a day in May
100,000 lives lost by Typhus in 3 months
Head of International Health Board
English,French,Serbian & American physician
Allied medical forces
Noguchi's serum
Dr. Alexis Carrel
Anti-meningitis serum
Anti-dysentery serum
Contributions to the Red Cross
to send physicians and nurses
The Professors of Louvain
$20,000 stipend

Bureau of Social Hygiene

A permanent organization to make warfare against forces of evil
A laboratory of Social Hygiene under direction of Miss Catharine Davis, to study physical, mental, social, and moral side of inmates of Reformatory
Flexner: Studies on Social Vice in Europe
Raymond Fosdick: Studies on Police Systems of Europe and America.

Mental Hygiene

Dr.Thos.Salmon of U.S.Public Health Service
To study mental defects and mental diseases to see how best contribution can be made insanity a disease both preventable and curable.

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Leprosy

Dr. Victor G. Heiser

Bird Refuge in Louisiana

85,000 acres
$225,000
$400,000,000 damage by insects to fields
orchards
gardens

Investigation of Industrial Relations

International strife vs. industrial strife

Miscellaneous

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Appendix VIII. BELGIAN RELIEF SHIPMENTS

Ships	Date of Sailing	Total Cargo Tons	Cargo	Lbs. Net	Cost of Cargo	Ship Expenses	Totals
Massapequa	Nov. 2	3527	Bacon Flour Beans Rice	126,495 5,772,972 593,606 1,407,022	$252,248.15	$68,195.97*	$320,444.12
Agamemnon	Dec. 4	2800	Flour Coffee Rice Beans Milk Salt Lard Bacon	4,224,360 110,000 1,000,000 250,000 63,000 90,000 44,000 55,000	Belgian Relief Committee	$6,911.90	$6,911.90
Neches	Dec. 12	5830	Flour Bacon Salt Lentils Peas Beans Coffee	11,001,230 100,000 80,000 165,649 613,270 277,631 40,458	$397,008.74	$45,767.13	$442,775.87
Massapequa	Dec. 31	3529	Flour Beans Peas Coffee Beef Tongues Condensed Milk Salmon Sugar Sugar and Cocoa New Clothing 425 Cs. Old Clothing 555 Cs. Small quantities of Rice, Canned Beef, Jams and Rolled Oats	6,321,556 145,960 448,000 44,650 19,000 150,000 7,000 17,200 6,000	Belgian Relief Committee Donated and Purchased $84,867.39†	*Expenses two voyages Massapequa not separated	$84,867.39†
Ferrona	Dec. 23	7500	Wheat 280,000 bu. (23,644 bus. on S.S. Industry)		$322,146.29	$31.78	$322,178.07
Hannah		196	Flour	392,000	$9,896.46		$9,896.46
Turned over to Commission		2500					
		25882			$1,066,167.03	$120,906.78	$1,187,073.81
Administration Expenses							3,232.09
							$1,190,305.90
Amount refunded by Commission for Relief in Belgium for expenses of ships						$119,399.57	
Amount paid by Belgian Relief Fund for cargo forwarded per Massapequa						84,867.39†	204,266.96
Net amount expended by the Rockefeller Foundation							$986,038.94

†Including $5,159.44 in addition to payments recorded in first edition of this report.

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Extract from Report of Colorado Committee on Unemployment and Relief:

"In Las Animas County fifty miles of highway were reconstructed and four miles of new highway built. In Huerfano County the reconstructed highways measured sixteen miles and the new road seven. In Boulder County twenty miles of highway were reconstructed and 30,830.7 square feet of cement sidewalk were laid on the Campus of the University of Colorado. In Fremont, Weld, Gunnison, and Garfield Counties, approximately ten miles of road were reconstructed. The outstanding feature of the work in Las Animas County was the construction of the Stonewall automobile road along the banks of the Purgatoire River. This is regarded as one of the most perfect examples of mountain highway in the State. It extends for a distance of thirty-two miles along the river and in many places was practically cut out of the solid mountain walls. In Boulder County a long stretch of the Lincoln Highway was completed to the entire satisfaction of the State Highway Commissioner, and a double track road was built up the side of Flagstaff Mountain in the Boulder City Park, affording one of the most impressive vistas to be enjoyed in the country. Along the banks of St. Vrain Creek in Boulder County another mountain road of grandeur and permanence was constructed. In Gunnison County a road was built connecting the Northern part of the county with Delta County and opening a much-needed avenue of travel into a large agricultural area. In the construction of this road the county commissioners of Gunnison County had the invaluable assistance of a road engineer of the United States Forestry service. The road workers in Fremont County were employed on the Parkdale Cotopaxi cut-off on the Rainbow Route. It was a difficult piece of work blasted out of the solid mountain."

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Extract from Report of Colorado Committee on
Unemployment and Relief:

"Of more immediate importance, however, was the relief extended. When the work was begun in April, thousands of men, women, and children were face to face with starvation. When the funds were exhausted in June, new opportunities for work in other and normal lines were manifesting themselves, while the destitution and suffering which otherwise would have been disastrous had been reduced to a minimum. In Las Animas County seventeen hundred and eighty men were given employment, extending aid to more than one thousand families. In Huerfano 470 men were employed and 360 families assisted. In Boulder County 1100 men were employed and 634 families assisted. In Weld County 200 men were employed and 141 families assisted. In Fremont County 500 men were employed and 400 families assisted. In Gunnison County 150 men were employed and 100 families assisted. In Garfield County 50 men were employed and 30 families assisted."

Total. Individuals employed. Families assisted
4250 2668

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Anti-meningitis serum
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$20,000 stipend

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A permanent organization to make war~~fare~~against
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The Work of the Rockefeller Foundation.

Summary of address delivered by Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King before Women's Canadian Club of Ottawa, at the Chateau Laurier, Saturday afternoon, January 8th, 1916.

The Rockefeller Foundation is a corporation which was chartered by the legislature of New York State, May 1913, "for the purpose of receiving and maintaining a fund or funds and applying the income and principal thereof to promote the well-being of mankind throughout the world." It is controlled by a Board of Trustees composed of distinguished educationalists, physicians, lawyers, and financiers. Such monies as come into the hands of the Trustees are theirs for use as they think best. They are free to spend income and principal alike in such manner as will best promote the Foundation's object. Already there has passed as gifts into the absolute control of the Trustees no less a sum than one hundred million dollars. The object of its founder in making its scope so broad was that an agency not dependent on the life of any individual might be established to deal with the world's human problems in accordance with principles and methods most approved in each generation, and as the needs from generation to generation might demand.

The Foundation may best be described as 'a University of human need', existing, as the name 'university' suggests, not for work in any one country, but for the sake of the world's need. The Trustees have sought to shape its policies and lines of work

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so as to follow only those that are likely to present the largest probability of permanent and far-reaching usefulness. The advancement of public health through medical research and education, including demonstration of known methods of preventing disease, has been one of the means by which the Foundation has sought to further their end.

The International Health Commission

The first work attempted by the Foundation was the eradication of the hook-worm disease, which, it is estimated, has affected two million people in the Southern States, and which extends in a belt around the world for 30 degrees on either side of the equator, over an area inhabited by more than one thousand million people. For this disease, which causes vast suffering and loss of life, and partially arrests the physical, moral and mental growth, a cure has been found, and the Foundation has sought to extend to the people of all countries affected by it knowledge of the means of eradicating the disease and promoting public sanitation which may prevent its spread or recurrence. In 1913, after conference with the British Government and securing the hearty co-operation of the Hon. Lewis Harcourt, Secretary of State for the Colonies, and Lord Crewe, Secretary of State for India, the Foundation began its work in Egypt, Ceylon, the Malay States, and India. In Egypt, the present Minister of War, Lord Kitchener, then the British High Commissioner in Egypt, welcomed its co-operation and effected an arrangement whereby the British Government and the Rockefeller Foundation have since on an equal financial basis, co-operated to stamp out the disease. Altogether, within British

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colonies and dependencies and the United States, more than half a million people had been treated and 25 per cent. of that number cured. The Foundation appropriates half a million dollars a year for the work. With what had been effected in the stamping out of the disease and the improved sanitary conditions which have been established in the British possessions mentioned, an element of added strength had been given the British Empire, in both numbers of men and their physical capacity, which is proving an asset to the Empire at this time.

Medical Work in China.

The great need of China to-day is the benefits of modern medicine, including personal and public hygiene and treatment of disease. In January 1914 the Foundation sent three of its members to China to study the needs of medical education and public health. They had visited the medical schools, hospitals and dispensaries /and/other/ of China, and after conference with missionaries, Government officials and other advisers had made recommendations as to the manner in which up-to-date hospitals might be established and medical education work carried on in that country. The Foundation has appropriated five million dollars to carry out these recommendations.

Promotion of Co-operation in Christian Missions.

Upon representations made by Mr. John R. /Mott/ Mott, the head of the Student Volunteer Movement of the Young Men's Christian Association, on behalf of leading foreign missionary boards on this

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continent as to the need of a program of co-operation and co-ordination and common headquarters for united foreign missionary interests, the Rockefeller Foundation gave $25,000 to provide and equip offices and to provide a comprehensive missionary research library, and has pledged half a million dollars to further missionary work upon which joint boards can agree, the amount to be spread over ten years.

Belgian Relief.

The first organization to take food from America to Europe for the aid of the Belgians, after the war commenced, was the Rockefeller Foundation. In October 1914 it chartered the largest available neutral ship in New York harbor, and fitted out at its own expense a cargo of four thousand tons of food. At the same time, as a means of co-operating with the American Belgian Relief Committee, it secured a steamship pier and warehouses and agreed to charter further steamships and convey free of charge from New York to Belgium all supplies that the public might wish to contribute in the way of food and clothing to the Belgians. When Belgium's need became known, there was more difficulty in securing the transportation and distribution of supplies than the obtaining of them. The Foundation with its available funds was able to guarantee to whoever made a contribution in money, food, or clothing, that the contribution would reach the Belgians in full, without any deduction on account of transportation or distribution or the work of organization in effecting both. Besides carrying out this work of transportation, the Foundation itself provided four additional cargoes of food for

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the Belgians between October and the end of December 1914. The food supplied within this time amounted to a million dollars.

But the Foundation did not confine its assistance to sending supplies of food. It appointed three of the ablest men it could find ~~the United States~~ a Commission to study the needs of relief of the suffering non-combatants in Europe. This War Relief Commission received from the Government of England, the Dutch Government and the Governments of other countries in Europe co-operation and assistance. In Holland they found that 800,000 Belgian refugees were for the most part being supported by the Dutch Government in concentration camps, but that with nothing to do, idleness threatened to be no less a misfortune ~~to the refugees~~ than homelessness. They found that the missing links in the scheme for the relief of Belgians in Holland were lack of work for the people to do and lack of underclothing to keep them warm. When ships of clothing from the United States, England, and Canada intended for the Belgians began to arrive in Rotterdam in January 1915, there were no adequate facilities for its distribution. At the instance of its War Relief Commission, the Rockefeller Foundation undertook this work and gave the Belgian refugees employment in the prosecution of it. As many as 12,476 cases of clothing were sorted, packed and sent to different parts of Belgium and refugees in Holland under the Foundation's direction. These cases included 1,386,572 articles of clothing.

The Rockefeller Foundation also opened workshops and installed machines to give employment to the men and women in the

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concentration camps. There being a great need of under-garments, they were put to work on the manufacture of these articles, the entire product of which was distributed free to Belgians in need. Employment was given in this way to five thousand Belgian women, and the work was extended to refugees in all of the eleven provinces of Holland. In addition to the garments manufactured and distributed in this way, owing to the demands of winter, the Foundation purchased and distributed ten thousand additional suits of underwear in camps where extreme instances of individual need were reported.

Relief of Destitution and Disease in Serbia.

The War Relief Commission found conditions in many parts of Serbia equal to that of the Belgian refugees, but they found the situation most frightfully aggravated by the primitive condition of the country and the terrific inroads of epidemic diseases. Typhus fever, typhoid, and recurrent fever threatened at one time to exterminate the entire Serbian population, and to constitute a menace to all the peoples of Europe. When the War Relief Commission visited Serbia, one-seventh of all its physicians had died from typhus fever in their endeavor to bring relief to the people suffering.

Realizing the international problems to which an endeavor to cope with such a situation might give rise, the Rockefeller Foundation, on receiving the report of its Commission, joined forces with the American Red Cross in establishing an American Sanitary Commission, which immediately got into touch with agencies of other countries operating in Serbia, and went to Europe by invitation of

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the Serbian Government, which gave it full powers to institute vigorous measures to cope with the epidemic. Dr. Richard P. Strong, Professor of Tropical Diseases in the Harvard Medical School and probably the foremost plague expert ~~in the United States~~ on their continent, was put at the head of this Commission. He left with a staff of physicians and nurses, and with an equipment in the nature of hospital supplies, starting in with the understanding that he and his forces would be backed to the utmost limit by the Rockefeller Foundation and the American Red Cross in their efforts to conquer the diseases which threatened to exterminate this war- and disease-ridden people.

When Dr. Strong and his associates reached Serbia in May, they found the greater part of the non-combatant population in a most appalling state of destitution and disease, with a death list of several hundred each day and new cases appearing in alarming numbers. It is estimated that fully 100,000 men, women, and children lost their lives from the typhus in the space of three months. On his arrival in Serbia, Dr. Strong was made the head of an International Health Board composed of English, French, Serbian and American physicians, and directed these allied medical forces in their efforts to stamp out disease. In their work of combatting disease, many of the foreign Red Cross doctors and nurses were stricken with it, and four American doctors died from it. But these lives were not sacrificed in vain. In a manner little short of miraculous, through the efficiency of its organization, the disease was not only brought under control, but in the course of the last year was practically wiped out.

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Aid in France and Elsewhere.

Besides helping in Belgium and Serbia, the Rockefeller Foundation at the opening of the war fitted out Dr. Alexis Carrel, of the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research, who had joined the army medical forces of France, with a complete equipment for hospital use in France, of anti-meningitis serum and anti-dysentery serum, and a staff of physicians and nurses and necessary supplies to care for the wounded.

It has also made handsome contributions from time to time to the American Red Cross, to enable it to send in larger numbers than it otherwise would have been able to do, physicians and nurses of the highest standing.

Last, but not least, it made a significant contribution of $20,000 a year towards paying the stipends of Professors of the University of Louvain who, in the destruction of that University by the Germans, were deprived of their laboratories and facilities for research, the contribution being made by the Rockefeller Foundation that these Scholars might pursue at Oxford and Cambridge the studies which, as one of the fruits of German "Kultur", they had been deprived of carrying on on the continent of Europe.

Bureau of Social Hygiene.

The Rockefeller Foundation has established a permanent organization to make warfare against the forces of evil. Under the direction of Miss Katharine B. Davis, the head of corrections of the New York Department of Correction, it has established a laboratory

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to study the physical, mental, social and moral side of inmates of the State Reformatory. It has had studies made on the continent of Europe of the most effective means of combatting social vice, and has experts at the present time making special studies of the police systems of Europe and America.

Mental Hygiene.

It has enlisted the services of Dr. Thomas Salmon of the United States Public Health Service, to study mental defects and mental diseases, and to see how best, with the funds at the disposal of the Foundation, a contribution can be made towards treating insanity, a disease which modern research is proving is both preventable and curable.

Leprosy.

Dr. Victor G. Heiser, who has been able to prove that a new treatment of leprosy has passed beyond the experimental stage, has been afforded aid by the Foundation to circulate details of the treatment in all countries in which leprosy occurs, and has been accorded ample facilities to make studies in different parts of the world with a view to advancing the cure and finding a true specific for this terrible disease.

Bird Refuges in Louisiana.

As a means of helping to preserve the products of the fields and orchards and gardens from the ravages of insects, the Foundation

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has purchased 65,000 acres of ~~land~~ forest in the State of Louisiana on the Gulf of Mexico, as a bird refuge to protect migratory birds in the winter season and prevent their destruction. It hopes, by example, to encourage the establishment of other bird refuges, and in this way to assist the agriculturists and horticulturists of the continent. ~~This~~ No part of America is likely to profit more by this experiment than Canada. It is estimated by agricultural bureaus that $400,000,000 of damage to fields orchards and gardens is done by insects which, if birds were sufficiently plentiful, would be wiped out.

Investigation
~~Study~~ of Industrial Relations .

Referring to his own work for the Rockefeller Foundation, Mr. King mentioned that he had been appointed to direct the investigation of Industrial Relations under the Foundation, with a view to the promotion of industrial peace and in the im- assisting in ~~the~~-provement of the condition of the working classes in the different countries of the world. He had accepted the appointment on the condition that it would not involve a change of citizenship or of residence in Canada. It was pointed out by the Foundation that its work was not for any one country, but to promote the well-being of mankind throughout the world, and that he was free to pursue his studies, or to retain experts in working out problems, in any country which gave promise of ultimate useful service. Mr. King spoke of his visits to Colorado as having been taken at his own instance, to study industrial conditions in that State, where, at the time of his appointment, there was a condition

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of industrial strife which had cost the lives of some two hundred individuals.

Shortly after reaching Colorado he had found hundreds of men and women face to face with starvation. Upon representations to the Rockefeller Foundation of the need for help, the Foundation had granted $100,000 towards the relief of the unemployed, and had made Mr. King its representative in the administration of this relief in connection with a State Committee appointed for the purpose. The following extracts were read from the report of the State Committee as to the service which had been rendered the State in the relief of families by furnishing work on the roads of the State with the monies supplied by the Rockefeller Foundation:

A plan of relief had been worked out- whereby the unemployed were put to work on road construction, and paid in orders for food and clothing which the Rockefeller Foundation redeemed up to the amount of $100,000

"In Las Animas County fifty miles of highway were reconstructed and four miles of new highway built. In Huerfano County the reconstructed highways measured sixteen miles and the new road seven. In Boulder county twenty miles of highway were reconstructed and 30,830 square feet of cement sidewalk were laid on the Campus of the University of Colorado. In Fremont, Weld, Gunnison, and Garfield Counties, approximately ten miles of road were reconstructed. The outstanding feature of the work in Las Animas County was the construction of the Stonewall automobile road along the banks of the Purgatoire River. This is regarded as one of the most perfect examples of mountain highway in the State. It extends for a distance of thirty-two miles along the river and in many places was practically cut out of the solid mountain walls. In Boulder County a long stretch of the Lincoln Highway was completed to the entire satisfaction of the State Highway Commissioner, and a double track road was built up the side of Flagstaff Mountain in the Boulder City Park, affording one of the most impressive vistas to be enjoyed in the country. Along the banks of St. Vrain Creek in Boulder County another mountain road of grandeur and permanence was reconstructed. In Gunnison County a road was built connecting the Northern part of the county with Delta County and opening a much-needed avenue of travel into a large agricultural area. In the construction of this road the county commissioners had the invaluable assistance of a road engineer of the United States Forestry service. The road workers in Fremont County were employed on the Parkdale Cotopaxi cut-off on the Rainbow Route. It was a difficult piece of work blasted out of the solid mountain.

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As to the individuals and families relieved the State report says:

Of more immediate importance, however, was the relief extended. When the work was begun in April, thousands of men, women and children were face to face with starvation. When the funds were exhausted in June, new opportunities for work in other and normal lines were manifesting themselves, while the destitution and suffering which otherwise would have been disastrous had been reduced to a minimum. In Las Animas County seventeen hundred and eighty men were given employment, extending aid to more than one thousand families. In Huerfano County 470 men were employed and 360 families assisted. In Boulder County 1100 men were employed and 634 families assisted. In Weld County 200 men were employed and 141 families assisted. In Fremont County 500 men were employed and 400 families assisted. In Gunnison County ~~$$~~ 150 men were employed and 100 families assisted. In Garfield County 50 men were employed and 30 families assisted.

In all 4250 men were given employment on work that permanently benefitted the State and 2668 families aided

Mr. King also touched briefly on his second visit to Colorado in the fall of last year, and the Industrial Plan and Agreement respecting employment, working and living conditions which had been made applicable to the mining camps of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, a concern of which Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr. was a director. He had been afforded the opportunity of sharing in the conferences of the Company and assisting in the drafting of this Plan which had subsequently been accepted by the miners by a majority vote of 85 per cent. on a secret ballot, and which was now helping to maintain industrial peace and improve industrial conditions in that State. The work in Colorado was only one ~~experiment~~ instance of many which it was hoped association with the Foundation would afford ~~opportunities for carrying out~~ of rendering a practical service to industry and labour alike, in the direction of the larger work of assembling and diffusing information in regard to ascertainable factors in industrial strife and industrial progress in the different countries of the world.

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Notes on address
Women's Canadian Club of Ottawa
January 4-1916.

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It is doubtful if in any part of the world today, or at any time hitherto in the world's history, with the single exception of the Carnegie Foundations, there has been incorporated by Act of any popular assembly a body the scope of whose work was as broad, whose aim was as high, or whose resources were as considerable. The Rockefeller Foundation in its articles of incorporation is described as a body corporate 'for the purpose of receiving and maintaining a fund or funds and applying the income and principal thereof to promote the well-being of mankind throughout the world.'

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The object of its Founder in making its scope so broad was that an agency not dependent on the life of any individual might be established to deal with the problems of philanthropy in accordance with the principles and methods most approved in each generation, and to deal with these problems - which are ever changing - as the need from generation to generation may demand.

In a word, the Foundation may best be described as 'a University of human need', knowing no country as its home, but as the word 'University' suggests, existing for the sake of the world's need, and adopting as a method of meeting it, research, publication, establishment and maintenance of charitable, benevolent,

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religious, missionary, public educational activities, agencies and institutions, or aid to any or all such, or any other means and agencies which from time to time shall seem expedient to its members or trustees.

It will be apparent that the heaviest of all obligations upon the Trustees of such a corporation must be that of wisely shaping its policies and lines of work, so as to follow those only that are likely to present the largest probability of permanent and far-reaching usefulness.

A sure prospect of such usefulness the Trustees believe is to be found in the advancement of public health through medical research and education, including demonstration of known methods of treating and preventing disease, and it is of this aspect of the Foundation's work that I should like to speak first.

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Relief in Belgium - Serbia

When the war broke out in Europe, the whole civilized world was incensed and outraged at the treatment of Belgium. In this country and in the United States, committees were formed to send relief in the form of food and clothing to the Belgians. One of the first organizations in Canada to devote its time to this work and set an example in this particular to other societies, was the Women's Canadian Club of Ottawa. In the United States, a national committee known as The Belgian Relief Committee was formed. It began the work of soliciting donations from all parts of the United States. After the way in which Belgium had been pillaged and the people driven from their homes as refugees to other countries, millions were, with the approach of winter, brought face to face with starvation. The emergency was such that if it were to be effectively met, some government or existing organization would have to undertake the task. The governments of the Allied Powers were too busy with their own problems of financing the war and meeting its other exigencies, to attempt this task. It was under these circumstances that the Rockefeller Foundation came forward and undertook to place a part of its immediately available resources at the service of the Belgians.

Its first step was to charter the largest available neutral ship in New York harbor and fit it out with a cargo of food. Conjointly with this, it arranged, as a means of co-operating with the American Belgian Relief Committee, to provide a steamship pier, to charter further steamships, and to convey free of charge

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from New York to Belgium such supplies as the public might wish to contribute. The problem at the moment was not so much that of securing supplies as of obtaining the necessary means of transportating and distributing them. It was in this way that the Foundation, through its available funds, was able to render so large a service. It was able to guarantee to whoever made a contribution in money, food, or clothing, that that contribution would reach the Belgians in full, without any deduction on account of cost of transportation or distribution, or the work of organization in effecting both.

The first vessel to sail from this continent to Europe with supplies for the Belgians was the steamer "Massapequa", chartered by the Rockefeller Foundation, and which carried four thousand tons of food supplies, every pound of which had been purchased by the Foundation itself. This was but one of four cargoes of food on vessels chartered by the Foundation which were carried between October and the close of the year 1914.

The following will indicate the total of the Belgian Relief shipments made by the Rockefeller Foundation at this time:

(Take in page 124, Annual Report)

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It is interesting, in reading the correspondence which took place by cable between the Rockefeller Foundation and Mr. Walter Page, the American Ambassador in London (who, by the way, is himself a member of the International Health Commission of the Rockefeller Foundation) through whom the extent of the need was first ascertained and the arrangements for ships and distribution made, that in replying to a query from the President of the Foundation as to how its ships would reach Rotterdam in safety, notwithstanding the mines reported to be surrounding the coasts of Europe, that the American Ambassador replied that he could guarantee safe passage as 'the British navy would convoy the ships.'

It will be seen that altogether, in relief in the nature of food supplies alone, the Rockefeller Foundation contributed about a million dollars towards Belgian relief.

But the Foundation did not confine its assistance, to the Belgians or others in Europe, to sending supplies of food. It deliberately availed itself of the scope of its charter "to promote the well-being of mankind throughout the world", by adopting a broad policy of the relief of suffering non-combatants in Europe, in such manner as was most needed and likely to prove most effective. To this end, it appointed three of the ablest men in the United States a War Relief Commission, and sent this Commission to Europe to study the needs and report as to services which the Foundation could undertake. On this Commission were Dr. Wickliffe Rose, Mr. Ernest P. Bicknell, Director of the

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They then sailed for Holland, where they were received by members of the Dutch Government. Subsequently they obtained from all of the warring nations safe conduct and passports to the different countries. In Holland the War Relief Commission found that quite as serious as the problem of relief in Belgium was the necessity of aiding the refugees who had fled from Belgium into Holland in large numbers and had found it impossible to return to their own country. It was estimated that nearly a million - 800,000, as a matter of fact - Belgians were refugees in Holland, in addition to the numbers that were also refugees in England. At first these people had found sanctuary where they could, in private dwellings or in public buildings. In the municipalities of Holland, committees were formed to deal with their relief municipalities. Then the Government of Holland itself began a system of concentration camps where the refugees were grouped by hundreds and provided with food and clothing. With nothing to do, save to accept the charity offered, these camps, as might have been expected, soon became anything other than desirable communities in which to live. Idleness brought with it its inevitable weakening of character, and the War Commission saw that deterioration of physical and moral character was following this means of dealing with the problem. The Commission found that idlness threatened to be no less a misfortune to the refugees than homelessness. The missing links in the scheme for the relief of Belgians in Holland were lack of work for the people to do and lack of underclothing to keep them warm.

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Early in December, large shipments of clothing intended for the Belgians began to arrive in Rotterdam. The Commission for Relief in Belgium was not prepared to handle clothing, and these shipments were going into Belgium in an unsystematic way. They were, in fact, accumulating rapidly in a temporary warehouse in Rotterdam. The clothing was coming in from the United States, Canada and England. Much of it was very good quality and absolutely new, and only a small portion of it was packed, classified and marked in such a way as to make possible its distribution without unpacking. Some clothing had been collected by communities which did not understand the work of packing and sent vegetables, fish, toys, etc. in their cases. The Rockefeller Foundation undertook to open a large warehouse, and as far as possible engage the Belgian men and women refugees from Belgium to help in the unpacking, sorting and fumigating of this clothing. At the outset, from 150 to 300 cases of clothing were gotten ready for shipment each working day. A second warehouse was opened early in January, with a capacity of from 300 to 550 cases. Altogether, in not less than two months, 12,476 cases were sorted and packed and sent to various parts of Belgium and Holland, including 1,386,572 articles of clothing.

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Under these circumstances, after consultation with the people themselves and the public authorities, the Commission recommended to the Rockefeller Foundation to make a grant towards the construction of workshops in which machines might be installed and men and women put to work for at least six hours of each day in making under-garments to supplement the supplies received. While much clothing had been forwarded, very little of it was under-clothing, and that, apparently, was more needed at the time than anything else. The Rockefeller Foundation undertook to finance the industry, paying the rent of the machines and the cost of materials, including scissors, needles, buttons, cloth, woolen yarn for women and girls who could not sew but could knit stockings, and the wages of the foremen. Later, they also allowed a small bonus to the sewing women who worked six hours a day for six days. The work of the sewing classes was extended to all of the eleven provinces of Holland. Thirty-four classes in as many different places were established within a few months. By April 1st, more than five thousand women and girls were thus working under competent supervision producing clothing needed by themselves and by their countrymen who had sought refuge in Holland. The under-garments thus manufactured were supplied free of cost to those of their number in need of them and to sufferers in other parts of Belgium. In addition, owing to the demands of winter, the Foundation purchased on bids from Dutch manufacturers about ten thousand suits of underwear for distribution in camps were extreme instances of individual need were reported.

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From Holland the War Relief Commission extended its inquiries to Poland and Serbia. The account sent by this Commission to the Foundation in New York, of destitution and disease as found in Serbia is appalling beyond words. Not only did the Commission find in many parts of Serbia a condition of poverty equal to that of the Belgian refugees, but they found the situation most frightfully aggravated by the primitive condition of that country and the terrific inroads of epidemic diseases. Economically and socially, the Serbian seems to be the opposite extreme from the Belgian. Nine-tenths of the clothing worn by the people of the country are still the product of home manufacture. Belgrade, the largest city, was not, at the commencement of the war, any larger than Ottawa. There are hardly more than two or three cities of importance in the whole country. The population is scattered in rural villages. These circumstances made the distribution of aid and the fighting of disease very difficult. With the male population of the country occupied during the last three years in fighting, both in the Balkan and the present war, labor has been withdrawn from industry, little clothing has been manufactured, and the population of Serbia has become a people in rags. It is little wonder that it was a population easily crushed by an advancing army. More serious, however, than the advance of an army or the destitution, was the threatened spread of the epidemic diseases which the Rockefeller War Relief Commission found in its visit at the early part of last year. These diseases were typhus fever, typhoid, and recurrent fever. Frightful they were,

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not only because of the extermination of the entire Serbian population which they threatened, but also because of their nature they constituted a menace to all of the peoples of Europe, if not, indeed, to the entire world. How serious was the outbreak as the Rockefeller Commission found it, may be judged from the circumstance that more than one-seventh of all the physicians in Serbia had died from typhus in their dendeavor to bring relief to the people suffering from that disease.

Realizing the international problems to which an endeavor to cope with such a situation might give rise, the Rockefeller Foundation, on receiving the report of its Commission, joined forces with the American Red Cross in establishing an American Sanitary Commission, which immediately got into touch with agencies of other countries operating in Serbia, and went to Europe by invitation of the Serbian Government, which gave it full powers to institute vigorous measures to cope with the epidemic. Dr. Richard P. Strong, Professor of Tropical Diseases in the Harvard Medical School and probably the foremost plague expert in the United States, was put at the head of this Commission. He left with a staff of physicians and nurses, and with an equipment in the nature of hospital supplies, starting in with the understanding that he and his forces would be backed to the utmost limit by the Rockefeller Foundation and the American Red Cross in their efforts to conquer the diseases which threatened to exterminate this war and disease-ridden people.

When Dr. Strong and his associates reached Serbia in May they found the greater part of the non-combatant population in a most

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appalling state of destitution and disease, with a death list of several hundred each day and new cases appearing in alarming numbers. It is estimated that fully 100,000 men, women and children lost their lives from the typhus in the space of three months. On his arrival in Serbia, Dr. Strong was made the head of an International Health Board composed of English, French, Serbian and American physicians, and directed these allied medical forces in their efforts to stamp out disease. In their work of combatting disease, many of the foreign Red Cross doctors and nurses were stricken with it, and four American doctors died from it. But these lives were not sacrificed in vain. In a manner little short of miraculous, through the efficiency of its organization, the disease was not only brought under control, but in the course of the last year, was practically wiped out.

In the fighting of this disease, it is reported that one of the most effective weapons was a serum which has been discovered by a Japanese named Noguchi, one of the younger men who has been conducting researches at the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research. The serums which this young Japanese has discovered promise not only to help to counteract typhus, but to prove a specific for the arrest of infantile paralysis as well.

This is not the only instance in which the Rockefeller Institute has rendered humanity a service in the present war. The first step, in fact, taken by the Rockefeller Foundation was to fit out Dr. Alexis Carrel, who at the opening of the war joined the Army Medical forces of France, with a complete equipment for hospital

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use in France of anti-meningitis serum and anti-dysentery serum, in each of which the Rockefeller Institute has made discoveries of value to mankind. Ever since the war commenced, Dr. Carrel has been working steadily in the military hospitals of France, with nurses and equipment supplied by the Rockefeller Foundation, in relieving the wounded that are brought under his care.

Other services of the Foundation to humanity in this war might be mentioned, but I shall conclude with a reference to only two. One is the handsome contributions which have been made from time to time to the American Red Cross, to enable it to send, in larger numbers than it otherwise would have been able to do, physicians and nurses of the highest standing in America; and the other, the relatively small though most significant contribution of an appropriation of $20,000 a year towards paying the stipends of the Professors of the University of Louvain who, in the destruction of that University by the Germans, were deprived of their laboratories and facilities for research, the contribution being made by the Rockefeller Foundation that these men might pursue at Oxford and Cambridge in England the studies which, as one of the fruits of German "Kultur", they have been deprived of carrying on on the continent of Europe.

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Early in December, large shipments of clothing intended for the Belgians began to arrive in Rotterdam. The Commission for Relief in Belgium was not prepared to handle clothing, and these shipments were going into Belgium in an unsystematic way. They were, in fact, accumulating rapidly in a temporary warehouse in Rotterdam. The clothing was coming in from the United States, Canada and England. Much of it was very good quality and absolutely new, and only a small portion of it was packed, classified and marked in such a way as to make possible its distribution without unpacking. Some clothing had been collected by communities which did not understand the work of packing and sent vegetables, fish, toys, etc. in their cases. The Rockefeller Foundation undertook to open a large warehouse, and as far as possible engage the Belgian men and women refugees from Belgium to help in the unpacking, sorting and fumigating of this clothing. At the outset, from 150 to 300 cases of clothing were gotten ready for shipment each working day. A second warehouse was opened early in January, with a capacity of from 300 to 550 cases. Altogether, in not less than two months, 12,476 cases were sorted and packed and sent to various parts of Belgium and Holland, including 1,386,572 articles of clothing.

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From Holland the War Relief Commission extended its inquiries to Poland and Serbia. The account sent by this Commission to the Foundation in New York, of destitution and disease as found in Serbia is appalling beyond words. Not only did the Commission find in many parts of Serbia a condition of poverty equal to that of the Belgian refugees, but they found the situation most frightfully aggravated by the primitive condition of that country and the terrific inroads of epidemic diseases. Economically and socially, the Serbian seems to be the opposite extreme from the Belgian. Nine-tenths of the clothing worn by the people of the country are still the product of home manufacture. Belgrade, the largest city, was not, at the commencement of the war, any larger than Ottawa. There are hardly more than two or three cities of importance in the whole country. The population is scattered in rural villages. These circumstances made the distribution of aid and the fighting of disease very difficult. With the male population of the country occupied during the last three years in fighting, both in the Balkan and the present war, labor has been withdrawn from industry, little clothing has been manufactured, and the population of Serbia has become a people in rags. It is little wonder that it was a population easily crushed by an advancing army. More serious, however, than the advance of an army or the destitution, was the threatened spread of the epidemic diseases which the Rockefeller War Relief Commission found in its visit at the early part of last year. These diseases were typhus fever, typhoid, and recurrent fever. Frightful they were,

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not only because of the extermination of the entire Serbian population which they threatened, but also because of their nature they constituted a menace to all of the peoples of Europe, if not, indeed, to the entire world. How serious was the outbreak as the Rockefeller Commission found it, may be judged from the circumstance that more than one-seventh of all the physicians in Serbia had died from typhus in their dendeavor to bring relief to the people suffering from that disease.

Realizing the international problems to which an endeavor to cope with such a situation might give rise, the Rockefeller Foundation, on receiving the report of its Commission, joined forces with the American Red Cross in establishing an American Sanitary Commission, which immediately got into touch with agencies of other countries operating in Serbia, and went to Europe by invitation of the Serbian Government, which gave it full powers to institute vigorous measures to cope with the epidemic. Dr. Richard P. Strong, Professor of Tropical Diseases in the Harvard Medical School and probably the foremost plague expert in the United States, was put at the head of this Commission. He left with a staff of physicians and nurses, and with an equipment in the nature of hospital supplies, starting in with the understanding that he and his forces would be backed to the utmost limit by the Rockefeller Foundation and the American Red Cross in their efforts to conquer the diseases which threatened to exterminate this war and disease ridden people.

When Dr. Strong and his associates reached Serbia in May they found the greater part of the non-combatant population in a most

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appalling state of destitution and disease, with a death list of several hundred each day and new cases appearing in alarming numbers. It is estimated that fully 100,000 men, women and children lost their lives from the typhus in the space of three months. On his arrival in Serbia, Dr. Strong was made the head of an International Health Board composed of English, French, Serbian and American physicians, and directed these allied medical forces in their efforts to stamp out disease. In their work of combatting disease, many of the foreign Red Cross doctors and nurses were stricken with it, and four American doctors died from it. But these lives were not sacrificed in vain. In a manner little short of miraculous, through the efficiency of its organization, the disease was not only brought under control, but in the course of the last year, was practically wiped out.

In the fighting of this disease, it is reported that one of the most effective weapons was a serum which has been discovered by a Japanese named Noguchi, one of the younger men who has been conducting researches at the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research. The serums which this young Japanese has discovered promise not only to help to counteract typhus, but to prove a specific for the arrest of infantile paralysis as well.

This is not the only instance in which the Rockefeller Institute has rendered humanity a service in the present war. The first step, in fact, taken by the Rockefeller Foundation was to fit out Dr. Alexis Carrel, who at the opening of the war joined the Army Medical forces of France, with a complete equipment for hospital

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use in France of anti-meningitis serum and anti-dysentery serum, in each of which the Rockefeller Institute has made discoveries of value to mankind. Ever since the war commenced, Dr. Carrel has been working steadily in the military hospitals of France, with nurses and equipment supplied by the Rockefeller Foundation, in relieving the wounded that are brought under his care.

Other services of the Foundation to humanity in this war might be mentioned, but I shall conclude with a reference to only two. One is the handsome contributions which have been made from time to time to the American Red Cross, to enable it to send, in larger numbers than it otherwise would have been able to do, physicians and nurses of the highest standing in America; and the other, the relatively small though most significant contribution of an appropriation of $20,000 a year towards paying the stipends of the Professors of the University of Louvain who, in the destruction of that University by the Germans, were deprived of their laboratories and facilities for research, the contribution being made by the Rockefeller Foundation that these men might pursue at Oxford and Cambridge in England the studies which, as one of the fruits of German "Kultur", they have been deprived of carrying on on the continent of Europe.

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The International Health Commission (preceded by work of Sanitary Commission, confined to U.S.)

2 million people in U. S. infected with hookworm disease, in Southern States.
Vast suffering, partial arrest of physical, mental and moral growth, great loss of life, and noticeable decrease in economic efficiency over vast regions.
Treated more than 500,000 persons:
Diagnosis easy and certain
Curable and easily prevented
Public authorities gladly co-operate
Awakens public intelligent interest in hygiene and modern scientific medicine and public sanitation.
Disease extends in belt inhabited by more than 1000 million people
Infection rises some cases to 90% of population.
Spread by emigration - no steps to prevent.
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promoting public sanitation
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Work begun in:
British West Indies
Egypt
Ceylon
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In Egypt Lord Kitchener, then the British High Commissioner, was making public health the chief feature of his administration, and was centering attention especially on Egypt's endemic scourges. He cordially welcomed the Commission and eagerly sought its co-operation, and gained for the effective plan for the improvement of health conditions in Egypt the active support of the Government - worked out Plan of one Province as the unit of organization and work - one large and 4 small travelling tent hospitals and groups of house hospitals in towns - patients examined and treated free.

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The International Health Commission (cont'd.)

Egypt (cont'd.)
Infection and sanitary surveys made -
$60,000 spent annually
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Central America
In addition to British Colonies work inaugurated also in Central American countries.

Altogether, outside U.S., up to end of 1914, mostly in British colonies.
Nearly 38,000 persons examined:
56.6 % found infected
90 % treated (19,425 persons)
25.6 % cured
Relations of the numbers will have more than doubled since then.
Co-operation and mutual confidence established between the Commission and the Governments and the physicians of the countries visited, and stimulation to self-help.

United States
In U.S., the work of the Sanitary Commission in Southern States carried on.
Demonstration in every state as to means of treating infected persons and preventing soil pollution.
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Custom of Mr. Rockefeller in dealing with applications or suggestions concerning philanthropic objects.

The General Education Board - 1903

Endowment: $34,000,000.

"The promotion of Education without distinction of race, sex, or creed."

Promotion of practical farming in U.S.
Development of system of public highschools in Southern States.
Promotion of higher education.
Promotion of selected schools for negroes.
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Clinical Hospital

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Bacteriology
Chemistry
Physiology
Experimental surgery
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Discoveries placed freely at disposal of humanity.

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Scope: Broad as scope of private charity.

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1. Research
2. Publication
3. Establishment and maintenance of
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Policies and lines of work:
Those likely to present the largest probability
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D 3901

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D 3905

Recommendations of Chinese Medical Commission

That Foundation should undertake medical work in China;

That, so far as possible, it should co-operate with existing missionary institutions;

That it should establish free medical instruction on the highest practicable standard;

That model tuberculosis hospitals be established;

That fellowships and scholarships be endowed;

That additional foreign doctors and nurses be sent out;

That the equipment of certain hospitals be increased.

The intention of the Rockefeller Foundation has been to establish a central medical school for the training of native physicians, with numerous branch hospitals and medical supply stations. It has adopted its Commission's report as a working programme.

from The Outlook of October 6, 1915.

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D 3906

Japanese physician, Dr. Noguchi

The remarkable experiments being made in bacteriology by the young Japanese physician, Noguchi, in the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research in New York, said to be the most important since Pasteur and Koch, have been highly useful during the last two years in arresting the ravages of typhus in Serbia, and promise to make important conquests in the paralyzing of infantile paralysis.

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D 3907

Typhus in Mexico

30,000 cases of typhus in Mexico alone, reports American Red Cross. The Rockefeller Foundation, which gave $75,000 towards the campaign against typhus in Serbia, is also reported to be investigating the Mexican epidemic with a view to offering its aid.

from The Outlook of January 5, 1916

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Sanitary Relief Work in Serbia

Dr. Richard P. Strong, head of the Sanitary and Bacteriological Commission sent out to Serbia by the American Red Cross and the Rockefeller Foundation, cabled recently that with an additional $20,000 and his present equipment he would soon be able to complete the work of suppressing the typhus which only a few months ago threatened the people of that country with extermination and was a very real danger to America itself. $10,000 was immediately cabled to him by the Red Cross, and an equal amount by the Rockefeller Foundation.

When this Commission reached Serbia in May it found the greater part of the non-combatant population in a most appalling state of destitution and disease, with a death list of several hundred each day, and new cases appearing in alarming numbers. It is estimated that fully 100,000 men, women, and children lost their lives from the typhus in the space of three months. Many of the foreign Red Cross doctors and nurses were stricken with the disease, and four American doctors died from it. In view of such conditions, the achievements of Dr. Strong - and the International Health Board of English, French, Serbian, and American physicians of which he was made Medical Director - are little short of miraculous in controlling the epidemic and establishing proper sanitary conditions in so short a space of time.

from The Outlook of September 8, 1915.

Foundation gave $75,000 towards campaign against typhus in Serbia.

from The Outlook of January 5, 1916.

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ID 3909

The Foundation and the War

(1) The Foundation's first appropriation enabled Dr. Alexis Carrel, a member of the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research, whose services had been accepted by the Medical Corps of the French Army, to meet the urgent need for anti-meningitis serum and anti-dysentery serum.

(2) Another appropriation greatly contributed towards the cost of sending American Red Cross physicians and nurses to Europe.

(3) Belgian relief. The total cost of the food supplies given by the Foundation was nearly a million dollars.

(4) Sent a Commission to Europe to inquire into the need of relief measures in all countries concerned. Wickliffe Rose, Ernest P. Bicknell, National Director of the American Red Cross, Henry James, Jr. Commission visited Belgium, Poland, and Serbia.

(5) Made provision for stipends to those professors of scientific subjects in the University of Louvain who had been obliged to abandon their own laboratories.

from The Outlook of October 18, 1915

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Leprosy

Recent experiments by Dr. Victor G. Heiser have been so successful that the International Health Commission is making a special inquiry on the subject with regard to the experience that has been obtained in all parts of the world.

A new treatment, begun in 1911, Dr. Heiser asserts is apparently passing out of the experimental stage, and it may be stated with reasonable certainty that it arrests the disease, regardless of its type or duration, in almost every instance, and in many cases has effected permanent cures. Recently the International Health Commission of the Rockefeller Foundation has taken steps to circulate details of this treatment in all countries in which leprosy occurs, with the hope that if a large number of workers in different parts of the world undertake its use the study of the reports may point the way for further advancement in finding a true specific cure for a terrible disease.

from The Outlook of November 3 1915.

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Ottawa Citizen

January 10 1916

D 3917

WORK OF THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION

Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King Tells of Great Scope of Institution and Its Activity in Relief.

"Through what has been effected by the Rockefeller Foundation, in the stamping out of disease and the improved sanitary conditions which have been established in certain British possessions, an element of added strength has been given the British Empire, in both numbers of men and their physical capacity, which is proving an asset to the Empire at this time."

In these highly commendatory terms, Hon. W. L. MacKenzie King, told the members of the Ottawa Women's Canadian Club, in the Chateau Laurier on Saturday afternoon, of the great work of the Rockefeller Foundation which is doing much to promote the well being of mankind throughout the world. Hon. Mackenzie King was the speaker at the regular weekly meeting of the club. Mrs. J. A. Wilson, acting president, occupied the chair and there was an unusually large attendance.

The members listened to a thoroughly interesting description of the work that is being carried on by the Rockefeller Foundation and heard of the many needs of the millions of people living in foreign countries, ravaged by disease. The creditable part played by the Foundation in bringing relief to the people of war-ridden Belgium and its part in the relief of destruction and disease in Serbia were outlined by Mr. King.

Referring to his own work for the Rockefeller Foundation, Mr. King mentioned that he had been appointed to direct an investigation of industrial relations under the Foundation, with a view to assisting in the improvement of the condition of the working classes in the different countries of the world. He had accepted the appointment on the condition that it would not involve a change of citizenship or of residence in Canada. Mr. King spoke of his visits to Colorado as having been taken at his own instance, to study industrial conditions in that state, where, at the time of his appointment, there was a condition of industrial strife, which had cost the lives of some two hundred individuals.

WORK OF FOUNDATION.

In commencing his address, Mr. King explained that the Rockefeller Foundation is a corporation which was chartered by the legislature of New York state, May, 1913, "for the purpose of receiving and maintaining a fund or funds and applying the income and principal thereof to promote the well being of mankind throughout the world." The foundation, he explained, is controlled by a board of trustees composed of distinguished educationalists, financiers, physicians, and lawyers. Such monies as come into the hands of the trustees are theirs for use as they think best. They are free to spend income and principal alike in such manner as will best promote the Foundation's object. Already there has passed as gifts into the absolute control of the trustees no less a sum than one hundred million dollars.

"The Foundation may best be described as a university of human need," said Mr. King, "existing, as the name university suggests, not for work in any one country, but for the sake of the world's need. The trustees have sought to shape its policies and lines of work, so as to follow only those that are likely to present the largest probability of permanent and far reaching usefulness. The advancement of public health through medical research and eduation, including demonstration of known methods of preventing disease has been one of the means adopted by the Foundation to meet this end.

HEALTH COMMISSION.

"The first work attempted was the eradication of the hook-worm disease," Mr. King said, "which, it is estimated, has affected two million people in the Southern States, and which extends in a belt around the world for 30 degrees on either side of the equator, over an area inhabited by more than one thousand million people. For this disease, which causes vast suffering and loss of life, and partially arrests the physical, moral and mental growth, a cure has been found, and the Foundation has sought to extend to the people of all countries affected by it knowledge of the means of eradicating the disease and promoting public sanitation which may prevent its spread or recurrence.

"In 1913, after conference with the British government and securing the hearty co-operation of the Hon. Lewis Harcourt, secretary of state for the colonies, and Lord Crewe, secretary of state for India, the Foundation began its work in Egypt, Ceylon, the Malay States, and India. In Egypt, the present minister of war, Lord Kitchener, then the British high commissioner in Egypt, welcomed its co-operation and effected an arrangeemnt whereby the British government and the Rockefeller Foundation have since co-operated on an equal financial basis to stamp out the disease in that country. Altogether, within British colonies and dependencies and the United States, more than half a million people had been treated and 25 per cent. of that number cured. The Foundation appropriates half a million dollars a year for the work. Through what has been effected by the Foundation in the stamping out of the disease and the improved sanitary conditions which have been established in the British possessions mentioned, an element of added strength had been given the British Empire, in both numbers of men and their physical capacity, which is proving an asset to the Empire at this time.

"Upon representations from Mr. John R. Mott, the head of the student volunteer movement of the Young Men's Christian Association, on behalf of leading foreign missionary boards on this continent as to the need of a program of co-operation and co-ordination and common headquarters for united foreign missionary interests, the Rockefeller Foundation gave $25,000 to provide and equip offices and to provide a comprehensive missionary research library, and has pledged half a million dollars to further missionary work upon which joint boards can agree, the amount to be spread over ten years.

BELGIAN RELIEF.

"The first organization to take food from America to Europe for the aid of the Belgians, after the war commenced, was the Rockefeller Foundation. In October it chartered the largest available neutral ship in New York harbor, and fitted out at its own expense a cargo of four thousand tons of food. At the same time, as a means of co-operating with the American Belgian Relief Committee, it secured a steamship pier and warehouses and agreed to charter further steamships and convey free of charge from New York to Belgium all supplies that the public might wish to contribute in the way of food and clothing to the Belgians. When Belgium's need became known, there was more difficulty in securing the transportation and distribution of supplies than the obtaining of them. The Foundation

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with its available funds was able to guarantee to whoever made a contribution in money, food or clothing, that the contribution would reach the Belgians in full, without any deduction on account of transportation or distribution or the work of organization in effecting both.

"But the foundation did not confine its assistance to sending supplies of food. It appointed three of the ablest men it could find a commission to study the needs of relief of the suffering non-combatants in Europe. This War Relief Commission received from the government of England, the Dutch government and the governments of other countries in Europe co-operation and assistance.

RELIEF IN SERBIA.

"The War Relief Commission found conditions in many parts of Serbia equal to that of the Belgian refugees, but they found the situation most frightfully aggravated by the primitive condition of the country and the terrific inroads of epidemic diseases. Typhus fever, typhoid, and recurrent fever threatened at one time to exterminate the entire Serbian population, and to constitute a menace to all the peoples of Europe. When the War Relief Commission visited Serbia, one-seventh of all its physicians had died from typhus fever in their endeavor to bring relief to the people suffering. Realizing the international problems to which an endeavor to cope with such a situation might give rise, the Rockefeller Foundation, on receiving the report of its Commission, joined forces with the American Red Cross in establishing an American Sanitary Commission, which immediately got into touch with agencies of other countries operating in Serbia, and went to Europe by invitation of the Serbian government, which gave it full powers to institute vigorous measures to cope with the epidemic.

IN FRANCE AND ELSEWHERE.

"Besides helping in Belgium and Serbia, the Rockefeller Foundation at the opening of the war fitted out Dr. Alexis Carrel, of the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research, who had joined the army medical forces of France, with a complete equipment for hospital use in France, of anti-meningitis serum and anti-dysentery serum, with a staff of physicians and nurses and necessary supplies to care for the wounded. It has also made handsome contributions from time to time to the American Red Cross, to enable that organization to send in larger numbers than it otherwise would have been able to do, physicians and nurses of the highest standing."

In conclusion, Mr. King also touched briefly on his second visit to Colorado in the fall of last year, and the industrial plan and agreement respecting employment, working and living conditions which had been made applicable to the mining camps of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, a concern of which Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., was a director. He had been afforded the opportunity of sharing in the conferences of the company and assisting in the drafting of this plan, which had subsequently been accepted by the miners on a secret ballot, by a majority vote of 85 per cent., and which was now helping to maintain industrial peace and improve industrial conditions in that state. The work in Colorado was only one instance in the assisting in the betterment of the industrial conditions in a practical way, which it was hoped association with the Foundation would afford an opportunity of carrying out. But the work was in no sense confined to any one country. Whilst he intended to remain in Canada in carrying on the direction of this part of the Foundation's work, Mr. King said he expected that it, like all the other activities of the Foundation, would be carried on in a practical way by persons scattered throughout the different countries of the world.

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D 3919

13 Jan. 1916

Ottawa University Club

ADDRESS OF THANKS TO DR. KLOTZ

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(At University Club Dinner,
Thursday, January 13, 1916.)

THE CHAIRMAN: I think we should have a word from another distinguished guest, the Honourable Mr. King, who is with us this evening---a university man.

Mr. KING: I have not had the privilege, like the gentlemen who have preceded me, of being in Russia, and therefore I shall not have the opportunity of giving you an address, or even in part of that character speech. However, it is a pleasure to be here and have the opportunity of listening to the splendid address which we have heard from Dr. Klotz to-night. Although I have no knowledge of Russia first-hand, I have had the pleasure of knowing Dr. Klotz for a great many years, and in fact I think he is one of the very first men that I did know when I was a very little fellow, and I should like just to say,---what I think must be in the minds of all of us who are here to-night---that Dr. Klotz stands for the type of citizen in whom every community has reason to take great pride. (Hear, hear.) He has, as we know, been not only an ornament to the Civil Service, but he has been of very great service to the Dominion of Canada. He has taken the advantages which he has had here; he has made out of them world-wide advantages, not merely for the good of himself, but for the good of the world as well. And to-night's address is but one illustration of what he has done in so many directions. (Applause.)

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D 3921

15 July 1916

Kettleby, Ont.:
King Tp. Reform
Assoc.

THE OUTSTANDING PHASES OF
THE WAR

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D 3922

W. L. MACKENZIE KING
THE ROXBOROUGH
OTTAWA.

Phases of the War

1. Phase of German invasion and offensive
Belgium, France, Poland, Serbia, Low Countries
Silesia - Schleswig-Holstein, - Alsace-Lorraine

2. Phase of deadlock
Paris ~~surrounded~~ stopped, Calais, Ypres, Russian Isle, Verdun

3. Phase of Neutral uncertainty.
~~Official~~ U.S. Belgium, Liberia, Submarine warfare
Congress - Italy - Greece

4. Phase of undisputed Supremacy of Seas.
Southern Pacific Realty, German Base in China.
Australian visit to Emden -
Recent battle in North Sea.

5. Phase of ~~Breaking of deadlock~~ Effective Co-operation
Russian drive - Italian - Western Fronts
Offensives

6. Industrial Phase
Munitions. Kellaways Speech
The Submarine Deutschland
Canadian Nickel - State monopoly.

Net Result.

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D 3923

Complete reversal of position of relative advantage of Allied and the Enemy in all determining factors.

1. Time on Side of allies + germany's preponderance of present handicap in maintaining relative strength

2. Numbers " " " " " - Effective fighting forces.
Germany an Empire at arms
Prussian " " at peace.

3. Organization " " " " - Austrian army partially demoralized

4. Equipment & Resources " " " - factories all over the world

5. Neutral Opinion " " " " - Not formed at outset - Germany responsible for its enmity.

6. Sea ~~on Land~~ " " " , when war started
Germany had her Navy
France smaller
Neutrality of Belgium &c. a Barrier

7. Frederick " " " "

add

Truth & Right " " " "

Her strength was as the strength of 10 because her heart was pure.

Kitchener's prophecy.

1. Period of war may be shorter than
3 years.

D 3924

Why allies must win completely.

1. That Germany and the world may be freed.
The course of armaments
a German democracy will not plot wars

2. Because Prussian ideal is a false one
that greatness of nation is one lasting domination
that war is a wholesome thing.
dream of world Empire

3. Because fight is for great Principles
freedom vs domination
democracy vs autocracy

4. Because Germany provoked the war
to Cease from this war to avoid war
referred - conference - mediation - or arbitration

5. Injustices of war must be set right
Belgium. Servia. France -

6. Justify the Sacrifices made in Name of Freedom

7. Pave the way of International Tribunal &
secure International Conferences & International Police instead of National armies.
Society on Basis of Conduct not Status.

8. That Nations may take up work of Social Reform
Co-operate in so doing. ~~International~~
meet industrial Necessities.

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AGC 11 D 3925

Lessons of the war.

Ideas & Ideals greater than material powers

Spiritual force " " physical force

Industrialism " " militarism

the factory not the barracks

Need in Canada for National policy
of Industrial Training and Technical
Education.

The Real Meaning of Preparedness

triumph of Spiritual forces over material

1. In National life
honour before Power

2 In Industrial life
Human well-being - before Riches & dividends

3 In Home life
Consideration of weak - before exercise of Selfish strength

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D 3926

W. L. MACKENZIE KING
THE ROXBOROUGH
OTTAWA.

Phases of the War:

1. Phase of German intention and aggression
   Belgium, France, Poland, Serbia, Montenegro.
   Silesia - Schleswig-Holstein - Alsace & Lorraine.

2. Phase of Dead-lock
   Paris onrush stopped - Calais, Ypres,
   Russia's tide, Verdun.

3. Phase of Neutral uncertainty
   Official U.S. - Belgium, Lusitania, submarine
   Congress - Italy - Greece. menace

4. Phase of undisputed supremacy of seas
   Southern Pacific Beatty - German base in China
   Australian fleet - Emden
   Recent battle in North Sea

5. Phase of effective co-operation
   Russian drive - Italian - British & French
   offensives

6. Industrial phase
   Ministry of munitions. Kelleway's speech
   The submarine Deutschland
   Canadian Nickel - State monopoly

Net Result

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Complete reversal of position of relative advantage of Allies and the Enemy in all determining factors:

1.	Time on side of Allies -	Germany's preparedness at outset. Present handicap in maintaining relative strength
2.	Numbers " "	Effective fighting forces Germany an Empire in arms - Britain an Empire at peace
3.	Organization " "	Austria's army partially demoralized.
4.	Equipment and Resources	Factories all over the world
5.	Neutral Opinion	Not formed at outset Germany respected by enemies
6.	Sea	When war started, Germany had her navy - France smaller Violation of Belgium brought in Britain
7.	Industry	
Add	Truth and Right	His strength was as the strength of ten because his heart was pure.

Kitchener's prophecy

Therefore period of war may be shorter than 3 years

Why Allies Must Win Completely

1. That Germany and the world may be freed
   - The curse of armaments
   - A German democracy will not plot wars
2. Because Prussian ideal is a false one
   - That greatness of nation is military domination
   - That war is a wholesome thing
   - Dream of world empire
3. Because fight is for great principles
   - Freedom vs. domination
   - Democracy vs. autocracy
4. Because Germany provoked the war
   - To learn from this war to avoid war
   - Refused conference - mediation - arbitration
5. Injustices of war must be set right
   - Belgium - Serbia - France -
6. Justify the sacrifices made in name of Freedom
7. Pave the way for International Tribunal
   - to settle international differences. International police instead of national armies. Society on basis of Contract not Status.
8. That Nations may take up work of Social Reform
   - and co-operate in so doing. Meet industrial necessities.

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SEC 1 D 3929

Lessons of the War

Ideas and Ideals greater than material power

Spiritual force " " physical force

Industrialism " " militarism
The Factory not the barracks

Need in Canada for national policy
of Industrial Training and Technical
Education

The Real Meaning of Prussianism triumph of spiritual forces over material

1. In national life
Honour before power

2. In industrial life
Human well-being - before machines
and dividends

3. In home life
Consideration of weak - before
increase of selfish strength

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D 3930

Big Patriotic Demonstration

(Under auspices of King Township
Reform Assoiciaton)



EVERYBODY
WELCOME

Amphitheatre Park, Kettleby

Saturday July 15th, 1916

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D 893

Big Patriotic Demonstration

(Under auspices of King Township
Reform Assoiciaton)



EVERYBODY
WELCOME

Amphitheatre Park, Kettleby

Saturday July 15th, 1916

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FOOTBALL TOURNAMENT

Open to all. Entries to be made to J. J. Cull, Kettleby, before 9 p.m., July 14th. Entry fee $1.00.

PRIZES—SENIORS, $22.00; JUNIORS, $11.00.

Play to start at 11 a.m.

ATHLETIC CONTESTS, SPORTS AND AMUSEMENTS.

PRIZES FOR FOLLOWING, FOR MEN AND BOYS.

100 Yds. Dash, open to all, Razor, value	$ 1 50
100 Yds. for farmers' sons under 17, Hat, value	2 50
50 Yds. Fat Men's race	1 00
100 Yds. Partner's race	1 00
50 Yds. Wheelbarrow race	1 00
100 Yds. Smoke race, Whip, value	1 00
50 Yds. for Boys under 15	1 00
50 Yds. Boys under 10 years	50
50 Yds. Boys Boot race	50
50 Yds. Boys Sack race	50
Long Jump	1 00
High Jump	1 00
Hop, Step and Jump	1 00

Many prizes for races for boys and girls.

SPECIAL RACE

440 Yds. for Farmers' Sons of North York, actually farming, International Scuffler, given by John Nesbitt, Newmarket, value 10 00

RACES FOR LADIES AND GIRLS.

50 Yds. for Married Ladies, Set of Smoothing Irons.
50Yds. for Single Ladies, Cabinet of Stationery.
50 Yds. for Girls under 15 years, Cabinet of Perfumes.
50 Yds. for Girls under 10 years, Gold Locket.
Nail-Driving Contest, Cabinet of Stationery.

A RED CROSS PLOW.

donated by J. Fleury's Sons, Aurora will be disposed of by the Red Cross Society of Kettleby, for the Benefit of the 220th Batt. Field Comforts.

TUG OF WAR.

Military vs. Civilians, Box of Cigars.

Special prizes for Oldest Liberal, Oldest Conservative and Youngest Baby on the grounds.

PATRIOTIC ADDRESSES

at 3.30 p.m. by

W. J. Lowe, Benj. Petch, A. D. Bruce,
H. E. Jory, J. H. Widdifield, Fred Hogg,
J. M. Walton, Col. Brown, Capt. Davis,
Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, A. W. Roebuck, of Osgoode Hall,
Hon. A. B. Aylesworth, Oliver Hazzlewood, Esq., Toronto
T. Urquhart, Capt. A. T. Hunter, returned from the trenches, and others.

MUSIC BY THE 48TH HIGHLANDERS' BAND, TORONTO AND HIGHLANDER PIPERS

220TH BATT. BAND OF THE YORK RANGERS DRUM AND BUGLE BAND OF THE 220TH ARE ALSO EXPECTED.

GRAND CONCERT AT NIGHT
PROGRAMME BY THE CONCERT BAND OF THE 48TH HIGHLANDERS

A feast of Music, Song and Dance,—greatest and best variety of talent as given in the largest cities in America.

WONDERFUL COLORED PICTURES OF THE WAR AND THE EMPIRE WILL BE SHOWN AT NIGHT
MUSIC ALSO BY OTHER BANDS

CONCERT TICKETS, 25 CENTS

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RAILWAY SERVICES.

THE T. & Y. R. R. AND THE S. & A. R. R.

Special cars will leave Bond Lake Junction for Kettleby at 1.30 & 2.30 p.m. These cars connect with the 12.30 and 1.30 p.m. cars from Toronto and the 1 and 2 p.m. cars from Newmarket. Regular cars leave Junction for Kettleby at 10.30 a.m., 1.30 p.m., 4.30 p.m. and 6.30 p.m.

A special car will leave Toronto terminal at 12.30 p.m. operating direct to Kettleby station taking the band and public.

In addition to regular service cars at 4 and 6 p.m., special cars will leave Kettleby at 10.20 p.m., connecting at the Junction with cars running North and South. Extra car will also leave Kettleby at 10.20 p.m. for Schomberg and intermediate points. (Usual fares.)

Regular cars leave Kettleby station; Jitney Service from Kettleby station to grounds.

A GREAT DAY FOR YOUNG AND OLD

Picnic Grounds, Hot and Cold Water free all day.
Come before noon—Refreshments of all kinds on sale.

PROCEEDS WILL BE DONATED TO THE 220TH BATTALION YORK RANGERS FOR FIELD COMFORTS.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

T. M. BLACKBURN, Chairman of Committee.
J. C. BRODIE, Secretary.
J. L. DOLSON, Finance Com.
JAMES ANNING, Grounds Com.
E. HUTCHINS, Sports Committee.

Banner Press, Aurora.

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Speech delivered July 15th - 1916 D 3934
at Patriotic Demonstration. Kleinberg, North York.

The European War & Canadian Problems.

Mr. King in his address reviewed the outstanding phases of the war with a view to showing on what grounds the Allies were justified in basing their hope of ultimate certain victory. The first phase of the war was described as that of German intention and aggression, the outstanding features of which were the over-running of Belgium and Western France at the commencement of the war, and the subsequent devastation of Serbia, Russian Poland and Montenegro, all of which acts of aggression were in keeping with the early policies and methods of Prussia in her endeavor to dominate one principality after another and to bring about the organization of the German Empire on a militarist basis. They were in keeping with the methods of Frederick the Great in wresting Silisia from Austria, an act of most unjustifiable aggression; in keeping with Bismarck's iron and blood policy in the wresting of Schleswig-Holstein from Denmark and Alsace and Lorraine from France. If examples in history meant anything, these illustrations were sufficient to show that Germany, unless driven back and defeated in this war, meant to retain as part of her empire the whole of Belgium, of Serbia, Montenegro, Poland, and the parts of Russia and France over which she had forced her armies at the commencement of the war.

The second phase was the phase of dead-lock, which had commenced on the western front with the arresting of the progress of the German army on its march towards Paris, and of which the blocking of the road to Calais by the Canadian troops in the Ypres salient was an outstanding incident; and which had commenced on the eastern front after the first advance of the Russians had been checked and the Russian

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armies had sustained serious reverses and before the present advance had begun. The phase of dead-lock had been marked by trench warfare in which the opposing armies had maintained their relative positions more or less intact over the greater part of the period of conflict.

A third phase was that of neutral uncertainty. It had been marked by official inaction on the part of the Government of the United States at the time of the violation of Belgium, the destruction of Louvain, the Lusitania disaster, and the sub-marine menace which had cost the lives of many Americans as well as the subjects of other neutral nations. This phase had passed, so far as the United States was concerned, when the President issued what was in the nature of an ultimatum to Germany, obtained from Congress the endorsation of his action, and the two countries were brought to the verge of war. Italy's neutrality for a year or more after her separation from the central powers and before her entry into the war on the side of the Allies was part of the phase of neutral uncertainty, as was also the doubtful attitude of Greece until this had been placed beyond question by the resolute action of the Allied Powers.

A fourth phase of the war was that of British control of the seas. The supremacy of Britain on the seas had never been doubted, but it was not until after the defeat of the German squadron in the southern Pacific, the destruction of the German naval base in the north Pacific by the Japanese, the capture of the Emden by the Australian Naval Service fleet, that fear of sporadic conflicts at sea had been forever swept away and the oceans of the world rendered safe for the transportation of men and munitions to the exclusive aid of the Allies.

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The recent naval battle in the North Sea was a part also of the phase of undisputed sea supremacy. While the losses had been great to both nations, to Germany they had been greater absolutely and vastly greater relatively.

A fifth phase, which might be described as the breaking of the dead-lock, was the phase we are witnessing at present. It began early in the year, with the wonderful offensive of the Russians, which had resulted in a demoralization of the Austrian armies, in an advance from the south by the Italian forces, and in the magnificent offensive by the French and British on the western front, and which as an exhibition of military force and splendid organization has been a surprise to the entire world.

A last phase of the war, which was fast coming to be recognized as the most important phase from the point of view of ultimate victory, was what might be termed the industrial phase. It had always been present, but its significance became apparent when a year or two ago the British Government, awakening to the need of larger supplies of arms and ammunition, created a separate department known as the Munitions Branch, and when one factory after the other passed under Government control. When the complete story of the war is told it will come to be seen that this phase has meant vast orders for munitions and military equipment being placed by the Allied Powers in all the available manufacturing countries of the world; that it more than anything else had been responsible for the great industrial prosperity of the United States at the present time; that it was the secret of the co-operation between Japan and Russia which was responsible for the Russian drive; That it lay behind the successful offensive of France and Britain at the present time, is apparent to all the world.

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In speaking of this industrial phase, Mr. King pointed out that the arrival of the sub-marine "Deutschland" in an American harbor was a feature in the industrial phase of the war and one to which Canadians had reason to give particular thought. The press had made no secret of the circumstance that the "Deutschland" and other ships like her, if they could effect their end, intended to take back to Germany for the use of the German army supplies of rubber and nickel, both of which articles were greatly needed. It was known to all the world that the one valuable supply of nickèè was a part of Canada's resources, and the only nickel that could go to Germany from the United States at the present time was nickel that had been mined under the British flag by Canadian labor. The country had been apprised of this at the commencement of the war. The step which should have been taken then was the step which the British Government took when it brought the munition factories of England under its own control. It was not too late to take this step in Canada even now. With nickel as valuable a commodity as it is, and as necessary for war purposes as it is, Mr. King thought the Government of Canada might well consider making a state monopoly out of this industry, thereby conserving to the British Empire and its Allies, not for the present only but for all time to come, the first claim on this commodity, and conserving to the Canadian people as a means of offsetting some of the vast taxation of the war a resource which may well prove one of the greatest possible sources of revenue the country has.

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Having reviewed the various phases of the war, Mr. King asked what had been their net result. In a word, it was that in every material consideration it had meant a change of relative advantage in the position of the fighting nations, at the present time from what they were at the commencement of the war. It was this change in relative positions which Lord Kitchener had seen was necessary before the war could end, and which made him assert at its commencement that it would be a war of three years' duration. It was known now that before his death Lord Kitchener had expressed the view that the change had come even more quickly than he had expected; and allowing for the operation of the law of acceleration in affairs of war as in all else to which it applies, there were at least reasonable grounds for believing that the war might end with complete success to the Allies before the expiration of three years.

Noting the change in the relative positions as respects practically all the essential features, the speaker pointed out that at present Time was on the side of the Allies. Up to and including the first few weeks of the war, time had all been on the side of the Germans. They had been secretly preparing for a mighty offensive. They had hoped to over-ride Belgium and crush France by capturing Paris before the world could become awake to the situation which had developed. Who can say, had they succeeded in this objective, whether time would not have proven altogether on the side of Germany! There had been no time for France or the allied nations in which to arrest the onslaught or retrieve what had been so suddenly lost; but from the moment the German force had been checked, Germany had continued to get farther and farther away from her position of advantage, which was one of relative advantage, the

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preparedness due to the war being of her own making; and the Allies have been getting nearer and nearer their position of advantage, which is relative advantage in men, munitions and fighting equipment and the means of sustaining and controlling these.

Numbers for some time were on the side of the enemy. When the war commenced the German Empire was an empire in arms. The British Empire was an empire at peace. France was a stunned nation; and Russia was a country of vast population but not one of properly equipped soldiers. Numbers, in war, are of concern only so far as they represent effective fighting strength. To-day a census would show wherein the fighting strength of the allied powers outnumber the enemy;and where his total force has been in the field almost from the start, there are within the nations belonging to the allied forces countless numbers of men who are still ready and who may be drawn upon for service as the war continues.

Organization was at the outset all on the side of the enemy. The allied powers had not even had the opportunity of a preliminary conference. To-day the enemy's organization might be strong in Germany, but its army had become demoralized in Austria, and a weakening in one part meant a weakening in the whole. Meanwhile the allied powers had perfected their scheme of organization, and the world had witnessed this year the central powers of Europe surrounded by one vast circle of flame which was closing in upon them from every side and which threatens to consume their entire armies unless ere very long their inevitable defeat is admitted.

Resources, equipment and munitions were all on the side of the enemy at the commencement of the war. He had been manufacturing and storing vast quantities of arms and munitions, had been hoarding vast

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quantities of wealth. The allied nations had done little or nothing of this. Since the war commenced, however, Germany's means of supplementing her resources by land and sea had been cut off; whilst the Allies had gained the support of the remaining nations of the earth in augmenting their tremendous stores.

Neutral opinion is unquestionably on the side of the Allies. When the war commenced, the world had not had time to make up its mind as to the nature of it. Germany had held a position of great respect, even in the opinion of the countries who to-day are fighting her. To-day all that respect is gone, not merely among her enemies, but among neutral peoples. They have been amazed at her arrogance, and horrified at her atrocities. They have been shocked at her indifference to public right and public morality. They have come to understand what Prussianism means and the nature of the conflict. This weight of neutral opinion, though it cannot be analyzed, is a force of the first magnitude.

The sea is on the side of the Allies. At the commencement of the war, Germany had a vast navy, was the second naval power in the world. Her commerce upon the high seas was not only her own greatest pride, but the envy of rival nations. To-day her commerce is utterly destroyed and her navy in large measure shattered.

Finally, industry is on the side of the Allies, and industry will ~~give~~ have the last word ~~to~~ in the war. For years before it commenced Germany had been developing her industries in a manner which would make them of service to her in time of war. The Krupp Works, which was an exclusively military establishment, surpassed in size and output that of any other in the world. Since the war has commenced, the industries of the world outside of Germany have undergone a vast trans-

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formation. One industrial establishment after another has been converted into a munition plant or an arsenal. Women by the hundreds of thousands have engaged in the manufacture of munitions of war. There is at the moment practically no limit to what, in the way of necessary war equipment, the industries of the allied powers may not hope to be able to supply. In the numbers of available workers, in necessary material, Germany's position is vastly inferior to what it was, and her power to improve it has been destroyed.

With these outstanding considerations - not theories, but facts - can there be any alternative other than that of ultimate victory for the Allies?

But mere victory of itself will not end this war. It must be complete victory, complete, not in the sense of crushing Germany, destroying her nationally and exterminating her population, but complete in the sense that the circumstances which have made such a war of aggression possible can never arise again and that the cause for which the allied forces have fought, which is a wider measure of freedom for mankind, can be absolutely assured. There are many reasons why the war must be completely won by the Allies, but the following are probably sufficient.

It must be won, in the first place, that Germany, along with the rest of the world, may be freed, freed from Prussianism, which means the domination by one nation over others through military force. The family of nations must cease to have in its midst a member which compels its own people to adopt a militarist ideal and methods, and which compels other nations for this reason to do the same. As Sir Edward Grey has

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said, there can be no true freedom in Europe or anywhere in the world so long as there is the continual rattle of the sword in the scabbard and the threat of military force usurps the place of peaceful negotiation.

The war must be completely won, because the Prussian ideal is a false one. The idea that military force is the essential of national greatness would become the necessarily accepted view of the world if the German armies should even partially triumph. The war must be so completely won that an end can be put to competitive arming between countries and the foundations of the future peace of the world laid on the basis of contract and not on that of might.

In the third place, the war must be completely won because Germany provoked and sought it; because she refused conferences, mediation of her own selection, and arbitration at the Hague to adjust the alleged differences. Were Germany even partially to succeed, it would mean that these methods of adjusting relations between nations would become less, rather than more, generally accepted in the future. This war must teach all nations that the nation that seeks to live by the sword shall perish by the sword as the common enemy of mankind.

In the fourth place, the war must be completely won in order that the injustice which it has wrought may so far as possible be set right; that Belgium, France, Serbia, Montenegro, and Poland may all be restored in their rightful positions.

The war must be completely won in order to pave the way for the adjustment of all future differences between nations by redress through some international tribunal, the findings of which will be backed by a force to which all the great world powers will be contributors.

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The war must be completely won to justify the sacrifices of life and of treasure which have already been made in the cause of freedom. To those who have given their lives that the cause of the Allies may triumph it is owing that this triumph shall be complete.

Finally,the war must be completely won in order that the nations of the world may be able to take up in earnest within their own boundaries and in hearty co-operation with each other the solution of the human problemswhich modern industrial development has occasioned, and that the efforts of government may be devoted towards furthering the well-being of mankind.This will be impossible were taxation required to maintain standing armies and to go on constructing huge and expensive navies. The time has come when the money of the people should be devoted towards securing for the people pensions for the aged, insurance against sickness, and invalidity,insurance against accident, insurance against unemployment, and the payment of maternity and death benefits: all of which important social requirements must become more and more a matter of state legislation, state control, and state administration if great masses of the people are not to suffer through no fault of their own, through the changing conditions which industry and world competition effect. The money of the people must be used for the development of industrial training and technical education, in agriculture, in manufacturing, for vocational training in all directions, and the promotion of domestic science: all of which work, like public school education, must become more and more a matter of state regulation, state control and state administration, if our industries and our trade and commerce are to hold their own in world competition and our industrial population to have the opportunities to which, as those to whom the nation must look as the developers of its wealth, they have the right to enjoy.

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While the war has taught many lessons, it has above all taught that ideas and ideals are greater than material wealth; that spiritual power is greater than physical force; and that industrialism is greater than militarism. The outstanding feature of this war is the industrial, not the military. Before its close, the world will have witnessed that the factories, and not the barracks, will have the last word. As Lloyd George has rightly said, it has become primarily a war of equipment. The success of the Russian drive, while due to the bravery of the Russian soldier, has been due even more to the factories of Britain and of her ally Japan. What has saved Verdun, and what has made possible the success of the recent offensive on the French and British front, has been the fortitude and bravery of the French and British soldiers; but it has also been the workshops and factories of France and Britain and America. Ever since the war began, French and Russian and British soldiers have shown a valor unsurpassed; but while it spelt disaster where offensives were attempted at the outset, it spells success where they are attempted to-day. And the explanation is not, in the greater wisdom of the head-quarters staff, nor in the perfection of military organization, though these doubtless have contributed much, but in the organization of industry and the output of the workers.

And when the war is over, it is to the workers in the fields, on the farms, in the mines, and in the factories, that the nations will have to look for the development of the wealth which is to make possible the caring for the wounded and the disabled, The reduction of the enormous burden of debt the war has occasioned and the furtherance of all policies which may be aimed at the avoidance of industrial depression, the return

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of prosperity and the promotion of measures of social betterment, doubly necessary where homes have lost their breadwinners, and industry and commerce and all that pertains to normal national life has sustained dislocation, serious impairment and change.

With this great truth made apparent at such great cost, should not this country, the governments of the several provinces and the government of the Dominion, be paralleling their efforts at recruiting by efforts at increasing the industrial efficiency of the Dominion and its workers by every resource that the wisdom of the several administrations can devise. What Canada will need tomorrow as much as the allied armies need to-day, is industrial training and technical education carried out by the several provinces, if you will, but fostered in accordance with a wisely devised national plan which will have regard for the country's manufacturing, ^ agricultural, mining, fishing, lumbering, and other resources, and industries as a whole, and which will also have regard for the wise distribution of the country's population once the vast army we have sent across the seas has to be absorbed in the peaceful pursuits of our national life, and with it that other army of homeless and bereft individuals who, when the war is ended, may leave the broken hearths and the devastated homes of Britain and Europe to seek new heart and hope under the British flag in the new world.

The problems of government which will face Canada and the British Empire when the war is over will surpass in magnitude any that have been known in their history, and theydemand even now all the thought and attention that every citizen can bestow. In time they will surpass the problems of the war itself. There will not be to sustain their solution

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the self-evident incentive of a great cause, the appeal that war makes to the heroic in human nature, nor the co-operation of vast effort among all classes actuated by one mighty objective and stirred by great emotion and feelings of patriotism, of affection, and of hate. There will be the dawn of the morrow with its vast waste of human life, its vast expenditure of blood and treasure, the vast destruction, and the weary aching burden of it all. The men and the women who are not in the thick of the fight and who are not to-day giving thought to these mighty problems and ready to give of their best in furthering their solution are unworthy of citizenship in this Dominion. The only justification that a true man can give himself for not crossing the seas in this great struggle for the greater freedom of the human race is that the circumstances of his lot have made this impossible for him without his imposing burdens on others greater than those he can help to relieve, or that his service to his fellowmen in other ways is likely to be greater by pursuing the vocation for which his talents combined with his opportunities peculiarly fit him. But service in some form or other is the only basis of true citizenship within the Dominion to-day, as indeed it should be at all times.

Whoever is fighting materialism and force in any form is fighting the battle of the Allies. Whoever is not so fighting is a Prussian at heart, and helping the Prussian cause. Whoever is allowing the brute to rule ~~in~~ the man is a Prussian at heart. Whoever is overcoming, with love and tenderness, thoughts of home and wife and children, thoughts of God and flowers and birds, is living in the things of the spirit and helping the cause of the Allies. If in our national, our industrial, our home life,

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we allow the spiritual forces to triumph over the material, if in the nation we have learned to put honor before power, if in industry we have learned to put consideration for human well-being before regard for dividends and machines, if in our home life we have learned to put a consideration of the weak before an increase of our own strength, then we may know that Prussianism has indeed been defeated, and that this great crisis in the history of mankind,and all its suffering, will not have been in vain.

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PATRIOTISM SUPREME AT KETTLEBY PICNI

Oldest Liberal and Tory Sit Side by Side on Platform

AWAY WITH POLITICS

Many Addresses, Including That of Hon. Mackenzie King, Sound Note of Undivided Service to Canada and Empire—Ladies Raise $150.

(Special Correspondence of The Globe.)

Aurora, July 10.—"Lustre and fame have been spread over our Dominion by the heroism of the Canadian troops who have given up and are giving up their lives on the battlefields of Europe for the cause of civil, righteous and religious freedom and for the suppression of militarism," declared Hon. William Lyon Mackenzie King to-day in a stirring speech at the second patriotic celebration held under the auspices of the King Township Reform Association at Amphitheatre Park, Kettleby. Over 5,000 people were in attendance. The celebration, in which Liberals and Conservatives abandoned politics and mingled as one big unit, was undoubtedly the largest of its kind ever held in the banner township of North York. Patriotism reigned supreme.

Peace Essential to Civilization.

"It is peace that is the basis of civilization; it is peace that makes progress throughout an Empire," said Mr. King. "Europe to-day is repeating a tragedy of one hundred years ago, while Canada and the United States, neighboring nations, are celebrating a hundred years of peace. The great struggle in Europe is for religious and civil freedom, such as dominates the principles of Great Britain and the allied forces engaged in suppressing the intolerable militarism of Germany."

Those Who Talk Politics.

"There are men in every country who are inclined to be tyrannical if they succeed in obtaining power," continued Mr. King. "There are men who are selfishly inclined. If we in Canada allow men to become affiliated with our Government and obtain control of affairs to such an extent as not to yield to authority in order to better their own selfish ends, we are helping to put on top those working for destruction and blood. I am not talking in a sense of political sympathy, but in its truest sense. The men who have talked party politics during this war are not as worthy of respect as the sons of Canada who have given up their lives.

A Welcome Trinity of Laws.

"Let the people, irrespective of political leanings," concluded Mr. King, "make sacrifices and fervently advocate the law of health, peace and privilege, a trinity of laws which at the conclusion of this great catastrophe will be welcomed the world over. To be worthy as Canadians of our brothers who have given their lives for the right is the supreme call which our country invites us to do with all force possible."

Eliminate Politics.

Alderman J. G. Ramsden of Toronto, in a short speech, emphasized the importance of politics being eliminated during the present crisis. Party strife should be relegated to where it belongs, while the people should not hesitate to contribute their mite to various patriotic funds, which are helping our soldiers, whose chief ambition lies in crushing the great military machine of Europe. In conclusion, Ald. Ramsden recited a patriotic poem, at the close of which the audience rose and sang the "Maple Leaf Forever."

Will Command Respect of All Nations.

Mr. Louis P. Heyd declared that the great war overshadows all political differences, and that when the people considered how their worthy sons are upholding the name of Canada upon the battlefields it was in keeping with the beautiful sentiment expressed by Sir Wilfrid Laurier: "We are joined together, not by chains of iron, not by legislative power, but by bonds of love." (Cheers.)

"We must bear our part of the battles as worthy citizens," said Mr. Heyd, in closing. "We must bear the burdens cast upon us, and when the fight is over Canada will be one of the shining lights, commanding the respect of all nations."

Other Addresses.

Addresses were also delivered by Mr. J. M. Walton of Aurora, who presided over the gathering; Mr. J. H. Widdifield of Uxbridge, Mr. Fred Hogg, Mr. Arthur Roebuck and Mr. Alexander D. Bruce of Gormley. The latter spoke in the interests of the Speakers' Patriotic League. Letters of regret at their inability to be present were read from Sir Allen Aylesworth, Sir William Mulock and several other Liberals.

Honors for the Aged.

Seated on the platform were Mr. Thomas Lloyd, aged eighty-eight, the oldest living Liberal in North York; Mr. Thomas Mooreby, aged eighty-seven, the oldest living Conservative in the riding, and Mrs. Moses W. Bogart, aged eighty-three, of Newmarket, the oldest lady Liberal in the constituency. Each were made the recipients of handsome presents.

Results of the Ladies' Work.

Thirteen young ladies of the district, neatly attired as Red Cross nurses, were given a grand ovation when they appeared on the platform. They were captained by the Misses Watson and Walton, who announced that the total receipts from the sale of Union Jacks amounted to $150, which will be given to the Red Cross Fund. Mr. James Crockard of Aurora purchased the Red Cross plow, which was auctioned by Mr. Fred Smith, the sale price being $30.

The musical part of the day's outing was contributed by Messrs. Will J. White and Jules Brazil of Toronto, the Misses Ruth Hamilton and Ida Blackburne of Kettleby, the Aurora Citizens' Band and two pipers from the 48th Highlanders' pipe band.

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Newmarket Era July 21 1916.

Kettleby Picnic a Great Success

Fine Patriotic Addresses.

The third annual patriotic demonstration of the King Township Reform Association, held in the Amphitheatre Park, Kettleby, on Saturday, brought together a large and representative gathering of Liberals and their families from different parts of York County, including Toronto. The event, which was a huge success, was of a non-political character. Besides several military officers several prominent Conservatives of the riding united with their political opponents in helping to swell the proceeds, which were turned over to the 220th Battalion (York Rangers) for recruiting purposes and field comforts. While the attendance was not as large as last year, owing to the large number of members who have joined the colors and the fact that many farmers were engaged in harvesting the bounteous hay crop, the committee was agreeably surprised at the interest displayed by nearly 4000 who braved the oppressive heat for the purpose of keeping up the high standard of patriotism previously established by the banner township of North York.

One of the many pleasing features of the celebration, which created much interest was the presence on the platform of the oldest Liberal and Conservative in the township. In this connection, Mr. George Teasdale, 85 years, Aurora, came out ahead, being one year the senior of Mr. Daniel O'Brien, 84 years, of Laskay, the oldest Liberal. The latter secured the prize over Mr. John Wilkie, another well-known Liberal, by three months. Mr. Teasdale was presented with a silk umbrella, and Mr. O'Brien with a handsome portrait of Sir Wilfrid Laurier. The yonugest child at the picnic was Amos Lapp, three weeks old, the son of Mr. and Mrs. Amos Lapp of Kettleby. The honors in the latter contest were also captured by the Conservatives. Mrs. Lapp received a beautiful landscape picture. The prize being presented by Rev. J. H. Colcough, the Anglican rector of Lloydstown. The judges were Messrs. Luke Gibbons, King City; Milton Terry, Kettleby; and John Cook, Kettleby.

Added interest was shown when edLiberals seventy years and over, and the oldest Conservative, the combined ages of whom totalled 943 years, posed for a group photograph. They were Thomas Davis, 73 King; Daniel O'Brien 84, Laskay; John Traynor 76, King City, John Wilkie 83, Nobleton; Archibald McCallum, 82 Strange; James Wolven 78, East Gwillimbury; Malcolm Mac McCallum, 76, King City; Joseph Palmer, 72, Tottenham; James E. Farr 71, Sharon, Richard Hamilton 71, Newmarket; Aaron Clarke, 79, Aurora and George Teasdale, 85 (Conservative), Aurora. The veterans were loudly cheered as they steppd from the platform.

Three football matches were included in the sports program, and resulted as follows:—Newmarket 6, Kettleby 2, King City 2, Newmarket0, King City 2, Kettleby 0.

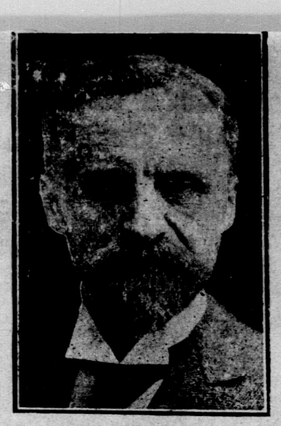
Patriotic addresses were delivered by Mr. J. M. Walton, Mr. Oliver Hezzlewood, President of Toronto Citizen's League, Mr. J. H. Widdifield of Uxbridge, Rev. Colcough of Lloydtown, Lt.-Col. Brown of the 220th Bat., Mr. Thos. Urquhart of Aurora, ex-Mayor of Toronto, Hon. Mackenzie King of Ottawa, Mr. Fred Hogg from South Ontario. Mr. Howard Cane of Newmarket discharged the duties of chairman in a very satisfactory manner.

The speeches were listened to with great interest especially that of Hon. Mackenzie King.

Mr. King in his address reviewed the the outstanding phases of the war with a view to showing on what grounds the Allies were justified in basing their hope of ultimate certain victory. The first phase of the war was described as that of German intention and aggression, the outstanding features of which were the over-running of Belgium and Western France at the commencement of war, and the subsequent devastation of Serbia, Russian Poland and Montenegro, all of which acts of aggression were in keeping with the yearly policies and methods of Prussia in her endeavor to dominate one principally after another and to bring about the organization of the German Empire on a militarist basis. They were in keeping with the methods of Frederick the Great in wresting Silisia from Austria, an act of most unjustifiable aggression; in keeping with Bismark's iron and blood policy in the wresting of Schleswig-Holstein from Denmark and Alsace and Lorraine from France. If examples in history meant anything, these illustrations were sufficient to show that Germany, unless driven back and defeated in this war, meant to retain as part of her empire the whole of Belgium, of Serbia, Montenegro, Poland, and the parts of Russia and France over which she had fored her armies at the commencement of the war.

The second phase was the phase of dead-lock, which had commenced on the western front with the arresting of the progress of the German army on its march towards Paris, and of which the blocking of the road to Calais by the Canadian troops in the Ypres salient was an outstanding incident; and which has commenced on the eastern front after the first advance of the Russians had been checked and the Russian armies had sustained serious reverses and before the recent advance had begun. The phase of dead-lock had been marked by trench warfare in which the opposing armies had maintained their relative positions -more or less intact over the greater part of the period of conflict.

A third phase was that of neutral uncertainty. It had been marked by official inaction on the part of the Government of the United States at the time of the violation of Belgium, the destruction of Louvain, the Lusitania disaster and the submarine menace which had cost the lives of many Americans as well as the subjects of other neutral nations. This phase had passed, so far as the United States was concerned, when the President issued what was in the nature of an ultimatum to Germany, obtained from Congress the endorsation of his action, and the two countries were brought to the verge of war. Italy's neutrality for a year or more after her separation from the central powers and before her entry into the war on the side of the Allies was part of the phase of neutral uncertainty, as was also the doubtful attitude of Greece until this had been placed beyond question by the resolute action of the Allied powers.



J. M. WALTON, ESQ.
Who Organized the Picnic.

A fourth phase of the war was that of British control of the seas. The supremacy of Britain on the seas had never been doubted, but it was not until after the defeat of the German squadron of the Southern Pacific, the destruction of the German naval base in the north Pacific by the Japanese, the capture of the Emden by the Australian Naval Service fleet, that fear of sporadic conflicts at sea had been forever swept away and the oceans of the world rendered safe for the transportation of men and munitions to the exclusive aid of the Allies. The recent naval battle in the North Sea was a part also of the phase of undisputed sea supremacy. While the losses had been great to both nations, to Germany they had been greater absolutely and vastly greater relatively.

A fifth phase, which might be described as the phase of effective co-operation, was the phase we are witnessing at present. It began early in the year, with the wonderful offensive of the Russians, which had resulted in a demoralization of the Austrian armies, in an advance from the south by the Italian forces, and in the magnificent offensive by the French and British on the western front, and which as an exhibition of military force and splendid organization has been a surprise to the entire world.

A last phase of the war, which was fast coming to be recognized as the most important phase from the point of view of ultimate victory, was what might be termed the industrial phase. It had always been present, but its significance became apparent when a year or two ago the British Government, awakening to the need of larger supplies of arms and ammunition, created a separate department known as the Munitions Branch, and when one factory after the other passed under Government control. When the complete story of the war is told it will come to be seen that this phase has meant vast orders for munitions and military equipment being placed by the Allied Powers in all the available manufacturing countries of the world; that it more than anything else had been responsible for the great industrial prosperity of the United States at the present time; that it was the secret of the co-operation between Japan and Russia which was responsible for the Russian drive. That it lay behind the successful offensive of France and Britain at the present time, is apparent to all the world.

In speaking of this industrial phase, Mr. King pointed out that the arrival of the submarine "Deutschland" in an American harbor was a feature in the industrial phase of the war and one to which Canadians had reason to give particular thought. The press had made no secret of the circumstances that the "Deutschland" and other ships like her, if they could effect their end, intended to take back to Germany for the use of the German army supplies of rubber and nickel, both of which articles were greatly needed. It was known to all the world that the one valuable supply of nickel was a part of Canada's resources, and the only nickel that could go to Germany from the United States at the present time was nickel that had been mined under the British flag by Canadian labor. The country has been apprised of this at commencement of the war. The step which should have been taken then was the step that the British Government took when it brought the munition factories of England under its own control. It was not too late to take this step in Canada even now. With nickel as valuable a commodity as it is, and as necessary for war purposes as it is, Mr. King thought the Government of Canada might well consider making a state monopoly out of this industry, thereby conserving to the British Empire and its Allies, not for the present only, but for all time to come the first claim on this commodity, and conserving to the Canadian people as a means of offsetting some of the vast taxation of the war a resource which may well prove one of the greatest possible sources of revenue the country has.

Having reviewed the various phases of the war, Mr. King asked what had been their net result. In a word, it was that in every material consideration it had meant a change of relative advantage to the position of the fighting nations, at the present time from what they were at the commencement of the war. It was this change in relative positions which Lord Kitchener had seen was necessary before the war could end, and which made him assert at its commencement that it would be a war of three years' duration. It was known now that before his death Lord Kitchener had expressed the view that the change had come even more quickly than he had expected; and allowing for the operation of the law of acceleration in affairs of war as in all else to which it applies, there were at least reasonable grounds for believing that the war might end with complete success to the Allies before the expiration of three years.

Noting the change in the relative positions as respects practically all pointed out that at present Time was on the side of the Allies. Up to and including the first few weeks of the war, time had all been on the side of the Germans. They had been secretly preparing for a mighty offensive. They had hoped to over-ride Belgium and crush France by capturing Paris before the world could become awake to the situation which had developed. Who can say, had they succeeded in this objective, whether time would not have proven altogether on the side of Germany. There had been no time for France or the allied nations in which to arrest the onslaught or retrieve what had been so suddenly lost; but from the moment the German force had been checked, Germany had continued to get farther and farther away from her position of advantage, which was one of relative advantage, the preparedness due to the war being of her own making; and the Allies have been getting nearer and nearer their position of advantage, which is relative advantage in men, munitions and fighting equipment and the means of sustaining and controlling these.

Numbers for some time were on the side of the enemy. When the war commenced the German Empire was an Empire in arms. The British Empire was an Empire at peace. France was a stunned nation; and Russia was a country, a vast population, but not one of properly equipped soldiers. Numbers, in war, are of concern only so far as they represent effective fighting strength. To-day, a census would show wherein the fighting strength of the allied powers outnumber the enemy and where his total force has been in the field almost from the start, there are within the nations belonging to the allied forces countless numbers of men who are still ready and who may be drawn upon for service as the war continues.

Organization was at the outset all on the side of the enemy. The allied powers had not even had the opportunity of a preliminary conference. To-day the enemy's organizations might be strong in Germany, but its army had become demoralized in Austria, and a weakening in one part meant a weaking in the whole. Meanwhile the allied powers had perfected their scheme of organization, and the world had witnessed this year the central powers of Europe surrounded by one vast circle of flame which was closing in upon them from every side and which threatens to consume their entire armies unless ere very long their inevitable defeat is admitted.

Resources, equipment and munitions were all on the side of the enemy at the commencement of the war. He had been manufacturing and storing vast quantities of arms and munitions, had been hoarding vast quantities of wealth. The allied nations had done little or nothing of this. Since the war commenced, however, Germany's means of supplementing her resources by land and sea had been cut off; whilst the Allies had gained the support of the remaining nations of the earth in augmenting their tremendous stores.

Neutral opinion is unquestionably on the side of the Allies. When the war commenced, the world had not had time to make up its mind as to the nature of it. Germany had held a position of great respect, even in the opinion of the countries who to-day are fighting her. To-day all that respect is gone, not merely among her enemies, but among neutral people. They have been amazed at her arrogance, and horified at her atrocities. They have been shocked at her indifference to public right and public morality. They have come to understand what Prussianism means and the nature of the conflict. This weight of neutral opinion, though it cannot be analyzed, is a force of the first magnitude.

The sea is on the side of the Allies. At the commencement of the war, Germany had a vast navy, was the second naval power in the world. Her commerce on the high seas was not only her own greatest pride, but the envy of rival nations. To-day her commerce is utterly destroyed and her navy in large measures shattered.

Finally, industry is on the side of the Allies, and industry will have the last word in the war. For years before it commenced Germany had been developing her industries in a manner which would make them of service to her in time of war. The Krupp Works, which was an exclusively military establishment, surpassed in size and output that of any other in the world. Since the war has commenced, the industries of the world outside of Germany have undergone a vast transformation. One industrial establishment after another has been converted into a munition plant or an arsenal. Women by the hundreds of thousands have engaged in the manufacture of munitions of war. There is at this moment practically no limit to what, in the way of necessary war equipment, the industries of the allied powers may not hope to be able to supply. In numbers of available workers, indeed, is vastly inferior to what it was, and her power to improve it has been destroyed.

With these outstanding considerations—not theories, but facts—can there be any alternative other than that of ultimate victory for the Allies?

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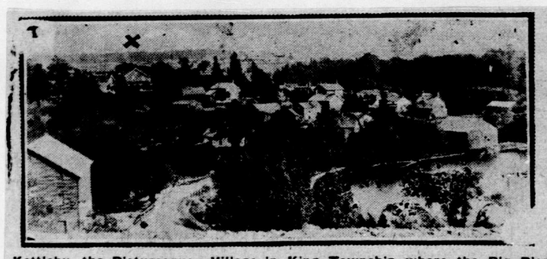

Kettleby, the Picturesque Village in King Township where the Big Picnic was held.

(Continued from Page 2.)

But mere victory of itself will not end this war. It must be complete victory, complete, not in the sense of crushing Germany, destroying her nationally and exterminating her population, but complete in the sense that the circumstances which have made such a war of aggression possible can never arise again and that the cause for which the allied forces have fought, which is a wider measure of freedom for mankind, can be absolutely assured. There are many reasons why the war must be completely won by the Allies, but the following are probably sufficient.

It must be won, in the first place, that Germany, along with the rest of the world, may be freed, freed from Prussianism, which means the domination by one nation over others through military force. The family of nations must cease to have in its midst a member which compels its own people to adopt a militarist ideal and methods, and which compels other nations for this reason to do the same. As Sir Edward Gray has said, there can be no true freedom in Europe or anywhere in the world so long as there is the continual rattle of the sword in the scabbard and the threat of military force usurps the place of peaceful negotiation.

The war must be completely won, because the Prussian ideal is a false one. The idea that military force is the essential of national greatness would become the necessarily accepted view of the world if the German armies should even partially triumph. The war must be so completely won that an end can be put to competitive arming between countries and the foundations of the future peace of the world laid on the basis of contract and not on that of might.

In the third place, the war must be completely won because Germany provoked and sought it ; because she refused conferences, meditation of her own selection, and arbitration at the Hague to adjust the alleged differences. Were Germany even partially to succeed, it would mean that these methods of adjusting relations between than more, generally accepted in the future. This war must teach all nations that the nation that seeks to live by the sword shall perish by the sword as the common enemy of mankind.

In the fourth place, the war must be completely won in order that the injustice which it has wrought may so far as possible be set right ; that Belgium, France, Serbia, Montenegro, and Poland may all be restored to their rightful positions.

The war must be completely won in order to pave the way for the adjustment of all future differences between nations by redress through some international tribunal, the findings of which will be backed by a force to which all the great world powers will be contributors.

The war must be completely won to justify the sacrifices of life and of treasure which have already been made in the cause of freedom. To those who have given their lives that the cause of the Allies may triumph it is owing that this triumph shall be complete.

Finally, the war must be completely won in order that the nations of the world may be able to take up in earnest within their own boundaries and in hearty co-operation with each other the solution of hte human problems which modern industrial development has ocasioned, and that the efforts of Government may be devoted towards furthering the well-being of mankind. This will be impossible were taxation required to maintain standing armies and to go on constructing huge and expensive navies.

The money of the people must be used amongst other things for the development of industrial training and technical education, in agriculture, in manufacturing, for vocational training in all directions, and the promotion of domestic science ; all of which work, like public school education, must become more and more a matter of state regulation, state control and state administration. If our industries and our trade and commerce are to hold their own in world competition and our industrial population to have the opportunities to which, as those to whom the nation must look as the developers of its wealth, they have the right to enjoy.

While the war has taught many lessons, it has above all taught that ideas and ideals are greater than material wealth ; that spiritual power is greater than physical force ; and that industrialism is greater than militarism. The outstanding feature of this war is the industrial, not the military. Before its close, the world will have witnessed that the factories, and not the barracks, will have the last word. As Lloyd George has rightly said, it has become primarily a war of equipment. The success of the Russian drive, while due to the bravery of the Russian soldier, has been due even more to the factories of Britain and of her Ally Japan. What has saved Verdun, and what has made possible the success of the recent offensive on the French and British front, has been the fortitude and bravery of the French and British soldiers, but it has also been the workshops and factories of France and Britain and America. Ever since the war began, French and Russian and British soldiers have shown a valor unsurpassed ; but while it spelt disaster where offensives at the outset, it spells success where they are attempted today. And the explaination is not, in the greater wisdom of the headquarters staff, nor in the perfection of military organization, though these doubtless, have contributed much, but in the organization of industry and the output of the workers.

And when the war is over, it is to the workers in the fields, on the farms, in the mines, and in the factories, that the nations will have to look for the development of the wealth which is to make possible the caring for the wounded and the disabled. The reduction of the enormous burden of debt the war has occasioned and the furtheranie of all policies which may be aimed at the avoidance of industrial depression, the return of prosperity and the promotion of measures of social betterment, doubly necessary where homes have lost their breadwinners and industry and commerce and all that pertains to normal national life has sustained dislocation, serious impairment and change.

With this great truth made apparent at such great cost, should not this country, the governments of the several provinces and the governments of the Dominion, be paralleling their efforts at recruiting by efforts at increasing the industrial effieiency of the Dominion and its workers by every resoure that the wisdom of the several administrations can devise. What Canada will need to-morrow as much as the allied armies need to-day, is industrial training and technical education carried out by the several provinces, if you will, but fostered in accordance with a wisely devised national plan which will have regard for the country's manufacturing, its agricultural, mining, fishing, lumbering, and other resources and industries as a whole, and which will also have regard for the wise distribution of the country's population once the vast army we have sent across the seas has to be absorbed in the peaceful pursuits of our national life, and with it that other army of homeless and bereft individuals who, when the war is ended, may leave the broken hearths and the devasted homes of Britain and Europe to seek new heart and hope under the British flag in the new world.

The problem of government which will face Canada and the British Empire when the war is over will surpass in magnitude any that have been known in their history, and they demand even now all the thought and attention that every citizen can bestow. In time they will surpass the problems of the war itself. There will not be to sustain their solution the self-evident incentive of a great cause, the appeal that war makes to the heroic in human nature, nor the co-operation of vast effort among all classes actuated by one mighty objective and stirred by tism, of effection and of hate. There will be the dawn of the morrow with its vast waste of human life, its vast expenditure of blood and treasure, the vast destruction, and the weary aching burden of it all. The men and the women who are not in the thick of the fight and who are not to-day giving thought to these mighty problems and ready to give of their best in furthering their solution are unworthy of citizenship in this Dominion. The only justification that a true man can find himself for not crossing the seas in this great struggle for the greater freedom of the human race is that the circumstances of his lot have made this impossible for him without his imposing burdens on others greater than those he can help to relieve, or that his service to his fellowmen in other ways is likely to be greater by pursuing the vocation for which his talents combined with his opportunities peculiarly fit him. But service in some form or other is the only basis of true citizenship within the Dominion today, as indeed it should be at all times.

Whoever is fighting materialism and force in any form is fighting the battle of the Allies. Whoever is not so fighting is a Prussian at heart and helping the Prussian cause. Whoever is allowing the brute to rule the men is a Prussian at heart. If in our national, our industrial, our home life, we allow the spiritual forces to triumph over the material, if in the nation we have learned to put honor before power, if in industry we have learned to put consideration for human well-being before regard for dividends and machines, if in our home life we have learned to put a consideration of the weak before an increase of our own strength, then we may hope that Prussianism has indeed been defeated, and that this great crisis in the history of mankind, and all its suffering, will not have been in vain.

Picnic Notes.

The grounds never looked better than on this occasion. The Band of the 48th Highlanders, (including the pipers), the Bugle and Brass Bands of the 220th under Bandmasters A. Mott and Geo Sainsbury brought in the procession which was headed by the Red Cross Girls who undertook to raise the funds. The Bands rendered an abundance of music in various parts of the grounds during the day.

A large crowd witnessed the athletic contests. The football tournament of eight teams was won by King City. The Juniors will have to continue their play next Saturday. The great program of sports made great amusement for the young and old. Mr. Mahoney, Jr., of Keswick, won the 440 yards race against a strong field.

A group photo was taken of the veterans present which made an imposing picture. In the group were such well-known residents of the riding as Richard Hamilton, Newmarket, James Wilcox, Aurora, John Wilkie, Nobleton, James Wulver, Glenville, John Trainer, Lloydtown, Thos Davis, Schomberg, Daniel O'Brien, Laskey, Jos. Baker, Kettleby, Chas. Stephenson, Aurora, A. J. McCallum, Strange, M. McCallum, Laskay, and J. E. Farr, Sharon.

During the day the Red Cross Girls were divided into two sides, for the sale of tickets for a plow donated by Fleury's Sons, Aurora. Miss Blackburn's side won, the proceeds amounting to $106, for the benefit of the 220th Bat. The plow was then sold by auction by Mr. Fred Smith and knocked down to Mr. George Blackburn for $21.

The refreshment booths did a rushing business all day, owing to the very hot weather.

A recruiting tent was pitched on the ground and a demonstration of musketry, etc., was given.

The Picnic was the most enjoyable that has yet been held under the auspices of the King Liberals. This is the third annual picnic held by them. The Committees in charge deserve great credit for the excellent way in which they carried the arrangements.

The Concert at night was also a great success.

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Kettleby Picnic a Great Success

Fine Patriotic Addresses.

The third annual patriotic demonstration of the King Township Reform Association, held in the Amphitheatre Park, Kettleby, on Saturday, brought together a large and representative gathering of Liberals and their families from different parts of York County, including Toronto. The event, which was a huge success, was of a non-political character. Besides several military officers several prominent Conservatives of the riding united with their political opponents in helping to swell the proceeds, which were turned over to the 220th Battalion (York Rangers) for recruiting purposes and field comforts. While the attendance was not as large as last year, owing to the large number of members who have joined the colors and the fact that many farmers were engaged in harvesting the bounteous hay crop, the committee was agreeably surprised at the interest displayed by nearly 4000 who braved the oppressive heat for the purpose of keeping up the high standard of patriotism previously established by the banner township of North York.

One of the many pleasing features of the celebration, which created much interest was the presence on the platform of the oldest Liberal and Conservative in the township. In this connection, Mr. George Teasdale, 85 years, Aurora, came out ahead, being one year the senior of Mr. Daniel O'Brien, 84 years, of Laskay, the oldest Liberal. The latter secured the prize over Mr. John Wilkie, another well-known Liberal, by three months. Mr. Teasdale was presented with a silk umbrella, and Mr. O'Brien with a handsome portrait of Sir Wilfrid Laurier. The youngest child at the picnic was Amos Lapp, three weeks old, the son of Mr. and Mrs. Amos Lapp of Kettleby. The honors in the latter contest were also captured by the Conservatives. Mrs. Lapp received a beautiful landscape picture. The prize being presented by Rev. J. H. Colcough, the Anglican rector of Lloydstown. The judges were Messrs. Luke Gibbons, King City; Milton Terry, Kettleby; and John Cook, Kettleby.

Added interest was shown when edLiberals seventy years and over, and the oldest Conservative, the combined ages of whom totalled 943 years, posed for a group photograph. They were Thomas Davis, 73 King; Daniel O'Brien 84, Laskay; John Traynor 76, King City, John Wilkie 83, Nobleton; Archibald McCallum, 82 Strange; James Wolven 78, East Gwillimbury; Malcolm Mac McCallum, 76, King City; Joseph Palmer, 72, Tottenham; James E. Farr 71, Sharon, Richard Hamilton 71, Newmarket; Aaron Clarke, 79, Aurora and George Teasdale, 85 (Conservative), Aurora. The veterans were loudly cheered as they steppd from the platform.

Three football matches were included in the sports program, and resulted as follows:—Newmarket 6, Kettleby 2, King City 2, Newmarket0, King City 2, Kettleby 0.

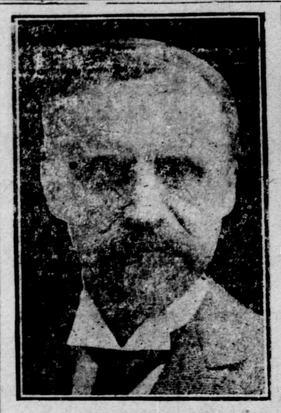
Patriotic addresses were delivered by Mr. J. M. Walton, Mr. Oliver Hezzlewood, President of Toronto Citizen's League, Mr. J. H. Widdifield of Uxbridge, Rev. Colcough of Lloydtown, Lt.-Col. Brown of the 220th Bat., Mr. Thos. Urquhart of Aurora, ex-Mayor of Toronto, Hon. Mackenzie King of Ottawa, Mr. Fred Hogg from South Ontario. Mr. Howard Cane of Newmarket discharged the duties of chairman in a very satisfactory manner.

The speeches were listened to with great interest especially that of Hon. Mackenzie King.

Mr. King in his address reviewed the the outstanding phases of the war with a view to showing on what grounds the Allies were justified in basing their hope of ultimate certain victory. The first phase of the war was described as that of German intention and aggression, the outstanding features of which were the over-running of Belgium and Western France at the commencement of war, and the subsequent devastation of Serbia, Russian Poland and Montenegro, all of which acts of aggression were in keeping with the yearly policies and methods of Prussia in her endeavor to dominate one principality after another and to bring about the organization of the German Empire on a militarist basis. They were in keeping with the methods of Frederick the Great in wresting Silisia from Austria, an act of most unjustifiable aggression; in keeping with Bismark's iron and blood policy in the wresting of Schleswig-Holstein from Denmark and Alsace and Lorraine from France. If examples in history meant anything, these illustrations were sufficient to show that Germany, unless driven back and defeated in this war, meant to retain as part of her empire the whole of Belgium, of Serbia, Montenegro, Poland, and the parts of Russia and France over which she had forced her armies at the commencement of the war.

The second phase was the phase of dead-lock, which had commenced on the western front with the arresting of the progress of the German army on its march towards Paris, and of which the blocking of the road to Calais by the Canadian troops in the Ypres salient was an outstanding incident; and which has commenced on the eastern front after the first advance of the Russians had been checked and the Russian armies had sustained serious reverses and before the recent advance had begun. The phase of dead-lock had been marked by trench warfare in which the opposing armies had maintained their relative positions more or less intact over the greater part of the period of conflict.

A third phase was that of neutral uncertainty. It had been marked by official inaction on the part of the Government of the United States at the time of the violation of Belgium, the destruction of Louvain, the Lusitania disaster and the submarine menace which had cost the lives of many Americans as well as the subjects of other neutral nations. This phase had passed, so far as the United States was concerned, when the President issued what was in the nature of an ultimatum to Germany, obtained from Congress the endorsation of his action, and the two countries were brought to the verge of war. Italy's neutrality for a year or more after her separation from the central powers and before her entry into the war on the side of the Allies was part of the phase of neutral uncertainty, as was also the doubtful attitude of Greece until this had been placed beyond question by the resolute action of the Allied powers.



J. M. WALTON, ESQ.
Who Organized the Picnic.

A fourth phase of the war was that of British control of the seas. The supremacy of Britain on the seas had never been doubted, but it was not until after the defeat of the German squadron of the Southern Pacific, the destruction of the German naval base in the north Pacific by the Japanese, the capture of the Emden by the Australian Naval Service fleet, that fear of sporadic conflicts at sea had been forever swept away and the ogeans of the world rendered safe for the transportation of men and munitions to the exclusive aid of the Allies. The recent naval battle in the North Sea was a part also of the phase of undisputed sea supremacy. While the losses had been great to both nations, to Germany they had been greater absolutely and vastly greater relatively.

A fifth phase, which might be described as the phase of effective co-operation, was the phase we are witnessing at present. It began early in the year, with the wonderful offensive of the Russians, which had resulted in a demoralization of the Austrian armies, in an advance from the south by the Italian forces, and in the magnificent offensive by the French and British on the western front, and which as an exhibition of military force and splendid organization has been a surprise to the entire world.

A last phase of the war, which was fast coming to be recognized as the most important phase from the point of view of ultimate victory, was what might be termed the industrial phase. It had always been present, but its significance became apparent when a year or two ago the British Government, awakening to the need of larger supplies of arms and ammunition, created a separate department known as the Munitions Branch, and when one factory after the other passed under Government control. When the complete story of the war is told it will come to be seen that this phase has meant vast orders for munitions and military equipment being placed by the Allied Powers in all the available manufacturing countries of the world; that it more than anything else had been responsible for the great industrial prosperity of the United States at the present time; that it was the secret of the co-operation between Japan and Russia which was responsible for the Russian drive. That it lay behind the successful offensive of France and Britain at the present time, is apparent to all the world.

In speaking of this industrial phase, Mr. King pointed out that the arrival of the submarine "Deutschland" in an American harbor was a feature in the industrial phase of the war and one to which Canadians had reason to give particular thought. The press had made no secret of the circumstances that the "Deutschland" and other ships like her, if they could effect their end, intended to take back to Germany for the use of the German army supplies of rubber and nickel, both of which articles were greatly needed. It was known to all the world that the one valuable supply of nickel was a part of Canada's resources, and the only nickel that could go to Germany from the United States at the present time was nickel that had been mined under the British flag by Canadian labor. The country has been surprised of this at commencement of the war. The step which should have been taken then was the step that the British Government took when it brought the munition factories of England under its own control. It was not too late to take this step in Canada even now. With nickel as valuable a commodity as it is, and as necessary for war purposes as it is, Mr. King thought the Government of Canada might well consider making a state monopoly out of this industry, thereby conserving to the British Empire and its Allies, not for the present only, but for all time to come the first claim on this commodity, and conserving to the Canadian people as a means of offsetting some of the vast taxation of the war a resource which may well prove one of the greatest possible sources of revenue the country has.

Having reviewed the various phases of the war, Mr. King asked what had been their net result. In a word, it was that in every material consideration it had meant a change of relative advantage to the position of the fighting nations, at the present time from what they were at the commencement of the war. It was this change in relative positions which Lord Kitchener had seen was necessary before the war could end, and which made him assert at its commencement that it would be a war of three years' duration. It was known now that before his death Lord Kitchener had expressed the view that the change had come even more quickly than he had expected; and allowing for the operation of the law of acceleration in affairs of war as in all else to which it applies, there were at least reasonable grounds for believing that the war might end with complete success to the Allies before the expiration of three years.

Noting the change in the relative positions as respects practically all pointed out that at present Time was on the side of the Allies. Up to and including the first few weeks of the war, time had all been on the side of the Germans. They had been secretly preparing for a mighty offensive. They had hoped to over-ride Belgium and crush France by capturing Paris before the world could become awake to the situation which had developed. Who can say, had they succeeded in this objective, whether time would not have proven altogether on the side of Germany. There had been no time for France or the allied nations in which to arrest the onslaught or retrieve what had been so suddenly lost but from the moment the German force had been checked, Germany has continued to get farther and farther away from her position of advantage which was one of relative advantage the preparedness due to the war being of her own making; and the Allies have been getting nearer and nearer their position of advantage, which is relative advantage in men, munitions and fighting equipment and the means of sustaining and controlling these.

Numbers for some time were on the side of the enemy. When the war commenced the German Empire was an Empire in arms. The British Empire was an Empire at peace. France was a stunned nation; and Russia was a country, a vast population, but not one of properly equipped soldiers. Numbers, in war, are of concern only so far as they represent effective fighting strength. To-day, a census would show wherein the fighting strength of the allied powers outnumber the enemy and where his total force has been in the field almost from the start, there are within the nations belonging to the allied forces countless numbers of men who are still ready and who may be drawn upon for service as the war continues.

Organization was at the outset all on the side of the enemy. The allied powers had not even had the opportunity of a preliminary conference. To-day the enemy's organizations might be strong in Germany, but its army had become demoralized in Austria and a weakening in one part meant a weaking in the whole. Meanwhile the allied powers had perfected their scheme of organization, and the world had witnessed this year the central powers of Europe surrounded by one vast circle of flame which was closing in upon them from every side and which threatens to consume their entire armies unless ere very long their inevitable defeat is admitted.

Resources, equipment and munitions were all on the side of the enemy at the commencement of the war. He had been manufacturing and storing vast quantities of arms and munitions, had been hoarding vast quantities of wealth. The allied nations had done little or nothing of this. Since the war, commenced, however, Germany's means of supplementing her resources by land and sea had been cut off; whilst the Allies had gained the support of the remaining nations of the earth in augmenting their tremendous stores.

Neutral opinion is unquestionably on the side of the Allies. When the war commenced, the world had not had time to make up its mind as to the nature of it. Germany had held a position of great respect, even in the opinion of the countries who to-day are fighting her. To-day all that respect is gone, not merely among her enemies, but among neutral people. They have been amazed at her arrogance, and horified at her atrocities. They have been shocked at her indifference to public right and public morality. They have come to understand what Prussianism means and the nature of the conflict. This weight of neutral opinion, though it cannot be analyzed, is a force of the first magnitude.

The sea is on the side of the Allies. At the commencement of the war, Germany had a vast navy, was the second naval power in the world. Her commerce on the high seas was not only her own greatest pride, but the envy of rival nations. To-day her commerce is utterly destroyed and her navy in large measures shattered.

Finally, industry is on the side of the Allies, and industry will have the last word in the war. For years before it commenced Germany had been developing her industries in a manner which would make them of service to her in time of war. The Krupp Works, which was an exclusively military establishment, surpassed in size and output that of any other in the world. Since the war has commenced, the industries of the world outside of Germany have undergone a vast transformation. One industrial establishment after another has been converted into a munition plant or an arsenal. Women by the hundreds of thousands have engaged in the manufacture of munitions of war. There is at this moment practically no limit to what, in the way of necessary war equipment, the industries of the allied powers may not hope to be able to supply. In numbers of available workers, in ... is vastly inferior to what it was, and her power to improve it has been destroyed.

With these outstanding considerations—not theories, but facts—can there be any alternative other than that of ultimate victory for the Allies?

(Continued on Page 3.)



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Whoever is fighting materialism and force in any form is fighting the battle of the Allies. Whoever is not so fighting is a Prussian at heart and helping the Prussian cause. Whoever is allowing the brute to rule the men is a Prussian at heart. If in our national, our industrial, our home life, we allow the spiritual forces to triumph over the material, if in the nation we have learned to put honor before power, if in industry we have learned to put consideration for human well-being before regard for dividends and machines, if in our home life we have learned to put a consideration of the weak before an increase of our own strength, then we may hope that Prussianism has indeed been defeated, and that this great crisis in the history of mankind, and all its suffering, will not have been in vain.

Picnic Notes.

The grounds never looked better than on this occasion. The Band of the 48th Highlanders, (including the pipers), the Bugle and Brass Bands of the 220th under Bandmasters A. Mott and Geo Sainsbury brought in the procession which was headed by the Red Cross Girls who undertook to raise the funds. The Bands rendered an abundance of music in various parts of the grounds during the day.

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The Concert at night was also a great success.

D 3952

OUR LOCAL NEWS.

Deserter Escapes.

One morning last week, a deserter from the 127th Battalion who was confined in the Police Station here, managed to pry off some of the bars across the window and made good his escape.

Christian S. S. Picnic.

The annual Excursion and Picnic of the Christian Sunday School will be held on Wednesday, August 2nd, to Purdy's Grove, Keswick, Lake Simcoe. It will again be a union with Keswick and Union Street Sabbath Schools. This park is an ideal place for a picnic, with a very fine beach for safe bathing. Boats and all other conveniences will be available. Reserve the date. More particulars later.

New Recruits.

The following have enlisted with the Newmarket section of the 220th Bat. within the past few days :

Andrews, W., Pte.
Ashquabe, W., Pte.
Cameron, N. N., Pte.
Hartford, G. A., Pte.
Lukes, B., Pte.
Mortson, H., Pte.
Roberts, A. J., Pte.
Saunders, A., Pte.

Friends Church.

Sunday, July 23.

11 A. M.—Young Peoule of Sabbath School conduct service. Singing, Recitations, etc. Special collection for Young Friend's Mission Work.

7 P. M.—People's Popular Service. Rev. Clarence E. Pickett of Toronto will preach. Everybody welcome. All seats free. A quartette will be rendered during the evening.

Red Cross Society.

The following letter shows that the knitting gets to its proper destination :

Salonica Greece,
June 13th, 1916.

Dear Mrs. Jackson,—

Received a pair of socks which was a gift from the Red Cross, and finding your name and address in one of the socks, I am writing to thank you very much, and hope you will continue the good work. Wishing you and your friends the best of luck. My address is Pte. J. E. Taylor, 521180, c-o. Canadian General Hospital, B. M. E. F., Salonica Forces,

I remain,
Yours truly,
Pte. J. E. Taylor.

Decoration Day.

The observance of Decoration Day at Newmarket Cemetery last Sunday was the most successful for a long time. A much greater interest than usual was apparent. The procession, made up of Odd-Fellows, Orangemen and the Newmarket section of the 220th Battalion, 50 strong, headed by the Odd-Fellows' Band, was very attractive. On leaving the Market Square it proceeded to the Water Works lawn where the monument to our hero of the South African War was draped and decorated with flowers. Flags were also placed there in memory of the late Carl Granger and the late Stuart Quick. The procession then wended its way to the Cemetery, marshalled by Mr. C. A. Thompson, where a large crowd had already gathered. Addresses were then delivered by His Worship Mayor Cane, Rev. A. Young, Lt. Gordon of the 220th and the President, Dr. Scott. Many complimentary remarks were made about the beautiful appearance of the grounds and the value of endowing the lots, but the principal address was given by Rev. Young. He compared life to a long journey in a mountainous region—much is prosaic, routine, rugged cliffs, steep approaches, dark ravines, but by and bye a turn in the road brings into full view a great mountain peak that pierees the clouds and catches the golden glow of sunlight So it is in life's journey, yet the way has been upward and our Guide assures us that we shall emerge into the full blaze of light and beauty eventually. Commemorative days were enlarged upon when achievements wrought are brought to remembrance, likewise when our hearts are saddened, as for instance the 4th of Aug., 1914, when the dread arbitrament of war was decided upon and the war dogs were unlashed. Commemorative days when as a community we gather together to place a flower upon the sod of earth under which lies all that is mortal of those we have known and loved. There are some who never achieved distinction by great and chivalrous deeds, but their high sense of honor, loyalty and devotion to their God, their Queen and Country are worthy of affectionate remembrance,-names of whom, as long as Newmarket has a history, will be handed down to posterity.

At the conclusion of the speaking the various orders decorated the graves of departed brethren and a flag was placed on the grave of every soldier, which embraced a Crimean Veteran, a Fenian Raid Veteran, and Canadian Volunteers.

Just as the Band played "God Save the King," the drops began to fall and everybody made for shelter as soon as possible.



Kettleby, the Picturesque Village in King Township where the Big Picnic was held.

(Continued from Page 2.)

But mere victory of itself will not end this war. It must be complete victory, complete, not in the sense of crushing Germany, destroying her nationally and exterminating her population, but complete in the sense that the circumstances which have made such a war of aggression possible can never arise again and that the cause for which the allied forces have fought, which is a wider measure of freedom for mankind, can be absolutely assured. There are many reasons why the war must be completely won by the Allies, but the following are probably sufficient.

It must be won, in the first place, that Germany, along with the rest of the world, may be freed, freed from Prussianism, which means the domination by one nation over others through military force. The family of nations must cease to have in its midst a member which compels its own people to adopt a militarist ideal and methods, and which compels other nations for this reason to do the same. As Sir Edward Gray has said, there can be no true freedom in Europe or anywhere in the world so long as there is the continual rattle of the sword in the scabbard and the threat of military force usurps the place of peaceful negotiation.

The war must be completely won, because the Prussian ideal is a false one. The idea that military force is the essential of national greatness would become the necessarily accepted view of the world if the German armies should even partially triumph. The war must be so completely won that an end can be put to competitive arming between countries and the foundations of the future peace of the world laid on the basis of contract and not on that of might.

In the third place, the war must in their history, and they demand even great erection and fooling of patrio- be completely won because Germany provoked and sought it ; because she refused conferences, meditation of her own selection, and arbitration at the Hague to adjust the alleged differences. Were Germany even partially to succeed, it would mean that these methods of adjusting relations between than more, generally accepted in the future. This war must teach all nations that the nation that seeks to live by the sword shall perish by the sword as the common enemy of mankind.

In the fourth place, the war must be completely won in order that the injustice which it has wrought may so far as possible be set right ; that Belgium, France, Serbia, Montenegro, and Poland may all be restored to their rightful positions.

The war must be completely won in order to pave the way for the adjustment of all future differences between nations by redress through some international tribunal, the findings of which will be backed by a force to which all the great world powers will be contributors.

The war must be completely won to justify the sacrifices of life and of treasure which have already been made in the cause of freedom. To those who have given their lives that the cause of the Allies may triumph it is owing that this triumph shall be complete.

Finally, the war must be completely won in order that the nations of the world may be able to take up in earnest within their own boundaries and in hearty co-operation with each other the solution of hte human prolems which modern industrial development has ocasioned, and that the efforts of Government may be devoted towards furthering the well-being of mankind. This will be impossible were taxation required to maintain standing armies and to go on constructing huge and expensive navies.

The money of the people must be used amongst other things for the development of industrial training and technical education, in agriculture, in manufacturing, for vocational training in all directions, and the promotion of domestic science ; all of which work, like public school education, must become more and more a matter of state regulation, state control and state administration. If our industries and our trade and commerce are to hold their own in world competition and our industrial population to have the opportunities to which, as those to whom the nation must look as the developers of its wealth, they have the right to enjoy.

While the war has taught many lessons, it has above all taught that ideas and ideals are greater than material wealth ; that spiritual power is greater than physical force ; and that industrialism is greater than militarism. The outstanding feature of this war is the industrial, not the military. Before its close, the world will have witnessed that the factories, and not the barracks, will have the last word. As Lloyd George has rightly said, it has become primarily a war of equipment. The success of the Russian drive, while due to the bravery of the Russian soldier, has been due even more to the factories of Britain and of her Ally Japan. What has saved Verdun, and what has made possible the success of the recent offensive on the French and British front, has been the fortitude and bravery of the French and British soldiers, but it has also been the workshops and factories of France and Britain and America. Ever since the war began, French and Russian and British soldiers have shown a valor unsurpassed ; but while it spelt disaster where offensives at the outset, it spells success where they are attempted today. And the explanation is not, in the greater wisdom of the headquarters staff, nor in the perfection of military organization, though these doubtless, have contributed much, but in the organization of industry and the output of the workers.

And when the war is over, it is to the workers in the fields, on the farms, in the mines, and in the factories, that the nations will have to look for the development of the wealth which is to make possible the caring for the wounded and the disabled, the reduction of the enormous burden of debt the war has occasioned and the furtheranie of all policies which may be aimed at the avoidance of industrial depression, the return of prosperity and the promotion of measures of social betterment, doubly necessary where homes have lost their breadwinners and industry and commerce and all that pertains to normal national life has sustained dislocation, serious impairment and change.

With this great truth made apparent at such great cost, should not this country, the governments of the several provinces and the governments of the Dominion, be paralleling their efforts at recruiting by efforts at increasing the industrial efficiency of the Dominion and its workers by every resoure that the wisdom of the several administrations can devise. What Canada will need to-morrow as much as the allied armies need to-day, is industrial training and technical education carried out by the several provinces, if you will, but fostered in accordance with a wisely devised natioo-al plan which will have regard for the country's manufacturing, its agricultural, mining, fishing, lumbering, and other resources and industries as a whole, and which will also have regard for the wise distribution of the country's population once the vast army we have sent across the seas has to be absorbed in the peaceful pursuits of our national life, and with it that other army of homeless and bereft individuals who, when the war is ended, may leave the broken hearths and the devasted homes of Britain and Europe to seek new heart and hope under the British flag in the new world.

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CONSCRIPTION

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WLMK (1917)

D 3954

A coalition to enforce conscription can only be justified on 2 grounds.
1 Low! - Conscription
2 Coalition Government

(1) conscription necessary — not proven
contrary in fact proven as proved
basis of coalition premises delay in enforcing measure

2. to avoid an election in war time
~~premiers proposal~~ contemplates
an election before enforcing conscription

An election can be avoided by a referendum on the subject of conscription itself.
A referendum for this purpose could be held much more expeditiously than a general election
Once the country has expressed its views all parties should combine to give effect to nations wish.

Consider -
Let Opposition agree to grant an extension of term of parliament if Government concedes a referendum on conscription.
If Government does not agree to referendum on these terms it will prove impossible to enforce conscription if it attempts to do so without a general election.
If the Government dissolves after this proposal is offered it will have to carry a double onus for forcing an election in war time (1) by making an election a necessary preliminary to the policy of conscription as a basis of coalition
(2) by preferring it to an extension conditional on a referendum

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D 3955

The Conscription measure

(a) goes too far

(b) not far enough

A/ It goes too far

1. In being contrary to this Government's expressed intentions and pledges

Conscription not to be resorted to unless "the only effective method to preserve the existence of the State and the institutions and liberties [myself] we

2 In being unnecessary!

Conscription can only be justified on grounds of

(a) imperative need in matter of time

(b) " " " " " numbers of men

1. 4 more at front

2. 5 feet 8 ins

(c) " " " " " methods of raising men

Re (a) time. - No such need shown

Government's proposal to hold measure in abeyance till after Nat. Parliament shows it does not exist

Re. (b) numbers of men (1) 4 more at front:

When 500,000 men promised, Canada believed it be only part of North America to was. Has raised 400,000 The United States not less interested in ultimate triumph of same principles. If army of same proportions raised would mean an additional 965 millions of men. Has Government sought to ascertain from U.S. how many men it will look to field. This fact important in estimating [number] to be kept in the field.

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2. To fill the Ships.

a properly organized campaign for this purpose would receive a patriotic response / Recruiting has fallen off owing to failure of Government

(1) to give facts and figures as to need
(2) to account for the men already enlisted
(3) because of deliberate inaction until Autumn, Shipbuilding Programme etc etc.
(4) because of partizan attitude of Government since commencement of war
(5) direct discouragement by Government (see Hayden's report.)
(6) lack of confidence in Administration as a whole
(7) National service scheme - conveying idea of sufficiency

Re. (2) Methods.

Let Government as a Government commence recruiting for this purpose, and see what results will be!

3. In giving people no opportunity to pronounce upon a policy of vital concern and which without support of public opinion it would be impossible to enforce without providing enormous armies, Government does not go for enough

B/ (1) in stopping short at securing enlistments for overseas service only, must we expect Canada's productive industries upon which in the last analysis depends the supply of available resources to meet existing need, and present and future taxation (see Lloyd George speech in asking for more food & ships)

(2) in taking no account of the effect of this alleged balance for (1) more ships as well as more munitions
(2) more food more men.

essential to the winning of the war

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(3) in taking no account of domestic needs of this dominion, neglect of which may produce grave and critical situations.

4. fuel famine – through present neglect in production

harnessing – failure to supply men in sufficient numbers

transportation " " " – " " ....

& in consequent closing of plants industries or cost of living " " produce bread supplies of food & arrange for proper distribution

(4) In postponing to conscript men only and taking no account of wealth – profits due to war conditions etc.

may remove as well as man power

loss — of wealth - profits, munitions economic income food.

excessive incomes, profit

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SIR FREDERICK BORDEN

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The HONOURABLE SIR FREDERICK BORDEN K.C.M.G.

The death of the Hon. Sir Frederick Borden at Canning, N.S. on the 6th of January, recalls the circle of distinguished men with whom Sir Wilfrid Laurier surrounded himself, when as Prime Minister he formed the Liberal Cabinet that administered the Government of Canada from 1896 till 1911. Of the Ministers who took Office with Sir Wilfrid a few remained members of his Government from the beginning of the Administration to its close.

Sir Frederick Borden was one of this group. Sir Frederick's association with Sir Wilfrid in the public life of Canada had yet another intimate bond. Both entered Parliament in the same year, and, excepting the years 1882-87, during which time Sir Frederick was not in Parliament, both sat continuously in the House of Commons from 1874 to 1911. During this associated period of 32 years, Sir Frederick represented King's County, N.S. as Liberal member for that constituency. It is perhaps the highest tribute that can be paid to character and friendship that the confidence of the Liberal Leader in the ability and worth of his colleague remained unbroken over this entire period, and that it was reciprocated by an unswerving loyalty in all the relations of public life, and an unfailing personal devotion.

Sir Frederick Borden was worthy of the high place he held in the regard of Sir Wilfrid who knew him more intimately than anyone else, for he possessed those qualities which endear one man to another and which when combined with large achievement entitle their possessor to the rank of statesman. Sir Frederick had vision and far-sighted judgment, he had plenty of common-sense and ~~plenty of~~ splendid executive ability. He was broad-minded, generous natured,

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genial, and, above all else, staunch and courageous. It will take time for Canadians to appreciate the measure of the service he rendered Canada and the British Empire during the 15 years he held Office as Minister of ~~Militia and Defence.~~ the Crown.

The Department of Militia and Defence was a small affair when Sir Frederick became its political head; he left it a branch of the Canadian administration in which even his political adversaries were eager to take pride.

In no particular has the status of Canada been more clearly marked than in the relations which have existed between the Home andCanadian authorities with respect to matters of defence. When Sir Frederick became Minister, Canada had not emerged from the colonial stage. British regiments were still stationed at Halifax and Esquimalt in accordance with the slowly dying tradition that the Colonies could not be trusted to manage their own affairs, and that to withdraw all military power from ~~the~~ a British possessions was to invite its secession from the British Crown. Sir Frederick Borden had a sounder view of British loyalty and of the British genius for Government, and it was based on his adherence to Liberal principles. Sir Frederick was a thorough-bred Liberal. He saw that the maintenance of this colonial status in military affairs, when, in practically all else, complete self-government had been attained, was an anomaly; he saw further that it ~~is~~ was mischievous, and that it threatened friction instead of close relations between Canada and the Motherland.

He set about to ~~study~~ substitute effective co-operation for this semblance of coercion, and he succeeded in a ~~big~~ large way. Championing with vigor and unanswerable argument the cause of complete autonomy for the self-governing Dominions, he was able as one of Canada's

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representatives at the Imperial Conference in London in 1907 and ~~again~~ in 1911, and at the Imperial Defence Conference in 1909, and also as a Member of the Imperial Council of Defence, to work out in conjunction with the Home authorities and the representatives of the other British Dominions, ~~a~~ the scheme of co-ordination and co-operation of the British Defence forces, which has been of such vast service to the British Empire and the Allies in the present war. It is not detracting from the achievements of his successors in the Department of Militia and Defence to recall that, when the war commenced, they had at hand ~~a~~ the splendid organization which had been developed by Sir Frederick Borden during and subsequent to theSouth African war; and that as respects the spontaneous response of the Dominions in the call to arms under the voluntary systems of Canada, Australasia, and South Africa, very much is owing to the far-sighted statesmanship which helped to give a wise autonomy in military matters, and ~~much~~ to preserve from a well-meaning but fatal return to a centralized control, the aspirations and the accomplishments of this phase of ~~Canada's~~ Canadian national life.

Sir Frederick had the distinction of raising and despatching in 1899 the first organized expedition of Canadian troops that ever left the Dominion to fight beyond the seas, But like ~~every~~ other statesman of the British Empire who, in the present war, have given of their families, as well as of personal service, he too, ~~entered~~ was drawn into the mystic brotherhood of those who know that it is at the cost of life that hard-won liberties are maintained. In the South African war his only son, ~~Harold~~ who was killed ~~fell~~ in action.

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Sir Frederick was in his 70th year, having been born in Cornwallis N.S. May 14th, 1847. He was educated at King's College, Windsor, N.S. and at the Harvard Medical School, from which he obtained the degree of Doctor of Medicine in 1868. He practised his profession at Canning during a part of his public life, but, while in the Ministery, practically the whole of his time and thought was given to public affairs. He joined the Militia during the Fenian Raid and was appointed Assistant Surgeon to the 68th regiment in 1869. He was some years later elected to the Federal Parliament In 1893, he was appointed Surgeon Lieutenant-Colonel, and on August 1st, 1901 was appointed Honorary Colonel of the Army ~~Service~~ Medical Corps. In 1911, he was appointed an Honorary Surgeon-General in the British Army. He was created a K.C.M.G. on the occasion of the Coronation of his late Majesty, King Edward, in London in 1902, and at a later date, a Knight of Grace of the Order of St.John and Jerusalem.

In 1896 the Laurier Administration was formed and Sir Frederick entered the Cabinet as Minister of Militia before

These are but the mile-stones, and the ornaments, of a career that was eminently useful and distinguished. It was not by what he received, but by what he gave that Sir Frederick will be remembered, ~~and~~ It is not too much to say that the best of life itself was given in long and honourable service to his country, and in helping to ~~establish~~ shape broad and firm, the foundations of the British Empire, in the hope that its liberties might be maintained, and its power for freedom rendered more potent throughout the world.

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D 3963

21 Jan. 1917

Renfrew: Patriotic Fund Committee

"THE PATRIOTIC AND RED CROSS FUNDS"

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D 3964

RENFREW COUNTY COUNCIL AT BANQUET IN RENFREW

Members, With Others, Listened to Addresses Respecting Needs of Red Cross and Patriotic Funds

The Patriotic Fund Committees of the towns of Pembroke, Arnprior and Renfrew and the village of Cobden, convinced that Renfrew county through its County Council should this year vote a liberal sum to the Patriotic and Red Cross funds, to the end that every section of the county might be equally reached, organized a banquet for Monday evening, January 21st, in Hotel Renfrew, with the County Councillors as guests. Along with the reeves and deputy-reeves of the two ridings, there were present a few other representative citizens of the county, who heard a masterly address by the Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King; war stories from the lips of two battle-scarred soldiers, Captain McPherson and Captain Kennedy; and brief speeches from some others. The needs of the Patriotic and Red Cross funds were strongly advocated, without a word of dissent from anybody. The only objection which some had to the proposed grant of $150,000 was that $200,000 had not been the aim. Feasting began at 8.50 and ended at 10 o'clock, when Mr. G. G. McNab of Renfrew, chairman of the local committee, introduced the toast list.

On behalf of the various patriotic associations of this county, under whose auspices this banquet was held, Mr. McNab wished to welcome the members of the County Council and other guests and hoped all would have an enjoyable time. It was something of a unique thing to have members of the County Council assembled here, and we felt honored by their presence and hoped they would have a splendid time.

"The King" was honored by the singing of the national anthem.

Beginning a short address, the chairman observed that when the history of Canada's part in this war came to be written the brightest page would be one that told of the deeds of our gallant army, of the hundreds of thousands of brave men who donned the khaki in defence of our lives and liberties and to prevent the foisting of militarism on a free and democratic people. Coupled with this history would say the Red Cross nurses came next, and then the great efforts put forth by the people of Canada in voluntarily contributing tens of millions of dollars to patriotic purposes. Not only the Patriotic Fund, which looked after dependents of soldiers gone to the front, but the Red Cross Fund, and, above all, the splendid work done in connection with the Red Cross by the devoted women of Canada. Go where we would we found in the households of Canada the women plying their needles. This would constitute a bright chapter in the history of the war. But the end was not yet; we could not rest on past achievements; we must press forward, and so the call was for funds and more funds. The Central Patriotic Association of Ottawa had sent forth a request for 13 or 14 million dollars. How were we to raise our share of this amount? Heretofore we had depended on voluntary subscriptions. A few had met to discuss this matter and it was decided to ask the County Council to raise the money by general tax. Borne by the bulk of the people, the burden would not fall heavily on anyone. Mentioning what the town of Renfrew had done last year, Mr. McNab said that this year, if the County Council relieved the town of giving to the Patriotic Fund by subscription, we intended in addition to paying a tax to go on with a local campaign and raise all we could, and he understood other towns in the county would do the same. If the County Council were to give $150,000 and spread debentures over a period of ten years the county rate on the equalized assessment would be one mill on the dollar, supposing the debentures sold at par at 6 per cent. On an assessment of $1,000 there would be paid one dollar; on $500 fifty cents. The sum in itself—its totality—seemed large, but divided up it seemed insignificant. This was a time to make great sacrifices, to assume great burdens and assume great responsibilities. The payment of money was a small matter. The ones paying the price were those who had left home, kin and loved ones to fight on the shell-scarred fields of Flanders. (Applause). All were pleased indeed to have present such an eminent Canadian as the Hon. Mr. King, who would reply to this toast—(Applause)—"The Patriotic and Red Cross Funds." Mr. King had spent some years in Parliament and was now with the Rockfeller Foundation.

Mr. King, for whom there was a warm reception, began by observing that the chairman in his very eloquent address very wisely gave the first place — the first place in history — to the men who had put on khaki and gone to the front to fight in this great world war. He was happy to see in coming here this evening the first place was given to the men in khaki. It had been his good fortune to discover in Ottawa that his friend, Captain McPherson, was going to be one of the speakers; also that Captain Kennedy, just arrived from the front, had been captured, brought up, and was to speak here tonight. He knew all present would be much interested in listening to men who had been in Europe, under arms there, serving in the trenches, facing an enemy trying to destroy liberty and the foundations of liberty. Captain McPherson was a son of the late Colonel Pennington McPherson, a nephew of the late Sir John Macdonald. His father had had a great deal to do with the building up of the militia system of Canada, and it was a natural thing that among the first young men volunteering to go to the front should be Captain McPherson. Captain Kennedy was the son of a man who for a time was editor of the Montreal Witness and later editor for some years of the weekly edition of the London Times. After a course in Macdonald College Captain Kennedy went farming in Alberta and was there when the war broke out. So it could be seen how stock told in doing a part for the Empire's good. Captain Kennedy was eight times wounded, and what he had done other men were doing at the front, and representatives of Renfrew county were here to say whether they would do their part in helping to keep at ease the minds of Canadian men fighting at the front by assuring them that relatives and friends left behind would be well cared for while they were away fighting. The County Council might be asked to give a grant of $150,000, but what was it compared to a bullet going through the head and taking out an eye? Thousands of others had paid even as great a price as Captain Kennedy that we in Canada who loved this country might hold it with all its precious liberties. Soldiers left behind home, wife, children, parents, friends—everything that went to make life dear—and now it was for us to say how much we thought that worthy. They were making the supreme sacrifice; the most we could do was small compared to what they had already done. This was the third appeal on behalf of the Canadian Patriotic and Red Cross funds. When war broke out the late governor-general, the Duke of Connaught, got together a number of gentlemen and organized the Canadian Patriotic Fund. The fund was raised voluntarily for the purpose of supplementing whatever the Government might do in the matter of carrying on the war. The Government's expenditure went largely upon the militia, training the regiments, sending them across sea. It was a good thing for those left behind to do something, and this was one of the greatest opportunities for service that might come in a lifetime. The fund was not used unless required; was not distributed broadcast. There were scattered throughout Canada local bodies which had to do with the distribution of the funds. The local committees saw what was needed in the different localities. In the two years that the fund had been in existence something like over $18,000,000 had been raised. Most of it had been expended. During the course of the present year the need would be larger than ever. There were more men at the front than ever. Of those who had gone at the beginning a few had returned. Those who had returned were not in a position to maintain their families. At a conservative estimate between 12 and 14 million dollars would be needed during the present year; so that no matter how generous we might appear to be or strive to be in different communities there was going to be difficulty in getting an adequate amount. At the present time between 55 and 60 thousand families in Canada and over 150,000 individuals were dependent on the fund. Undoubtedly during the course of the year the total numbers would be considerably over that figure. At the present time, out of the voluntary givings of the people of Canada and from the Governments, there would be over 150,000 individuals supported during the course of the war from this particular fund. As to the methods of giving assistance, we knew it was not merely the men gone from our Canadian families, but also those belonging to the reserves of different countries. There were Belgian, French and Russian reservists; also the families of those connected with the navy in Canada and Newfoundland. One feature Mr. King thought would appeal to all was the cost of administration. A great many people hesitated to make a gift of money to any organization when thinking that the greater part was going to be used up in expenses. Notwithstanding the large sums of money expended from the Patriotic Fund the total expense of administering that fund had not come to more than two per cent. of the gross expenditure. When we took into account that part of the fund was in the banks, and credited the interest to the account, and set it over against the cost of administration, it reduced it to four cents on every ten dollars. This was a factor that should influence, particularly public bodies, in the matter of giving. Representatives of the county in Council could practically feel that every dollar given by the county was going for the specific purpose for which it was intended. The Red Cross society was another organization which in its way was doing work just as important as the Patriotic Fund. What distinguished our modern fighting from that of earlier times was the great care given to the wounded and the efficient means of saving life through provision being brought to the men in time. After telling of the origin and functions of the R.C.S., Mr. King stated that in certain European countries there were no women left to make comforts for the soldiers; the result was Canadian women realized that the soldiers of those countries were as much in need as our own and had arranged that part of the money going there should assist those countries. Could there be a single purpose or object toward which we could make contributions more deservedly! We were not merely relieving suffering, but saving hundreds of thousands of lives when contributing to the Red Cross. We were not merely increasing the amount of happiness in homes, but increasing the productive efficiency of our own country through bringing the means of solving taxation, which must be out of the resources of labor, in the last analysis. We should look at it as a straight business matter, and if by giving at the critical moment we might stimulate others to do the same. Mr. King congratulated Renfrew county on what it had given in the way of money and men. It was no flattery to say a good many counties in Canada were envious of what the county of Renfrew had done. Now was a chance to make this county more than ever the envy of the different counties of the Dominion. We should not be afraid to cast our bread upon the water; it would come back one hundred-fold; and what was done here would help in other counties. We were to remember that this was not generosity, but one of the best business investments we could make, one of the most humane acts possible to perform. One of the pleasantest features in connection with the invitation extended to him to speak in Renfrew was the fact that it came from Sir Herbert Ames, who was on the other side of politics. They were the best of friends but the strongest of political enemies. Sir Herbert had asked him to come here. Mr. King mentioned it to show that in this work they were far and away above the question of party lines. (Applause). They stood on the highest possible

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THE MINISTER OF FINANCE

REQUESTS

THE PEOPLE OF CANADA TO

BEGIN NOW

TO SAVE MONEY FOR THE

NEXT WAR LOAN

JAN. 9, 1917

DEPARTMENT OF FINANCE
OTTAWA

PATRIOTIC BANQUET

(Continued from Page One)

grounds for public men to stand upon, namely, the ground of common patriotism and the service of common humanity. So Mr. King asked all present to look at the matter from that point of view. They should not think of what some back township might think, but what the country as a whole needed. This was the 50th anniversary of our Dominion. For fifty years we had watched this young country grow stronger and stronger, extend its lines from ocean to ocean, develop its resources and all we possessed as Canadians. Why had we the opportunity to enjoy the wonderful progress? We had been able to sit back and consider only ourselves. Why? If anyone present had not asked that question let it be asked now and see where the British army and navy came in and see what the British Empire meant. Then in this year of all years we should help to fight the battle for the greater freedom of mankind. If ever there was a call for the people to rise and respond, it was the call from across the seas to the people of Canada. The people of Canada were free and happier, better off in institutions and more advanced in community life than the people of any other country on the face of the earth; we belonged to two stocks fighting together in Europe today to retain the liberties of the world. Let us remember that this was the 50th anniversary, the golden epoch of our country, so far, and in making our gifts let us have that fact in consideration. We all wanted to see this war brought to an end as speedily as possible. What was going to end it? There was no doubt Germany was beginning to feel the pinch on her resources. Her credit was beginning to shrink just as her food and her munitions were shrinking. As we approached the time of settlement what were the factors that were going to make the nations stop? Unfortunately one or the other was to be driven into a position of despair. It was when one opponent saw his last cent going and that the other fellow had plenty that a man was driven to despair. That was the position in Europe today. What would make the German Empire think twice? It was that here in Canada, in Australia, in Africa, anywhere the British flag flew, appeals could be made year after year with what results? That the givings of money increased. That was what would make nations think and that was what we must do at the present time. We must seek to double the amount, treble it if we could, so that reading the writing on the wall, Germany might see that the British Empire had resources and means unlimited, as well as spirit and pluck. Mr. King wondered if any of us, after 2½ years, appreciated the magnitude of this conflict, the magnitude not only in size of armies, but its meaning in the history of the world. It was something so large that it was difficult with us, accustomed to deal in small things, to appreciate it. If we could see it today as men of 100 years hence would see it, we should see it as a conflict between two civilizations—an old civilization in conflict with the new epoch of modern times. We should see these two great periods of time, these two conflicting epochs of civilization, waging war with one another and the whole of history for the next hundred years depending on the outcome of that conflict. This was what our men were giving their lives for. Mr. King quoted lines from "Locksley Hall" in which Tennyson dipped into the future and saw a vision of the world and wonders to be. These he said were lines written in the days of Queen Victoria of the present great conflict in Europe. When Tennyson wrote these lines men thought his imagination was mad, and at the time there wasn't even an airship constructed. As that picture had come true, perhaps another picture by Tennyson would also come true, and we should see the battle flag furled, with the parliament of man and the federation of the world. There was in Locksley Hall something to give us heart, courage and reason to do our utmost in the present struggle. If after this fight was over, war was going to end and we were going to approach nearer to the parliament of man and the federation of the world, then perhaps the sacrifice of hundreds of thousands of human lives in the interest of humanity would not have been altogether in vain. Federation of the world was the ultimate aim of the British Empire, but there were two ways of world domination—one the force of arms, the other the force of example. Germany had tried the method of force of arms. On the other hand, take the British Empire. Was there anything in connection with the whole world so remarkable as the sight of people of the Empire, scattered throughout the world, coming forward once the war broke out, regiment after regiment, to join together in the battlefields of Flanders and elsewhere solely at the call of duty, solely because they cherished like ideals of liberty and freedom? That was the most magnificent spectacle in the whole of this vast world struggle. Under the stress of war nations brought together today to fight against Germany had been put in precisely the same position. All of these countries together had formed a common council, united for purposes of defence, carrying out one single program, each retaining its own individual identity, all united for the purpose of fighting a common enemy. Were we to suppose that when the war was over this was going to be lost? Were nations brought together, cherishing one ideal, going to dissolve and disappear? These nations, he thought, would form some kind of compact, with each maintaining its own identity, but united to defeat the common enemy of mankind. Thus the poet's dream might be fulfilled. The present struggle was between two different systems—one military domination, the other the preservation of individual liberty. The whole course of future history would depend on which ultimately triumphed. If was for us, in whatever capacity we could, to throw our weight into the scale and help it one way or the other. All were in a position to do something, and the extent to which a man did what he could to that extent he was helping the great cause for which the Allies were fighting. Gentlemen present had started a campaign for the Patriotic Fund; let them see to it that it did not end without achieving the end set. (Loud and prolonged applause.)

Reeve Brennan of Arnprior proposed "The Allied Forces," calling upon Captain McPherson to respond. Stories were told by this returned warrior of the battlefield—stories interesting and thrilling. He thought that if a man "could go through France with nothing else to do and take a note-book along, he could write volumes on what happened over there." The magnitude of the war was what impressed one more than anything else. The men in the ranks there placed great reliance in the Patriotic Fund. Captain McPherson did not think the Government ought to raise the money by taxation. It was a duty of a grateful people to give to these men. And returned men should benefit from the fund. In connection with an association of returned men at Ottawa, he could see that men should not be struck off the list until they had secured positions. He had seen in the war zone what the Red Cross society meant. Soldiers appreciated the work of women in making helmets and mufflers and socks. There was nothing worse to march on than a pair of socks with a darn in them. Captain McPherson told of the great sacrifices being made in France, where there were today a million widows. He read a letter written by a French officer throwing many vivid side-lights upon the war. In connection with the war there were three things for all to do—fight, work or pay.

Captain Kennedy told one long humorous story of the war; he like Captain McPherson showing himself by his recital to be a man of culture, character and resource. His injuries in the war included the loss of an eye. He had been in front trenches, but considered that no great honor, because the Germans put machine guns and a few men in front trenches, and supposing the British to do the same, throw more shells into supporting trenches. A winter on Salisbury Plains was worse than anything he had ever experienced in France in the way of discomfort. In crossing the Channel he had the honor of being sick next to a Major-General. Pictures he had seen of trenches looked like a garden of Versailles; when he arrived at the trenches he found them somewhat different. Artillery duels were really a pounding of the infantry, the guns usually being hidden somewhere away in the distance and safe from harm. He paid a tribute to the Red Cross system—"the most perfect system in the world today." Nothing could have saved him after his serious wounds except the attention he received all along the line from field to hospital. Captain Kennedy declared that one had to go to France before knowing what sacrifice or hardship meant. Complaints were heard in England and in Canada; never a murmur from the French people. He did not call the raising of $150,000 in Renfrew county sacrifice; rather was it the irreducible minimum.

Mr. J. W. Smith, chairman of the Pembroke committee, was next heard from. It was a great pleasure and a great honor, he said, for him to be present as chairman of the Pembroke Patriotic Committee. There were present as guests the members of the County Council, assembled to deliberate upon the subject of assistance to the Canadian Red Cross and Patriotic funds. Boys and men in great numbers had enlisted in Renfrew county; drilled here and in England, and finally found their way into the front line of trenches. When the call came to go over the trenches and charge the enemy was there any faltering on the part of the men of Renfrew county? No. They went with the courage of lions and all the enthusiasm of men who knew they were fighting in a just and righteous cause. He did not think he could say anything that would impress the County Council more. The members of County Council were not wanting in patriotism and loyalty and they had the price. Mr. Smith then proposed "The County Council," coupling with the toast the names of Reeve Connelly of Cobden and Reeve Davidson of Westmeath.

Mr. Connelly told of the County Council being made up of 34 men—the most intelligent men in the county of Renfrew. (Laughter). If not, that was what they should be. If not the most intelligent men they were the biggest-hearted men in the county. No one was more loyal or patriotic than the members of County Council. Nine of those men came from the towns and villages; 25 from the rural municipalities; so that there was one assembly in Ontario anyway where the farmers were in the majority. Someone had said that in the past the farmers had not done their part in raising money for the Patriotic and Red Cross funds. This was not because of an unwillingness; there was nobody more willing; it was because they were not organized. This was why the farmers had fallen short. He thought that after the Council meeting closed on Thursday or Friday they would have granted a sum this county would not be ashamed of. (Applause). We were not nearly at the close of the war, but we could say there had been at least a foundation laid—a most costly one—laid with blood and tears. The man today not willing to pay one dollar on every thousand of assessment, or $5 on every $5,000 of assessment, should, as Mr. J. Lockie Wilson had said in Cobden, be branded with the mark of Cain. Some people said that women getting money out of the Patriotic Fund were getting more money to spend than when their husbands were at home. Why should they not have more? All others were having more since the war started. And did anyone mean to tell him that women and children left behind should have less than other people? In Renfrew county 152 mothers were now putting their children to bed without a father to kiss them good-night. He believed that every reeve in the County Council, after listening to Mr. King's inspiring address, would be ready to do his part — vote a sum making this county of Renfrew proud of those 34 men.

Reeve Davidson observed that the payment of expenses in connection with the distribution of the Patriotic Fund had been well explained; that it was a mere trifle also the necessity of the Red Cross for the relief and comfort of the soldiers who had gone to the front; so that there was left very little for him, the representative of the highest assessed municipality in the county, to say. The Patriotic Fund he knew to be a success; we could not get along without it. The ladies of the different municipalities deserved great credit for what they were doing for the soldiers. In every corner they were always knitting and sewing and sending away supplies. As representative of Westmeath he believed a liberal grant should be made to the Patriotic Fund. It deserved all that could be given it. Men like Mr. White and himself couldn't go to the front, but if forty years younger there is where they would be.

Mr. Armon Burwash of Arnprior had no fault to find with anything said in the address except that the sum mentioned as Renfrew county's contribution was not big enough. He was sorry the sum was not at least $50,000 more. He had a letter from Mr. Finnie, general manager of the Bank of Ottawa, dealing with the Patriotic Fund, but it was too long to read at this metting and he would give it to his friend, Mr. Brennan, to assist in the deliberations on the following day. Some held that the Government should supply these funds, but the Government could not administer them so efficiently and the cost would be greater. Mr. Burwash took exception to the Eganville Leader's article, declaring that the Government if raising the money would have to raise about $35,000,000, and have to take it from the people, and perhaps have to resort to direct taxation. Renfrew county's share would perhaps be $150,000 or $250,000, with about the same amount for expense of administering it. It was up to the County Council to keep that in mind when coming to deal with the subject. Mr. King had asked Renfrew to show an example as being one of the first to act. The biggest county in Ontario, with big men of big heart, should, Mr. Burwash thought, give a big sum.

The local secretary, Mr. S. T. Chown, read a letter from the Hon. T. W. McGarry saying he was unfortunately obliged to undergo another slight operation, whereby it would be impossible for him to do any public speaking for some time. He trusted the members of County Council would see their way clear to make the grant requested of them. The patriotic needs of Ontario would amount to $6,000,000 this year. Mr. McGarry observed that he would be greatly disappointed if Renfrew county did not vote the money, believing nobody would suffer from it.

Mr. W. R. White, the dean of the legal profession of Pembroke, was the next speaker. He believed himself the oldest or one of the oldest native-born citizers of Renfrew county. No man could take a greater interest in the county than he did, who had seen it rise from earliest beginnings to the present condition of prosperity in towns, villages and farming communities. He had seen men living in the first houses with scooped roofs; now they lived in two-storey brick houses with every convenience. We had now everything except good roads, and were to have them later on. He felt impelled most strongly to urge upon the County Council the propriety and duty of making this grant. When the call came for volunteers there was a tacit agreement made with every man who had wife or children, mother or other dependent relatives that this Patriotic Fund would be raised and dependents looked after. We should fail in our duty if not carrying out that agreement to the letter. We had in the county some people of foreign origin, but Mr. White believed all to be loyal. We had been shown how Britain was right in going into this war, but it was enough for him to know that Britain was in it. If his father were alive today and was attacked by roughs, he as a son would go to the rescue without stopping to question whether the old man had started the row. (Laughter.) County Councillors needed to have no fear that if voting the amount of money proposed their constituents would go back on them. The price of all farm produce had advanced, and in order to pay the tax the farmer's wife needed only to raise one more turkey. The best Government was our own municipal government; therefore the best way to raise this money was by the municipality. Councillors were right on the spot and knew just how far they could go. Mr. White read some pointed excerpts, quite apropos, from a sermon by an American clergyman.

Mr. E. A. Dunlop, M.L.A., thought that all should be ready to fight, work or pay. We could save, because silver bullets might yet play a big part in this war. National Service had been inaugurated to bring more closely to us the fact that we could do one of these things in this struggle. The fellow who made the real and in many cases the supreme sacrifice worked for $1.10 a day that our liberties and privileges might be protected and safeguarded. He was sure the people of Renfrew county would rise to the occasion and do handsomely, and he had yet to hear of one citizen or taxpayer of Pembroke saying the taxation was more than should have been put on.

Reeve Moffatt of Pembroke expressed himself as not at all obliged to his friend of the Eganville Leader. He had on more than one occasion said in connection with the town grant that he thought it was up to the Government to see and look after dependents of soldiers. After more light on the subject and more consideration he had no hesitation in saying that he had changed his mind. (Applause). When convinced that he was wrong he was not ashamed to change his mind, nor not ashamed to acknowledge it. He had no hesitation in saying he was thoroughly in accord with any grant the Council might make, and they couldn't make it too big to please him. The hour was late, and he thought every point well covered by the speakers that had preceded him. He did not think there was anything else for the Council to do; it was up to it to vote the money. They owed the bill and should pay it. All the Council wanted to know was that the bill was correct, and he did not think the County Council would have any hesitation in taking the certificate presented this evening. Mr. Brennan and he had advocated the giving of $150,000 at the last meeting, but did not feel justified in bringing it in in the form of a motion, for the Council was a dying one. He had not changed his mind since then one particle. He was prepared to vote $150,000 on the morrow and make it $200,000 if needed. He did not think any member of the County Council would differ much from him. If there were any who objected to it other members would try to convince them of the error of their ways. He thought the county the proper place for the money to come from. The Patriotic Fund was administered more economically than any other fund had been, and he thought more economically than any Government would do it, whether Grit or Tory.

Reeve Brennan of Arnprior expressed pleasure in being present and listening to the very instructive addresses given; he was also pleased to meet the different reeves. He was not present to speak on the subject of a grant, considering it more his duty to speak to that in Pembroke, but would like to substantiate a statement Mr. Moffatt had just made. Last October different sums had been mentioned, and he was proud of Mr. Moffatt in having the courage of his convictions and saying we should give $150,000 at least. In Arnprior there were sixty cases depending on the Patriotic Fund, and with prices so high those dependents could not exist without it. It was a very necessary thing. Mr. Brennan felt the people of Canada could do more than they had done, and if not doing more there would be a danger of undoing much already done; therefore he thought Renfrew could vote at least $150,000.

Deputy-Reeve Smallfield of Renfrew observed that others had shared in the views of the Eganville Leader as to the methods of raising money for the Patriotic and Red Cross funds, and intimated that he was one of them, though having since changed his mind, after thinking how much better the funds were administered and how much the country was saving. He thought he could say that outside of that one paper the reeves would have all the newspapers of Renfrew county at their back and in their defence if making the grant proposed. Fifteen years ago the County Council had met in regular session in Renfrew for the promotion of the good roads ideal; now the same body was met here on a still more worthy object, and he felt the address delivered by Mr. King would have effect. The speaker who had said there would be no opposition in the County Council to the grant Mr. Smallfield believed was right.

During the evening vocal solos were sung by Mrs. Mansfield and Mr. Stratton, with Mr. H. W. Kearney as accompanist.

For a while a number of ladies listened to the post-prandial oratory, occupying seats in the wing.

The national anthem was sung at 1.45 o'clock.

HAVE YOU ECZEMA?

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The largest lot of Woollens in the Ottawa Valley to choose from.

John Mitchell

The Ladies' and Gents' Tailor

QUEBEC GIVES A MILLION DOLLARS.

The grant of one million dollars to the Canadian Patriotic Fund for 1917 by the Quebec Legislature is a most cheering indication of the value placed on the work of the Fund by the Government of Sr Lomer Gouin, and may be taken as an evidence also of the growing realization in the province of what demands the war is making on our wealth in money. The Ontario Legislature is making a grant of the same size, and there is a tendency on the part of all the Provincial Governments to aid this meritorious work.

Quebec raised more money in 1916 than was needed to make provision for her own families, and the surplus was devoted to the Western Provinces, where enlistments were above the average. It is probable that a similar condition will arise in 1917.

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grounds for public men to stand upon, namely, the ground of common patriotism and the service of common humanity. So Mr. King asked all present to look at the matter from that point of view. They should not think of what some back township might think, but what the country as a whole needed. This was the 50th anniversary of our Dominion. For fifty years we had watched this young country grow stronger and stronger, extend its lines from ocean to ocean, develop its resources and all we possessed as Canadians. Why had we the opportunity to enjoy the wonderful progress? We had been able to sit back and consider only ourselves. Why? If anyone present had not asked that question let it be asked now and see where the British army and navy came in and see what the British Empire meant. Then in this year of all years we should help to fight the battle for the greater freedom of mankind. If ever there was a call for the people to rise and respond, it was the call from across the seas to the people of Canada. The people of Canada were freer and happier, better off in institutions and more advanced in community life than the people of any other country on the face of the earth; we belonged to two stocks fighting together in Europe today to retain the liberties of the world. Let us remember that this was the 50th anniversary the golden epoch of our country, so far, and in making our gifts let us have that fact in consideration. We all wanted to see this war brought to an end as speedily as possible. What was going to end it? There was no doubt Germany was beginning to feel the pinch on her resources. Her credit was beginning to shrink just as her food and her munitions were shrinking. As we approached the time of settlement what were the factors that were going to make the nations stop? Unfortunately one or the other was to be driven into a position of despair. It was when one opponent saw his last cent going and that the other fellow had plenty that a man was driven to despair. That was the position in Europe today. What would make the German Empire think twice? It was that here in Canada, in Australia, in Africa, anywhere the British flag flew, appeals could be made year after year with what results? That the givings of money increased. That was what would make nations think and that was what we must do at the present time. We must seek to double the amount, treble it if we could, so that reading the writing on the wall, Germany might see that the British Empire had resources and means unlimited, as well as spirit and pluck. Mr. King wondered if any of us, after 2½ years, appreciated the magnitude of this conflict, the magnitude not only in size of armies, but its meaning in the history of the world. It was something so large that it was difficult with us, accustomed to deal in small things, to appreciate it. If we could see it today as men of 100 years hence would see it, we should see it as a conflict between two civilizations—an old civilization in conflict with the new epoch of modern times. We should see these two great periods of time, these two conflicting epochs of civilization, waging war with one another and the whole of history for the next hundred years depending on the outcome of that conflict. This was what our men were giving their lives for. Mr. King quoted lines from "Locksley Hall" in which Tennyson dipped into the future and saw a vision of the world and wonders to be. These he said were lines written in the days of Queen Victoria of the present great conflict in Europe. When Tennyson wrote these lines men thought his imagination was mad, and at the time there wasn't even an airship constructed. As that picture had come true, perhaps another picture by Tennyson would also come true, and we should see the battle flag furled, with the parliament of man and the federation of the world. There was in Locksley Hall something to give us heart, courage and reason to do our utmost in the present struggle. If after this fight was over, war was going to end and we were going to approach nearer to the parliament of man and the federation of the world, then perhaps the sacrifice of hundreds of thousands of human lives in the interest of humanity would not have been altogether in vain. Federation of the world was the ultimate aim of the British Empire, but there were two ways of world domination—one the force of arms, the other force of example. Germany had tried the method of force of arms. On the other hand, take the British Empire. Was there anything in connection with the whole world so remarkable as the sight of people of the Empire, scattered throughout the world, coming forward once the war broke out, regiment after regiment, to join together in the battlefields of Flanders and elsewhere solely at the call of duty, solely because they cherished like ideals of liberty and freedom? That was the most magnificent spectacle in the whole of this vast world struggle. Under the stress of war nations brought together today to fight against Germany had been put in precisely the same position. All of these countries together had formed a common council, united for purposes of defence, carrying out one single program, each retaining its own individual identity, all united for the purpose of fighting a common enemy. Were we to suppose that when the war was over this was going to be lost? Were nations brought together, cherishing one ideal, going to dissolve and disappear? These nations, he thought, would form some kind of compact, with each maintaining its own identity, but united to defeat the common enemy of mankind. Thus the poet's dream might be fulfilled. The present struggle was between two different systems—one military domination, the other the preservation of individual liberty. The whole course of future history would depend on which ultimately triumphed. It was for us, in whatever capacity we could, to throw our weight into the scale and help it one way or the other. All were in a position to do something, and the extent to which a man did what he could to that extent he was helping the great cause for which the Allies were fighting. Gentlemen present had started a campaign for the Patriotic Fund; let them see to it that it did not end without achieving the end set. (Loud and prolonged applause.)

Reeve Brennan of Arnprior proposed "The Allied Forces," calling upon Captain McPherson to respond. Stories were told by this returned warrior of the battlefield—stories interesting and thrilling. He thought that if a man "could go through France with nothing else to do and take a note-book along, he could write volumes on what happened over there." The magnitude of the war was what impressed one more than anything else. The men in the ranks there placed great reliance in the Patriotic Fund. Captain McPherson did not think the Government ought to raise the money by taxation. It was a duty of a grateful people to give to these men. And returned men should benefit from the fund. In connection with an association of returned men at Ottawa, he could see that men should not be struck off the list until they had secured positions. He had seen in the war zone what the Red Cross society meant. Soldiers appreciated the work of women in making helmets and mufflers and socks. There was nothing worse to march on than a pair of socks with a darn in them. Captain McPherson told of the great sacrifices being made in France, where there were today a million widows. He read a letter written by a French officer throwing many vivid side-lights upon the war. In connection with the war there were three things for all to do—fight, work or pay.

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Mr. J. W. Smith, chairman of the Pembroke committee, was next heard from. It was a great pleasure and a great honor, he said, for him to be present as chairman of the Pembroke Patriotic Committee. There were present as guests the members of the County Council, assembled to deliberate upon the subject of assistance to the Canadian Red Cross and Patriotic funds. Boys and men in great numbers had enlisted in Renfrew county; drilled here and in England, and finally found their way into the front line of trenches. When the call came to go over the trenches and charge the enemy was there any faltering on the part of the men of Renfrew county? No. They went with the courage of lions and all the enthusiasm of men who knew they were fighting in a just and righteous cause. He did not think he could say anything that would impress the County Council more. The members of County Council were not wanting in patriotism and loyalty and they had the price. Mr. Smith then proposed "The County Council," coupling with the toast the names of Reeve Connelly of Cobden and Reeve Davidson of Westmeath.

Mr. Connelly told of the County Council being made up of 34 men—the most intelligent men in the county of Renfrew. (Laughter). If not, that was what they should be. If not the most intelligent men they were the biggest-hearted men in the county. No one was more loyal or patriotic than the members of County Council. Nine of those men came from the towns and villages; 25 from the rural municipalities; so that there was one assembly in Ontario anyway where the farmers were in the majority. Someone had said that in the past the farmers had not done their part in raising money for the Patriotic and Red Cross funds. This was not because of an unwillingness; there was nobody more willing; it was because they were not organized. This was why the farmers had fallen short. He thought that after the Council meeting closed on Thursday or Friday they would have granted a sum this county would not be ashamed of. (Applause). We were not nearly at the close of the war, but we could say there had been at least a foundation laid—a most costly one—laid with blood and tears. The man today not willing to pay one dollar on every thousand of assessment, or $5 on every $5,000 of assessment, should, as Mr. J. Lockie Wilson had said in Cobden, be branded with the mark of Cain. Some people said that women getting money out of the Patriotic Fund were getting more money to spend than when their husbands were at home. Why should they not have more? All others were having more since the war started. And did anyone mean to tell him that women and children left behind should have less than other people? In Renfrew county 152 mothers were now putting their children to bed without a father to kiss them good-night. He believed that every reeve in the County Council, after listening to Mr. King's inspiring address, would be ready to do his part — vote a sum making this county of Renfrew proud of those 34 men.

Reeve Davidson observed that the payment of expenses in connection with the distribution of the Patriotic Fund had been well explained; that it was a mere trifle: also the necessity of the Red Cross for the relief and comfort of the soldiers who had gone to the front; so that there was left very little for him, the representative of the highest assessed municipality in the county, to say. The Patriotic Fund he knew to be a success; we could not get along without it. The ladies of the different municipalities deserved great credit for what they were doing for the soldiers. In every corner they were always knitting and sewing and sending away supplies. As representative of Westmeath he believed a liberal grant should be made to the Patriotic Fund. It deserved all that could be given it. Men like Mr. White and himself couldn't go to the front, but if forty years younger there is where they would be.

Mr. Armon Burwash of Arnprior had no fault to find with anything said in the address except that the sum mentioned as Renfrew county's contribution was not big enough. He was sorry the sum was not at least $50,000 more. He had a letter from Mr. Finnie, general manager of the Bank of Ottawa, dealing with the Patriotic Fund, but it was too long to read at this metting and he would give it to his friend, Mr. Brennan, to assist in the deliberations on the following day. Some held that the Government should supply these funds, but the Government could not administer them so efficiently and the cost would be greater. Mr. Burwash took exception to the Eganville Leader's article, declaring that the Government if raising the money would have to raise about $35,000,000, and have to take it from the people, and perhaps have to resort to direct taxation. Renfrew county's share would perhaps be $150,000 or $250,000, with about the same amount for expense of administering it. It was up to the County Council to keep that in mind when coming to deal with the subject. Mr. King had asked Renfrew to show an example as being one of the first to act. The biggest county in Ontario, with big men of big heart, should, Mr. Burwash thought, give a big sum.

The local secretary, Mr. S. T. Chown, read a letter from the Hon. T. W. McGarry saying he was unfortunately obliged to undergo another slight operation, whereby it would be impossible for him to do any public speaking for some time. He trusted the members of County Council would see their way clear to make the grant requested of them. The patriotic needs of Ontario would amount to $6,000,000 this year. Mr. McGarry observed that he would be greatly disappointed if Renfrew county did not vote the money, believing nobody would suffer from it.

Mr. W. R. White, the dean of the legal profession of Pembroke, was the next speaker. He believed himself the oldest or one of the oldest native-born citizens of Renfrew county. No man could take a greater interest in the county than he did, who had seen it rise from earliest beginnings to the present condition of prosperity in towns, villages and farming communities. He had seen men living in the first houses with scooped roofs; now they lived in two-storey brick houses with every convenience. We had now everything except good roads, and were to have them later on. He felt impelled most strongly to urge upon the County Council the propriety and duty of making this grant. When the call came for volunteers there was a tacit agreement made with every man who had wife or children, mother or other dependent relatives that this Patriotic Fund would be raised and dependents looked after. We should fail in our duty if not carrying out that agreement to the letter. We had in the county some people of foreign origin, but Mr. White believed all to be loyal. We had been shown how Britain was right in going into this war, but it was enough for him to know that Britain was in it. If his father were alive today and was attacked by roughs, he as a son would go to the rescue without stopping to question whether the old man had started the row. (Laughter.) County Councillors needed to have no fear that if voting the amount of money proposed their constituents would go back on them. The price of all farm produce had advanced, and in order to pay the tax the farmer's wife needed only to raise one more turkey. The best Government was our own municipal government; therefore the best way to raise this money was by the municipality. Councillors were right on the spot and knew just how far they could go. Mr. White read some pointed excerpts, quite apropos, from a sermon by an American clergyman.

Mr. E. A. Dunlop, M.L.A., thought that all should be ready to fight, work or pay. We could save, because silver bullets might yet play a big part in this war. National Service had been inaugurated to bring more closely to us the fact that we could do one of these things in this struggle. The fellow who made the real and in many cases the supreme sacrifice worked for $1.10 a day that our liberties and privileges might be protected and safeguarded. He was sure the people of Renfrew county would rise to the occasion and do handsomely, and he had yet to hear of one citizen or taxpayer of Pembroke saying the taxation was more than should have been put on.

Reeve Moffatt of Pembroke expressed himself as not at all obliged to his friend of the Eganville Leader. He had on more than one occasion said in connection with the town grant that he thought it was up to the Government to see and look after dependents of soldiers. After more light on the subject and more consideration he had no hesitation in saying that he had changed his mind. (Applause). When convinced that he was wrong he was not ashamed to change his mind, nor not ashamed to acknowledge it. He had no hesitation in saying he was thoroughly in accord with any grant the Council might make, and they couldn't make it too big to please him. The hour was late, and he thought every point well covered by the speakers that had preceded him. He did not think there was anything else for the Council to do; it was up to it to vote the money. They owed the bill and should pay it. All the Council wanted to know was that the bill was correct, and he did not think the County Council would have any hesitation in taking the certificate presented this evening. Mr. Brennan and he had advocated the giving of $150,000 at the last meeting, but did not feel justified in bringing it in in the form of a motion, for the Council was a dying one. He had not changed his mind since then one particle. He was prepared to vote $150,000 on the morrow and make it $200,000 if needed. He did not think any member of the County Council would differ much from him. If there were any who objected to it other members would try to convince them of the error of their ways. He thought the county the proper place for the money to come from. The Patriotic Fund was administered more economically than any other fund had been, and he thought more economically than any Government would do it, whether Grit or Tory.

Reeve Brennan of Arnprior expressed pleasure in being present and listening to the very instructive addresses given; he was also pleased to meet the different reeves. He was not present to speak on the subject of a grant, considering it more his duty to speak to that in Pembroke, but would like to substantiate a statement Mr. Moffatt had just made. Last October different sums had been mentioned, and he was proud of Mr. Moffatt in having the courage of his convictions and saying we should give $150,000 at least. In Arnprior there were sixty cases depending on the Patriotic Fund, and with prices so high those dependents could not exist without it. It was a very necessary thing. Mr. Brennan felt the people of Canada could do more than they had done, and if not doing more there would be a danger of undoing much already done; therefore he thought Renfrew could vote at least $150,000.

Deputy-Reeve Smallfield of Renfrew observed that others had shared in the views of the Eganville Leader as to the methods of raising money for the Patriotic and Red Cross funds, and intimated that he was one of them, though having since changed his mind, after thinking how much better the funds were administered and how much the country was saving. He thought he could say that outside of that one paper the reeves would have all the newspapers of Renfrew county at their back and in their defence if making the grant proposed. Fifteen years ago the County Council had met in regular session in Renfrew for the promotion of the good roads ideal; now the same body was met here on a still more worthy object, and he felt the address delivered by Mr. King would have effect. The speaker who had said there would be no opposition in the County Council to the grant Mr. Smallfield believed was right.

During the evening vocal solos were sung by Mrs. Mansfield and Mr. Stratton, with Mr. H. W. Kearney as accompanist.

For a while a number of ladies listened to the post-prandial oratory, occupying seats in the wing.

The national anthem was sung at 1.45 o'clock.

HAVE YOU ECZEMA?

Would you like to end that terrible itching, that burning pain; to heal those horrid sores?

You have tried all sorts of fatty ointments, lotions and powders. Put them aside now and give Nature a chance as represented by Zam-Buk.

Zam-Buk is made from herbal essences; is a natural healer. Is not something you have to send to the end of the world for, and pay a heavy price! Every druggist will sell you Zam-Buk and for 50c. only. Just give it a fair trial and incidently give yourself ease by the quickest route. See name on box:—

ZAM-BUK

WINTRY WOOLENS

Best Canadian and American Fashions to make from

The largest lot of Woollens in the Ottawa Valley to choose from.

John Mitchell

The Ladies' and Gents' Tailor

QUEBEC GIVES A MILLION DOLLARS.

The grant of one million dollars to the Canadian Patriotic Fund for 1917 by the Quebec Legislature is a most cheering indication of the value placed on the work of the Fund by the Government of Sr Lomer Gouin, and may be taken as an evidence also of the growing realization in the province of what demands the war is making on our wealth in money. The Ontario Legislature is making a grant of the same size, and there is a tendency on the part of all the Provincial Governments to aid this meritorious work.

Quebec raised more money in 1916 than was needed to make provision for her own families, and the surplus was devoted to the Western Provinces, where enlistments were above the average. It is probable that a similar condition will arise in 1917.

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THE MINISTER OF FINANCE

REQUESTS

THE PEOPLE OF CANADA TO

BEGIN NOW

TO SAVE MONEY FOR THE

NEXT WAR LOAN

JAN. 9. 1917

DEPARTMENT OF FINANCE
OTTAWA

PATRIOTIC BANQUET

(Continued from Page One)

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Reeve Davidson observed that the payment of expenses in connection with the distribution of the Patriotic Fund had been well explained; that it was a mere trifle also the necessity of the Red Cross for the relief and comfort of the soldiers who had gone to the front; so that there was left very little for him, the representative of the highest assessed municipality in the county, to say. The Patriotic Fund he knew to be a success; we could not get along without it. The ladies of the different municipalities deserved great credit for what they were doing for the soldiers. In every corner they were always knitting and sewing and sending away supplies. As representative of Westmeath he believed a liberal grant should be made to the Patriotic Fund. It deserved all that could be given it. Men like Mr. White and himself couldn't go to the front, but if forty years younger there is where they would be.

Mr. Armon Burwash of Arnprior had no fault to find with anything said in the address except that the sum mentioned as Renfrew county's contribution was not big enough. He was sorry the sum was not at least $50,000 more. He had a letter from Mr. Finnie, general manager of the Bank of Ottawa, dealing with the Patriotic Fund, but it was too long to read at this meeting and he would give it to his friend, Mr. Brennan, to assist in the deliberations on the following day. Some held that the Government should supply these funds, but the Government could not administer them so efficiently and the cost would be greater. Mr. Burwash took exception to the Eganville Leader's article, declaring that the Government if raising the money would have to raise about $35,000,000, and have to take it from the people, and perhaps have to resort to direct taxation. Renfrew county's share would perhaps be $150,000 or $250,000, with about the same amount for expense of administering it. It was up to the County Council to keep that in mind when coming to deal with the subject. Mr. King had asked Renfrew to show an example as being one of the first to act. The biggest county in Ontario, with big men of big heart, should, Mr. Burwash thought, give a big sum.

The local secretary, Mr. S. T. Chown, read a letter from the Hon. T. W. McGarry saying he was unfortunately obliged to undergo another slight operation, whereby it would be impossible for him to do any public speaking for some time. He trusted the members of County Council would see their way clear to make the grant requested of them. The patriotic needs of Ontario would amount to $6,000,000 this year. Mr. McGarry observed that he would be greatly disappointed if Renfrew county did not vote the money, believing nobody would suffer from it.

Mr. W. R. White, the dean of the legal profession of Pembroke, was the next speaker. He believed himself the oldest or one of the oldest native-born citizens of Renfrew county. No man could take a greater interest in the county than he did, who had seen it rise from earliest beginnings to the present condition of prosperity in towns, villages and farming communities. He had seen men living in the first houses with scooped roofs; now they lived in two-storey brick houses with every convenience. We had now everything except good roads, and were to have them later on. He felt impelled most strongly to urge upon the County Council the propriety and duty of making this grant. When the call came for volunteers there was a tacit agreement made with every man who had wife or children, mother or other dependent relatives that this Patriotic Fund would be raised and dependents looked after. We should fail in our duty if not carrying out that agreement to the letter. We had in the county some people of foreign origin, but Mr. White believed all to be loyal. We had been shown how Britain was right in going into this war, but it was enough for him to know that Britain was in it. If his father were alive today and was attacked by roughs, he as a son would go to the rescue without stopping to question whether the old man had started the row. (Laughter.) County Councillors needed to have no fear that if voting the amount of money proposed their constituents would go back on them. The price of all farm produce had advanced, and in order to pay the tax the farmer's wife needed only to raise one more turkey. The best Government was our own municipal government; therefore the best way to raise this money was by the municipality. Councillors were right on the spot and knew just how far they could go. Mr. White read some pointed excerpts, quite apropos, from a sermon by an American clergyman.

Mr. E. A. Dunlop, M.L.A., thought that all should be ready to fight, work or pay. We could save, because silver bullets might yet play a big part in this war. National Service had been inaugurated to bring more closely to us the fact that we could do one of these things in this struggle. The fellow who made the real and in many cases the supreme sacrifice worked for $1.10 a day that our liberties and privileges might be protected and safeguarded. He was sure the people of Renfrew county would rise to the occasion and do handsomely, and he had yet to hear of one citizen or taxpayer of Pembroke saying the taxation was more than should have been put on.

Reeve Moffatt of Pembroke expressed himself as not at all obliged to his friend of the Eganville Leader. He had on more than one occasion said in connection with the town grant that he thought it was up to the Government to see and look after dependents of soldiers. After more light on the subject and more consideration he had no hesitation in saying that he had changed his mind. (Applause). When convinced that he was wrong he was not ashamed to change his mind, nor not ashamed to acknowledge it. He had no hesitation in saying he was thoroughly in accord with any grant the Council might make, and they couldn't make it too big to please him. The hour was late, and he thought every point well covered by the speakers that had preceded him. He did not think there was anything else for the Council to do; it was up to it to vote the money. They owed the bill and should pay it. All the Council wanted to know was that the bill was correct, and he did not think the County Council would have any hesitation in taking the certificate presented this evening. Mr. Brennan and he had advocated the giving of $150,000 at the last meeting, but did not feel justified in bringing it in in the form of a motion, for the Council was a dying one. He had not changed his mind since then one particle. He was prepared to vote $150,000 on the morrow and make it $200,000 if needed. He did not think any member of the County Council would differ much from him. If there were any who objected to it other members would try to convince them of the error of their ways. He thought the county the proper place for the money to come from. The Patriotic Fund was administered more economically than any other fund had been, and he thought more economically than any Government would do it, whether Grit or Tory.

Reeve Brennan of Arnprior expressed pleasure in being present and listening to the very instructive addresses given; he was also pleased to meet the different reeves. He was not present to speak on the subject of a grant, considering it more his duty to speak to that in Pembroke, but would like to substantiate a statement Mr. Moffatt had just made. Last October different sums had been mentioned, and he was proud of Mr. Moffatt in having the courage of his convictions and saying we should give $150,000 at least. In Arnprior there were sixty cases depending on the Patriotic Fund, and with prices so high those dependents could not exist without it. It was a very necessary thing. Mr. Brennan felt the people of Canada could do more than they had done, and if not doing more there would be a danger of undoing much already done; therefore he thought Renfrew could vote at least $150,000.

Deputy-Reeve Smallfield of Renfrew observed that others had shared in the views of the Eganville Leader as to the methods of raising money for the Patriotic and Red Cross funds, and intimated that he was one of them, though having since changed his mind, after thinking how much better the funds were administered and how much the country was saving. He thought he could say that outside of that one paper the reeves would have all the newspapers of Renfrew county at their back and in their defence if making the grant proposed. Fifteen years ago the County Council had met in regular session in Renfrew for the promotion of the good roads ideal; now the same body was met here on a still more worthy object, and he felt the address delivered by Mr. King would have effect. The speaker who had said there would be no opposition in the County Council to the grant Mr. Smallfield believed was right.

During the evening vocal solos were sung by Mrs. Mansfield and Mr. Stratton, with Mr. H. W. Kearney as accompanist.

For a while a number of ladies listened to the post-prandial oratory, occupying seats in the wing.

The national anthem was sung at 1.45 o'clock.

QUEBEC GIVES A MILLION DOLLARS.

The grant of one million dollars to the Canadian Patriotic Fund for 1917 by the Quebec Legislature is a most cheering indication of the value placed on the work of the Fund by the Government of Sr Lomer Gouin, and may be taken as an evidence also of the growing realization in the province of what demands the war is making on our wealth in money. The Ontario Legislature is making a grant of the same size, and there is a tendency on the part of all the Provincial Governments to aid this meritorious work.

Quebec raised more money in 1916 than was needed to make provision for her own families, and the surplus was devoted to the Western Provinces, where enlistments were above the average. It is probable that a similar condition will arise in 1917.

HAVE YOU ECZEMA?

Would you like to end that terrible itching, that burning pain; to heal those horrid sores?

You have tried all sorts of fatty ointments, lotions and powders. Put them aside now and give Nature a chance as represented by Zam-Buk.

Zam-Buk is made from herbal essences; is a natural healer. Is not something you have to send to the end of the world for, and pay a heavy price! Every druggist will sell you Zam-Buk and for 50c. only. Just give it a fair trial and incidently give yourself ease by the quickest route. See name on box:—

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WINTRY WOOLENS

Best Canadian and American Fashions to make from

The largest lot of Woollens in the Ottawa Valley to choose from.

John Mitchell

The Ladies' and Gents' ...

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SOCIAL RECONSTRUCTION

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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WLM KING

Re: Social Reconstruction

✓ Industrial Relations
✓ Mr King's Leadership
of the Liberal Party
✓ Social Reform
✓ Govt - Reconstruction &c.
Speech by Hon. King re Germany, Power of
National Free. Reconstruction &c

(1919)

At the instance of a ruthless military autocracy, Germany in 1914, set at naught every principle of right and justice upon which alone any civilization worthy the name can be founded. In a lawless and ambitious design, which was little short of world conquest, she hurled her armies in all directions against helpless neighboring states like Serbia and Belgium, and more powerful nations such as France and Russia. She believed she had only to possess dominion over Central Europe to gain that wider influence which in time would enable her to expand her imperial power to the uttermost parts of the earth.

In this, the most unprincipled of aims and unbounded of ambitions, Germany staked her all on a belief in the power of Material Force. In the years immediately preceding the outbreak of war, she had contrived, by every means known to human ingenuity, to make of her vast industrial organization a mighty instrument at the service of Force. She had built up a government within industry, just as she built up government within the state, on the model of autocracy. The destinies of the many lay in the hands of the few. Her political autocrats and her industrial autocrats were united in the aim of making of industry one vast machine for the destruction of humanity.

Her railroads were so conttructed as to serve as highways for the rapid transportation of her marauding armies to the confines of every nation that bordered on German territory; and were so managed as to place their absolute control in the hands of the dominating military caste. Her fleets were designed less with a view of developing peaceful intercourse in trade and commerce than with the object of giving expression on the high seas to her desire for world conquest and world domination. Her mines were thought of as so much fuel for the instruments of death, and so controlled as to leave the workers without a voice in the ends which their labor was intended to serve. Her factories were so constructed as to admit of instantaneous change into munition plants and arsenals. Their control, too, centred around an industrial policy which, while professing to make the State the guardian of the working classes, gave to the political and industrial autocrats absolute control over the lives and well-being of every man, woman, and child within the German Empire.

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To-day, Germany lies prostrate before the world. Her political autocrats and her industrial autocrats are listening to the curses and the hisses, not alone of the peoples they sought to destroy, but of the German people as well. The rolling stock of her railroads already in large part has been handed over to peoples prepared to use this equipment in the service of industry rather than in the service of war, peoples who at this moment are carrying back into the heart of Germany, across those very highways whence Germany's invading armies came, food for the starving remnants of her population. Germany's fleet has passed from the service of lawless ambition into the safe keeping of the Mistress of the Seas, there awaiting the doom which other nations may pronounce. Her armies have been reduced from millions to thousands, and her industries, wherever they have been made to serve the purposes of war, are either being extinguished altogether or being put in a process of transformation which will make them hereafter the agencies for the promotion of Peace.

If this mighty transition has taken place, to what can it be attributed? To one thing, and one thing only: a love of Freedom, and a belief in the power of Truth and Justice as mightier than that of any material force which this world can create. The free peoples of the earth who have been arrayed against German aggression have had a conception of Freedom far beyond that which admits of autocratic control. They have had a conception of industry loftier and nobler than that of industry intended for the destruction of humanity. They have believed that industry was meant to serve, not to destroy, humanity.

We have come now to the days of Reconstruction. If out of the ruins which the War has heaped upon the world there is to be created a civilization worthy of the vast privation, the vast endurance, the vast suffering, and the vast sacrifice of life which have preserved the liberties which we still enjoy, it can only be through our keeping alive the spirit of those who have given their all in the cause of Freedom, and in seeking so to transform relations in human society as to bring them, in all that is fundamental, to a basis of what is right and just.

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I have spoken of Germany viewing industry as a vast enterprise to aid Material Force in the work of human destruction. Let us put that down, if you like, as the Prussian conception of industry. Having fought that view with our blood and treasure, we need not perhaps waste words upon seeking to refute it. Realizing, however, that the world war owed its origin to a belief in Force, combined with a perverted view of the processes of industry, and standing as we do to-day upon the threshold of Reconstruction, we do well to ask ourselves the question, What is our own conception of industry; and how far is it administering to the well-being of human society and the harmony of all classes comprising the nation.

The War, alas, has left one legacy of which the world is far from rid. Until it is swept away, all human society is menaced with a condition hardly different from that of war. When the armistice was signed on November 11th, all over this world men knelt before Almighty God in thanksgiving that Peace had again been restored to the world. But men had hardly risen from their knees, and lifted their eyes in the direction of the new horizon, ere they saw a tide of insurrection arising not less menacing in its possibilities, nor less brutal in its methods, than the vast tyranny which they thanked God had been overthrown. Need I remind you that the Treaty of Peace is not yet even signed; and what have we been witnessing in the few months which have elapsed since our rejoicings over the armistice? Each day, as our papers have mirrored the European situation, we have caught glimpses of this sweep of revolution which we speak so lightly of as the madness of a few unprincipled leaders or the evidence of growing industrial unrest. Even before the War had ended, it appeared in Russia like a cloud in the sky no larger than a man's hand. The cloud darkened; its area expanded; until to-day the whole sky of Europe is overcast. One day it is Russia, the next it is Germany, then it is Hungary, now it is Egypt. Even in the British Isles, the Parliament of Britain itself has stood well-nigh breathless wondering at what moment some fresh terror might be brought to its very doors.

Well, there is the situation, and we might as well look it bravely and squarely in the face. In part, it is the inevitable sequence of war and the legacy which war has left. Fundamentally, however, its cause is infinitely more far-reaching than that. It is a matter of existing industrial organization,

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and of deep-rooted and long-seated injustices which an old order has helped to create and perpetuate, but which can have no enduring place in the new order that is to be.

So far as the War is responsible for the revolutionary methods which are being adopted by the undisciplined masses of the Old World, it is in what it has taught of a reliance upon force that the explanation lies. Through the necessity which Germany imposed upon the world of meeting force with force, men have been drilled and trained and disciplined in the use of arms and the application of force, and have come to believe that what has been necessary to serve the ends of nationality may be equally serviceable in serving the interests of class. Alas, that the multitude of men have not yet learned the truth of all.truths which this War has proclaimed: that he who liveth by the sword shall perish by the sword. Self-destruction alone can be the lot of any people, or of any class, who look to Might rather than to the power of Truth and Justice as the means of bringing about a change in the relations of men to each other which a better order of society may demand. To overthrow in the minds of men the false belief in the power of force, which the War has helped to intensify and engender, is as necessary to-day, if humanity is to be spared further slaughter and sorrow, as was the overthrow of the material power of Germany in the salvation of the world from Prussian domination.

How, then, is this belief in Force to be overthrown? One way, and one way only, is possible; and that is to subject our human, our social, and first and foremost our industrial relations to the scrutiny of an unbiassed judgment, and bring them into accord with what Truth and Justice may demand.

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11 Jan. 1919

Montreal Reform Club

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"RECONSTRUCTION IN CANADA"

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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[King - speeches]

Ottawa Citizen
January 13, 1919

'IZEN

Reconstruction in Canada

From address by Mr. W. L. MacKenzie King, at Montreal Reform Club, Jan. 11, 1919.

Reconstruction is something more than restoration. It is true that we have been spared the devastation of our lands and homes, the destruction of our factories, our mines, and railways, and all that ministers to community life, and have not, therefore, the problem of material restoration which confronts the war-swept areas of Eurpoe; but a problem of reconstruction we certainly have. The problem of reconstruction is profounder than mere restoration, even in Europe, where all today is ruin and desolation. It is the problem of establishing right relations between man and man in human society, and avoiding for all time to come the worship of those false gods, material wealth and material power, which alone are responsible for the hell into which this world has been plunged by Prussian ambition, Prussian greed, and Prussian barbarity.

Let me give you, not in my own words, but in the words of one of that vast army whose lives have been sacrificed that liberty may be preserved, what is the meaning of reconstruction as I conceive that term as applicable to conditions throughout the world and in our own land. In the London Weekly Times, of February 23, 1917, will be found the following immortal passage from the pen of a British officer who was wounded on the Somme:

We ought to recognize that the real struggle, in which this war is only an episode, is not merely between our own country and anything so unstable and transitory as modern Germany, but between permanent and irreconcilable claimants for the soul of man, and that what makes the German spirit dangerous is not that it is alien, but that it is horribly congenial to almost the whole modern world. For the spirit of German imperialism is too often the spirit of English and American industrialism, with all its cult of power as an end in itself, its coarse material standards, its subordination of personality to mechanism, its worship of an elaborate and soul-destroying organization. And if we feel that the absolute claim of personality, the preservation and development of spiritual freedom are worth any sacrifice in time of war, we ought equally to feel that they are worth any sacrifice in time of peace.

If we are to understand the meaning of the word "reconstruction", we must ask ourselves the question. What is it for which they have fought and died, our heroic dead, the chivalry of our race? Did they leave these shores — many of them never to return—to fight for a civilization to be estimated in tons or calculated in dollars? Or was it for the maintenance of a great ideal, vaguely defined perhaps, as most ideals are, but none the less capable of definite expression in some such language as that which I have just read: the making of this world a place in which happiness is inseparable from freedom; and good-will, not hate, the actuating motive in the relations of men.

* * *

Let us consider, first, our industrial relations. To earn a livelihood is the first of all necessities; and industry, more than any other institution, touches the lives of the mass of men and women. Here, more than anywhere else, we must seek to effect the realization of that dream of good-will between man and man, which is to make of our land a happy and blessed place in which to dwell. If this dream is to be realized, we shall have to begin the work of reconstruction in industry with a wholly new conception of its aim and purpose. What has been—one might still say, what is — the accepted view of industry? Is it not too largely that of a revenue-producing process, whereby some men are enabled to earn a bare livelihood, and others to reap and amass enormous fortunes? Consider for a moment what industry is. It is the means by which the resources of the earth are transformed by human intelligence and human labor into commodities and services available for human use. In that vast process of transformation, multitudes of men and women spend the whole of their lives. Upon the strength and persistence of their efforts depends the satisfaction of the needs and comforts of the whole of human society. This being the case, should our conception of industry not be changed? Instead of regarding it primarily as an institution for the purpose of creating wealth, to be divided as economic necessity and power may determine, should industry not be regarded as in the nature of social service, and the workers in industry as truly regarded the sustainers of life as those who have served in its armies and navies are its noble defenders?

* * *

Is our present organization of industry not an evidence that capital has assumed a monopoly of control? Do not capitalist investors choose the boards of directors; the management and officers, who carry on the business as in the interests of capital investors, with such regard only for the interests of the other parties to industry as economic or other necessity may require them to take?

There are four parties to industry; not one, or two, or three. There is capital, labor, management, and the community. Each one fulfills its necessary function, and each is deserving of recognition in the determination of policy in a matter which is of vital concern to all. Capital receives its right to participation in control because of investment. This right it receives over and above its reward in the form of interest or profits for the service it renders. But if the owners of capital are investors in industry, are not the workers in industry also investors: life and labor investors? And as such they ought to be entitled to some measure of control in fixing the terms of their employment and working and living conditions, as well as to the reward which they receive in the form of wages. If investment in industry has any meaning at all, it is surely one equally shared by the man who gives his labor and the man who gives his capital.

* * *

In our reconstruction of industry, we must aim at bringing about a system of joint control which will involve a change in the status of the worker, and give wider recognition to the rights of the community. We must make the worker a partner, admitting him, along with capital and management and representatives of the community, to round table conference in all that pertains to the conditions and circumstances of his employment.

* * *

Revolutionary State Socialism, Bolshevism, I. W. W.ism, Syndicalism, and all like movements are natural reactions against the monopoly of control exercised over industry by capital in the past. Wherein they are all mistaken and doomed to utter failure, is that they fail to recognize that the remedy for one kind of monopoly does not lie in establishing a monopoly of another kind. It lies in destroying monopoly altogether, and introducing, in its stead, a conception of partnership, with round table conference, in which the several parties to industry will be rewarded in accordance with the social service they render. Let there be no mistake: neither America nor Canada will escape these inevitable reactions unless our industrial institutions, like our political, are brought into fuller harmony with the democratic sentiments of the times.

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MONDAY,
JANUARY 13, 1919.

EDITORIAL

Mr. Mackenzie King's Powerful Speech

We are giving a full report in this issue of the speech which Mr. W. L. Mackenzie King delivered at the Reform Club on Saturday. It was a speech of remarkable interest and power upon the greatest problem now before the leading nations of the world—that of providing a solution for the relations between capital and labor. Mr. King has had remarkable experience in dealing with this problem in some notable cases in the United States, and he is therefore able to deal with the subject not only from the theoretical point of view, but from the point of view of practical knowledge. He believes that the problem is capable of solution, and he tells of the methods by which he believes a satisfactory working arrangement can be effected that will safeguard the rights of both employers and employed. The speech is a brilliant contribution to a discussion which is absorbing everybody's thoughts, and we believe our readers will appreciate the lengthy report we give of it.

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers, Speeches, (V.3. 26, J 5).

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LA RECONSTRUCTION

Dans le magnifique discours qu'il a prononcé au Club de Réforme, l'hon. Mackenzie-King, ancien ministre du Travail, a présenté la reconstruction comme offrant deux aspects, deux conceptions différents, qu'il a définis comme suit :

"Il est déjà apparent que, pour ce qui est de la signification fondamentale du mot "Reconstruction". il y a deux écoles aux pensées tout à fait différentes. Il y a celle qui ne pense à la reconstruction que sous le côté matériel, une suprématie commerciale et industrielle et des boycottages économiques, l'établissement d'un tarif élevé pour la sauvegarde des intérêts investis, de l'exploitation des ressources naturelles pour aider à l'augmentation des fortunes existantes ; et l'autre école, celle qui pense tout d'abord aux ressources humaines,

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers, Speeches, (M.G. 26, J 5).

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La Patrie - Montreal
January 13, 1919

LA RECONSTRUCTION

Causerie de l'hon. Mac-Kenzie, au club de Réforme.--L'après-guerre.

Grands problèmes

Le jour où le patron comprendra les griefs de la classe ouvière et que les relations entre les deux seront plus courtoises et plus amicales, ce jour-là, on aura presque trouvé la solution du problème économique et social qui semble aller de mal en pis par le monde entier, a déclaré samedi soir à l'issu d'un dîner que le club de Réforme lui offrait, M. Mackenzie King, ancien ministre du Travail, dans le cabinet Laurier.

M. King a traité de la "Reconstruction" d'après-guerre et il a intercallé dans son sujet les grandes questions qui immédiatement s'y annexent.

Tout d'abord ,il a défini les deux mots de rajustement et de reconstruction et a déclaré que le premier n'était qu'un fléchissement du second et qu'on ne pouvait rien attendre de profitable, parce qu'il serait vide de sens pratique et de progrès réel. La reconstruction dit plus que tous ses pseudonymes. Elle veut établir des relations plus étroites entre les hommes et la société. Elle désire détruire les fausses icônes. Enfin,son but est d'anihiler le préjugé qui crie que le bonheur du monde ne repose que sur la richesse matérielle et sur sa puissance aussi matérielle.

Ici, M. King, pour illustrer d'une façon plus claire sa théorie va chercher le soldat dans les tranchées qui a su combattre pour un idéal vrai et, par le fait même, a donné une explication de la reconstruction, en mourant pour le principe de liberté et de démocratie.

Lui seul, a compris ce mot, lui seul a su le débarrasser des définitions multiples dont on l'a trop embarrassé.

Partant de ce point, le conférencier a aussi parlé de l'industrie. — Elle est le moyen par lequel les ressources du sol sont transformées grâce au travail et à l'intelligence humaine, en choses utiles et nécessaires. Dans cet énorme creuset. hommes et femmes y dépensent leur activité et leur vie. De cette cohésion, de cette communion d'efforts, dépendent la réalisation des projets de bien-être de la société humaine. Comme on le voit, remarque M. Mackenzie King, l'industrie parait de prime abord n'être qu'une usine à richesses. Ne devrions-nous lui donner un sens moins étroit ? N'a-t-elle pas d'autre but que celui d'être contrôlée exclusievment par le capital ? L'industrie ne comprend-elle pas quatre facteurs importants : le capital, le travail, la direction et la communauté, qui sont inhérents les uns aux autres et qui dépendent des uns des autres.

La communauté, étant un des rouages nécessaires à cette grosse machine, ne doit-elle pas avoir sa part, puisqu'elle procure la mise en mouvement et le fonctionnement de celle-ci. De tout temps, on a constaté que le capital et le monopole avaient lutté pour se maintenir sans le secours de la communauté et en l'oppressant. De cette friction naquit le Socialisme, dont la mission était de faire contrôler l'industrie par la communauté. A ce système s'agrippa une foule d'autres systèmes connus sous les noms de socialisme révolutionnaire, I.W.W., bolchévisme et syndicalisme. On voulait résoudre le problème d'hier par un autre tout aussi compliqué. Le monopole de l'Etat ne réussira pas et il est voué à la faillite, car il veut détruire un monopole par un autre monopole.

Le vrai remède est simple. Il consiste à détruire se système monopolisateur. En établissant un régime social équilibré et qui puisse comprendre que toutes les classes de la société doivent voir leurs efforts récompensés dans une juste et équitable mesure.

Le jour donc où le monde se reconstruira par cette méthode, il aura solutionné les difficultés dans lesquelles il se débat actuellement.

En face de tout ce que nous voyons aujourd'hui dans notre pays, ne sommes-nous pas en droit de demander à notre gouvernement ce qu'il a accompli pour améliorer la situation ? En Angleterre, aux Etats-Unis, on s'est préoccupé de ces problèmes vitaux. On s'est rendu compte que la communauté devait avoir sa large part de l'industrie. On a mis de côté les fausses définitions de richesse, pour ne capter que celles qui assurent une vie réelle et non artificielle.

L'homme a été considéré comme un être humain et comme quelqu'un qui ne vit pas que de pain. La matière, la brutale matière ne doit pas être le seul apanage de l'homme, il est d'autres idéaux où chacun aspire et veut arriver.

En terminant, M. Mackenzie rend hommage à Sir Wilfrid Laurier et à ses prédécesseurs libéraux et déclare que tous ces problèmes économico-sociaux seront résolus au Canada, si les Canadiens suivent le panage blanc de celui qui fut un progressiste et rien qu'un progressiste logique, raisonné et raisonnable.

LA RECONSTRUCTION

Dans le magnifique discours qu'il a prononcé au Club de Réforme, l'hon. Mackenzie-King, ancien ministre du Travail, a présenté la reconstruction comme offrant deux aspects, deux conceptions différents, qu'il a définis comme suit :

"Il est déjà apparent que, pour ce qui est de la signification fondamentale du mot "Reconstruction". il y a deux écoles aux pensées tout à fait différentes. Il y a celle qui ne pense à la reconstruction que sous le côté matériel, une suprématie commerciale et industrielle et des boycottages économiques, l'établissement d'un tarif élevé pour la sauvegarde des intérêts inyestis, de l'exploitation des ressources naturelles pour aider à l'augmentation des fortunes existantes ; et l'autre école, celle qui pense tout d'abord aux ressources humaines, des nations humaines et de la vie humaine.

"Pour la première école, augmenter dans la production et la richesse matérielle, c'est le principal but du gouvernement. Pour la seconde, le principal but du gouvernement est de s'élever dans le bonheur de l'humanité et d'améliorer le sort des individus. A quelle école allons-nous prêter allégeance à l'avenir ? Voilà la question, maintenant que la guerre est gagnée, que chaque homme devra décider pour lui-même, sans distinction des affiliations de partis ou des nouvelles allégeances et des étranges unions faites durant la guerre. Se ralliera-t-il au parti des rajustements qui est prêt à retourner à l'ancien ordre de choses, celui d'avant la guerre, où il ne semblait y avoir que les droits de propriété et les droits investis ; ou joindra-t-il les forces d'une véritable reconstruction, qui ne voit tout d'abord que les droits humains et le bonheur de l'humanité, qui ne regarde

M. Mackenzie-King déclare que la reconstruction qui s'impose à l'heure actuelle ne devra pas être seulement superficielle, mais elle devra satisfaire les aspirations des classes laborieuses, trop longtemps ignorées dans la direction du mouvement économique national. Ce sera bien de restaurer l'industrie, mais il faudra la restaurer en assurant aux travailleurs non pas seulement un salaire, mais aussi une part dans la direction. Dans l'industrie reconstruite, l'ancien ministre veut voir participer les quatre associés naturels de l'industrie: le capital, le travail, la direction et la communauté.

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La Patrie - Montreal
January 13, 1919

LA RECONSTRUCTION

Causerie de l'hon. Mac-Kenzie, au club de Réforme.--L'après-guerre.

Grands problèmes

Le jour où le patron comprendra les griefs de la classe ouvière et que les relations entre les deux seront plus courtoises et plus amicales, ce jour-là, on aura presque trouvé la solution du problème économique et social qui semble aller de mal en pis par le monde entier, a déclaré samedi soir à l'issu d'un diner que le club de Réforme lui offrait, M. Mackenzie King, ancien ministre du Travail, dans le cabinet Laurier.

M. King a traité de la "Reconstruction" d'après-guerre et il a intercallé dans son sujet les grandes questions qui immédiatement s'y annexent.

Tout d'abord ,il a défini les deux mots de rajustement et de reconstruction et a déclaré que le premier n'était qu'un fléchissement du second et qu'on ne pouvait rien attendre de profitable, parce qu'il serait vide de sens pratique et de progrès réel. La reconstruction dit plus que tous ses pseudonymes. Elle veut établir des relations plus étroites entre les hommes et la société. Elle désire détruire les fausses icônes. Enfin,son but est d'anihiler le prejugé qui crie que le bonheur du monde ne repose que sur la richesse matérielle et sur sa puissance aussi matérielle.

Ici, M. King pour illustrer d'une façon plus claire sa théorie va chercher le soldat dans les tranchées qui a su combattre pour un idéal vrai et, par le fait même, a donné une explication de la reconstruction, en mourant pour le principe de liberté et de démocratie.

Lui seul, a compris ce mot, lui seul a su le débarrasser des définitions multiples dont on l'a trop embarrassé.

Partant de ce point, le conférencier a aussi parlé de l'industrie. — Elle est le moyen par lequel les ressources du sol sont transformées grâce au travail et à l'intelligence humaine, en choses utiles et nécessaires. Dans cet énorme creuset, hommes et femmes y dépensent leur activité et leur vie. De cette cohésion, de cette communion d'efforts, dépendent la réalisation des projets de bien-être de la société humaine. Comme on le voit, remarque M. Mackenzie King, l'industrie paraît de prime abord n'être qu'une usine à richesses. Ne devrions-nous lui donner un sens moins étroit ? N'a-t-elle pas d'autre but que celui d'être contrôlée exclusievment par le capital ? L'industrie ne comprend-elle pas quatre facteurs importants : le capital, le travail, la direction et la communauté, qui sont inhérents les uns aux autres et qui dépendent des uns des autres.

La communauté, étant un des rouages nécessaires à cette grosse machine, ne doit-elle pas avoir sa part, puisqu'elle procure la mise en mouvement et le fonctionnement de celle-ci. De tout temps, on a constaté que le capital et le monopole avaient lutté pour se maintenir sans le secours de la communauté et en l'oppressant. De cette friction naquit le Socialisme, dont la mission était de faire contrôler l'industrie par la communauté. A ce système s'agrippa une foule d'autres systèmes connus sous les noms de socialisme révolutionnaire, I.W.W., bolchévisme et syndicalisme. On voulait résoudre le problème d'hier par un autre tout aussi compliqué. Le monopole de l'Etat ne réussira pas et il est voué à la faillite, car il veut détruire un monopole par un autre monopole.

Le vrai remède est simple. Il consiste à détruire se système monopolisateur. En établissant un régime social équilibré et qui puisse comprendre que toutes les classes de la société doivent voir leurs efforts récompensés dans une juste et équitable mesure.

Le jour donc où le monde se reconstruira par cette méthode, il aura solutionné les difficultés dans lesquelles il se débat actuellement.

En face de tout ce que nous voyons aujourd'hui dans notre pays, ne sommes-nous pas en droit de demander à notre gouvernement ce qu'il a accompli pour améliorer la situation ? En Angleterre, aux Etats-Unis, on s'est préoccupé de ces problèmes vitaux. On s'est rendu compte que la communauté devait avoir sa large part de l'industrie. On a mis de côté les fausses définitions de richesse, pour ne capter que celles qui assurent une vie réelle et non artificielle.

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January 13, 1919

Notre part dans la reconstruction

Les problêmes de reconstruction sont de ceux qui sollicitent le plus en ce moment l'attention du public; et on lira avec intérêt la conférence qu'y a consacrée l'hon. McKenzie King, samedi, au Club de Réforme.

Le mot a du reste un caractère générique qui s'applique imparfaitement à la situation canadienne.

Nous n'avons, à vrai dire, rien ou peu à reconstruire au Canada; car nous n'avons pas été, dans notre propriété matérielle, atteints par la guerre.

Mais la reconstruction au Canada s'entend surtout dans le sens de notre réorganisation économique, car nos finances et notre industrie ont été bouleversées, et en quelque sorte transposées, durant la période des hostilités.

Et aussi, dans le sens plus large de notre participation aux travaux de reconstruction qui vont en Europe prendre de si gigantesques proportions.

Nous devons organiser notre labeur économique non seulement pour subvenir à nos propres besoins, ce qui serait facile; mais aussi pour nous mettre en mesure de répondre à la demande d'outre-mer, ce qui est illimité.

C'est dans ce sens plus large que le problême de reconstruction, étendu jusqu'à ces limites élargies, se doit présenter à notre esprit.

Le Canada peut produire en abondance non-seulement les vivres que l'Europe affamée par la guerre appelle à grands cris, mais encore une foule de produits essentiels et qui ont disparu là-bas sous la poussée incessante et destructive du grand conflit.

A-t-on mesuré le bouleversement causé en France par exemple, par une guerre aussi meurtrière ?

Non-seulement on a détruit des villes entières, mais on a encore détruit ou immobilisé les sources de la production, que ce soit l'usine démantelée ou le champ tout ravagé par les tranchées et les débris de la bataille.

La demande de la France, et des autres pays qui sont dans le même cas, aux nations productrices va être incessante et multiple.

C'est aux pays riches, surabondants comme le nôtre, qu'il importe de s'en prévaloir et de jouer tout leur rôle dans la grande période de reconstruction.

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Le Canada - Montreal
January 13, 1919

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Quel est le remède à l'agitation sociale qui balaie actuellement le monde entier?

Parlant de la reconstruction, samedi soir au Club de Réforme, l'honorable MacKenzie-King déclare que ce n'est qu'en accordant au Travail ce qu'il demande et est en droit de demander, que nous mettrons un terme à la révolution sociale.

UNE JUSTE DEFINITION DE L'INDUSTRIE

L'honorable M. MacKenzie-King, ancien Ministre du Travail dans le gouvernement Laurier, était l'hôte d'honneur à un magnifique banquet donné samedi soir, au Club de Réforme sous la présidence de M. Alphonse Décary, C.R. Le brillant économiste canadien avait choisi comme sujet de sa conférence, "La Reconstruction", sujet vaste et profond où il a pu mettre ses innombrables connaissances du travail au service de son auditoire à qui il a exposé tout un programme de politique d'après-guerre.

Le thème principal de l'éloquent discours, dont on trouvera le texte plus bas, consistait dans les relations entre les ouvriers et les patrons, les revendications des premiers et le contrôle absolu des seconds; et il montra tout l'énorme travail qu'il faut faire dans l'industrie si l'on veut s'éviter les malheurs de l'agitation sociale qui désole actuellement une grande proportion des pays d'Europe.

Sur l'invitation du président, M. Chas. W. Taylor, premier vice-président, souhaita la bienvenue à M. MacKenzie King. Il sut rappeler en termes très appropriés les grands services rendus par l'hôte d'honneur pour le Canada et déclara tout le plaisir des convives de l'avoir au milieu d'eux.

Voici la conférence remarquable de M. MacKenzie King :

L'HONORABLE MACKENZIE-KING

Il y a quelque temps, un membre du gouvernement unioniste, parlant des problèmes auxquels le Canada devait faire face, déclara que ces problèmes ne comportaient aucunement la reconstruction mais le rajustement de la vie au Canada. Il paraît qu'en certains milieux on ne veut aucunement entendre parler de reconstruction, c'est pourquoi on a choisi un terme plus doux, le rajustement.

Cela m'amène justement au sujet de ma causerie de ce soir, dit l'orateur.

La guerre ne nous a-t-elle laissé qu'un désir de rajustement ? Ou, ce qu'elle nous a révélé de l'insuffisance de l'économie d'avant la guerre nous a-t-il déterminé de frapper profondément, de considérer les bases et de reconstruire notre foyer national d'une manière digne des sacrifices de nos braves soldats et marins pour le maintenir ?

Il est déjà apparent que, pour ce qui est de la signification fondamentale du mot "Reconstruction", il y a deux écoles aux pensées tout à fait différentes. Il y a celle qui ne pense à la reconstruction que sous le côté matériel, une suprématie commerciale et industrielle et des boycotages économiques, l'établissement d'un tarif élevé pour la sauvegarde des intérêts investis, de l'exploitation des ressources naturelles pour aider à l'augmentation des fortunes existantes ; et l'autre école, celle qui pense tout d'abord aux ressources humaines, des relations humaines et de la vie humaine.

Pour la première école, augmenter dans la production et la richesse matérielle, c'est le principal but du gouvernement. Pour la seconde, le principal but du gouvernement est de s'élever dans le bonheur de l'humanité et d'améliorer le sort des individus. A quelle école allons-nous prêter allégéance à l'avenir ? Voilà la question, maintenant que la guerre est gagnée, que chaque homme devra décider pour lui-même, sans distinction des affiliations de partis ou des nouvelles allégéances et des étranges unions faites durant la guerre. Se ralliera-t-il au parti des rajustements qui est prêt à retourner à l'ancien ordre de choses, celui d'avant la guerre, où il ne semblait y avoir que les droits de propriété et les droits investis ; ou joindra-t-il les forces d'une véritable reconstruction, qui ne voit tout d'abord que les droits humains et le bonheur de l'humanité, qui ne regarde rien de si sacré que le bien-être des individus, et qui aspire à une plus grande liberté pour la multitude des hommes et des femmes dont la vie et la liberté doivent être la première pensée d'une nation.

Le parti qui ne visera que le rajustement nous reculera en arrière, sous le manteau du patriotisme, à un renouveau d'efforts qui jusqu'au moment de la guerre absorbaient notre pensée politique à l'exclusion de la considération des problèmes fondamentaux d'où découle le bien-être de l'humanité et qui ont été trop longtemps ignorés. A de tels efforts, le mot "Reconstruction" n'est aucunement applicable. Ils ne veulent dire rien autre chose que la reconstruction du vieil édifice, sur le même terrain, sur les mêmes fondations, avec les mêmes méthodes et les mêmes matériaux comme ceux qui n'ont pu donner à la société humaine un logement conforme à ses besoins ou obéissant à ses plus hautes nécessités. La reconstruction est quelque chose de plus que la restauration. Il est vrai que nos terres, nos foyers, nos manufactures, nos mines et nos chemins de fer, et tout ce qui est secourable à la vie humaine n'ont pas été dévasté, et nous n'avons eu dès lors qu'à envisager les problèmes de la restauration matérielle auquel doivent faire face les régions dévastées de l'Europe; mans nous avons certainement un problème de reconstruction à résoudre. Le problème de la reconstruction est plus profond que celui de la restauration, même en Europe ou, aujourd'hui, tout est ruine et désolation. C'est le problème d'établir de justes relations entre les hommes de la société, et d'éviter, pour toujours, la vénération de ces faux dieux : la richesse matérielle et la puissance matérielle, qui seuls sont responsables de l'enfer dans lequel le monde a été plongé par l'ambition prussienne, par l'avidité prussienne et par la barbarie prussienne.

Permettez-moi de vous donner, pas dans mes propres mots, mais dans ceux d'un soldat de cette vaste armée dont les vies ont été sacrifiées pour la survivance de la liberté, ce qu'est la signification du mot "reconstruction", comme je conçois ce terme applicable aux conditions de l'univers entier et dans notre propre pays. Dans le "Weekly Times", de Londres, du 23 février 1917, on trouvera le passage immortel suivant de la plume d'un officier anglais qui fut blessé à la bataille de la Somme:

Nous devrions reconnaître que la lutte réelle dont cette guerre n'est qu'un épisode, n'est pas simplement entre notre propre pays une chose aussi instable et transitoire que l'Allemagne moderne, mais entre les systèmes permanents et irréconciliables qui luttent pour l'âme de l'Homme, et ce qui rend l'esprit allemand dangereux n'est pas le seul fait qu'il est ennemi, mais parce qu'il est horriblement analogue à celui de presque tout le monde moderne. Car l'esprit de l'Impérialisme allemand est trop souvent celui de l'industrialisme anglais et américain, avec tout son culte de la puissance comme but suprême, son



L'HON. MACKENZIE-KING qui a prononcé un magistral discours samedi soir, sur la Reconstruction.

idéal grossièrement matériel, sa subordination de la personnalité au mécanisme, sa vénération pour une organisation élaborée et destructrice d'âmes. Et si nous sentons que la demande absolue de l'individu, le développement et la conservation de la liberté spirituelle sont dignes de tout sacrifice en temps de guerre, nous devrions également sentir qu'ils sont dignes de tout sacrifice en temps de paix.

Si nous voulons comprendre le véritable sens du mot "Reconstruction", nous devons nous poser la question suivante : Pourquoi ont-ils combattu et sont-ils morts, nos héroïques disparus, la chevalerie de notre race ? Ont-ils quitté ces rives — dont un grand nombre pour ne plus revenir — pour combattre pour une civilisation devant être estimée en tonnes et en dollars ? Ou était-ce pour la survivance d'un grand idéal, vaguement défini peut-être, comme le sont la plupart des idéals, mais qui n'en a pas moins une expression définie dans un langage tel que celui que je viens de vous lire ; rendre ce monde un lieu où le bonheur soit inséparable de la liberté ; et la bonne volonté, non la haine, le motif agissant dans les relations entre les hommes. C'est cette vision que nous ont laissée ceux qui ont souffert, qui sont morts. Sa réalisation est le seul monument digne qui puisse être élevé à leur mémoire. C'est du rêve de ceux qui sont morts héroïquement dans les Flandres que je veux vous parler ce soir.

Et à mes concitoyens je lancerai l'appel de leur clairon — non pour servir des fins politiques de parti — mais pour que l'écho de leur voix, bien que tués, puisse se faire entendre :

"If ye break faith with who die, we
shall not sleep, though popies
grow in Flanders fields."

Considérons tout d'abord nos relations industrielles. Trouver une subsistance c'est la première de toutes les nécessités ; et l'industrie, plus que tout autre institution, intéresse la masse des hommes et des femmes. Ici, plus que partout ailleurs, nous devons chercher la réalisation de ce rêve de bonne volonté entre les hommes, qui fera de notre pays un lieu de bonheur et un endroit heureux pour y vivre. Si ce rêve doit se réaliser, nous devrons commencer le travail de la reconstruction dans l'industrie en ayant une nouvelle conception en ce qui concerne et ses buts et son objet.

Quelle a été et quelle est — pourrait-on se demander — la définition acceptée de l'industrie? N'est-ce pas trop un moyen de produire des revenus qui permettront à quelques-uns de se faire une existence chétive tandis que d'autres y amasseront des fortunes énormes? Considérez pour un moment ce qu'est l'industrie. C'est le moyen par lequel les ressources du sol sont transformées par l'intelligence humaine et le travail humain, en commodités à l'usage de tous. Dans ce vaste procédé de transformation, des multitude d'hommes et de femmes dépensent toute leur vie. De la force et de la persistence de leurs efforts dépendent la satisfaction des besoins et le bien-être de toute la société humaine. Tel étant le cas, ne devrions-nous pas changer notre conception de l'industrie?

Au lieu de considérer comme une simple institution consacrée à la production de la richesse, à être divisée comme pourront le déterminer la nécessité et la puissance économiques, l'industrie ne devrait-elle pas être considérée comme propriété de la société, et les ouvriers en industrie vraiment désignés comme les soutiens de la vie, tout comme ceux qui ont servi dans ses armées et ses marins sont ses défenseurs?

L'idée étroite et fausse qu'on s'est faite de l'industrie n'est-elle pas due à une appréciation inadéquate de ce que sont les parties de l'industrie? L'industrie n'a-t-elle pas été trop largement considérée comme la chose exclusive du capital, et trop peu à la lumière de ce qu'elle est réellement, c'est-à-dire: une entreprise où il y a quatre parties intéressées, chacune remplissant une fonction absolument essentielle et distincte des autres, et dépendent complètement, pour ses fruits, aussi bien des autres parties que d'elle-même? L'organisation actuelle de notre industrie n'est-elle pas une preuve que le capital a assumé le monopole du contrôle? Les capitalistes ne choisissent-ils pas les bureaux de directeurs; les gérants et autres fonctionnaires, qui conduisent les affaires suivant l'intérêt de ceux qui ont investi le capital, ne considérant les intérêts des autres parties de l'industrie qu'en autant que la nécessité économique ou autre l'exigera.

Il y a quatre partie dans l'industrie; non pas une, ou deux ou trois. Il y a le capital, le travail, la Direction et la Communauté. Chacune remplit sa fonction nécessaire, et chacune a droit à sa voix dans la détermination d'une question qui concerne d'une manière vitale chacune d'elles. Le Capital reçoit ses droits de participation au contrôle à cause du placement. Ce droit est accordé au-delà de sa récompense sous forme d'intérêt ou profits pour le service qu'il rend. Mais si les détenteurs du capital sont ceux qui placent dans l'industrie, les ouvriers en industrie ne placent-ils rien aussi? N'est-ce pas eux qui donnent la vie et le travail? Et comme tels ils ont droit à une certaine mesure du contrôle dans la fixation des termes de leur emploi et des conditions de travail et de vie, aussi bien que dans la rémunération qu'ils reçoivent sous forme de salaire. Si le placement dans l'industrie a quelque signification, elle est également partagée par l'homme qui donne son travail et l'homme qui donne son capital.

Identiquement, la communauté a droit à une représentatian dans le contrôle de l'industrie et dans l'élaboration de la politique industrielle. Sous le placement du grand public, qu'il soit local, national et international, le Capital, le Travail et la Direction ne feraient que de maigres profits dans les conditions actuelles de la concurrence monudiale. La communauté a autant d'intérêt dans l'industrie que le capital ou le travail. Que représentent les 99 pour cent des dépenses du gouvernement en temps ordinaires si non les placements dans l'industrie, dans la propriété ou autres qui seuls rendent possibles la vaste coopération et la coordination de l'effort qui est la vie même de l'industrie?

Plus l'organisation industrielle acquiert de l'ampleur, plus elle dépend, en plusieurs directions, des placements de la communauté. C'est la communauté qui donne les ressources naturelles et les pouvoirs qui permettent toute production. Les individus peuvent acquérir des titres, par un ou plusieurs moyens, mais c'est par la communauté et par le consentement de la communauté que les titres sont détenus. C'est la communauté, organisée de liverses façons,qui maintient le gouvernement et les relations étrangères, fait les lois et établit l'ordre, encourage les arts et les inventions, aide l'éducation, engendre l'opinion, et crée, par concession ou autrement, les agences de transport, de communication, de crédit, les banques ou autres sans lesquelles, toute production, sauf la moindrement difficile, serait impossible. C'est la communauté qui fait la demande de commodités et de fonctions par lesquelles le travail trouve un emploi rémunérateur, et le capital un intérêt sur son placement. Envisagez le sujet sous n'importe quel aspect, c'est la communauté qui rend possible toute l'activité de l'industrie et aide à déterminer sa valeur et son but.

Dans notre reconstruction de l'industrie, nous devrons viser à un système de contrôle conjoint qui entraînera un changement dans le statut du travailleur, et donnera un plus grande reconnaissance des droits de la communauté. Nous devons faire un associé de l'ouvreir, l'admettre, avec le capital et la direction et les représentants de la communauté, autour de la table ronde pour tout ce qui intéresse les conditions et les circonstances de son emploi.

Quel a été l'effet de la longue exclusion de certaines parties de l'industrie par le monopole que le capital, et la direction comprise avec le capital, ont cherché à maintenir ? Les effets étaient apparents en Europe avant la guerre. Ils sont assez visibles aujourd'hui en Europe. Que craignaient les autocrates industriels et politiques en Allemagne quand, par leur tentative de domination mondiale, ils tentèrent d'éviter la révolution sociale qu'ils savaient à leur porte ? Ce fut le développement de l'Etat Socialiste. Qu'est l'Etat Socialiste tel que conçu par ses partisans radicaux, si ce n'est le contrôle de l'industrie par la communauté, l'une des parties de l'industrie qu'on a si longtemps ignorée ? Qu'est le bolshevisme dans toutes ses formes ? Rien autre chose qu'une tentative des extrémistes dans les rangs du Travail por acquérir le contrôle monopolisé de l'industrie, et si possible, de l'Etat aussi. Le socialisme révolutionnaire, le bolshevisme, les I.W.W., le syndicalisme et tous les autres mouvements semblables sont des réactions naturelles contre le monopole du contrôle exercé sur l'industrie par le Capital dans le passé. Et où ils tombent dans l'erreur et nepeuvent éviter la faillite, c'est quand ils ne reconnaissent pas que le remède contre une sorte de monopole ne se trouve pas dans un monopole d'une autre sorte. Le remède se trouve dans la destruction de tout monopole, et l'introduction, à sa place, d'une association bien conçue, avec des conférences conjointes, où les différentes parties de l'industrie seront récompensées selon le service social qu'elles rendeut. Qu'il n'y ait pas

(A suivre à la page 3)

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LABOUR AND CAPITAL AS PARTNERS IN INDUSTRY

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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King Speeches 1919
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Industrial Relations

To Stop Fighting Between Employers and Unions

HON. W. L. MACKENZIE KING ADVISES

"Make Labor and Capital Partners in Industry"

"Give Labor Equal Representation With Other Partners in Management of Industry and Its Fair Share of Profits," Says Former Minister of Labor of Canada—His Views on "Representation in Industry" Follow.

By Frederick Lawrence

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HON. W. L. MACKENZIE KING.

PARTNERSHIP between capital and labor in industry must be established or disastrous conflicts will continue in the future as in the past. This thought was expressed by Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, C. M. G., M. A., LL. B. (Toronto), Ph. D. (Harvard), Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada, former Minister of Labor of Canada, and writer of books. Mr. King sat at luncheon at the Bankers' Club and talked interestingly on the subject of the future relations between capital and labor. He agreed with the steadily increasing number of converts to the theory that labor may no longer be required to figure merely as a number on a time sheet or a payroll, but that its partnership with capital, management and the community must be conceded; that labor must have equal representation with the other partners in the management of industry, and that it must be awarded its fair share of profits.

"Present methods of arrangement between capital and labor are not suited to the enlightened times in which we are living," Mr. King summed up. "Obsolete relations between employers and wage-earners should be scrapped, just as we scrap worn-out machinery, and just as the Paris Peace Conference is scrapping the age old methods of dealing between nations."

A book, "Industry and Humanity," of which Mr. King is the author, and which has recently been issued by the Houghton-Mifflin Company, interprets his views in the light of his years of study of labor problems, principally in the industrial centres of the United States. In a chapter on "Representation in Industry," Mr. King sums up his conclusions as to how future relations between labor and capital may best be regulated on the partnership basis. He writes:

"Mutual trust, born of wholehearted belief in the common interests of industry, must supersede the distrust which arises out of misgivings concerning opposed interests. Fear must give way to faith in the several relations. There must be consciousness of a common aim in a common venture, in which gains and losses alike are shared. • • •

"A partnership, in fact, as well as in name, is what industry must become if its twofold purpose is to be achieved with a maximum of good will and efficiency, and a minimum of waste of effort and materials. Partnership, to be worthy the name, presupposes a willingness to share all along the line, to share in a knowledge and understanding of the enterprise as a whole, and of each other's rights and duties, to share progressively in gains and proportionately in losses, and finally to share in the control and the determination of policy. • • •

"The principle of round table conference underlies partnership. • • • The rights and duties of partnership in the organization and control of industry obviously must be effected through some device of representation. • • • The round table conference should • • • while avoiding their inherent weaknesses, further the aim which municipal and State Socialism and collectivism seek to effect by means of a compulsory change in the ownership of the instruments of production. • • • Whilst contributing to secure to management and to capital a progressive increase in the profits of industry, it should help to insure to labor progressive improvement in wages and hours and in other working conditions."

Mr. King quotes Dr. Eliot, President Emeritus of Harvard University, who is a convert to the partnership theory, and who wrote:

"Any durable method (of industrial representation) will include some form of co-operative management and a complete disclosure of the accounts of the business to representatives of the working force."

Mr. King continues:

"Once the principle of round table conference • • • is made the basis of government in industry, fear will give way to faith; the conflict of opposed interests will vanish before an understanding of common interests; the principles which underlie peace, work and health will find ready application, and industry itself will gain that spirit of hearty co-operation and constructive good will which means its highest efficiency both as an instrument of production and as an agency of social service.

"Partnership is essentially a matter of status. It does not involve identity or similarity of function on the part of the partners or equality of either service or rewards; but it does imply equality, as respects the right of representation, in the determination of policy on matters of common interest. Thus far, this principle has largely failed of recognition. The justness of the principle, however, is apparent. • • •

"The difference in the nature of the investments of capital and labor only serves to emphasize the fundamental justice of labor's right to representation. The investment of capital is an investment in the nature of substances and dollars; the investment of labor is an investment in the nature of skill and life. The one is a material, the other a human, investment. Both, however, are investments; and of the two, the one involving life is the more precious. • • • As a life or labor investor, is the worker's interest in industry not akin to that of the investor of capital? If investment in industry has any meaning at all, it is surely one equally shared by the man who gives his labor and the man who gives his capital. • • •

"For the preferential treatment capital has thus far received there is no defense possible on grounds of democratic theory or fundamental justice, only an explanation. Capital has been able to wait; labor has not. Capital, through its ability to wait, has been in a position to compel a voice. Labor has seldom been in that position, and therefore has remained, for the most part, unrepresented. • • • Denied opportunity to cooperate with capital, labor competes with capital. Industrial life • • • becomes a sort of guerrilla warfare in which capital seeks to increase profits at the expense of labor and labor seeks to increase wages at the expense of capital. • • • Strikes and lockouts are begotten. • • •

"A militant trade unionism claims exclusive right to speak in the name of labor and to enforce its newly acquired control by the weapon of the strike. • • • An autocratic management seeks the maintenance of its accustomed control by exercising arbitrary powers regardless of their social consequences, claiming for itself exclusive right in the employment and dismissal of labor, while denying to labor the right of membership in associations for its self-protection. • • • With neither aim nor method in common, each obtains its hearing in virtue only of the injury it is capable of inflicting, or the power or might it is in a position to command. • • • They look at each other, as one writer has expressed it, 'across no man's land,' an area of ever-present possible conflict which, in their common interest, ought to be the ground of joint approach. • • •

"A new attitude has already been assumed by the several parties to industry, out of which some acceptable form of joint control is certain to develop. • • • The principle of round table conference has been tested and tried out with success in the largest affairs of the Nation (the conduct of the war) and under the most extreme circumstances. The principle of representation has furnished a key wherewith to unlock the door of every difficulty. Leadership alone is now required to give to the whole development its permanent setting; to take industry, through all-round partnership, out of the mire of warring factions, blinded through self-interest and limited vision • • • a consciousness of its might; benecent mission."

13 March 1919

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"THE FOUR PARTIES TO INDUSTRY"

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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UNREST NO MERE WAR AFTERMATH BUT HUMANITY CRYING FOR JUSTICE

Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, in Notable Address at Empire Club To-day, Discusses "The Four Parties to Industry"—Labor, Capital, Management, The Community.

CAPITAL ONLY ONE OF FOUR "PARTNERS," BUT HAS THE MONOPOLY OF CONTROL

Bolshevism a Reaction Against This Monopoly — Services of Capital Lost Sight of Through Debauchery of Indolence and Unearned Millions of Profiteers.

A notable address was delivered at the Empire Club to-day by Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, former Minister of Labor. One may say it was such an address as was never before delivered in Toronto by a public man.

The subject was "The Four Parties to Industry." It was a discussion of those industrial and social relations, failure to adjust which, has submerged Russia, threatens Germany, and holds the rest of the world in awe. Mr. King's address, the fruit of deep study and independent thinking, extending over many years, broke new ground in the platform discussion of the subject in Canada, or for that matter in other countries. While dealing with profound principles, it was no mere academic treatise, but was in its illustration and applications to life intensely practical. Brilliant gems of thought scintillated from every passage.

The address in full follows:

THE FOUR PARTIES TO INDUSTRY.

I have chosen as the subject of my remarks to-day "The Four Parties to Industry," in order to emphasize a truth which seems to be fundamental in any attempt to cope with the industrial unrest which has followed so closely, and, one might add, so inevitably, in the wake of war. If there is to be release from the thraldom of fear in which men's minds are everywhere held, it is the truth that shall set us free, and the enforcement of that social justice which the truth demands.

The Meaning of Industrial Unrest.

In industrial relations especially, we have accepted with complacence an order of things to which we have grown accustomed. The shock of war, stirring the world's soul to its very depths, has brought before our eyes the shattered image of an industrialism which is full of injustice. It has left us to decide whether the new order shall be little more than a return to the old, with all its worship of material wealth and material power, and its relative indifference to human worth and human well-being; or whether it shall be an order worthy of the sacrifices of the heroic dead, and the services of those who on land and sea have endured all manner of hardships and peril to preserve the liberties and freedom that we still enjoy. Let us be assured of this: the unrest in the world of industry to-day is no ephemeral and transitory affair, no mere aftermath of the hideous convulsion which has shaken existing civilization to its very foundation. It is the voice of a grief-stricken humanity crying for justice in the relations of industry. Let us be equally assured that the sword is not the instrument, and repression not the method, to stay this unrest. The truth is mightier than the sword, and conference between all the parties in interest, not in coercion of the others by any one, lies the only hope of an ultimate solution.

What is Industry?

We shall get no understanding of the problems of industry until we adequately appreciate what industry itself is, and who the parties are that are responsible for the carrying on of industry.

Industry is the means by which the material resources of the world are transformed through human intelligence and human energy, with the aid of natural powers, tools, and machines into commodities and services for human use. It is a vast process of transformation, itself a series of transforming processes so interrelated and numerous as to unite mankind, in this age of world-wide industrial expansion, in an enterprise that encompasses the globe.

The Parties to Industry.

We are accustomed to discuss the problems of industry in terms of capital and labor. The inability to find a workable solution to many of these problems arises from a vision thus circumscribed, and an ignoring of other factors equal in significance and importance. To carry on industry in any but the most primitive kind of way, four parties, discharging separate and distinct functions, are necessary.

First of all, there is labor, which supplies the muscular and mental energy necessary to effect the processes of transformation.

Next, there is capital, which is necessary to provide the raw materials, the tools, appliances, and equipment essential to industrial processes, and the advances in the way of food, clothing, and shelter required by labor pending the distribution of the finished product.

Then there is management, or directing ability. So frequently has management been associated with the ownership of capital, that the identity of the former has more or less been merged in the latter. A moment's reflection is sufficient, however, to disclose the complete dissimilarity of function between the two. Capital's contribution to industry is in the nature of material substance loaned by way of investment. Its possessor may be any kind of person, from a social parasite or ne'er-do-well who is the inheritor of a fortune, to the infant totally incapable of any service to industry, and whose property is necessarily held in trust. Managerial ability, on the other hand, is in the nature of personal service of the very highest order, and is wholly necessary to effect efficient co-operation not only between labor and capital in the work of production, but also to effect and maintain right relations with the fourth party, without whose co-operation in all that pertains to industry the other three parties could accomplish little or nothing.

The fourth party is the community, that entity which we speak of sometimes as organized society, under whose sanction all industry is carried on, and by whose continuous co-operation with the other parties to industry, production, distribution, and exchange are rendered possible.

Parties to Industry Interdependent.

Not only are the four parties necessary to industry, but they are equally necessary to one another. Capital can do nothing without labor. Labor can do nothing without capital. Neither labor nor capital can co-operate effectively in industry save under the guiding genius of management; and management, however great its genius, can do nothing apart from the opportunities and privileges the community affords. If all four parties are necessary to industry, and equally necessary to one another, then, surely, all four should have some voice in the control of industry, and with regard to the conditions under which their services to industry are rendered.

Existing Organization Inadequate.

Is our present organization of industry in any way suggestive of a partnership, in which labor, capital, management, and the community are regarded as interrelated and interdependent? Far from it, as everyone knows who has given the organization of industry a moment's reflection. I am dealing, of course, only with the dominant type of large industrial organization, for it is mainly from this source that our present problems arise: transportation, manufacturing, mining, etc., etc. So far as control goes, it is all in the nature of monopoly, and that a monopoly of control on the part of capital.

The owners of capital, the capital investors, choose the board of directors; the board of directors choose the management and dictate the policies. The management regards itself as responsible solely to capital. Labor and the community become a consideration only in so far as they are able to make their power felt. Profits for capital are a first consideration; profits as high as it is possible to make them; wages to labor, prices to the community, are what they can be kept at, what the market will allow. Labor and the community are not regarded as partners, entitled to share, through common knowledge, in a common venture, and in gains and losses alike. Such control as they exercise is a control that is forced—not a control that is voluntarily shared; a control that in the nature of things begets an attitude of militancy on their part.

Monopoly of Control by Capital Responsible for Reactions.

It is this monopoly on the part of capital in the control and direction of industry that has led to the developments that are described as Socialistic, ultra-radical, and even anarchistic. More than any other factor, it lies at the root of the industrial upheavals of the present time. The other parties to industry, though feeling themselves rightful partners, have despaired of gaining any measure of joint control by concession. They have felt themselves driven to exact, by force, what they believe to be their rightful dues. In the case of labor, this demand for recognition in the control of industry has asserted itself in the form of strikes. In the case of the community, it has taken the form of arbitrary enactment, leading to an assumption of single control by the State of municipality.

Drift Toward Monopoly of Control by the Community.

What is the Socialistic State, or collectivism, which is its industrial expression, other than industry so organized as to transfer industrial control from capital to the community, to the exclusion of the other parties? Under the Socialistic State, the Government would choose the managers of industry, would own the instruments of production, levying taxation wherever capital was required, and would fix the wages of labor employed, and the prices at which commodities are to be sold.

The war has revealed that the Socialistic State, which workers were led to believe is certain to be beneficent and idealistic, may become the most bureaucratic and autocratic of agencies, holding within its power the lives and freedom of men, as well as the conditions of their employment. Germany has given that object lesson to the world.

The little there has been of State control during the war has also revealed that political managers, as a substitute for industrial managers, is not likely to be the best for either industry or the State. Of that, all countries have had a taste.

Drift Toward Monopoly of Control by Labor.

What are the extreme movements on the part of Labor, but a similar reaction against the monopoly of capital control? In its most violent forms, this reaction has found expression in Revolutionary Syndicalism, Bolshevism, and certain forms of I.W.W.-ism, where, in addition to the ignoring of capital and management as parties to industry, the community is also ignored, and Red Terror used to suppress reason in all that pertains to the accomplishment of lawless designs.

Guild Socialism is similarly a reaction on the part of Labor against monopoly of control on the part of capital. Like State Socialist, it would rule out capital's right to control just as effectively as capitalism seeks to rule out Labor's right to joint control; but as the predominent factor in control it would substitute national guilds for the State. Industrial unions would select the managers, would own the capital, and would determine alike wages and prices.

In protesting against an actual monopoly of control by capital under capitalism, and a possible monopoly



HON. W. L. MACKENZIE KING.

of control by the State under Socialism, Guild Socialism would establish a monopoly of control by Labor under national industrial guilds. This is a national reaction. It represents the extreme of the protest by a militant Labor Unionism against the monopoly of control by capital, just as Collectivism represents the extreme of the protest of an aggressive State Socialism against the monopoly of capitalistic control. Guild Socialism and Collectivism are alike in that each would oust capitalism by setting up a monopoly of its own.

Abolition of Monopoly Control the Only Remedy.

But the cure for monopoly of control by one of the parties to industry is not to be found in the substitution of monopoly of control by one of the other parties; it lies in the destruction of monopoly altogether. It is to be found in the substitution of joint control for single control.

Single control, whether it be by capital, Labor, or the State, sooner or later is certain to mean autocratic control. Whether Labor or the State as the autocrat is preferable to existing capitalistic control, beholden as it is, in some measure at least, to both Labor and the State, is something to which conditions in Europe at the present time afford an all-sufficient answer.

It is not monopoly in any form that we must seek to bring about in this period of transition, but a gradual evolution into a system of joint control, whereby each of the parties to industry will be afforded a voice in the determination of the terms and conditions upon which its services to industry are rendered.

The Wisdom and Justice of Joint Control.

And is not joint control by all the parties to industry in every way eminently wise, as well as fundamentally just? Is it not in every way in the long run, to the interests of industry, and to the interests of each of the parties to industry? Continuance of the system of monopoly of control by capital is no longer possible. Once autocracy was doomed in the political world its doom was equally sounded for the industrial. The interest of every one of the parties to industry is being menaced to-day in the reactions to which the monopoly of control by capital has given rise.

Existing Monopoly of Control Unfair to Capital.

No one of the parties stands to lose quite so much through a continuance of the struggle arising out of the monopoly of control by capital as capital itself. As things are to-day, it is at capital and at management, identified with capital, that the stones are being blindly hurled. War-ridden, hungry and penniless, men and women have witnessed the wanton extravagance of many of those possessed of luxury. They have become bewildered with a condition which enables an idle investor to reap a fortune, while the masses toil excessive hours for a bare subsistence. They have lost sight altogether of the services of capital and management in witnessing the debauchery of indolence combined with riches, and the unearned millions of profiteers.

But let the service that capital and management are capable of rendering industry once be lost to sight and industry itself will be ruined, and with it the well-being of the community as well. What is needed is not the ruination of capital and management, but each given its rightful place in a system of the government of industry which will make for the good of all the parties to production.

Existing Monopoly of Control Unfair to Management.

Nor is the monopoly of control by capital wholly fair to management, or in its best interests. It has been my privilege to talk pretty freely during the past few years with the managers of many large industries, and I find in the minds of not a few of them a feeling that everything is to be gained, and nothing lost, by having the function of capital and the function of management kept separate and distinct, and management given a freer hand in considering the interests of labor and the community.

Some managers there are who obtain their positions, not in virtue of any special skill in managerial ability, but because of personal ownership of large quantities of capital, or intimate association or relationship with some investor. The incompetency of such managers, and their selfish subservience to privilege and position, to the exclusion of a due consideration of the rights of labor and of the community, only serves to rouse the bitter antagonism of both parties, who feel that their rightful interests, as necessary partners in industry, are being thwarted and jeopardized.

Not a little of the militant attitude on the part of labor and impatience on the part of the public with the present order of industry, is due to a feeling that some managers wholly fail to render to industry any service at all commensurate with the enormous salaries they receive, and to a belief that the interests of labor and the community alike are sacrificed to incompetence and extravagance which would not be permitted were all four parties to industry permitted some voice in the shaping of industrial policy.

Management, instead of being regarded as the servant exclusively of capital, ought to be in a position to regard itself, as in fact it is, one of the necessary parties to industry, and as such entitled to a voice in matters which pertain to its administrative functions; responsible in the exercise of its duties, not to one party only, but to all.

In the emancipation of management from the single control of any one of the parties, whether it be capital, labor, or the community, and in the development of its function into that of a responsible executive, concerned equally with all the interests of the necessary parties to industry, lies the hope of any ultimate solution of the industrial problem.

Existing Monopoly of Control Unfair to Labor.

Coming to what is fundamentally right and just may it not be asked: Is labor not quite as much entitled to a voice in the control of industry as capital? It is investment in industry which affords the right to share in corporate control. Capital and management receive representation on this basis. If capital and management are so entitled, why not labor also?

Industry is a joint venture, a venture of labor as well as of capital. The difference in the nature of the investment of capital and labor only serves to emphasize the fundamental justice of labor's right to a share in control. The investment of capital is in the nature of an investment of substances and dollars; the investment of labor is an investment in the nature of skill and life. The one is a material, the other a human investment and of the two, the one involving life is the more precious.

The capital investor—the individual who in industry loans and risks his capital or a part of it—receives for his capital a return in the form of interest; but he receives something more. As an investor, he becomes entitled to a voice in the control of the industry in which his investment is made. The life or labor investor—the worker who in industry loans and risks his life, or gives to industry that part of it described as labor—receives for his labor, which is the use of his life and skill for the time in which labor is given, a return in the form of wages. He lacks, however the additional right, which capital receives, of a share in the government of industry. If capital obtains this right in addition to financial reward for the use of capital for the time for which it is invested, is labor not in justice equally entitled in addition to its monetary reward, to a voice in the control of industry in which, for the time being, its life and skill are likewise invested? If investment in industry has any meaning at all, it is surely one equally shared by the man who gives his labor and the man who gives his capital.

Existing Monopoly of Control Unfair to the Community.

The community's right to representation in the control of industry, and in the shaping of industrial policies, is wholly similar to that of labor. But for community investment on a local, national, and international scale, capital, labor and management would be obliged to make scant shrift under present-day conditions of world competition. But what of the community's part in industry? Here, too, is joint venture on the part of the community just as much as on the part of labor, capital, or management. What is 99 per cent. of the expenditure of government in normal times but outlays in the nature of investment in industry; investment in property and services of one kind or another, which alone makes possible the vast co-operation and co-ordination of effort which is the very life-blood of industry?

The vaster industrial organization becomes, the more it depends, in a multitude of directions, upon the investments of the community.

It is the community which provides the natural resources and powers that underlie all production. Individuals may acquire title by one means or another, but it is from the community, and with the consent of the community, that titles are held. It is the community, organized in various ways, which maintains government and foreign relations, secures law and order, fosters the arts and inventions, aids education, breeds opinion, and promotes, through concession or otherwise, the agencies of transportation, communication, credit, banking, and the like, without which any production, save the most primitive, would be impossible. It is the community which creates the demand for commodities and services, through which labor is provided with remunerative employment, and capital with a return upon its investment. Apart from the community, inventive genius, organizing capacity, managerial or other ability would be of little value. Turn where one may, it is the community that makes possible all the activities of industry, and helps to determine their value and scope.

Community investment is supposed to receive its return in enhanced purchasing power to consumers as respects the number and quality of available services and commodities. This is a return akin to the interest capital receives, and to the wages labor receives. But is not the community equally entitled, on grounds of investment, to a voice in the control of industry and in the shaping of industrial policy. Without participation by the community in the control of industry, there is nothing to prevent the emergence of a joint-profiteering scheme by the other parties, in which high wages and high profits are secured by charges which fall either immediately or ultimately upon consumers.

If industry is to cease to be the battleground of rival factions, each selfishly seeking its own interest, regardless of the interests of the others, its government must cease altogether to be a matter of single control by one of the parties, or of contending controls into a relationship of partnership, with a recognized community of control.

Partnership is essentially a matter of status. It does not involve identity or similarity of function on the part of the partners, or equality of either service or rewards; but it does imply equality as respects the right of representation in the determination of policy on matters of common interest. It is this principle that has thus far so largely failed of recognition. The justification of the principle, however, cannot be gainsaid.

The Necessary Transition.

If to secure a just consideration of the rights of all the four parties to industry something in the nature of partnership, involving community of control, is necessary, how, it will be asked, is that transition to be effected. Certainly it will never be brought about by violent upheavals, or revolutionary methods, which have the result to disorganize industry and occasion loss to all the parties. It must be brought about in an evolutionary manner, here a little, there a little; line upon line, precept upon precept, all working toward the consummation of the one ideal.

Government In the State a Guide to Government In Industry.

There is much in the Government of the State to give us guidance as well as hope in the evolution of government within industry. The British constitution has had its limitations, but no instrument of government has ever been devised which has so effectively helped to preserve and extend the freedom and liberties of men. What the British constitution stands for in the Government of the State, we should aim at effecting in the working out of a constitution for industry. It will not all be accomplished within a day; neither need it be the work of generations. With free political institutions our one great inheritance, the application to industry of those principles which underlie government within the State should not be either impossible or difficult. A willingness to recognize the justice of them, and to act in the light of knowledge we already have, is all that is necessary.

In government within the State there are three outstanding stages of development. The first stage is that of the autocratic executive, in which there is single control by one only of the parties to the State. King John is an outstanding example of this type of autocratic government. It was not believed, in the time of John, that the pepole had any ability to govern themselves. Even the lords and the nobles were without a voice in the government of the kingdom. They secured the first advance in popular liberties when they wrested the Magna Charta from John and secured his signature to a written statement of their rights as citizens.

Representative Government marks the next important phase in the evolution of Government within the State. That takes us back to 1265, to the famous Parliament of Simon de Montfort, when for the first time in British history there was at least an attempt at representation of all three estates. At the outset, representation was restricted and nominal. All subsequent development has been in the nature of a broadening of the basis of representation, and rendering effective the representation gained.

It is only within the past century that the highest form of Government, namely, responsible Government, had been attained. When the managers of industry become responsible to labor, capital, and the community for the manner in which their vast powers and opportunities are exercised, we shall have something in the government of industry closely resembling the responsible executive in the Government of the State. Meanwhile, our duty would appear to be that of putting an end to autocracy and monopoly of control, no matter by which of the parties to industry it may be attempted or exercised, and to work out a system of joint control based upon representation of all the parties in the determination of industrial policy.

Recognition of the Four Parties the First Essential.

Time forbids more than a suggestion or two as to the manner in which a constitution between the parties to industry might be worked out in a way which will help to allay the industrial unrest of our times, and advance the highest interests of industry and all of its parties. Obviously, what is most needed is recognition of the fact that industry is not a matter which concerns only one party, but that it is of vital concern to all four: to capital, to labor, to management, and to the community, and that no one of the four is entitled to a monopoly of control.

Once recognition is given the four parties to industry, the solution of the problem of industrial relations is a matter simply of proceeding in accordance with principles which are obviously fair and just.

The Principle of Conference.

The first of these principles I should like to mention is that of conference. It is impossible to bring together anywhere with a man with whom you are unwilling to confer. Conference is chiefly a matter of attitude. It implies approach, goodwill, confidence; not aloofness, distrust, and suspicion, which too frequently is the attitude between the parties to industry.

Conference between the four parties to industry has been tried, and with the best of results. It was found absolutely necessary to the winning of the war. It was not until the Government of Britain, representing the community, invited capital, management, and labor to meet in common, and policies were arrived at as the result of round-table conference, that the necessary adjustments of industry were so arranged as to make possible the vast production of munitions of war. What was necessary to the winning of war is equally necessary to the winning of peace—which we can hardly say exists so long as international strife gives way only to industrial unrest.

The Principle of Investigation.

The second principle is that of investigation. Investigation is only a method of getting at the truth; and, as I said at the outset, it is the truth alone that shall set us free. In problems of the magnitude of those which industry presents, any just solution is impossible without a knowledge of the facts. There are a class of evils which publicity is more effective in preventing and remedying than penalty, and unfair dealings between the parties to industry are of this kind. Meanness, injustice, gross selfishness—these cannot endure under the light of an intelligently formed public opinion. Most industrial ills belong to this class.

Investigation, too, has been tried between the four parties to industry, and found to be of the utmost service.

I notice that the Minister of Labor informed the House of Commons a day or two ago that Canada had had fewer strikes in recent years than any other country in the world. If that statement is true, and I believe it is, it is because we have on our statutes a law which makes provision for the investigation of industrial controversies prior to lockouts and strikes.

The principle of that law is the one being acted upon in Great Britain to-day. If England is being saved at the moment from industrial strife, hardly less frightful in its consequences than actual war, it is because capital and management, labor, and the community are represented upon the commission recently appointed by Mr. Lloyd George to investigate the demands of the miners, and the condition of the mining industry throughout Britain.

It is upon the same principle of encouraging investigation prior to the commencement of hostilities that the League of Nations is being founded. If war between nations and between the parties to industry is to end, it can only be by the acceptance of the principle of investigation before the severance of peaceful relations.

What we need quite as much as a League of Nations is a league of the parties to industry to see to the enforcement of this great principle, and the moulding of public opinion to that end. Such a league would lead I believe, even more quickly than a League of Nations, to the maintenance of international, as well as of industrial peace. Accustom men to the adoption of fundamental principles in their industrial relations, which are something that immediately concern their every day life, and the application of like principles to international affairs will take care of itself.

The Principle of Organization and Collective Action.

A third principle is that of organization and collective action. The problems of industry are world problems. To cope with them successfully, organization is absolutely necessary.

What would become of capital, under the stress of world competition, if its units were not to coalesce, and large organization of business were rendered impossible? What would become of the community, if its activities were not organized? Deprive managers of the right of membership in an employers' or manufacturers' association, and they would be the first to say that their liberties had been infringed. Where, then, is the justice of denying to one party to industry a right which is conceded as just and necessary to the other three? If capital, management and the community have the right to organize, so also should labor have this right.

Without organization of labor—where capital, management, and the community are organized—what equality of relationship can there possibly be between the four parties to industry? And where are the individual units of labor likely to find themselves in the teeth of a world competition, more relentless where labor is concerned than in the case of capital or management? Labor left but briefly in a condition of isolation will starve; capital and management are usually in a position to wait.

It is not against organization that we ought to protest, but against the possible abuses of organized power. In this connection it is well to remember that the use of a thing is one thing, and its abuse another; and that with human nature what it is, abuses of power are not confined to any one class.

The Principle of Representation.

A fourth principle is that of Representation. Here we are at the beginning of the real solution of the problems of industry. Government within the State has widened down from autocratic authority to authority broad-based upon a people's will. The expansion of the principle of representation is responsible for that development. It will be equally so in industry. The problems of industry are essentially problems of government. Adequate representation of all the parties in interest, effected through organization, enjoying the right of investigation, and meeting in round table conference—in such an obviously just and fair arrangement, we have the beginnings of law and order in industry, just as we have had it in the State, and the hope of a future development along constitutional and evolutionary, not revolutionary, lines.

Joint Committees and Joint Industrial Councils.

Once the principle of representation is conceded, it is only a step to the formation of joint committees of employers and employes, the establishment of known, orderly, and expeditious procedure in all matters requiring adjustment, and the determination of industrial policies in a manner which will have regard for the interests of all concerned.

From joint committees in individual establishments, meeting at periodical intervals for little more than purposes of conference and consultation, the principle of representation should lead to the establishment of permanent standing joint industrial councils, embracing all the workers and all the employers in a given trade or industry, and concerned with the determination of industrial policies, and the fixation of industrial standards enforceable throughout by the co-operation of Government, representing the community and protecting its interests. This, as you know, is the objective of the recommendations of the so-called Whitley Committee which the Government of Great Britain has adopted as the cornerstone of its reconstruction policy.

Nor is the formation of such joint committee and industrial councils any longer a matter of experiment. Every day is adding to the number that are being formed, many of them in industries which have hitherto opposed anything in the way of organization among employes, and which have conceded little or nothing in the way of conference.

The trades unions are mainly responsible for the development that has thus far been achieved. They have pioneered the path; they have blazed the trail which has led to collective bargaining, joint agreements, and contracts between the parties to industry. It has been a long and bitter struggle, this struggle for recognition on the part of organized labor. It has involved any amount of ill-feeling and misunderstanding, and fostered no end of prejudice and hatred; but the real purport of labor's struggle is coming to be better understood, and the part which the large organizations of capital and of labor are capable of playing in reconstructing human society is emerging into cleared day.

It is coming to be seen that the control of labor by its leaders is wholly dependent upon its organization into conservative unions; that it is among the unorganized and undisciplined workers that Bolshevism and I.W.W.ism recruit their armies of terror and destruction. In a union of the organized forces of labor and of capital, against a common enemy which menaces all human society, lies the hope of the future. Industrial concerns which have hitherto stood out against anything in the nature of a democratic organization of industry will do well to evidence a disposition to act upon the principles of conference, investigation, organization, and representation, in dealings with their employes, and to concede to labor the right of collective bargaining, and a voice in the determination of terms of employment and matters pertaining to their working and living conditions.

It may be that labor needs education, that its leaders need more in the way of experience; but whence is that education and qualities of leadership to be gained if not in the industries in which labor is employed, and through joint dealings with parties more highly favored?

The Joint Industrial Councils being formed in England show how this new approach between capital and labor is certain, in its highest form, to take account of all existing organizations of labor and capital, and to change the attitude of these powerful bodies from one of militancy, based on a belief in opposed interests, into one of co-operation based on a belief in the larger interests which they have in common.

A New Spirit Necessary.

One thing, and one thing only, remains to ensure a new world rising out of the ashes of the old; and without it nothing can be achieved. It is the acceptance by each of the parties to industry of the spirit which has saved not only Britain, but the world, in the overthrow of Prussian arrogance and ambition. It was through a love of liberty and a hatred of domination that men by the millions sacrificed their lives that freedom might not perish from the earth. The overthrow of Prussian despotism is only part of the vast undertaking which the free nations of the world have still before them if freedom worthy of the name is to be maintained. Industrial autocracy and political autocracy may go hand in hand, but not autocracy in industry and democracy in politics. The latter combination is as illmated as the former is natural. To the nations that have won political freedom there remains the task of reorganizing their industries into harmony with their Governments. Anything short of harmony means perpetual conflict. Institutions opposed in organization and spirit can only work against each other till one or the other prevails. To democratize industry, so that along with democracy in government there may be a true industrial democracy, is the task that lies ahead.

A New Conception of Industry.

With the new spirit must come also a wholly new conception of industry. No longer must industry be thought of as a mere revenue-producing process, in which capital, labor, management, and the community meet like so many rival and contending factions, each to appropriate to itself by force or might the largest possible share of the fruits of industry. Industry must be thought of, as in reality it is, in the nature of social service, and participation in industry, whether in the form of labor or capital investment, as social service of the highest kind, since upon its successful accomplishment rest all other forms of human service.

A Final Hope.

May I conclude these remarks with words with which I have concluded a volume in which I have sought to enlarge upon the principles outlined to-day. This moment of silence at the close of the Great War, and this Lenten season, seem to give to them appropriateness to this occasion, and to the subject we have been considering.

"Is it too much to believe that, having witnessed humanity pass through its Gethsemane, having seen its agony in its Garden of Fears, having beheld its crucifixion upon the cross of militarism, labor and capital will yet bring to a disconsolate and brokenhearted world the one hope it is theirs alone to bring; and that, in the acceptance of principles which hold deliverance from the scourges that beset mankind, they will roll back the stone from the door of the world's sepulchre to-day, and give to humanity the promise of its resurrection to a more abundant life?"

Another Thing the Nurses Do.

Toronto's public health nurses in 1918, made 1,305 inspections of day nurseries, the number of children inspected being 49,026.

Gems from W. L. M. King's Speech At Empire Club Luncheon To-Day

Unrest in industry to-day is no transitory affair, no mere aftermath of the hideous convulsion; it is the voice of a grief-stricken humanity crying for justice.

Four parties are necessary to industry, capital, labor, management, the community; is there anything in their present relations suggestive of a partnership? So far as control goes, it is all monopoly on the part of capital.

Profits for capital are to-day the first consideration, profits as high as it is possible to make them—wages and prices are what they can be kept at.

What are the extreme movements on the part of labor (Bolshevism, etc.) but a similar reaction against the monopoly of capital control?

No one stands to lose quite so much through a continuance of the struggle arising out of monopoly of control by capital as capital itself.

The services of capital and management are being lost sight of through debauchery of indolence combined with riches and the unearned millions of profiteers.

In industry, capital invests substances and dollars, labor invests skill and life. Of the two, the one involving life is the more precious.

Individuals may acquire title to property by one means or another, but it is from the community and with the consent of the community that titles are held.

What we need quite as much as a League of Nations is a League of the Parties to Industry.

The Trade Unions are mainly responsible for the development that has thus far been achieved. It has been a long and bitter struggle.

Industrial autocracy and political autocracy may go hand-in-hand, but not autocracy in industry and democracy in politics.

BE PRETTY! TURN GREY HAIR DARK

Try Grandmother's Old Favorite Recipe of Sage Tea and Sulphur.

Almost everyone knows that Sage Tea and Sulphur, properly compounded, brings back the natural color and lustre to the hair when faded, streaked or grey. Years ago the only way to get this mixture was to make it at home, which is mussy and troublesome. Nowadays, by asking at any drug store for "Wyeth's Sage and Sulphur Compound," you will get a large bottle of this famous old recipe, improved by the addition of other ingredients, at a small cost.

Don't stay grey! Try it. No one can possibly tell that you darkened your hair, as it does it so naturally and evenly. You dampen a sponge or soft brush with it and draw this through your hair, taking one small strand at a time; by morning the grey hair disappears, and after another application or two, your hair becomes beautifully dark, glossy and attractive.

An Old Recipe to Darken Hair

Sage Tea and Sulphur Turns Gray, Faded Hair Dark and Glossy.

Almost everyone knows that Sage Tea and Sulphur, properly compounded, brings back the natural color and lustre to the hair when faded, streaked or grey. Years ago the only way to get this mixture was to make it at home, which is mussy and troublesome.

Nowadays we simply ask at any drug store for "Wyeth's Sage and Sulphur Compound." You will get a large bottle of this old-time recipe improved by the addition of other ingredients, at very little cost. Everybody uses this preparation now, because no one can possibly tell that you darkened your hair, as it does it so naturally and evenly. You dampen a sponge or soft brush with it and draw this through your hair, taking one small strand at a time; by morning the grey hair disappears, and after another application or two, your hair becomes beautifully dark, thick and glossy and you look years younger.



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W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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Toronto Globe
March 14, 1919

RADICAL REFORM NECESSARY TO REMEDY LABOR TROUBLES

Constructive Reorganization of Social System as it Affects Capital and Labor Essential, Says Hon. Mackenzie King



HON. W. L. MACKENZIE KING.
Who addressed the Empire Club yesterday on "The Four Parties to Industry."

Speaking before the Empire Club yesterday on "The Four Parties to Industry," Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King laid bare the roots of the industrial evil which has assumed such a disquieting aspect in the sphere of world economics since the cessation of hostilities, and proffered in terms of the clearest and sanest logic his theories as to the only adequate means of cutting short its development. He laid stress upon the point that neither violent nor revolutionary measures could be expected to bring relief. The substitution of one extreme for another would be the most dangerous of remedies. The unquestionable injustice of the old industrial regime was the source of the present unrest, and nothing short of a complete readjustment of relationships along equitable and constructive lines could serve as even a palliative.

Lessons From the War.

"In industrial relations especially," said the speaker, "we have accepted with complacence an order of things to which we have grown accustomed. The shock of war, stirring the world's soul to its very depths, has brought before our eyes the shattered image of an industrial civilization which is full of injustice. It has left us to decide whether the new order shall be little more than a return to the old, with all its worship of material wealth and material power, and its relative indifference to human worth and human well-being, or whether it will be an order worthy of the sacrifices of the heroic dead, and the services of those who on land and sea have endured all manner of hardships and perils to preserve the liberties and freedom that we still enjoy. Let us be assured of this: the unrest in the world of industry to-day is no ephemeral and transitory affair, no mere aftermath of the hideous convulsion which has shaken existing civilization to its very foundation. It is the voice of a grief-stricken humanity crying for justice in the relations of industry. Let us be equally assured that the sword is not the instrument and repression not the method to stay this unrest. The truth is mightier than the sword, and in conference between all the parties in interest, not in coercion of the others by any one, lies the only hope of an ultimate solution."

The Main Factors.

As a primary step toward a true comprehension of the situation, said Mr. King, it would be necessary to cast aside the old, circumscribed point of view which limited the factors involved in commercial production to two—Capital and Labor. In its most elementary stages industry could not exist without two further agencies, each as essential as either of these. These were: first, the organizing genius of management, which, entirely distinct in its function from capital, served to effect co-operation between it and both Labor and the fourth factor—the community—and to co-ordinate the contributions of all three toward the operation of industry. The community, representing organized society, acted as a sustaining force in maintaining law and order, providing transportation facilities, and in defining relationships with other communities.

"Not only are the four parties necessary to industry," he said, "but they are equally necessary to one another. Capital can do nothing without Labor. Labor can do nothing without Capital. Neither Labor nor Capital can co-operate effectively in industry save under the guiding genius of management; and management, however great its genius, can do nothing apart from the opportunities and privileges the community affords. If all four parties are necessary to industry, and equally necessary to one another, then, surely, all four should have some voice in the control of industry, and with regard to the conditions under which their services to industry are rendered.

Need Better Organization.

"Is our present organization of industry in any way suggestive of a partnership, in which Labor, Capital, management and the community are regarded as interrelated and interdependent? Far from it, as everyone knows who has given the organization of industry a moment's reflection. I am dealing, of course, only with the dominant type of large industrial organization, for it is mainly from this source that our present problems arise: transportation, manufacturing, mining, etc., etc. So far as control goes, it is all in the nature of monopoly, and that a monopoly of control on the part of Capital.

"The owners of capital, the capital investors, choose the board of directors; the board of directors choose the management and dictate the policies. The management regards itself as responsible solely to capital. Labor and the community become a consideration only in so far as they are able to make their power felt. Profits for capital are a first consideration; profits as high as it is possible to make them. Wages to Labor, prices to the community, are what they can be kept at, what the market will allow. Labor and the community are not regarded as partners, entitled to share, through common knowledge, in a common venture, and in gains and losses alike. Such control as they exercise is a control that is forced—not a control that is voluntarily shared; a control that in the nature of things begets an attitude of militancy on their part.

"It is this monopoly on the part of Capital in the control and direction of industry that has led to the developments that are described as Socialistic, ultra-radical, and even anarchistic. More than any other factor, it lies at the root of the industrial upheavals of the present time. The other parties to industry, though feeling themselves rightful partners, have despaired of gaining any measure of joint control by concession. They have felt themselves driven to exact, by force, what they believe to be their rightful dues. In the case of Labor, this demand for recognition in the control of industry has asserted itself in the form of strikes. In the case of the community, it has taken the form of arbitrary enactment, leading to an assumption of single control by the State or municipality."

Basis of Partnership.

But in these reactionary movements, the speaker declared, lay no hope of ultimate reform. Stirred to revolt by the injustice of one autocracy, its victims were striving to established another. There would be no safety in a system which merely wrested industrial control from the hands of one of the parties to industry to place it in those of another. The only equitable reform would lie in the re-establishment of relations on the basis of a partnership wherein each of the members, equally essential, would have equal voice and rights. It was the accomplishment of this change which would constitute the problem to be faced by the industrial reformers of to-day.

Certainly it could not be brought about by sudden or revolutionary methods; it must be consummated by steady and consistent evolution, a gradual growth toward the fulfilment of an ideal.

The prime necessity of this fulfilment would be acknowledgment of the equal rights and interests of the four parties involved. Given that, the development of reform would be merely a question of sane procedure under four guiding principles.

The establishment of confidence between all four parties would be the first essential, and this could only be engendered by the principle of conferenee. Much would have been accomplished when councils were instituted where Capital, Labor and the managerial and community interests connected with an industry might meet on equal terms. This had been found necessary to the winning of the war in England, and it would be just as necessary to the winning of peace.

Investigation Essential.

The second principle to be followed was that of investigation. By turning the searchlight of publicity upon any cases of meanness, injustice or gross selfishness they would be dissolved, and with them the distrust begotten of them. Just as necessary as a League of Nations was a league of the four parties to industry, who would investigate disputes and thus prevent industrial strife.

The right of each party equally, to organize must be recognized, for organization was the proven servant of progress. It was the demonstrated fact that Bolshevism found few recruits among the adherents of organized Labor, and the function of Labor organizations must be appreciated, and co-operation with Labor leaders practised by the other three members of the industrial partnership.

Lastly must the principle of representation be applied. The government of industry was analogous to the government of nations, and in each representative government was essential to the maintenance of just relationships.

Democratic Industry.

"One thing," said Mr. King, "and one thing only, remains to insure a new world rising out of the ashes of the old, and without it nothing can be achieved. It is the acceptance by each of the parties to industry of the spirit which has saved not only Britain, but the world, in the overthrow of Prussian arrogance and ambition. It was through a love of liberty and a hatred of domination that men by the millions sacrificed their lives that freedom might not perish from the earth. The overthrow of Prussian despotism is only part of the vast undertaking which the free nations of the world have still before them if freedom worthy of the name is to be maintained. Industrial autocracy and political autocracy may go hand in hand, but not autocracy in industry and democracy in politics. The latter combination is as ill-mated as the former is natural. To the nations that have won political freedom there remains the task of reorganizing their industries into harmony with their Governments. Anything short of harmony means perpetual conflict. Institutions opposed in organiaztion and spirit can only work against each other till one or the other prevails. To democratize industry, so that along with democracy in government there may be a true industrial democracy, is the task that lies ahead."

Tor. News
Mar. 3, 1919

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...NIZATION

BELIEVES INDUSTRY MUST BE REGARDED AS SOCIAL SERVICE

Hon. W. L. Mackenzie-King Offers Empire Club a Remedy for Unrest

"More than any other factor it is this monopoly of control and direction of industry on the part of capital that lies at the root of the industrial upheavals of the present time and has led to the movements which are described as Socialistic, Ultra-Radical, and even anarchistic," was the sentence pronounced against the existing system of industry by the Hon. William Lyon Mackenzie King, speaking to the Empire Club at luncheon in the King Edward Hotel to-day.

Taking for his subject "The Four Parties of Industry," the speaker designated industry as consisting, not only of the two generally-accepted elements of labor and capital, but, besides these, the parties of management and the community. Hitherto, the management, he said, has been so closely associated with the ownership of capital that its identity has almost become merged into that of capital; but, he pointed out, this was not to the advantage of the party of management as it tended in many cases to make management subservient to capital when it should be responsible to every part of the system.

Monopoly of Control.

Referring to the drift toward monopoly of control by Labor, Mr. King said: "What are the extreme movements on the part of Labor but a similar reaction against the monopoly of Capital control? In its most violent forms this reaction has found expressin in Revolutionary Syndicalism, Bolshevism, and certain forms of I.W.W-ism, where, in addition to the ignoring of Capital and management as parties to industry, the community is also ignored, and Red Terror used to supplant reason in all that pertains to the accomplishment of lawless designs. Guild Socialism is similarly a reaction on the part of Labor against monopoly of control on the part of Capital. Like State Socialism, it would rule out Capital's right to joint control just as effectively as Capitalism seeks to rule out Labor's right to joint control; but as the predominant factor in control it would substitute national guilds for the State. Industrial unions would select managers, would own the capital, and would determine alike wages and prices."

He went on: "But the cure for monopoly of control by one of the parties to industry is not to be found in the substitution of monopoly of control by one of the other parties; it lies on the destruction of conopoly altogether. It is to be found in the substitution of joint control for single control. Single control, whether it be by vcapital, labor, or the State, sooner or later is certain to mean autocratic control. Whhether labor or the State as the autocrat is preferable to existing capitalistic control, beholden as it is, in some measure at least, to both labor and the State, is something to which conditions in Europe at the present time afford an all-sufficient answer."

Joint Control as Cure.

The cure for the situation, Mr. King is assured, lies in the growth of the system from monopoly of control to joint control by all. But how is this to be brought about? The speaker drew an example from the existing government of England, which, providing for its limitations, he characterized as "the mst effective instrument of government ever devised for the extension and preservation of the freedom and liberties of men."

Mr. King's idea of securing the transition was to have the aforesaid recognition principle followed closely by conference between the parties. This principle, he stated, has been tried and found true. Without conference between the elements of capital, labor, management and the community, represented by the Government, the winning of the war would have been impossible.

"What was necessary for winning the war is necessary to the winning of peace—which we can hardly say exists so long as international strife gives way only to industrial unrest," he averred.

The speaker would follow the principle of conference with that of investigation, which in former times had been found of so much service among the parties to industry. This, in turn, must result in organization and collective action. The speaker pointed out that absolutely nothing could be accomplished without organization and elaborate co-operation on the part of every interested element.

"Then," he said, "comes the principle of representation, a necessity above all others in the formation of workable unity—to be followed by joint committees and joint industrial councils."

Trade Unions Blaze Trail.

"These should be permanent and should embrace all the workers and all the employers in a given trade or industry," he stated, adding: "The trade unions are mainly responsible for the development that has thus far been achieved. They have pioneered the path; they have blazed the trail which has led to collective bargaining, joint agreements and contracts between the parties to industry. It has been a long and bitter struggle, this struggle for recognition on the part of organized labor."

Concluding, Mr. King said: "With a new spirit must come also a wholly new conception of industry. No longer must industry be thought of as a mere revenue-producing process, in which capital, labor, management and the community meet like so many rival and contending factions, each to appropriate to itself by force or might the largest possible share of the fruits of industry. Industry must be thought of, as in reality it is, in the nature of social service, and participation in industry, whether in the form of labor or capital investment, as social service of the highest kind, since upon its successful accomplishment rest all other forms of human service."

ILL IN CALIFORNIA.

Mr. J. A. Macfadden, 27 Chicora avenue, who went to California a few weeks ago in the hope of improving his health, has been seized with a stroke and is now in the hospital at Passadena. Mr. Macfadden is a well-known business man, being general agent for the New York Life Insurance Company.

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TORONTO TELEGRAM
MARCH 13, 1919

for Telegram March 13

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Latest Canadian And U.S. News

PRICE TWO CENTS

LABOR'S PART IN INDUSTRY

OUTLINED BY HON. W. L. M. KING

It is Among Unorganized and Undisciplined Workers That the Bolshevist Spirit is Cultivated.

Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, one-time Dominion Minister of Labor, since with the Rockefeller Foundation in the U.S., addressed the Empire Club this afternoon on "The Four Parties to Industry."

The unrest in the world of industry to-day was no mere aftermath of war, but "the voice of a grief-stricken humanity, crying for justice in the relations of industry. To carry an industry, four parties, discharging separate and distinctive functions, were necessary: Labor, capital, management (or directing ability) and the community, "that entity which we speak of sometimes as organized society, under whose sanction all industry is carried on, and by whose continuous co-operation with the other parties to industry, production, distribution and exchange are rendered possible."

CAUSE OF UNREST.

When management regarded itself as responsible solely to capital, labor and the community become a consideration only in so far as they are able to make their power felt. It was this monopoly on the part of capital in the control and direction of industry that had led to the developments that are described as socialistic, ultra-radical and even anarchistic. "More than any other factor, it lies at the root of the industrial upheavals of the present time," he said.

Single control, whether it be by capital, labor or the state, sooner or later was certain to mean autocratic control.

SHOULD BE SEPARATED.

"It has been my privilege," said Mr. King, "to talk pretty freely during the past few years with the managers of many large industries, and I find in the minds of not a few of them, a feeling that everything is to be gained, and nothing lost, by having the function of capital and the function of management kept separate and distinct, and management given a freer hand in considering the interests of labor and the community. In the emancipation of management from the single control of any one of the other parties lies the hope of any ultimate solution of the industrial problem.

RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT.

"When the managers of industry become responsible to labor, capital and the community for the manner in which their vast powers and opportunities are exercised, we shall have something in the government of industry closely resembling the responsible executive in the government of the state.

"The solution of the problem of industrial relations is a matter simply of proceeding in accordance with principles which are obviously fair and just.

PRINCIPLE OF CONFERENCE.

"The first of these principles is that of conference. It is impossible to hope to get anywhere with a man with whom you are unwilling to confer. Conference is chiefly a matter of attitude. It implies approach, good-will, confidence.

"The second principle is that of investigation. Investigation is only a method of getting at the truth. Meanness, injustice, gross selfishness —these cannot endure under the light of an intelligently formed public opinion. Most industrial ills belong to this class.

INDUSTRIAL LEAGUE NEEDED.

"What we need quite as much as a league of nations is a league of the parties to industry, to see to the enforcement of this great principle and the moulding of public opinion to that end. Such a league would lead, I believe, more quickly than a league of nations, to the maintenance of international, as well as of industrial, peace.

"A third principle is that of organization and collective action, and a fourth principle is that of representation. Here we are at the beginning of the real solution of the problems of industry.

FORM JOINT COMMITTEE.

"Once the principle of representation is conceded, it is only a step to the formation of joint committees of employers and employes, the establishment of known, orderly and expeditious procedure in all matters requiring adjustment, and the determination of industrial policies in a manner which will have regard for the interests of all concerned. From joint committees in individual establishments, the principle of representation should lead to the establishment of permanent standing joint industrial councils, embracing all the workers and all the employers in a given trade or industry, and concerned with the determination of industrial policies, and the fixation of industrial standards enforceable throughout by the co-operation of government, representing the community and protecting its interests. This is the objective of the recommendations of the so-called Witley committee which the Government of Great Britain has adopted as the corner stone of its reconstruction policy.

CREDIT TO TRADES UNIONS.

"The trade unions are mainly responsible for the development that has thus far been achieved. They have pioneered the path; they have blazed the trail which has led to collective bargaining, joint agreements and contracts between the parties to industry. It is coming to be seen that the control of labor by its leaders is wholly dependent upon its organization into conservative unions; that it is among the unorganized and undisciplined workers that Bolshevism and I.W.W.-ism recruit their armies of terror and destruction. In a union of the organized forces of labor and of capital, against a common enemy which menaces all human society, lies the hope of the future.

A WORD OF ADVICE.

"Industrial concerns which have hitherto stood out against anything in the nature of a democratic organization of industry will do well to evidence a disposition to act upon the principles of conference, investigation, organization and representation, in dealings with their employes, and to concede to labor the right of collective bargaining and a voice in the determination of terms of employment and matters pertaining to their working and living conditions. It may be that labor needs educating, that its leaders need more in the way of experience; but whence is that education and qualities of leadership to be gained if not in the industries in which labor is employed, and through joint dealings with parties more highly favored?"

THE NECESSARY SPIRIT.

One thing, and one thing only, remained to ensure a new world rising out of the ashes of the old; and without it nothing could be achieved. It was the acceptance by each of the parties to industry of the spirit of love of liberty and a hatred of domination.

SELLING GERMAN U-BOATS

ALLIES SHARE IN PROCEEDS.

Fifty-Four Already Sold and More Will Be Disposed of—No Decision Yet About Ships.

London, March 13.—More German submarines will be sold and the money realized distributed among the allies on a scale to be adopted by the Supreme Council, T. J. MacNamara, Parliamentary Secretary to the Admiralty, announced in the House of Commons to-day. Mr. MacNamara stated that already fifty-four German submarines had been sold.

He also said that the Supreme Council had not yet decided what was to be done with the other German ships. The provisional composition of the Mediterranean squadron was six battleships, six light cruisers, a destroyer flotilla and a submarine flotilla.

SIR GEORGE IS PLEASED

Tells London Times What He Thinks of Removal of Restrictions.

Canadian Associated Press Cable.

London, March 13.—Sir George Foster, in the course of an interview published in the Times, expresses the satisfaction of the overseas Dominions at the British Government's removal of the import restrictions, which, he says, was most opportune and reassuring.

"It has set the seal on what has been known for some time to be the policy of the present Government," says the Canadian Minister of Commerce. "That it has been delayed in getting from the stage of resolution to actual embodiment has caused much heart-searching disappointment, which now, happily, and, let us hope, forever, is dispelled. The Empire which has fought together in such close beneficial co-operation to maintain its existence may well extend the experience gained there into the co-operative and sympathetic development of its vast resources."

SIR SAM IS CURIOUS

Has Long List of Questions Affecting Soldiers and Their Comfort.

Ottawa, March 13. — Sir Sam Hughes is moving in the Commons for a return showing: (a) The quantities of coal and other fuel per man per day supplied to the Canadian soldiers during December, January and February, 1918-19; (b) the character of the housing of the soldiers in each case, viz., was it in wooden houses or in tents? Were there floors in these places? Were the cracks in the floors covered? Had the men cots, or were they obliged to lie on the floor? How many blankets were supplied per man? (c) What was the nature of the stove or heating apparatus furnished? (d) What were the sewage and sanitary plans and conditions in these camps? (e) How were complaints on the part of the officers and men treated or disposed of?

Sir Sam also has a long motion on the order paper asking for the production of a copy of a circular, supposedly of German origin, containing ten suggestions, surreptitiously distributed among the Canadian troops about the time of the battle of St. Julien, depreciating the Canadian rifle.

He also asks for the production of evidence as to the finding among Canadian troops armed with the Canadian rifles of thousands of rounds of defective ammunition mixed with the good ammunition long after the order to withdraw the defective ammunition, and the absence of any defective ammunition in the Canadian battalions armed with the Lee-Enfield rifle.

Doctor Wins.

Justice Kelly has dismissed the action of Christopher Hearne, a marine engineer, against Dr. A. J. Flood, claiming $5,000 for alleged malpractice in not having diagnosed his injury as a broken arm.

Judgment Against Trust Co.

James A. Simon, of Etobicoke, was given judgment for $25 with Division Court costs in his suit against the Toronto General Trusts Corporation before Judge Denton for $500 damages for illegal distress.

50,000 a Year for Jewish Country.

New York, March 13.—Restriction of immigration into Palestine to 50,0000 a year during the first period of development of the new Jewish commonwealth set up under British trusteeship, has been decided upon by the Inter-Allied Zionist Conference in London.

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THE TOROTON DAILY STAR

THE STAR PRINTING AND PUBLISHING CO., OF TORONTO, LIMITED.

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CIRCULATION DURING FEBRUARY.

The daily average circulation of The Star for the Month of February, 1919, exclusive of returned copies, war extras, or special editions, was

DAILY STAR **85,588**

STAR WEEKLY **77,330**

The Audit Bureau of Circulation audits the circulation books of The Star.

FRIDAY, MARCH 14, 1919.

Keep the Lawyers Out Of It

Complaint has been made that the city is discouraging the employment of lawyers by applicants for soldiers' insurance. It does, and should. A member of the City Solicitor's department, who lost his own son in the war, is charged with the permanent duty of getting insurance for all claimants who are justly entitled to it under the terms of the city's grant. The services of this trained investigator, who is familiar with the conditions requisite to payment of insurance and the information required by the civic committee as no outside lawyer could be, cost the claimant nothing. But outside law firms have been known to charge the widows five per cent., or $50 on a $1,000 claim. One, whose charges were over $50, included a bill for $5 for interviewing the very lawyer who is retained by the city to look after these cases. The interview occupied three minutes and consisted in the outsider asking whether there was any ground for a claim which was being made adverse to his client, the reply being that there was not. He got $5 for the information the city lawyer gave him for nothing.

The handling of soldiers' insurance has been a creditable chapter in civic history. Middlemen, in the shape of outside lawyers, have been largely eliminated, and with excellent results.

Why Not At Elections?

Controller McBride's latest manifestation of hostility towards the Health Department takes the form of commending a doctor who is openly defying it. Just about a year ago the same controller was on a rampage against the department on another pretext. Is it the coming of spring which affects Mr. McBride in this way, or is there some special germ which bites him every March?

Attacks on the Health Department are bad business, because much of its effectiveness depends upon public co-operation; and public co-operation depends, in turn, upon public confidence, which these attacks undermine. Whatever may be the germ which sneaks into the controller's system, it is to be noted that he is singularly immune to it around election time. If Mr. McBride thinks so little of Toronto's Health Department, why doesn't he test public opinion by making his attacks just before New Year's Day?

A League of Industrial Peace

In these times of industrial unrest the Empire Club is to be congratulated upon placing before its members such an address as that of the Hon. Mackenzie King on "The Four Parties to Industry." Mr. King has made the study of this problem his lifework, and he is not only a student, but one who has had practical experience in working out the solution. His book "Industry and Humanity" is upon the same lines as his address.

The four parties to industry, he says, are labor, capital, management, and the community. They are interdependent; in their harmonious co-operation lies the solution of the industrial problem. The existing organization is inadequate. Labor and capital are not regarded as partners. The management regards itself as responsible solely to capital, and profits for capital are the first consideration. "Wages to capital, prices to the community, are what they can be kept at, what the market will allow." This monopoly of control is the cause of the industrial upheavals of the present time. Labor and the community, unable to obtain what they desire by concession, have felt themselves driven to exact by force what they regard as their rightful dues. "In the case of labor this demand for recognition in the control of industry has asserted itself in the form of strikes. In the case of the community it has taken the form of arbitrary enactment, leading to an assumption of single control by the State or municipality."

The remedy is not the substitution of any other kind of monopoly for that of capital. Single control, whether by capital, labor, or the State, is sure to mean autocratic control. The true system is joint control, which is wise, just, and in the interests of all. The present system is unfair to all the parties. Industry must cease to be the battleground of factions, each selfishly seeking its own interest, regardless of the interests of the others. There must be partnership, with recognized community of control. This can never be brought about by violent upheavals or revolutionary methods, which serve only to disorganize industry and occasion loss to all its parties. It must be brought about by evolution, "here a little, there a little, line upon line, precept upon precept, all working toward the consummation of one ideal."

Mr. King believes that in working out this idea much is to be learned from the government of the State, and especially from the British constitution. In this government there are three outstanding stages of development. The first is the autocratic executive, the absolute monarch. The next, of which Magna Charta is a landmark, is representative government, at first restricted. The third is responsible government, as realized in the last century. We should follow the same path in dealing with industrial problems, putting an end to autocracy and monopoly of control, and aiming at the representation of all the parties to which Mr. King refers.

Four principles, says Mr. King, should be recognized and applied. Conference is the first. It has been tried, and with good results. It was found absolutely necessary to the winning of the war. The second is investigation, striving to arrive at the truth. This, too, acts as a solvent of difficulty and conflict. The third principle is organization and collective action. Without organization of labor there can be no equality of relationship, for capital is always organized. And it may be added that the organization of labor, so far from causing strife as is sometimes imagined, facilitates negotiation between capital and labor. The fourth principle is representation. The problems of labor are problems of government. In adequate representation are the beginnings of law and order in industry.

Once the principle of representation is conceded it is only a step to the formation of joint committees of employers and employes with known, orderly, and expeditious means of procedure. These committees should eventually be permanent standing councils, such as are recommended in the Whitley Committee which the Government of Great Britain has adopted as the cornerstone of its reconstruction policy.

The League of Nations represents the world's effort to end the horrors of war by introducing the principles of law, order, and co-operation. At the same time the world is threatened with an industrial conflict which may have disastrous results. Mr. King proposes a league of the parties to industry, for the promotion of industrial peace, the establishment of industrial justice, and co-operation in service for the whole community. It is a noble ideal, but it is no mere vision. Mr. King speaks not only as an idealist, but as a logical thinker and a practical man of affairs.

The Born Fighters

A magazine writer in describing a public man says of him that the contour of his head and the shape of his mouth and chin indicate the born fighter.

But is there a particular type of man who can be recognized at a glance as a born fighter?

There is, of course, the kind of man who gives one the impression that he is ready to quarrel on the least provocation, or who has the air of one who is in quest of trouble, and there is the man with the head, mouth, and chin which have always been supposed to indicate the fighter. But have not accepted ideas been rather bowled over in this war?

If one looks at the portraits of the Canadians who in the war have won the Victoria Cross for deeds of the utmost valor, he will find that the faces are not of any one type, but include every sort of face that the ordinary every-day man is using. The same is true of the officers and men whose portraits have appeared in the press as notable winners of other decorations awarded for exceptional fighting services. The man with the face of a born fighter does not seem to have distinguished himself more than other people in the kind of fighting which war has provided. Some returned officers declare that some of the men who did the most heroic things were among those whom nobody would have selected in advance as likely to do what, in some high and wild emergency, they were suddenly inspired to do. It is said that the reverse is also true, and that many a man who looked the stage hero to perfection was found to have no spirit for the life-and-death issues of battle, and had to be eased back to some relatively safe post in the rear.

The great surprise of the war has been the high average courage and self-sacrifice of the every-day man. Taking ordinary men as you find them, they are a wonderful lot, and capable of great things when in desperate straits. The roughest and toughest of men have, with a laugh, given their lives for their friends. Of the Canadians many a story can be told equal to anything in history or fiction.

Note and Comment

The tulips which thought they knew when to come up better than the gardener who tried to keep them covered will be sadder and colder tulips this morning.

President Wilson is not what would be called a silent man, but he does not seem to have talked much so far about what ought to be done with the ex-Kaiser.

The House of Commons was amused by Mr. Archambault's lapse of the tongue when he said he had spent a week in Toronto last Sunday. The sight of so much intoxicating liquor in Toronto cellars may have confused his sense of time. It seemed like a week.

There is to be a tunnel under the English Channel, and another is proposed under Bering Strait, so that some day one may travel by rail from Toronto to London or Paris. Some who have found the ocean very wide and rough will not visit England again until they can make it by Pullman.

Ludendorff, in explaining Germany's defeat, puts part of the blame on Falkenhayn and Moltke. There is enough blame to give them all some. But when will the Germans grasp the fact that Germany was defeated because her character and purpose made it utterly impossible for mankind to permit her to succeed?

The Canadian system of demobilization is better than the American in one important respect—a man here is allowed some choice as to the

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The Four Parties to Industry

W. L. Mackenzie King

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D 3981

The Four Parties to Industry

BY

HON. W. L. MACKENZIE KING

Former Minister of Labor, Canada.
Author of "Industry and Humanity: A Study in the Principles Underlying Industrial Reconstruction."

Address before The Empire Club of Canada
at The King Edward Hotel, Toronto
March 13th, 1919

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The Four Parties to Industry

I HAVE chosen as a subject "The Four Parties to Industry," in order to emphasize a truth which seems to be fundamental in any attempt to cope with the industrial unrest which has followed so closely, and, one might add, so inevitably, in the wake of war. If there is to be release from the thraldom of fear in which men's minds are everywhere held, it is the Truth that shall set us free, and the enforcement of that Social Justice which the Truth demands.

The Meaning of Industrial Unrest

Especially in industrial relations have we accepted with complacence an order of things to which we have grown accustomed. The shock of war, stirring the world's soul to its very depths, has brought before our eyes the shattered image of an industrial civilization which is full of injustice. It has left us to decide whether the new order shall be little more than a return to the old, with all its worship of material wealth and material power, and its

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relative indifference to human worth and human well-being; or whether it will be an order worthy of the sacrifices of the heroic dead, and the services of those who, on land and sea, have endured all manner of hardship and peril to preserve the liberties and freedom that we still enjoy.

Let us be assured of this: the unrest in the world of industry to-day is no ephemeral and transitory affair; no mere aftermath of the hideous convulsion which has shaken existing society to its very foundations. It is the voice of a grief-stricken humanity crying for justice in the relations of industry. Let us be equally assured that the sword is not the instrument, and repression not the method, to stay this unrest. The truth is mightier than the sword, and in conference and co-operation between all the parties in interest, not in coercion of the others by any one, lies the only hope of an ultimate solution.

What is Industry?

We shall reach no understanding of the problems of industry until we adequately appreciate what industry itself is, and who the parties are that are responsible for the carrying on of industry.

Industry is the means by which the material resources of the world are transformed, through

human intelligence and human energy, with the aid of natural powers, tools, and machines, into commodities and services available for human use. It is a vast process of transformation, itself a series of transforming processes so inter-related and numerous as to unite mankind, in this age of world-wide industrial expansion, in an enterprise that encompasses the globe.

The Parties to Industry

We are accustomed to discuss the problems of industry in terms of Capital and Labor. The inability to find a workable solution to many of these problems arises from a vision thus circumscribed, and an ignoring of other factors equal in significance and importance. To carry on industry in any but the most primitive kind of way, four parties, discharging separate and distinct functions, are necessary.

First of all, there is Labor, which supplies the muscular and mental energy necessary to effect the processes of immediate transformation.

Next, there is Capital, which is necessary to provide the raw materials, the tools, appliances, and equipment essential to industrial processes, and the advances in the way of food, clothing, and shelter required by Labor pending the distribution of the finished product.

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Then there is Management, or Directing Ability. So frequently has Management been associated with the ownership of capital, that the identity of the former has more or less been merged in the latter. However, a moment's reflection is sufficient to disclose the complete dissimilarity of function between the two. Capital's contribution to industry is in the nature of material substance loaned by way of investment. Its possessor may be any kind of person, from a social parasite or ne'er-do-well who is the inheritor of a fortune, to an infant totally incapable of any service to industry, and whose property is necessarily held in trust. Managerial ability, on the other hand, is in the nature of personal service of the very highest order, and is wholly necessary, not only to bring about efficient co-operation between Labor and Capital in the work of production, but also to effect and maintain right relations with the fourth party, without whose co-operation in all that pertains to industry the other three parties could accomplish little or nothing.

The fourth party is the Community, that entity which we speak of sometimes as organized society, under whose sanction all industry is carried on, and by whose continuous co-operation with the other parties to industry, production, distribution, and exchange are rendered possible.

Parties to Industry Interdependent

Not only are the four parties necessary to industry, but they are equally necessary to one another. Capital can do nothing without Labor. Labor can do nothing without Capital. Neither Labor nor Capital can co-operate effectively in industry save under the guiding genius of Management; and Management, however great its genius, can do nothing apart from the opportunities and privileges the Community affords.

If all four parties are necessary to industry, and equally necessary to one another, then, surely, all four should have some voice in the control of industry, and with regard to the conditions under which their services to industry are rendered.

Existing Organization of Industry Inadequate

Is our present organization of industry in any way suggestive of a partnership, in which Labor, Capital, Management, and the Community are regarded as inter-related and interdependent? Far from it, as everyone knows who has given the organization of industry a moment's reflection.—I am dealing, of course, only with the dominant types of large industrial organization, for it is mainly from this source that our present problems arise: transportation, manufacturing, mining, etc., etc.—So far as control goes, it is all

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in the nature of monopoly, and that a monopoly of control on the part of Capital.

The owners of capital, the capital investors, choose the Board of Directors; the Board of Directors choose the Management and dictate the policies. The Management regards itself as responsible solely to Capital. Labor and the Community become a consideration only in so far as they are able to make their power felt. Profits for Capital are a first consideration; profits usually as high as it is possible to make them. Wages to Labor, prices to the Community, are what they can be kept at, what the market will allow. Labor and the Community are not regarded as partners, entitled to share, through common knowledge, in a common venture, in gains and losses alike. Such control as they exercise is a control that is forced, not a control that is voluntarily shared; a control that in the nature of things begets an attitude of militancy on their part.

Monopoly of Control by Capital Responsible for Reactions

It is this monopoly on the part of Capital in the control and direction of industry that has led to the developments that are described as socialistic, ultra-radical, and even anarchistic. More than any other factor, it lies at the root of the industrial upheavals of the present time. The other parties to industry, though feeling

themselves entitled to be regarded as partners, have despaired of gaining any measure of joint control by concession. They have felt themselves driven to exact, by force, what they believe to be their rightful dues. In the case of Labor, this demand for recognition in the control of industry has asserted itself in the form of strikes. In the case of the Community it has taken the form of arbitrary enactment, leading to an assumption of single control by the state or municipality.

Drift Toward Monopoly of Control by the Community

What is the Socialistic State, or Collectivism, which is its industrial expression, other than industry so organized as to transfer industrial control from Capital to the Community, to the exclusion of the other parties? Under the Socialistic State, the Government would choose the managers of industry, would own the instruments of production, levying taxation where more Capital was required, and would fix the wages of Labor, and the prices at which commodities are to be sold.

The War has revealed that the Socialistic State, which many workers have been led to believe is certain to be beneficent and idealistic, may become the most bureaucratic and autocratic of agencies, holding within its power the

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lives and freedom of men, as well as the conditions of their employment. Germany has given that object-lesson to the world.

The little there has been of State control during the War has also revealed that the substitution of political managers for industrial managers is not likely to be the best for either industry or the State. Of that, all countries have had a taste.

Drift Toward Monopoly of Control by Labor

What are the extreme movements on the part of Labor but a similar reaction against the monopoly of Capital control? In its most violent forms, this reaction has found expression in Revolutionary Syndicalism, Bolshevism, and certain forms of I.W.W.-ism, where, in addition to the ignoring of Capital and Management as parties to industry, the Community is also ignored, and Red Terror used to supplant Reason in all that pertains to the accomplishment of lawless designs.

Guild Socialism is similarly a reaction on the part of Labor against monopoly of control on the part of Capital. Like State Socialism, it would rule out Capital's right to joint control just as effectively as Capitalism seeks to rule out Labor's right to joint control; but as the predominant factor in control it would substitute national guilds for the state. Industrial

unions would select the managers, would own the capital, and would determine alike wages and prices.

In protesting against an actual monopoly of control by Capital under Capitalism, and a possible monopoly of control by the State under Socialism, Guild Socialism would establish a monopoly of control by Labor under National Industrial Guilds. This is a natural reaction. It represents the extreme of the protest by a militant Labor Unionism against the monopoly of control by Capital, just as Collectivism represents the extreme of a protest of an aggressive State Socialism against the monopoly of Capitalistic control. Guild Socialism and Collectivism are alike in that each would oust Capitalism by setting up a monopoly of its own.

Abolition of Monopoly Control the Only Remedy

But the cure for monopoly of control by one of the parties to industry is not to be found in the substitution of monopoly of control by one of the other parties; it lies in the destruction of monopoly altogether. It is to be found in the substitution of joint control for single control.

Single control, whether it be by Capital, Labor, or the State, sooner or later is certain

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to mean autocratic control. Whether Labor or the State as the autocrat is preferable to existing capitalistic control, beholden as it is, in some measure at least, to both Labor and the State, is something to which conditions in Europe at the present time afford an all-sufficient answer.

It is not monopoly of control in any form that we must seek to bring about in this period of transition, but a gradual evolution into a system of joint control, whereby each of the parties to industry will be afforded a voice in the determination of the terms and conditions upon which its services to industry are rendered.

The Wisdom and Justice of Joint Control

And is not joint control by all the parties to industry in every way eminently wise, as well as fundamentally just? Is it not in every way, in the long run, to the interests of industry, and to the interests of each of the parties to industry? Continuance of the system of monopoly of control by Capital is no longer possible. Once autocracy was doomed in the political world, its doom was equally sounded for the industrial. The interest of every one of the parties to industry is being menaced to-day in the reactions to which the monopoly of control by Capital has given rise.

Existing Monopoly of Control Unfair to Capital

No one of the parties stands to lose quite so much through a continuance of the struggle arising out of the monopoly of control by Capital, as Capital itself. As things are to-day, it is at Capital, and at Management, identified with Capital, that the stones are being blindly hurled. War ridden, hungry, and penniless, men and women have witnessed the wanton extravagance of many of those possessed of luxury. They have become bewildered with a condition which enables an idle investor to reap a fortune while the masses toil excessive hours for a bare subsistence. They have lost sight altogether of the services of Capital and Management in witnessing the debauchery of indolence combined with riches, and the unearned millions of profiteers.

But let the service that Capital and Management are capable of rendering industry once be lost to sight, and industry itself will be ruined, and with it the well-being of Labor and the Community as well. What is needed is, not the ruination of Capital and Management, but that each be given its rightful place in a system of the government of industry which will make for the good of all the parties to production.

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Existing Monopoly of Control Unfair to Management

Nor is the monopoly of control by Capital wholly fair to Management, or in its best interests. It has been my privilege to talk pretty freely during the past few years with the managers of many large industries, and I find in the minds of not a few of them a feeling that everything is to be gained, and nothing lost, by having the function of Capital and the function of Management kept separate and distinct, and Management given a freer hand in considering the interests of Labor and the Community.

Some managers there are who obtain their positions, not in virtue of any special skill in managerial ability, but because of personal ownership of large quantities of capital, or intimate association or relationship with some investor. The incompetence of such managers, and their slavish subservience to privilege and position, to the exclusion of a due consideration of the rights of Labor and of the Community, only serve to rouse the bitter antagonism of both these parties, who feel that their rightful interests, as necessary partners in industry, are being thwarted and jeopardized.

Not a little of the militant attitude on the part of Labor, and impatience on the part of the public with the present order of industry,

is due to a feeling that some managers fail to render to industry any service at all commensurate with the enormous salaries they receive, and to a belief that the interests of Labor and of the Community alike are sacrificed to incompetence and extravagance which would not be permitted were all four parties to industry allowed some voice in the shaping of industrial policy.

Management, instead of being regarded as the servant of Capital exclusively, ought to be in a position to regard itself, as in fact it is, one of the necessary parties to industry, and as such entitled to a voice in matters which pertain to its administrative functions; responsible in the exercise of its duties, not to one party only, but to all.

In the emancipation of Management from the single control of any one of the parties, whether it be Capital, Labor, or the Community, and in the development of its function into that of a responsible executive, concerned equally with all the interests of the necessary parties to industry, lies the hope of any ultimate solution of the industrial problem.

Existing Monopoly of Control Unfair to Labor

Referring to what is fundamentally right and just, may it not be asked: Is Labor not quite as much entitled to a voice in the control of

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industry as Capital? It is investment in industry which affords the right to share in corporate control. Capital and Management receive representation on this basis. If Capital and Management are so entitled, why not Labor also?

Industry is a joint venture, a venture of Labor as well as of Capital. The difference in the nature of the investment of Capital and Labor only serves to emphasize the fundamental justice of Labor's right to a share in control. The investment of Capital is in the nature of an investment of substances and dollars; the investment of Labor is an investment in the nature of skill and life. The one is a material, the other a human, investment; and of the two, the one involving life is the more precious.

The capital investor—the individual who in industry loans and risks his capital or a part of it—receives for his capital a return in the form of interest; but he receives something more. As an investor, he becomes entitled to a voice in the control of the industry in which his investment is made. The life or labor investor—the worker who in industry loans and risks his life, or gives to industry that part of it described as labor—receives for his labor, which is the use of his life and skill for the time in which labor is given, a return in the form of wages. He lacks, however, the additional right,

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which Capital receives, of a share in the government of industry. If Capital obtains this right, in addition to financial reward for the use of capital for the time for which it is invested, is Labor not in justice equally entitled, in addition to its monetary reward, to a voice in the control of industry in which, for the time being, its life and skill are likewise invested? If investment in industry has any meaning at all, it is surely one equally shared by the man who gives his labor and the man who gives his capital.

Existing Monopoly of Control Unfair to the Community

The Community's right to representation in the control of industry, and in the shaping of industrial policies, is wholly similar to that of Labor. But for Community investment on a local, national, and international scale, Capital, Labor, and Management would be obliged to make scant shrift under present-day conditions of world competition. But what of the Community's part in industry? Here, too, is joint venture on the part of the Community just as much as on the part of Labor, Capital, or Management. What is 99 per cent of the expenditure of government in normal times but outlays in the nature of investment in industry: investment in property and services of one kind or another, which alone makes possible the vast

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co-operation and co-ordination of effort which is the very life-blood of industry?

The vaster industrial organization becomes, the more it depends, in a multitude of directions, upon the investments of the Community.

It is the Community which provides the natural resources and powers that underlie all production. Individuals may acquire title by one means or another, but it is from the Community, and with the consent of the Community, that titles are held. It is the Community, organized in various ways, which maintains government and foreign relations, secures law and order, fosters the arts and inventions, aids education, breeds opinion, and promotes, through concession or otherwise, the agencies of transportation, communication, credit, banking, and the like, without which any production, save the most primitive, would be impossible. It is the Community which creates the demand for commodities and services, through which Labor is provided with remunerative employment, and Capital with a return upon its investment. Apart from the Community, inventive genius, organizing capacity, managerial or other ability would be of little value. Turn where one may, it is the Community that makes possible all the activities of industry, and helps to determine their value and scope.

Community investment is supposed to receive its return in enhanced purchasing power to consumers as respects the number and quality of available services and commodities. This is a return akin to the interest Capital receives, and to the wages Labor receives. But is not the Community equally entitled, on grounds of investment, to a voice in the control of industry and in the shaping of industrial policy? Without participation by the Community in the control of industry, there is nothing to prevent the emergence of a joint-profiteering scheme by the other parties, in which high wages and high profits are secured by charges which fall either immediately or ultimately upon consumers.

Single Control Must Give Way to Partnership

If industry is to cease to be the battleground of rival factions, each selfishly seeking its own interest, regardless of the interests of the others, its government must cease altogether to be a matter of single control by one of the parties, or of contending controls by the several parties. The parties to industry must be brought into a relationship of partnership, with a recognized community of control.

Partnership is essentially a matter of status. It does not involve identity or similarity of function on the part of the partners, or equality

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of either service or rewards; but it does imply equality as respects the right of representation in the determination of policy on matters of common interest. It is this principle that has thus far so largely failed of recognition. The justice of the principle, however, cannot be gainsaid.

The Necessary Transition

If to secure a just consideration of the rights of all four parties to industry something in the nature of a partnership, involving community of control, is necessary, how, it will be asked, is that transition to be effected. Certainly, it will never be brought about by violent upheavals or revolutionary methods, which serve only to disorganize industry and occasion loss to all its parties. It must be brought about in an evolutionary manner, here a little, there a little; line upon line, precept upon precept, all working toward the consummation of one ideal.

Government in the State a Guide to Government in Industry

There is much in the government of the State to give us guidance as well as hope in the evolution of government within industry. The British constitution may have its limitations, but no instrument of government has ever been devised which has so effectively helped to preserve and extend the freedom and liberties of men. What the British constitution stands

for in the government of the State, we should aim at effecting in the working out of a constitution for industry. It will not all be accomplished within a day; neither need it be the work of generations. With free political institutions our one great inheritance, the application to industry of those principles which underlie government within the State should be neither impossible nor difficult. A willingness to recognize the justice of them, and to act in the light of knowledge we already have, is all that is necessary.

From Autocratic to Responsible Government

In government within the State, there are three outstanding stages of development. The first stage is that of the autocratic executive, in which there is single control by one only of the parties to the State. King John is an outstanding example of this type of autocratic government. It was not believed, in the time of John, that the people had any ability to govern themselves. Even the lords and the nobles were without a voice in the government of the kingdom. They secured the first advance in popular liberties when they wrested the Magna Charta from John, and secured his signature to a written statement of their rights as citizens.

Representative Government marks the next important phase in the evolution of government within the State. That takes us back to 1265, to the famous Parliament of Simon de

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Montfort, when for the first time in British history there was at least an attempt at representation of all three estates. At the outset, representation was restricted and nominal. All subsequent development has been in the nature of broadening the basis of representation, and of rendering more effective the representation gained.

It is only within the past century that the highest form of government, namely, Responsible Government, has been attained. Under Responsible Government, the executive is responsible to the people as a whole, not to any one class.

When the managers of industry become responsible to Labor, Capital, and the Community for the manner in which their vast powers and opportunities are exercised, we shall have something in the government of industry closely resembling the responsible executive in the government of the State. Meanwhile, our duty would appear to be that of putting an end to autocracy and monopoly of control, no matter by which of the parties to industry it may be attempted or exercised, and to work out a system of joint-control based upon representation of all the parties in the determination of industrial policy.

The Basis of an Industrial Constitution

Time forbids more than a suggestion or two as to the manner in which a constitution for

the parties to industry might be worked out in a way which will help to allay the industrial unrest of our times, and advance the highest interests of industry, and of all its parties. Obviously, what is most needed is recognition of the fact that industry is not a matter which concerns only one party, but that it is of vital concern to all four: to Capital, to Labor, to Management, and to the Community, and that no one of the four is entitled to a monopoly of control.

Once recognition is given the four parties to industry, the solution of the problem of industrial relations is a matter simply of proceeding in accordance with principles which have long been regarded as obviously fair and just.

The Principle of Conference

The first of these principles I should like to mention is that of *Conference*. It is impossible to get anywhere with a man with whom you are unwilling to confer. Conference is chiefly a matter of attitude. It implies approach, good-will, confidence; not aloofness, distrust, and suspicion, which too frequently is the attitude between the parties to industry.

Conference between the four parties to industry has been tried, and with the best of results. It was found absolutely necessary to the winning of the War. It was not until the Government of Britain, representing the Community, invited

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Capital, Management, and Labor to meet in common, and policies were arrived at as the result of Round Table Conference, that the necessary adjustments of industry were so arranged as to make possible the vast production of munitions required to win the War. What was necessary to the winning of the War is equally necessary to the winning of Peace—which we can hardly say exists so long as international strife gives way only to industrial unrest.

The Principle of Investigation

The second principle is that of *Investigation.* Investigation is but a method of getting at the truth; and, as I said at the outset, it is the truth alone that shall set us free. In problems of the magnitude of those which industry presents, any just solution is impossible without a knowledge of the facts. There are certain evils which publicity is more effective in preventing and remedying than penalty; and unfair dealing between the parties to industry are of this kind. Meanness, injustice, gross selfishness—these cannot endure under the light of an intelligently formed public opinion. Most industrial ills belong to this class.

Investigation, too, has been tried between the four parties to industry, and found to be of the utmost service.

I notice that the Minister of Labor informed the House of Commons a day or two ago that

Canada had had fewer strikes in recent years than any other country in the world. If that statement is true, and I believe it is, it is because we have on our statutes a law which makes provision for the investigation of industrial controversies prior to lockouts and strikes.

The principle of that law is the one being acted upon in Great Britain to-day. If England is being saved at the moment from industrial strife, hardly less frightful in its horrible conquences than actual war, it is because Capital and Management, Labor and the Community, are represented upon the Commission recently appointed by Mr. Lloyd George to investigate the demands of the miners, and the condition of the coal mining industry throughout Britain.

It is upon the same principle of investigation prior to the commencement of hostilities that the League of Nations is being founded. If war between nations and between the parties to industry is to end, it will only be through the acceptance of the principle of investigation before a severance of relations.

What we need quite as much as a League of Nations is a League of the Parties to Industry to see to the enforcement of this great principle, and the moulding of public opinion to that end. Such a league, I believe, would lead, even more quickly than a league of nations, to the maintenance of international, as well as of industrial, peace. Accustom men to the adoption of fundamental principles in adjusting

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their industrial relations, something which immediately concerns their everyday life, and the application of like principles to international affairs will take care of itself.

The Principle of Organization and Collective Action

A third principle is that of *Organization and Collective Action*. The problems of industry are world problems. To cope with them successfully, organization is absolutely necessary.

What would become of Capital, under the stress of world competition, if its units were not permitted to coalesce, and large organization of business thereby rendered impossible? What would become of the Community, if its activities were not organized? Deprive managers of the right of membership in an employers' or manufacturers' association, and they would be the first to say that their liberties had been infringed. Where, then, is the justice of denying to one party to industry a right which is conceded as just and necessary to the other three? If Capital, Management, and the Community have the right to organize, so also should Labor have this right.

Without organization of Labor—where Capital, Management, and the Community are organized—what equality of relationship can there possibly be between the four parties to industry? And where, under such a condition, are the individual units of Labor likely to find themselves in the teeth of a world competition,

more relentless where Labor is concerned than in the case of Capital or Management? Labor left but briefly in a condition of isolation will starve; Capital and Management are usually in a position to wait.

It is not against organization that we ought to protest, but against the possible abuses of organized power. In this connection it is well to remember that the use of a thing is one thing, and its abuse another; and that with human nature what it is, abuses of power are not confined to any one class.

The Principle of Representation

A fourth principle is that of *Representation*. Here we are at the beginning of the real solution of the problems of industry. Government within the State has widened down from autocratic authority to authority broad-based upon a people's will. The expansion of the principle of representation is responsible for that development. It will be equally so in industry. The problems of industry are essentially problems of government. Adequate representation of the parties, effected through organization, all enjoying the right of investigation, and meeting in Round Table Conference—in such an obviously just and fair arrangement, we have the beginnings of law and order in industry, just as we have had it in the State, and the hope of a future development along constitutional and evolu-

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tionary lines, instead of along lines that are illegal and revolutionary.

Joint Committees and Joint Industrial Councils

Once the principle of representation is conceded, it is only a step to the formation of joint committees of employers and employees, the establishment of known, orderly, and expeditious procedure in all matters requiring adjustment, and the determination of industrial policies in a manner which will have regard for the interests of all concerned.

From joint committees in individual establishments, meeting at periodical intervals for little more than purposes of conference and consultation, the principle of representation should lead to the establishment of permanent standing joint industrial councils, embracing all the workers and all the employers in a given trade or industry and concerned with the determination of industrial policies, and the fixation of industrial standards enforceable throughout by the co-operation of Government, representing the Community and protecting its interests. This, as you know, is the objective of the recommendations of the so-called Whitley Committee which the Government of Great Britain has adopted as the corner-stone of its reconstruction policy.

Nor is the formation of such joint committees and industrial councils any longer a matter of experiment. Every day is adding to the num-

ber that are being formed, many of them in industries which have hitherto opposed anything in the way of organization among employees, and which have conceded little or nothing in the way of conference.

The Service of Organized Labor

The Trade Unions are mainly responsible for the development that has thus far been achieved. They have pioneered the path; they have blazed the trail which has led to collective bargaining, joint agreements, and contracts between the parties to industry. It has been a long and bitter struggle, this struggle for recognition on the part of Organized Labor. It has involved any amount of ill-feeling and misunderstanding, and fostered no end of prejudice and hatred; but the real purport of Labor's struggle is coming to be better understood, and the part which the large organizations of Capital and of Labor are capable of playing in reconstructing human society is emerging into clearer day.

It is coming to be seen that the control of Labor by its leaders is wholly dependent upon its organization into conservatively directed unions; that it is among the unorganized and undisciplined workers that Bolshevism and I.W.W.-ism recruit their armies of terror and destruction. In a union of the organized forces of Labor and of Capital, against a common enemy which menaces all human society, lies the hope of the future. Industrial concerns which have

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hitherto stood out against anything in the nature of a democratic organization of industry will do well to evidence a disposition to act upon the principles of conference, investigation, organization, and representation, in dealings with their employees, and to concede to Labor the right of collective bargaining, and a voice in the determination of terms of employment and matters pertaining to their working and living conditions.

It may be that Labor needs educating, that its leaders need more in the way of experience; but, in the absence of other opportunities, whence are education and qualities of leadership to be gained if not in the industries in which Labor is employed, and through joint dealings with parties more highly favored?

The Joint Industrial Councils being formed in England show how this new approach between Capital and Labor is certain, in its most highly developed forms, to take account of existing organizations of Labor and Capital, and to change the attitude of these powerful bodies from one of militancy based on a belief in opposed interests into one of co-operation based on a belief in the larger interests which they have in common.

A New Spirit Necessary

One thing, and one thing only, remains to ensure a new world rising out of the ashes of the old; but without it nothing can be achieved. It is the acceptance by each of the parties to

industry of the spirit which has saved not only Britain, but the world, in the overthrow of Prussian arrogance and ambition. It was through a love of liberty and a hatred of domination that men by millions sacrificed their lives that freedom might not perish from the earth. The overthrow of Prussian despotism is only part of the vast undertaking which the free nations of the world have still before them if Freedom worthy of the name is to be maintained. Industrial autocracy and political autocracy may go hand in hand, but not autocracy in industry and democracy in politics. The latter combination is as ill-mated as the former is natural. To the nations that have won political freedom, there remains the task of reorganizing their industries into harmony with their governments. Anything short of harmony means perpetual conflict. Institutions opposed in organization and spirit can work against each other only till one or the other prevails. To democratize industry, so that along with democracy in government there may be a true industrial democracy, is the task that lies ahead.

A New Conception of Industry

With the new spirit must come also a wholly new conception of industry. No longer must industry be thought of as a mere revenue-producing process, in which Capital, Labor, Management, and the Community meet like so

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many rival and contending factions, each to appropriate to itself by force or might the largest possible share of the fruits of industry. Industry must be thought of, as in reality it is, as in the nature of social service, and participation in industry, whether in the form of labor or capital investment, as social service of the highest kind, since upon its successful accomplishment rest all other forms of human service.

An Easter Hope

May I conclude these remarks with words with which I have concluded a volume in which I have sought to enlarge upon the principles outlined to-day. This moment of silence at the close of the Great War, and this Lenten season, seem to lend them appropriateness to this occasion, and to the subject we have been considering.

"Is it too much to believe that, having witnessed Humanity pass through its Gethsemane, having seen its agony in its Garden of Fears, having beheld its crucifixion upon the cross of Militarism, Labor and Capital will yet bring to a disconsolate and broken-hearted world the one hope it is theirs alone to bring; and that, in the acceptance of principles which hold deliverance from the scourges that beset mankind, they will roll back the stone from the door of the world's sepulchre to-day, and give to Humanity the promise of its resurrection to a more abundant life?"

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THE FOUR PARTIES TO INDUSTRY

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The Parties to Industry
Parties to Industry Interdependent
Existing Organization of Industry Inadequate
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for Reactions
Drift Toward Community Monopoly
Drift Toward Labor Monopoly
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THE FOUR MAIN PARTIES TO INDUSTRY

Labor, Capital, Management And Community Involved in Industrial Reconstruction

Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King Outlines His Views as to the Principles and Methods Which Must Be Applied in Finding a Solution to Present Day Problems—The Interests of Humanity Are Far Superior to the Dollar

No one question is occupying the minds of Governments and public men throughout the world today to a greater extent than that of industrial reconstruction, that is, the acute problem of bridging the wide chasm which at present exists between the employing class, as represented by Capital, and those who are employed by them, namely, Labor. In many important respects the two are now as far apart as the poles, and in the interests of both, as well as to safeguard the general welfare of all people, they must be brought closer together, and conditions created whereby they will work together in harmony to their mutual advantage.

No man in Canada has devoted closer study and investigation to this acute problem than Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, former minister of labor, and the recently chosen leader of the Liberal party of Canada. Mr. King has made the study of industrial questions his life work, and he not only has no peer in Canada, but it is doubtful if there is any greater authority living today in any country.

Mr. King's most recent book, "Industry and Humanity," is now accepted as perhaps the best and most comprehensive work on the subject. It is too lengthy a book for publication in a newspaper, but in an address delivered before the Empire Club of Canada, at Toronto, some months ago, Mr. King presented the same views which find fuller expression and a wealth of detail in this book.

In view of the widespread interest now being manifested in this all-important subject, The Leader reprints herewith the full text of that address by Mr. King. It will well repay a close reading. Mr. King spoke as follows:

I have chosen as a subject "The Four Parties to Industry," in order to emphasize a truth which seems to be fundamental in any attempt to cope with the industrial unrest which has followed so closely, and, one might add, so inevitably, in the wake of war. If there is to be release from the thraldom of fear in which men's minds are everywhere held, it is the truth that shall set us free, and the enforcement of that social justice which the truth demands.

The Meaning of Industrial Unrest

Especially in industrial relations have we accepted with complacence an order of things to which we have grown accustomed. The shock of war, stirring the world's soul to its very depths, has brought before our eyes the shattered image of an industrial civilization which is full of injustice. It has left us to decide whether the new order shall be little more than a return to the old, with all its worship of material wealth and material power, and its relative indifference to human worth and human well-being; or whether it will be an order worthy of the sacrifices of the heroic dead, and the services of those who, on land and sea, have endured all manner of hardship and peril to preserve the liberties and freedom that we still enjoy.

Let us be assured of this: the unrest in the world of industry today is no ephemeral and transitory affair; no mere aftermath of the hideous convulsion which has shaken existing society to its very foundations. It is the voice of a grief-stricken humanity crying for justice in the relations of industry. Let us be equally assured that the sword is not the instrument, and repression not the method, to stay this unrest. The truth is mightier than the sword, and in conference and co-operation between all the parties in interest, not in coercion of the others by any one, lies the only hope of an ultimate solution.

What Is Industry?

We shall reach no understanding of the problems of industry until we adequately appreciate what industry itself is, and who the parties are that are responsible for the carrying on of industry.

Industry is the means by which the material resources of the world are transformed, through human intelligence and human energy, with the aid of natural powers, tools, and machines, into commodities and services available for human use. It is a vast process of transformation, itself a series of transforming processes so inter-related and numerous as to unite mankind, in this age of world-wide industrial expansion, in an enterprise that encompasses the globe.

The Parties to Industry

We are accustomed to discuss the problems of industry in terms of capital and labor. The inability to find a workable solution to many of these problems arises from a vision thus circumscribed, and an ignoring of other factors equal in significance and importance. To carry on industry in any but the most primitive kind of way, four parties, discharging separate and distinct functions, are necessary.

First of all, there is labor, which supplies the muscular and mental energy necessary to effect the processes of immediate transformation.

Next, there is capital, which is necessary to provide the raw materials, the tools, appliances, and equipment essential to industrial processes, and the advances in the way of food, clothing, and shelter required by labor pending the distribution of the finished product.

Then there is management, or directing ability. So frequently has management been associated with the ownership of capital, that the identity of the former has more or less been merged in the latter. However, a moment's reflection is sufficient to disclose the complete dissimilarity of function between the two. Capitals' contribution to industry is in the nature of material substance loaned by way of investment. Its possessor may be any kind of person, from a social parasite or ne'er-do-well who is the inheritor of a fortune, to an infant totally incapable of any service to industry, and whose property is necessarily held in trust. Managerial ability, on the other hand, is in the nature of personal service of the very highest order, and is wholly necessary, not only to bring about efficient co-operation between labor and capital in the work of production, but also to effect and maintain right relations with the fourth party, without whose co-operation in all that pertains to industry the other three parties could accomplish little or nothing.

The fourth party is the community, that entity which we speak of sometimes as organized society, under whose sanction all industry is carried on, and by whose continuous co-operation with the other parties to industry, production, distribution, and exchange are rendered possible.

Parties to Industry Interdependent

Not only are the four parties necessary to industry, but they are equally necessary to one another. Capital can do nothing without labor. Labor can do nothing without capital. Neither labor nor capital can co-operate effectively in industry save under the guiding genius of management; and management, however great its genius, can do nothing apart from the opportunities and privileges the community affords.

If all four parties are necessary to industry, and equally necessary to one another, then, surely, all four should have some voice in the control of industry, and with regard to the conditions under which their services to industry are rendered.

Existing Organizations of Industry Inadequate

Is our present organization of industry in any way suggestive of a partnership, in which labor, capital, management, and the community are regarded as inter-related and inter-dependent? Far from it, as everyone knows who has given the organization of industry a moment's reflection.—I am dealing, of course, only with the dominant types of large industrial organization, for it is mainly from this source that our present problems arise: transportation, manufacturing, mining, etc., etc.—So far as control goes, it is all in the nature of monopoly, and that a monopoly of control on the part of capital.

The owners of capital, the capital investors, choose the board of directors; the board of directors choose the management and dictate the policies. The management regards itself as responsible solely to capital. Labor and the community become a consideration only in so far as they are able to make their power felt. Profits for capital are a first consideration; profits usually as high as it is possible to make them. Wages to labor, prices to the community, are what they can be kept at, what the market will allow. Labor and the community are not regarded as partners, entitled to share, through common knowledge, in a common venture, in gains and losses alike. Such control as they exercise is a control that is forced, not a control that is voluntarily shared; a control that in the nature of things begets an attitude of militancy on their part.

Monopoly of Control by Capital Responsible for Reactions

It is this monopoly on the part of capital in the control and direction of industry that has led to the developments that are described as socialistic, ultra-radical, and even anarchistic. More than any other factor, it lies at the root of the industrial upheavals of the present time. The other parties to industry, though feeling themselves entitled to be regarded as partners, have despaired of gaining any measure of joint control by concession. They have felt themselves driven to exact, by force, what they believe to be their rightful dues. In the case of labor, this demand for recognition in the control of industry has asserted itself in the form of strikes. In the case of the community it has taken the form of arbitrary enactment, leading to an assumption of single control by the state or municipality.

Drift Toward Monopoly of Control By the Community

What is the Socialistic state, or collectivism, which is its industrial expression, other than industry so organized as to transfer industrial control from capital to the community, to the exclusion of the other parties? Under the Socialistic state, the government would choose the managers of industry, would own the instruments of production, levying taxation where more capital was required, and would fix the wages of labor, and the prices at which commodities are to be sold.

The war has revealed that the Socialistic state, which many workers have been led to believe to be beneficent and idealistic, may become the most bureaucratic and autocratic of agencies, holding within its power the lives and freedom of men, as well as the conditions of their employment. Germany has given that object-lesson to the world.

The little there has been of state control during the war has also revealed that the substitution of political managers is not likely to be the best for either industry or the state. Of that, all countries have had a taste.

Drift Toward Monopoly of Control By Labor

What are the extreme movements on the part of labor but a similar reaction against the monopoly of capital control? In its most violent forms, this reaction has found expression in revolutionary syndicalism, bolshevism, and certain forms of I. W. W.-ism, where, in addition to the ignoring of capital and management as parties to industry, the community is also ignored, and red terror used to supplant reason in all that pertains to the accomplishment of lawless designs.

Guild Socialism is similarly a reaction on the part of labor against monopoly of control on the part of capital. Like state socialism, it would rule out capital's right to joint control just as effectively as capitalism seeks to rule out labor's right to joint control; but as the predominant factor in control it would substitute national guilds for the state. Industrial unions would select the managers, would own the capital, and would determine alike wages and prices.

In protesting against an actual monopoly of control by capital under capitalism, and a possible monopoly of control by the state under socialism, guild socialism would establish a monopoly of control by labor under national industrial guilds. This is a natural reaction. It represents the extreme of the protest by a militant labor unionism against the monopoly of control by capital just as collectivism represents the extreme of a protest of an aggressive state socialism against the monopoly of capitalistic control. Guild socialism and collectivism are alike in that each would oust capitalism by setting up a monopoly of its own.

Abolition of Monopoly Control the Only Remedy

But the cure for monopoly of control by one of the parties to industry is not to be found in the substitution of monopoly of control by one of the other parties; it lies in the destruction of monopoly altogether. It is to be found in the substitution of joint control for single control.

Single control, whether it be by capital, labor, or the state, sooner or later is certain to mean autocratic control. Whether labor or the state as the autocrat is preferable to existing capitalistic control, beholden as it is, in some measure at least, to both labor and the state, is something to which conditions in Europe at the present time afford an all-sufficient answer.

It is not monopoly of control in any form that we must seek to bring about in this period of transition, but a gradual evolution into a system of joint control, whereby each of the parties to industry will be afforded a voice in the determination of the terms and conditions upon which its services to industry are rendered.

The Wisdom and Justice of Joint Control

And is not joint control by all the parties to industry in every way eminently wise, as well as fundamentally just? Is it not in every way, in the long run, to the interests of industry? Continuance of the system of monopoly of control by capital is no longer possible. Once autocracy was doomed in the political world, its doom was equally sounded for the industrial. The interest of every one of the parties to industry is being menaced today in the reactions to which the monopoly of control by capital has given rise.

Existing Monopoly of Control Unfair to Capital

No one of the parties stands to lose quite so much through a continuance of the struggle arising out of the monopoly of control by capital, as capital itself. As things are today, it is at capital, and at management, identified with capital, that the stones are being blindly hurled. War ridden, hungry, and penniless, men and women have witnessed the wanton extravagance of many of those possessed of luxury. They have become bewildered with a condition which enable an idle investor to reap a fortune while the masses toil excessive hours for a bare subsistence. They have lost sight altogether of the services of capital and management in witnessing the debauchery of indolence combined with riches, and the unearned millions of profiteers.

But let the service that capital and management are capable of rendering industry once be lost to sight, and industry itself will be ruined, and with it the well-being of labor and the community as well. What is needed is, not the ruination of capital and management, but that each be given its rightful place in a system of the government of industry which will make for the good of all the parties to production.

Existing Monopoly of Control Unfair to Management

Nor is the monopoly of control by capital wholly fair to management, or in its best interests. It has been my privilege to talk pretty freely during the past few years with the managers of many large industries, and I find in the minds of not a few of them a feeling that everything is to be gained, and nothing lost, by having the function of capital and the function of management kept separate and distinct, and management given a freer hand in considering the interests of labor and the community.

Some managers there are who obtain their positions, not in virtue of any special skill in managerial ability, but because of personal ownership of large quantities of capital, or intimate association or relationship with some investor. The incompetence of such managers, and their slavish subservience to privilege and position, to the exclusion of a due consideration of the rights of labor and of the community, only serve to rouse the bitter antagonism of both these parties, who feel that their rightful interests, as necessary partners in industry, are being thwarted and jeopardized.

Not a little of the militant attitude on the part of labor, and impatience on the part of the public with the present order of industry, is due to a feeling that some managers fail to render to industry any service at all commensurate with the enormous salaries they receive, and to a belief that the interests of labor and of the community alike are sacrificed to incompetence and extravagance which would not be permitted were all four parties to industry allowed some voice in the shaping of industrial policy.

Management, instead of being regarded as the servant of capital exclusively, ought to be in a position to regard itself, as in fact it is, one of the necessary parties to industry, and as such entitled to a voice in matters which pertain to its administrative functions; responsible in the exercise of its duties, not to one party only, but to all.

In the emancipation of management from the single control of any one of the parties, whether it be capital, labor, or the community, and in the development of its function into that of a responsible executive, concerned equally with all the interests of the necessary parties to industry, lies the hope of any ultimate solution of the industrial problem.

Existing Monopoly of Control Unfair to Labor

Referring to what is fundamentally right and just, may it not be asked: Is labor not quite as much entitled to a voice in the control of industry as capital? It is investment in industry which affords the right to share in corporate control. Capital and management receive representation on this basis. If capital and management are so entitled, why not labor also?

Industry is a joint venture, a venture of labor as well as of capital. The difference in the nature of the investment of capital and labor only serves to emphasize the fundamental justice of labor's right to a share in control. The investment of capital is in the nature of an investment of substances and dollars; the investment of labor is an investment in the nature of skill and life. The one is a material, the other a human, investment; and of the two, the one involving life is the more precious.

The capital investor—the individual who in industry loans and risks his capital or a part of it—receives for his capital a return in the form of interest; but he receives something more. As an investor, he becomes entitled to a voice in the control of the industry in which his investment is made. The life or labor investor—the worker who in industry loans and risks his life, or gives to industry that part of it described as labor—receives for his labor, which is the use of his life and skill for the time in which labor is given, a return in the form of wages. He lacks, however, the additional right, which capital receives, of a share in the government of industry. If capital obtains this right, in addition to financial reward for the use of capital for the time for which it is invested, is labor not in justice equally entitled, in addition to its monetary reward, to a voice in the control of industry in which, for the time being, its life and skill are likewise invested? If investment in industry has any meaning at all, it is surely one equally shared by the man who gives his labor and the man who gives his capital.

Existing Monopoly of Control Unfair to the Community

The community's right to representation in the control of industry, and in the shaping of industrial policies, is wholly similar to that of labor. But for community investment on a local, national, and international scale, capital, labor, and management would be obliged to make scant shrift under present-day conditions of world competition. But what of the community's part in industry? Here, too, is joint venture on the part of the community just as much as on the part of labor, capital, or management. What is 99 per cent. of the expenditure of government in normal times but outlays in the nature of investment in industry: investment in property and services of one kind or another, which alone makes possible the vast co-operation and co-ordination of effort which is the very life-blood of industry?

The vaster industrial organization becomes the more it depends, in a multitude of directions, upon the investments of the community.

It is the community which provides the natural resources and powers that underlie all production. Individuals may acquire title by one means or another, but it is from the the community, and with the consent of the community, that titles are held. It is the community, organized in various ways, which maintains government and foreign relations, secures law and order, fosters the arts and inventions, aids education, breeds opinion, and promotes, through concession or otherwise, the agencies of transportation, communication, credit, banking, and the like, without which any production, save the most primitive, would be impossible. It is the community which creates the demand for commodities and services, through which labor is provided with remunerative employment, and capital with a return upon its investment. Apart from the community, inventive genius, organizing capacity, managerial or other ability would be of little value. Turn where one may, it is the community that makes possible all the activities of industry, and helps to determine their value and scope.



HON. W. L. MACKENZIE KING.

Community investment is supposed to receive its return in enhanced purchasing power to consumers as respects the number and quality of available services and the commodities. This is a return akin to the interest capital receives, and to the wages labor receives. But is not the community equally entitled, on grounds of investment, to a voice in the control of industry and in the shaping of industrial policy? Without participation by the community in the control of industry, there is nothing to prevent the emergence of a joint-profiteering scheme by the other parties, in which high wages and high profits are secured by charges which fall either immediately or ultimately upon consumers.

Single Control Must Give Way to Partnership

If industry is to cease to be the battleground of rival factions, each selfishly seeking its own interest, regardless of the interests of the others, its government must cease altogether to be a matter of single control by one of the parties, or of contending controls by the several parties. The parties to industry must be brought into a relationship of partnership, with a recognized community of control.

Partnership is essentially a matter of status. It does not involve identity or similarity of function on the part of the partners, or equality of either service or rewards, but it does imply equality as respects the right of representation in the determination of policy on matters of common interest. It is this principle that has thus far so largely failed of recognition. The justice of the principle, however, cannot be gainsaid.

The Necessary Transition

If to secure a just consideration of the rights of all four parties to industry something in the nature of a partnership, involving community of control, is necessary, how, it will be asked, is that transition to be effected. Certainly, it will never be brought about by violent upheavals or revolutionary methods, which serve only to disorganize industry and occasion loss to all its parties. It must be brought about in an evolutionary manner, here a little, there a little; line upon line, precept upon precept, all working toward the consummation of one ideal.

Government in the State a Guide to Government in Industry

There is much in the government of the state to give us guidance as well as hope in the evolution of government within industry. The British constitution may have its limitations, but no instrument of government has ever been devised which has so effectively helped to preserve and extend the freedom and liberties of men. What the British constitution stands for in the government of the state, we should aim at effecting in the working out of a constitution for industry. It will not all be accomplished within a day; neither need it be the work of generations. With free political institutions our one great inheritance, the application to industry of those principles which underlie government within the state should be neither impossible nor difficult. A willingness to recognize the justice of them, and to act in the light of knowledge we already have, is all that is necessary.

From Autocratic to Responsible Government

In government within the state, there are three outstanding stages of development. The first stage is that of the autocratic executive, in which there is single control by one only of the parties to the state. King John is an outstanding example of this type of autocratic government. It was not believed, in the time of John, that the people had any ability to govern themselves. Even the lords and the nobles were without a voice in the government of the kingdom. They secured the first advance in popular liberties when they wrested the Magna Charta from John, and secured his signature to a written statement of their rights as citizens.

Representative government marks the next important phase in the evolution of government within the state. That takes us back to 1265, to the famous Parliament of Simon de Montfort, when for the first time in British history there was at least an attempt at representation of all three estates. At the outset, representation was restricted and nominal. All subsequent development has been in the nature of broadening the basis of representation, and of rendering more effective the representation gained.

It is only within the past century that the highest form of government, namely, responsible government, has been attained. Under responsible government, the executive is responsible to the people as a whole, not to any one class.

When the managers of industry become responsible to labor, capital, and the community for the manner in which their vast powers and opportunities are exercised, we shall have something in the government of industry closely resembling the responsible exexcutive in the government of the state. Meanwhile, our duty would appear to be that of putting an end to autocracy and monopoly of control, no matter by which of the parties to industry it may be attempted or exercised, and to work out a system of joint-control based upon representation of all the parties in the determination of industrial policy.

The Basis of an Industrial Constitution

Time forbids more than a suggestion or two as to the manner in which a constitution for the parties to industry might be worked out in a way which will help to allay the industrial unrest of our times, and advance the highest interests of industry, and of all its parties. Obviously, what is most needed is recognition of the fact that industry is not a matter which concerns only one party, but that it is of vital concern to all four: to capital, to labor, to management, and to the community, and that no one of the four is entitled to a monopoly of control.

Once recognition is given the four parties to industry, the solution of the problem of industrial relations is a matter simply of proceeding in accordance with principles which have long been regarded as obviously fair and just.

The Principle of Conference

The first of these principles I should like to mention is that of conference. It is impossible to get anywhere with a man with whom you are unwilling to confer. Conference is chiefly a matter of attitude. It implies approach, good-will, confidence; not aloofness, distrust and suspicion, which too frequently is the attitude between the parties to industry.

Conference between the four parties to industry has been tried, and with the best of results. It was found absolutely necessary to the winning of the war. It was not until the government of Britain, representing the community, invited capital, management, and labor to meet in common, and policies were arrived at as the result of round table conference, that the necessary adjustments of industry were so arranged as to make possible the vast production of munitions required to win the war. What was necessary to the winning of the war is equally necessary to the winning of peace—which we can hardly say exists so long as international strife gives way only to industrial unrest.

The Principle of Investigation

The second principle is that of investigation. Investigation is but a method of getting at the truth; and, as I said at the outset, it is the truth alone that shall set us free. In problems of the magnitude of those which industry presents, any just solution is impossible without a knowledge of the facts. There are certain evils which publicity is more effective in preventing and remedying than penalty; and unfair dealing between the parties to industry are of this kind. Meanness, injustice, gross selfishness—these cannot endure under the light of an intelligently formed public opinion. Most industrial ills belong to this class.

Investigation, too, has been tried between the four parties to industry, and found to be of the utmost service.

I notice that the minister of labor informed the House of Commons a day or two ago that Canada had had fewer strikes in recent years than any other country in the world. If that statement is true, and I believe it is, it is because we have on our statutes a law which makes provision for the investigation of industrial controversies prior to lockouts and strikes.

The principle of that law is the one being acted upon in Great Britain today. If England is being saved at the moment from industrial strife, hardly less frightful in its horrible consequences than actual war, it is because capital and management, labor and the community, are represented upon the commission recently appointed by Mr. Lloyd George to investigate the demands of the miners, and the condition of the coal mining industry throughout Britain.

It is upon the same principle of investigation prior to the commencement of hostilities that the League of Nations is being founded. If war between nations and between the parties to industry is to end, it will only be through the acceptance of the principle of investigation before a severance of relations.

"What we need quite as much as a League of Nations is a league of the parties to industry to see to the enforcement of this great principle, and the moulding of public opinion to that end. Such a league, I believe, would lead, even more quickly than a league of nations, to the maintenance of international, as well as of industrial, peace. Accustom men to the adoption of fundamental principles in adjusting their industrial relations, something which immediately concerns their everyday life, and the application of like principles to international affairs will take care of itself.

The Principle of Organization and Collective Action

A third principle is that of organization and collective action. The problems of industry are world problems. To cope with them successfully, organization is absolutely necessary.

What would become of capital, under the stress of world competition if its units were not permitted to coalesce, and large organization of business thereby rendered impossible? What would become of the community, if its activities were not organized? Deprive managers of the right of membership in an employers' or manufacturers' association, and they would be the first to say that their liberties had been infringed. Where, then, is the justice of denying to one party to industry a right which is conceded as just and necessary to the other three? If capital, management, and the community have the right to organize, so also should labor have this right.

Without organization of labor—where capital, management, and the community are organized—what equality of relationship can there possibly be between the four parties to industry? And where, under such a condition, are the individual units of labor likely to find themselves in the teeth of a world competition, more relentless where labor is concerned than in the case of capital or management? Labor left but briefly in a condition of isolation will starve; capital and management are usually in a position to wait.

It is not against organization that we ought to protest, but against the possible abuses of organized power. In this connection it is well to remember that the use of a thing is one thing, and its abuse another; and that with human nature what it is, abuses of power are not confined to any one class.

The Principle of Representation

A fourth principle is that of representation. Here we are at the beginning of the real solution of the problems of industry. Government within the state has widened down from autocratic authority to authority broad-based upon a people's will. The expansion of the principle of representation is responsible for that development. It will be equally so in industry. The problems of industry are essentially problems of government. Adequate representation of the parties, effected through organization, all enjoying the right of investigation, and meeting in round table conference—in such an obviously just and fair arrangement, we have the beginnings of law and order in industry, just as we have had it in the state, and the hope of a future development along constitutional and evolutionary lines, instead of along lines that are illegal and revolutionary.

Joint Committees and Joint Industrial Councils

Once the principle of representation is conceded, it is only a step to the formation of joint committees of employers and employees, the establishment of known, orderly, and expeditious procedure in all matters requiring adjustment, and the determination of industrial policies in a manner which will have regard for the interests of all concerned.

From joint committee in individual establishments, meeting at periodical intervals for little more than purposes of conference and consultation, the principle of representation should lead to the establishment of permanent standing joint industrial councils, embracing all the workers and all the employers in a given trade or industry and concerned with the determination of industrial policies, and the fixation of industrial standards enforceable throughout by the co-operation of government, representing the community and protecting its interests. This, as you know, is the objective of the recommendations of the so-called Whitley committee which the government of Great Britain has adopted as the corner-stone of its reconstruction policy.

Nor is the formation of such joint committees and industrial councils any longer a matter of experiment. Every day is adding to the number that are being formed, many of them in industries which have hitherto opposed anything in the way of organization among employees, and which have conceded little or nothing in the way of conference.

The Service of Organized Labor

The trade unions are mainly responsible for the development that has thus far been achieved. They have pioneered the path; they have blazed the trail which has led to collective bargaining, joint agreements, and contracts between the parties to industry. It has been a long and bitter struggle, this struggle for recognition on the part of organized labor. It has involved any amount of ill-feeling and misunderstanding, and fostered no end of prejudice and hatred; but the real purport of labor's struggle is coming to be better understood, and the part which the large organizations of capital and of labor are capable of playing in reconstructing human society is emerging into clearer day.

It is coming to be seen that the control of labor by its leaders is wholly dependent upon its organization into conservatively directed unions; that it is among the unorganized and undisciplined workers that bolshevism and I.W.W.-ism recruit their armies of terror and destruction. In a union of the organized forces of labor and capital, against a common enemy which menaces all human society, lies the hope of the future. Industrial concerns which have hitherto stood out against anything in the nature of a democratic organization of industry will do well to evidence a disposition to act upon the principles of conference, investigation, organization, and representation, in dealings with their employees, and to concede to labor the right of collective bargaining, and a voice in the determination of terms of employment and matters pertaining to their working and living conditions.

It may be that labor needs educating, that its leaders need more in the way of experience; but, in the absence of other opportunities, whence are education and qualities of leadership to be gained if not in the industries in which labor is employed, and through joint dealings with parties more highly favored?

The joint industrial councils being formed in England show how this new approach between capital and labor is certain, in its most highly developed forms, to take account of existing organizations of labor and capital, and to change the attitude of these powerful bodies from one of militancy based on a belief in opposed interests into one of co-operation based on a belief in the larger interests which they have in common.

One thing, and one thing only, remains to ensure a new world rising out of the ashes of the old; but without it nothing can be achieved. It is the acceptance by each of the parties to industry of the spirit which has saved not only Britain, but the world, in the overthrow of Prussian arrogance and ambition. It was through a love of liberty and a hatred of domination that men by millions sacrificed their lives that freedom might not perish from the earth. The overthrow of Prussian despotism is only part of the vast undertaking which the free nations of the world have still before them if freedom worthy of the name is to be maintained. Industrial autocracy and political autocracy may go hand in hand, but not autocracy in industry and democracy in politics. The latter combination is as ill-mated as the former is natural. To the nations that have won political freedom, there remains the task of reorganizing their industries into harmony with their governments. Anything short of harmony means perpetual conflict. Institutions opposed in organization and spirit can work against each other only till one or the other prevails. To democratize industry, so that along with democracy in government there may be a true industrial democracy, is the task that lies ahead.

A New Conception of Industry

With the news spirit must come also a wholly new conception of industry. No longer must industry be thought of as a mere revenue-producing process, in which capital, labor, management, and the community meet like so many rival and contending factions, each to appropriate to itself by force or might the largest possible share of the fruits of industry. Industry must be thought of, as in reality it is, as in the nature of social service, and participation in industry, whether in the form of labor or capital investment, as social service of the highest kind, since upon its successful accomplishment rest all other forms of human service.

May I conclude these remarks with words with which I have concluded a volume in which I have sought to enlarge upon the principles outlined today. This moment of silence at the close of the Great War, and this Lenten season, seem to lend them appropriateness to this occasion, and to the subject we have been considering.

"Is it too much to believe that, having witnessed humanity pass through its Gethsemane, having seen its agony in its Garden of Fears, having beheld its crucifixion upon the cross of militarism, labor and capital will yet bring to a disconsolate and broken-hearted world the one hope it is theirs alone to bring; and that, in the acceptance of principles which hold deliverance from the scourges that beset mankind, they will roll back the stone from the door of the world's sepulchre today, and give to humanity the promise of its resurrection to a more abundant life?"

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THE FOUR PARTIES TO INDUSTRY

I have chosen as the subject of my remarks to-day "The Four Parties to Industry", in order to emphasize a truth which seems to be fundamental in any attempt to cope with the industrial unrest which has followed so closely, and, one might add, so inevitably, in the wake of war. If there is to be release from the thraldom of fear in which men's minds are everywhere held, it is the Truth that shall set us free, and the enforcement of that Social Justice which the Truth demands.

The Meaning of Industrial Unrest

In industrial relations especially, we have accepted with complacence an order of things to which we have grown accustomed. The shock of war, stirring the world's soul to its very depths, has brought before our eyes the shattered image of an industrial civilization which is full of injustice. It has left us to decide whether the new order shall be little more than a return to the old, with all its worship of material wealth and material power, and its relative indifference to human worth and human well-being; or whether it will be an order worthy of the sacrifices of the heroic dead, and the services of those who on land and sea have endured all manner of hardship and peril to preserve the liberties and freedom that we still enjoy. Let us be assured of this: the unrest in the world of industry to-day is no ephemeral and transitory affair, no mere aftermath of the hideous convulsion which has shaken existing civilization to its very foundations. It is the voice of a grief-stricken humanity crying for justice in the relations of industry. Let us be equally assured that the sword is not the instrument, and repression not the method, to stay this unrest. The truth is mightier than the sword, and in conference between all the parties in interest, not in coercion of the others by any one, lies the only hope of an ultimate solution.

What is Industry?

We shall get no understanding of the problems of industry until we adequately appreciate what industry itself is, and who the parties are that are responsible for the carrying on of industry.

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Industry is the means by which the material resources of the world are transformed through human intelligence and human energy, with the aid of natural powers, tools, and machines, into commodities and services available for human use. It is a vast process of transformation, itself a series of transforming processes so interrelated and numerous as to unite mankind, in this age of world-wide industrial expansion, in an enterprise that encompasses the globe.

The Parties to Industry

We are accustomed to discuss the problems of industry in terms of Capital and Labor. The inability to find a workable solution to many of these problems arises from a vision thus circumscribed, and an ignoring of other factors equal in significance and importance. To carry on industry in any but the most primitive kind of way, four parties, discharging separate and distinct functions, are necessary.

First of all, there is Labor, which supplies the muscular and mental energy necessary to effect the processes of transformation.

Next, there is Capital, which is necessary to provide the raw materials, the tools, appliances, and equipment nesential to industrial processes, and the advances in the way of food, clothing, and shelter required by Labor pending the distribution of the finished product.

Then, there is Management, or Directing Ability. So frequently has Management been associated with the ownership of capital, that the identity of the former has more or less been merged in the latter. A moment's reflection is sufficient, however, to disclose the complete dissimilarity of function between the two. Capital's contribution to industry is in the nature of material substance loaned by way of investment. Its possessor may be any kind of person, from a social parasite or ne'er-do-well who is the inheritor of a fortune, to an infant totally incapable of any service to industry, and whose property is necessarily held in trust. Managerial ability, on the other hand, is in the nature of personal service of the very highest order, and is wholly necessary to effect efficient co-operation, not only between Labor and Capital in the work of production, but also to effect and maintain right relations with the fourth party, without whose co-operation in all that pertains to industry the other three parties could accomplish little or nothing.

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The fourth party is the Community, that entity which we speak of sometimes as organized society, under whose sanction all industry is carried on, and by whose continuous co-operation with the other parties to industry, production, distribution, and exchange are rendered possible.

Parties to Industry Interdependent

Not only are the four parties necessary to industry, but they are equally necessary to one another. Capital can do nothing without Labor. Labor can do nothing without Capital. Neither Labor nor Capital can co-operate effectively in industry save under the guiding genius of Management; and Management, however great its genius, can do nothing apart from the opportunities and privileges the Community affords. If all four parties are necessary to industry, and equally necessary to one another, then, surely, all four should have some voice in the control of industry, and with regard to the conditions under which their services to industry are rendered.

Existing Organization of Industry Inadequate

Is our present organization of industry in any way suggestive of a partnership, in which Labor, Capital, Management, and the Community are regarded as interrelated and interdependent? Far from it, as everyone knows who has given the organization of industry a moment's reflection. -- I am dealing, of course, only with the dominant type of large industrial organization, for it is mainly from this source that our present problems arise: transportation, manufacturing, mining, etc.,etc. -- So far as control goes, it is all in the nature of monopoly, and that a monopoly of control on the part of Capital.

The owners of capital, the capital investors, choose the Board of Directors; the Board of Directors choose the Management and dictate the policies. The Management regards itself as responsible solely to Capital. Labor and the Community become a consideration only in so far as they are able to make their power felt. Profits for Capital are a first consideration; profits as high as it is possible to make them. Wages to Labor, prices to the Community, are what they can be kept at, what the market will allow. Labor and the Community are not regarded as partners, entitled to share, through common knowledge, in a common venture, and in gains and losses alike. Such control as they exercise is a control that is forced - not a control that is voluntarily shared; a control that in the nature of things begets an attitude of militancy on their part.

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Monopoly of Control by Capital Responsible for Reactions

It is this monopoly on the part of Capital in the control and direction of industry that has led to the developments that are described as Socialistic, ultra-radical, and even anarchistic. More than any other factor, it lies at the root of the industrial upheavals of the present time. The other parties to industry, though feeling themselves rightful partners, have despaired of gaining any measure of joint control by concession. They have felt themselves driven to exact, by force, what they believe to be their rightful dues. In the case of Labor, this demand for recognition in the control of industry has asserted itself in the form of strikes. In the case of the Community, it has taken the form of arbitrary enactment, leading to an assumption of single control by the state or municipality.

Drift toward Monopoly of Control by the Community

What is the Socialistic State, or Collectivism, which is its industrial expression, other than industry so organized as to transfer industrial control from Capital to the Community, to the exclusion of the other parties? Under the Socialistic State, the Government would choose the managers of industry, would own the instruments of production, levying taxation wherever capital was required, and would fix the wages of Labor employed, and the prices at which commodities are to be sold.

The War has revealed that the Socialistic State, which workers were led to believe is certain to be beneficent and idealistic, may become the most bureaucratic and autocratic of agencies, holding within its power the lives and freedom of men, as well as the conditions of their employment. Germany has given that object lesson to the world.

The little there has been of state control during the War has also revealed that political managers, as a substitute for industrial managers, is not likely to be the best for either industry or the state. Of that, all countries have had a taste.

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Drift toward Monopoly of Control by Labor

What are the extreme movements on the part of Labor but a similar reaction against the monopoly of Capital control? In its most violent forms, this reaction has found expression in Revolutionary Syndicalism, Bolshevism, and certain forms of I.W.W-ism, where, in addition to the ignoring of Capital and Management as parties to industry, the Community is also ignored, and Red Terror used to supplant Reason in all that pertains to the accomplishment of lawless designs.

Guild Socialism is similarly a reaction on the part of Labor against monopoly of control on the part of Capital. Like State Socialism, it would rule out Capital's right to joint control just as effectively as Capitalism seeks to rule out Labor's right to joint control; but as the predominant factor in control it would substitute national guilds for the state. Industrial unions would select the managers, would own the capital, and would determine alike wages and prices.

In protesting against an actual monopoly of control by Capital under Capitalism, and a possible monopoly of control by the State under Socialism, Guild Socialism would establish a monopoly of control by Labor under National Industrial Guilds. This is a natural reaction. It represents the extreme of the protest by a militant Labor Unionism against the monopoly of control by Capital, just as Collectivism represents the extreme of the protest of an aggressive State Socialism against the monopoly of Capitalistic control. Guild Socialism and Collectivism are alike in that each would oust Capitalism by setting up a monopoly of its own.

Abolition of Monopoly Control the Only Remedy

But the cure for monopoly of control by one of the parties to industry is not to be found in the substitution of monopoly of control by one of the other parties; it lies in the destruction of monopoly altogether. It is to be found in the substitution of joint control for single control.

Single control, whether it be by Capital, Labor, or the State, sooner or later is certain to mean autocratic control. Whether Labor or the State as the autocrat is preferable to existing capitalistic control, beholden as it is, in some measure at least, to both Labor and the State, is something to which conditions in Europe at the present time afford an all-sufficient answer.

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It is not monopoly of control in any form that we must seek to bring about in this period of transition, but a gradual evolution into a system of joint control, whereby each of the parties to industry will be afforded a voice in the determination of the terms and conditions upon which its services to industry are rendered.

The Wisdom and Justice of Joint Control

And is not joint control by all the parties to industry in every way eminently wise, as well as fundamentally just? Is it not in every way, in the long run, to the interests of industry, and to the interests of each of the parties to industry? Continuance of the system of monopoly of control by Capital is no longer possible. Once Autocracy was doomed in the political world, its doom was equally sounded for the industrial. The interest of every one of the parties to industry is being menaced to-day in the reactions to which the monopoly of control by Capital has given rise.

Existing Monopoly of Control Unfair to Capital

No one of the parties stands to lose quite so much through a continuance of the struggle arising out of the monopoly of control by Capital, as Capital itself. As things are to-day, it is at Capital, and at Management, identified with Capital, that the stones are being blindly hurled. War ridden, hungry, and penniless, men and women have witnessed the wanton extravagance of many of those possessed of luxury. They have become bewildered with a condition which enables an idle investor to reap a fortune while the masses toil excessive hours for a bare subsistence. They have lost sight altogether of the services of Capital and Management in witnessing the debauchery of indolence combined with riches, and the unearned millions of profiteers.

But let the service that Capital and Management are capable of rendering industry once be lost to sight, and industry itself will be ruined, and with it the well-being of Labor and the Community as well. What is needed is not the ruination of Capital and Management, but each given its rightful place in a system of the government of industry which will make for the good of all the parties to production.

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Existing Monopoly of Control Unfair to Management

Nor is the monopoly of control by Capital wholly fair to Management, or in its best interests. It has been my privilege to talk pretty freely during the past few years with the managers of many large industries, and I find in the minds of not a few of them, a feeling that everything is to be gained, and nothing list, by having the function of Capital and the function of Management kept separate and distinct, and Management given a freer hand in considering the interests of Labor and the Community.

Some managers there are who obtain their positions, not in virtue of any special skill in managerial ability, but because of personal ownership of large quantities of capital, or intimate association or relationship with some investor. The incompetency of such managers, and their slavish subservience to privilege and position, to the exclusion of a due consideration of the rights of Labor and of the Community, only serves to rouse the bitter antagonism of both these parties, who feel that their rightful interests, as necessary partners in industry, are being thwarted and jeopardized.

Not a little of the militant attitude on the part of Labor, and impatience on the part of the public with the present order of industry, is due to a feeling that some managers wholly fail to render to industry any service at all commensurate with the enormous salaries they receive, and to a belief that the interests of Labor and the Community alike are sacrificed to incompetence and extravagance, which would not be permitted were all four parties to industry permitted some voice in the shaping of industrial policy.

Management, instead of being regarded as the servant exclusively of Capital, ought to be in a position to regard itself, as in fact it is, one of the necessary parties to industry, and as such entitled to a voice in matters which pertain to its administrative functions; responsible fn the exercise of its duties, not to one party only, but to all.

In the emancipation of Management from the single control of any one of the parties, whether it be Capital, Labor, or the Community, and in the development of its function into that of a responsible executive, concerned equally with all the interests of the necessary parties to industry, lies the hope of any ultimate solution of the industrial problem.

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Existing Monopoly of Control Unfair to Labor

Coming to what is fundamentally right and just, may it not be asked: Is Labor not quite as much entitled to a voice in the control of industry as Capital? It is investment in industry which affords the right to share in corporate control. Capital and Management receive representation on this basis. If Capital and Management are so entitled, why not Labor also?

Industry is a joint venture, a venture of Labor as well as of Capital. The difference in the nature of the investment of Capital and Labor only serves to emphasize the fundamental justice of Labor's right to a share in control. The investment of Capital is in the nature of an investment of substances and dollars; and investment of Labor is an investment in the nature of skill and life. The one is a material, the other, a human investment, and of the two, the one involving life is the more precious.

THe capital investor - the individual who in industry loans and risks his capital or a part of it - receives for his capital a return in the form of interest; but he receives something more. As an investor, he becomes entitled to a voice in the control of the industry in which his investment is made. The life or labor investor - the worker who in industry loans and risks his life, or gives to industry that part of it described as labor - receives for his labor, which is the use of his life and skill for the time in which labor is given, a return in the form of wages. He lacks, however, the additional right, which Capital receives, of a share in the government of industry. If Capital obtains this right in addition to financial reward for the use of capital for the time for which it is invested, is Labor not in justice equally entitled, in addition to its monetary reward, to a voice in the control of industry in which, for the time being, its life and skill are likewise invested. If investment in industry has any meaning at all, it is surely one equally shared by the man who gives his labor and the man who gives his capital.

Existing Monopoly of Control Unfair to the Community

The Community's right to representation in the control of industry, and in the shaping of industrial policies, is wholly similar to that of Labor. But for Community investment on a local, national, and international scale, Capital, Labor,

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and Management would be obliged to make scant shrift under present-day conditions of world competition. But what of the Community's part in industry? Here, too, is joint venture on the part of the Community just as much as on the part of Labor, Capital, or Management. What is 99 per cent of the expenditure of government in normal times but outlays in the nature of investment in industry: investment in property and services of one kind or another, which alone makes possible the vast co-operation and co-ordination of effort which is the very life-blood of industry?

The vaster industrial organization becomes, the more it depends, in a multitude of directions, upon the investments of the Community.

It is the Community which provides the natural resources and powers that underlie all production. Individuals may acquire title by one means or another, but it is from the Community, and with the consent of the Community, that titles are held. It is the Community, organized in various ways, which maintains government and foreign relations, secures law and order, fosters the arts and inventions, aids education, breeds opinion, and promotes, through concession or otherwise, the agencies of transportation, communication, credit, banking, and the like, without which any production, save the most primitive, would be impossible. It is the Community which creates the demand for commodities and services, through which Labor is provided with remunerative employment, and Capital with a return upon its investment. Apart from the Community, inventive genius, organizing capacity, managerial or other ability would be of little value. Turn where one may, it is the Community that makes possible all the activities of industry, and helps to determine their value and scope.

Community investment is supposed to receive its return in enhanced purchasing power to consumers as respects the number and quality of available services and commodities. This is a return akin to the interest Capital receives, and to the wages Labor receives. But is not the Community equally entitled, on grounds of investment, to a voice in the control of industry and in the shaping of industrial policy. Without participation by the Community in the control of industry, there is nothing to prevent the emergence of a joint-profiteering scheme by the other parties, in which high wages and high profits are secured by charges which fall either immediately or ultimately upon consumers.

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Individual Control Must Give Way to Partnership

If Industry is to cease to be the battleground of rival factions, each selfishly seeking its own interest, regardless of the interests of the others, its government must cease altogether to be a matter of single control by one of the parties, or of contending controls by the several parties. The parties to industry must be brought into a relationship of partnership, with a recognized community of control.

Partnership is essentially a matter of status. It does not involve identity or similarity of function on the part of the partners, or equality of either service or rewards; but it does simply equality as respects the right of representation in the determination of policy on matters of common interest. It is this principle that has ~~been~~ thus far so largely failed of recognition. The justice of the principle, however, cannot be gainsaid.

The Necessary Transition

If to secure a just consideration of the rights of all the four parties to industry something in the nature of partnership, involving community of control, is necessary, how, it will be asked, is that transition to be effected. Certainly it will never be brought about by violent upheavals, or revolutionary methods, which serve only to disorganize industry and occasion loss to all its parties. It must be brought about in an evolutionary manner, here a little, there a little; line upon line, precept upon precept, all working toward the consummation of the one ideal.

Government in the State a Guide to Government in Industry

There is much in the government of the state to give us guidance as well as hope in the evolution of government within industry. The British constitution may have its limitations, but no instrument of government has ever been devised which has so effectively helped to preserve and extend the freedom and liberties of men. What the British constitution stands for in the government of the state, we should aim at effecting in the working out of a constitution for industry. It will not all be accomplished within a day;neither need it be the work of generations. With free political institutions our one great inheritance, the application to industry of those

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principles which underlie government within the state should not be either impossible or difficult. A willingness to recognize the justice of them, and to act in the light of knowledge we already have, is all that is necessary.

In government within the state, there are three outstanding stages of development. The first stage is that of the autocratic executive, in which there is single control by one only of the parties to the state. King John is an outstanding example of this type of autocratic government. It was not believed, in the time of John, that the people had any ability to govern themselves. Even the lords and the nobles were without a voice in the government of the kingdom. They secured the first advance in popular liberties when they wrested the Magna Charta from John, and secured his signature to a written statement of their rights as citizens.

Representative Government marks the next important phase in the evolution of government within the state. That takes us back to 1265, to the famous Parliament of Simon de Montfort, when for the first time in British history there was at least an attempt at representation of all three estates. At the outset, representation was restricted and nominal. All subsequent development has been in the nature of a broadening of the basis of representation, and rendering effective the representation gained.

It is only within the past century that the highest form of government: namely, Responsible Government, had been attained. When the managers of industry become responsible to Labor, Capital, and the Community for the manner in which their vast powers and opportunities are exercised, we shall have something in the government of industry closely resembling the responsible executive in the government of the state. Meanwhile, our duty would appear to be that of putting an end to autocracy and monopoly of control, no matter by which of the parties to industry it may be attempted or exercised, and to work out a system of joint-control based upon representation of all the parties in the determination of industrial policy.

Recognition of the Four Parties the First Essential

Time forbids more than a suggestion or two as to the manner in which a constitution between the parties to industry might be worked out in a way which will help to allay the industrial unrest of our times, and advance the highest interests of industry, and all of its parties. Obviously, what is most

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needed is recognition of the fact that industry is not a matter which concerns only one party, but that it is of vital concern to all four: to Capital, to Labor, to Management, and to the Community, and that no one of the four is entitled to a monopoly of control.

Once recognition is given the four parties to industry, the solution of the problem of industrial relations is a matter simply of proceeding in accordance with principles which are obviously fair and just.

The Principle of Conference

The first of these principles I should like to mention is that of Conference. It is impossible to hope to get anywhere with a man with whom you are unwilling to confer. Conference is chiefly a matter of attitude. It implies approach, good-will, confidence; not aloofness, distrust, and suspicion, which too frequently is the attitude between the parties to industry.

Conference between the four parties to industry has been tried, and with the best of results. It was found absolutely necessary to the winning of the War. It was not until the Government of Britain, representing the Community, invited Capital, Management, and Labor to meet in common, and policies were arrived at as the result of Round Table Conference, that the necessary adjustments of industry were so arranged as to make possible the vast production of munitions of war. What was necessary to the winning of War is equally necessary to the winning of Peace - which we can hardly say exists so long as international strife gives way only to industrial ~~anarchy~~. unrest.

The Principle of Investigation

The second principle is that of Investigation. Investigation is only a method of getting at the truth; and, as I said at the outset, it is the truth alone that shall set us free. In problems of the magnitude of those which industry presents, any just solution is impossible without a knowledge of the facts. There are a class of evils which publicity is more effective in preventing and remedying than penalty; and unfair dealings between the parties to industry are of this kind. Meanness, injustice, gross selfishness - these cannot endure under the light of an intelligently formed public opinion. Most industrial ills belong to this class.

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Investigation, too, has been tried between the four parties to industry, and found to be of the utmost service.

I notice that the Minister of Labor informed the House of Commons a day or two ago that Canada had had fewer strikes in recent years than any other country in the world. If that statement is true, and I believe it is, it is because we have on our statutes a law which makes provision for the investigation of industrial controversies prior to lockouts and strikes.

The principle of that law is the one being acted upon in Great Britain to-day. If England is being saved at the moment from industrial strife, hardly less frightful in its consequences than actual war, it is because Capital and Management, Labor, and the Community, are represented upon the Commission recently appointed by Mr. Lloyd George to investigate the demands of the miners, and the condition of the mining industry throughout Britain.

It is upon the same principle of encouraging investigation prior to the commencement of hostilities that the League of Nations is being founded. If war between nations and between the parties to industry is to end, it can only be by the acceptance of the principle of investigation before the severance of peaceful relations.

What we need quite as much as a League of Nations is a League of the Parties to Industry to see to the enforcement of this great principle, and the moulding of public opinion to that end. Such a league would lead, I believe, even more quickly than a league of nations, to the maintenance of international, as well as of industrial, peace. Accustom men to the adoption of fundamental principles in their industrial relations, which are something that immediately concern their every day life, and the application of like principles to international affairs will take care of itself.

The Principle of Organization and Collective Action

A third principle is that of Organization and Collective Action. The problems of industry are world problems. To cope with them successfully, organization is absolutely necessary.

What would become of Capital, under the stress of world competition, if its units were not to coalesce, and large organization of business were rendered impossible? What would become

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of the Community, if its activities were not organized? Deprive Managers of the right of membership in an employers or manufacturers association, and they would be the first to say that their liberties had been infringed. Where, then, is the justice of denying to one party to industry a right which is conceded as just and necessary to the other three? If Capital, Management, and the Community have the right to organize, so also should Labor have this right.

Without organization of Labor - where Capital, Management, and the Community are organized - what equality of relationship can there possibly be between the four parties to industry? And where are the individual units of Labor likely to find themselves in the teeth of a world competition, more relentless where Labor is concerned than in the case of Capital or Management? Labor left but briefly in a condition of isolation will starve; Capital and Management are usually in a position to wait.

It is not against organization that we ought to protest, but against the possible abuses of organized power. In this connection it is well to remember that the use of a thing is one thing, and its abuse another; and that with human nature what it is, abuses of power are not confined to any one class.

The Principle of Representation

A fourth principle is that of representation. Here we are at the beginning of the real solution of the problems of industry. Government within the state has widened down from autocratic authority to authority broad-based upon a people's will. The expansion of the principle of representation is responsible for that development. It will be equally so in industry. The problems of industry are essentially problems of government. Adequate representation of all the parties in interest, effected through organization, enjoying the right of investigation, and meeting in Round Table Conference - in such an obviously fair and just arrangement, we have the beginnings of Law and Order in industry, just as we have had it in the state, and the hope of a future development along constitutional and evolutionary, not revolutionary, lines.

Joint Committees and Joint Industrial Councils

Once the principle of Representation is conceded, it is only a step to the formation of joint committees of employers and employees, the establishment of known, orderly, and expeditious

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procedure in all matters requiring adjustment, and the determination of industrial policies in a manner which will have regard for the interests of all concerned.

From joint committees in individual establishments, meeting at periodical intervals for little more than purposes of conference and consultation, the principle of representation should lead to the establishment of permanent standing joint industrial councils, embracing all the workers and all the employers in a given trade or industry, and concerned with the determination of industrial policies, and the fixation of industrial standards enforceable throughout by the co-operation of Government, representing the Community and protecting its interests. This, as you know, is the objective of the recommendations of the so-called Whitley Committee which the Government of Great Britain has adopted as the corner-stone of its reconstruction policy.

Nor is the formation of such joint committees and industrial councils any longer a matter of experiment. Every day is adding to the number that are being formed, many of them in industries which have hitherto opposed anything in the way of organization among employees, and which have conceded little or nothing in the way of conference.

The Trade Unions are mainly responsible for the development that has thus far been achieved. They have pioneered the path; they have blazed the trail which has led to collective bargaining, joint agreements, and contracts between the parties to industry. It has been a long and bitter struggle, this struggle for recognition on the part of Organized Labor. It has involved any amount of ill-feeling and misunderstanding, and fostered no end of prejudice and hatred; but the real purport of Labor's struggle is coming to be better understood, and the part which the large organizations of Capital and of Labor are capable of playing in reconstructing human society is emerging into clearer day.

It is coming to be seen that the control of Labor by its leaders is wholly dependent upon its organization into conservative unions; that it is among the unorganized and undisciplined workers that Bolshevism and I.W.W.-ism recruit their armies of terror and destruction. In a union of the organized forces of Labor and of Capital, against a common enemy which menaces all human society, lies the hope of the future. Industrial concerns which have hitherto stood out against anything in the nature of a democratic organization

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of industry will do well to evidence a disposition to act upon the principles of conference, investigation, organization, and representation, in dealings with their employees, and to concede to Labor the right of collective bargaining, and a voice in the determination of terms of employment and matters pertaining to their working and living conditions.

It may be that Labor needs educating, that its leaders need more in the way of experience; but whence is that education and qualities of leadership to be gained if not in the industries in which Labor is employed, and through joint dealings with parties more highly favored?

The Joint Industrial Councils being formed in England show how this new approach between Capital and Labor is certain, in its highest form, to take account of all existing organizations of Labor and Capital, and to change the attitude of these powerful bodies from one of militancy based on a belief in opposed interests into one of co-operation based on a belief in the larger interests which they have in common.

A New Spirit Necessary

One thing, and one thing only, remains to ensure a new world rising out of the ashes of the old; and without it nothing can be achieved. It is the acceptance by each of the parties to industry of the spirit which has saved not only Britain, but the world, in the overthrow of Prussian arrogance and ambition. It was through a love of liberty and a hatred of domination that men by the millions sacrificed their lives that freedom might not perish from the earth. The overthrow of Prussian Despotism is only part of the vast undertaking which the free nations of the world have still before them if Freedom worthy of the name is to be maintained. Industrial autocracy and political autocracy may go hand in hand, but not autocracy in industry and democracy in politics. The latter combination is as ill-mated as the former is natural. To the nations that have won political freedom, there remains the task of reorganizing their industries into harmony with their governments. Anything short of harmony means perpetual conflict. Institutions opposed in organization and spirit can only work against each other till one or the other prevails. To democratize industry, so that along with democracy in government there may be a true industrial democracy, is the task that lies ahead.

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A New Conception of Industry

With the new spirit must come also a wholly new conception of industry. No longer must industry be thought of as a mere revenue-producing process, in which Capital, Labor, Management, and the Community meet like so many rival and contending factions, each to appropriate to itself by force or might the largest possible share of the fruits of industry. Industry must be thought of, as in reality it is, in the nature of social service, and participation in industry, whether in the form of labor or capital investment, as social service of the highest kind, since upon its successful accomplishment rest all other forms of human service.

A Final Hope

May I conclude these remarks with words with which I have concluded a volume in which I have sought to enlarge upon the principles outlined to-day. This moment of silence at the close of the Great War, and this Lenten season, seem to give to them appropriateness to this occasion, and to the subject we have been considering.

"Is it too much to believe that, having witnessed Humanity pass through its Gethsemane, having seen its agony in its Garden of Fears, having beheld its crucifixion upon the cross of Militarism, Labor and Capital will yet bring to a disconsolate and brokenhearted world the one hope it is theirs alone to bring; and that, in the acceptance of principles which hold deliverance from the scourges that beset Mankind, they will roll back the stone from the door of the world's sepulchre to-day, and give to Humanity the promise of its resurrection to a more abundant life?"

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"The Four Parties to Industry"

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THE FOUR PARTIES

to

INDUSTRY

By

Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King

Former Minister of Labor, Canada.
Author of "Industry and Humanity : A Study in the Principles Underlying Industrial Reconstruction".

Address before The Empire Club of Canada
at The King Edward Hotel,
Toronto, Canada,
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THE FOUR PARTIES TO INDUSTRY

I have chosen as a subject ~~of my remarks to day~~ "The Four Parties to Industry", in order to emphasize a truth which seems to be fundamental in any attempt to cope with the industrial unrest which has followed so closely, and, one might add, so inevitably, in the wake of war. If there is to be release from the thraldom of fear in which men's minds are everywhere held, it is the Truth that shall set us free, and the enforcement of that Social Justice which the Truth demands.

The Meaning of Industrial Unrest

In industrial relations especially we have accepted with complacence an order of things to which we have grown accustomed. THe shock of war, stirring the world's soul to its very depths, has brought before our eyes the shattered image of an industrial civilization which is full of injustice. It has left us to decide whether the new order shall be little more than a return to the old, with all its worship of material wealth and material power, and its relative indifference to human worth and human well-being; or whether it will be an order worthy of the sacrifices of the heroic dead, and the services of those who on land and sea have endured all manner of hardship and peril to preserve the liberties and freedom that we still enjoy. Let us be assured of this: the unrest in the world of industry to-day is no ephemeral and transitory affair; no mere aftermath of the hideous convulsion which has shaken existing ~~civilization~~ society to its very foundations. It is the voice of a grief-stricken humanity crying for justice in the relations of industry. Let us be equally assured that the sword is not the instrument, and repression not the method, to stay this unrest. The truth is mightier than the sword, and in conference and co-operation between all the parties in interest, not in coercion of the others by any one, lies the only hope of an ultimate solution.

What is Industry?

We shall get no understanding of the problems of industry until we adequately appreciate what industry itself is, and who the parties are that are responsible for the carrying on of industry.

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Industry is the means by which the material resources of the world are transformed, through human intelligence and human energy, with the aid of natural powers, tools, and machines, into commodities and services available for human use. It is a vast process of transformation, itself a series of transforming processes so interrelated and numerous as to unite mankind, in this age of world-wide industrial expansion, in an enterprise that encompasses the globe.

The Parties to Industry

We are accustomed to discuss the problems of industry in terms of Capital and Labor. The inability to find a workable solution to many of these problems arises from a vision thus circumscribed, and an ignoring of other factors equal in significance and importance. To carry on industry in any but the most primitive kind of way, four parties, discharging separate and distinct functions, are necessary.

First of all, there is Labor, which supplies the muscular and mental energy necessary to effect the processes of transformation.

Next, there is Capital, which is necessary to provide the raw materials, the tools, appliances, and equipment essential to industrial processes, and the advances in the way of food, clothing, and shelter required by Labor pending the distribution of the finished product.

Then, there is Management, or Directing Ability. So frequently has Management been associated with the ownership of capital, that the identity of the former has more or less been merged in the latter. A moment's reflection is sufficient however, to disclose the complete dissimilarity of function between the two. Capital's contribution to industry is in the nature of material substance loaned by way of investment. Its possessor may be any kind of person, from a social parasite or ne'er-do-well who is the inheritor of a fortune, to an infant totally incapable of any service to industry, and whose property is necessarily held in trust. Managerial ability, on the other hand, is in the nature of personal service of the very highest order, and is wholly necessary to effect efficient co-operation not only between Labor and Capital in the work of production, but also to effect and maintain right relations with the fourth party, without whose co-operation in all that pertains to industry the other three parties could accomplish little or nothing.

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The fourth party is the Community, that entity which we speak of sometimes as organized society, under whose sanction all industry is carried on, and by whose continuous co-operation with the other parties to industry, production, distribution, and exchange are rendered possible.

Parties to Industry Interdependent

Not only are the four parties necessary to industry, but they are equally necessary to one another. Capital can do nothing without Labor. Labor can do nothing without Capital. Neither Labor nor Capital can co-operate effectively in industry save under the guiding genius of Management; and Management, however great its genius, can do nothing apart from the opportunities and privileges the Community affords. If all four parties are necessary to industry, and equally necessary to one another, then, surely, all four should have some voice in the control of industry, and with regard to the conditions under which their services to industry are rendered.

Existing Organization of Industry Inadequate

Is our present organization of industry in any way suggestive of a partnership, in which Labor, Capital, Management, and the Community are regarded as interrelated and interdependent? Far from it, as everyone knows who has given the organization of industry a moment's reflection. -- I am dealing, of course, only with the dominant type of large industrial organization, for it is mainly from this source that our present problems arise: transportation, manufacturing, mining, etc.,etc. -- So far as control goes, it is all in the nature of monopoly, and that a monopoly of control on the part of Capital.

The owners of capital, the capital investors, choose the Board of Directors; the Board of Directors choose the Management and dictate the policies. The Management regards itself as responsible solely to Capital. Labor and the Community become a consideration only in so far as they are able to make their power felt. Profits for Capital are a first consideration; profits as high as it is possible to make them. Wages to Labor, prices to the Community, are what they can be kept at, what the market will allow. Labor and the Community are not regarded as partners, entitled to share, through common knowledge, in a common venture, ~~and~~ in gains and losses alike. Such control as they exercise is a control that is forced, not a control that is voluntarily shared; a control that in the nature of things begets an attitude of militancy on their part.

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Monopoly of Control by Capital Responsible for Reactions

It is this monopoly on the part of Capital in the control and direction of industry that has led to the developments that are described as Socialistic, ultra-radical, and even anarchistic. More than any other factor, it lies at the root of the industrial upheavals of the present time. The other parties to industry, though feeling themselves ~~rightful~~ entitled to be regarded as partners, have despaired of gaining any measure of joint control by concession. They have felt themselves driven to exact, by force, what they believe to be their rightful dues. In the case of Labor, this demand for recognition in the control of industry has asserted itself in the form of strikes. In the case of the Community, it has taken the form of arbitrary enactment, leading to an assumption of single control by the state or municipality.

Drift toward Monopoly of Control by the Community

What is the Socialistic State, or Collectivism, which is its industrial expression, other than industry so organized as to transfer industrial control from Capital to the Community, to the exclusion of the other parties? Under the Socialistic State, the Government would choose the managers of industry, would own the instruments of production, levying taxation wher~~ever~~ever ^ more & capital was required, and would fix the wages of Labor, ~~employed;~~ and the prices at which commodities are to be sold.

The War has revealed that the Socialistic State, which many workers ~~were~~ have been led to believe is certain to be beneficent and idealistic, may become the most bureaucratic and autocratic of agencies, holding within its power the lives and freedom of men, as well as the conditions of their employment. Germany has given that object lesson to the world.

The little there has been of state control during the War has also revealed that political managers, as a substitute for industrial managers, is not likely to be the best for either industry or the state. Of that, all countries have had a taste.

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Drift toward Monopoly of Control by Labor

What are the extreme movements on the part of Labor but a similar reaction against the monopoly of Capital control? In its most violent forms, this reaction has found expression in Revolutionary Syndicalism, Bolshevism, and certain forms of I.W.W-ism, where, in addition to the ignoring of Capital and Management as parties to industry, the Community is also ignored, and Red Terror used to supplant Reason in all that pertains to the accomplishment of lawless designs.

Guild Socialism is similarly a reaction on the part of Labor against monopoly of control on the part of Capital. Like State Socialism, it would rule out Capital's right to joint control just as effectively as Capitalism seeks to rule out Labor's right to joint control; but as the predominant factor in control it would substitute national guilds for the state. Industrial unions would select the managers, would own the capital, and would determine alike wages and prices.

In protesting against an actual monopoly of control by Capital under Capitalism, and a possible monopoly of control by the State under Socialism, Guild Socialism would establish a monopoly of control by Labor under National Industrial Guilds. This is a natural reaction. It represents the extreme of the protest by a militant Labor Unionism against the monopoly of control by Capital, just as Collectivism represents the extreme of the protest of an aggressive State Socialism against the monopoly of Capitalistic control. Guild Socialism and Collectivism are alike in that each would oust Capitalism by setting up a monopoly of its own.

Abolition of Monopoly Control the Only Remedy

But the cure for monopoly of control by one of the parties to industry is not to be found in the substitution of monopoly of control by one of the other parties; it lies in the destruction of monopoly altogether. It is to be found in the substitution of joint control for single control.

Single control, whether it be by Capital, Labor, or the State, sooner or later is certain to mean autocratic control. Whether Labor or the State as the autocrat is preferable to existing capitalistic control, beholden as it is, in some measure at least, to both Labor and the State, is something to which conditions in Europe at the present time afford an all-sufficient answer.

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It is not monopoly of control in any form that we must seek to bring about in this period of transition, but a gradual evolution into a system of joint control, whereby each of the parties to industry will be afforded a voice in the determination of the terms and conditions upon which its services to industry are rendered.

The Wisdom and Justice of Joint Control

And is not joint control by all the parties to industry in every way eminently wise, as well as fundamentally just? Is it not in every way, in the long run, to the interests of industry, and to the interests of each of the parties to industry? Continuance of the system of monopoly of control by Capital is no longer possible. Once autocracy was doomed in the political world, its doom was equally sounded for the industrial. The interest of every one of the parties to industry is being menaced to-day in the reactions to which the monopoly of control by Capital has given rise.

Existing Monopoly of Control Unfair to Capital

No one of the parties stands to lose quite so much through a continuance of the struggle arising out of the monopoly of control by Capital, as Capital itself. As things are to-day, it is at Capital, and at Management, identified with Capital, that the stones are being blindly hurled. War ridden, hungry, and penniless, men and women have witnessed the wanton extravagance of many of those possessed of luxury. They have become bewildered with a condition which enables an idle investor to reap a fortune while the masses toil excessive hours for a bare subsistence. They have lost sight altogether of the services of Capital and Management in witnessing the debauchery of indolence combined with riches, and the unearned millions of profiteers.

But let the service that Capital and Management are capable of rendering industry once be lost to sight, and industry itself will be ruined, and with it the well-being of Labor and the Community as well. What is needed is not the ruination of Capital and Management, but each given its rightful place in a system of the government of industry which will make for the good of all the parties to production.

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Existing Monopoly of Control Unfair to Management

Nor is the monopoly of control by Capital wholly fair to Management, or in its best interests. It has been my privilege to talk pretty freely during the past few years with the managers of many large industries, and I find in the minds of not a few of them a feeling that everything is to be gained, and nothing list, by having the function of Capital and the function of Management kept separate and distinct, and Management given a freer hand in considering the interests of Labor and the Community.

Some managers there are who obtain their positions, not in virtue of any special skill in managerial ability, but because of personal ownership of large quantities of capital, or intimate association or relationship with some investor. The incompetence of such managers, and their slavish subservience to privilege and position, to the exclusion of a due consideration of the rights of Labor and of the Community, only serves to rouse the bitter antagonism of both these parties, who feel that their rightful interests, as necessary partners in industry, are being thwarted and jeopardized.

Not a little of the militant attitude on the part of Labor, and impatience on the part of the public with the present order of industry, is due to a feeling that some managers wholly fail to render to industry any service at all commensurate with the enormous salaries they receive, and to a belief that the interests of Labor and the Community alike are sacrificed to incompetence and extravagance, which would not be permitted were all four parties to industry ~~permitted~~ allowed some voice in the shaping of industrial policy.

Management, instead of being regarded as the servant exclusively of Capital, ought to be in a position to regard itself, as in fact it is, one of the necessary parties to industry, and as such entitled to a voice in matters which pertain to its administrative functions; responsible in the exercise of its duties, not to one party only, but to all.

In the emancipation of Management from the single control of any one of the parties, whether it be Capital, Labor, or the Community, and in the development of its function into that of a responsible executive, concerned equally with all the interests of the necessary parties to industry, lies the hope of any ultimate solution of the industrial problem.

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Existing Monopoly of Control Unfair to Labor

Referring ~~Coming~~ to what is fundamentally right and just, may it not be asked: Is Labor not quite as much entitled to a voice in the control of industry as Capital? It is investment in industry which affords the right to share in corporate control. Capital and Management receive representation on this basis. If Capital and Management are so entitled, why not Labor also?

Industry is a joint venture, a venture of Labor as well as of Capital. The difference in the nature of the investment of Capital and Labor only serves to emphasize the fundamental justice of Labor's right to a share in control. The investment of Capital is in the nature of an investment of substances and dollars; and investment of Labor is an investment in the nature of skill and life. The one is a material; the other, a human investment, and of the two, the one involving life is the more precious.

The capital investor - the individual who in industry loans and risks his capital or a part of it - receives for his capital a return in the form of interest; but he receives something more. As an investor, he becomes entitled to a voice in the control of the industry in which his investment is made. The life or labor investor - the worker who in industry loans and risks his life, or gives to industry that part of it described as labor - receives for his labor, which is the use of his life and skill for the time in which labor is given, a return in the form of wages. He lacks, however, the additional right, which Capital receives, of a share in the government of industry. If Capital obtains this right in addition to financial reward for the use of capital for the time for which it is invested, is Labor not in justice equally entitled, in addition to its monetary reward, to a voice in the control of industry in which, for the time being, its life and skill are likewise invested. If investment in industry has any meaning at all, it is surely one equally shared by the man who gives his labor and the man who gives his capital.

Existing Monopoly of Control Unfair to the Community

The Community's right to representation in the control of industry, and in the shaping of industrial policies, is wholly similar to that of Labor. But for Community investment on a local, national, and international scale, Capital, Labor,

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and Management would be obliged to make scant shrift under present-day conditions of world competition. But what of the Community's part in industry? Here, too, is joint venture on the part of the Community just as much as on the part of Labor, Capital, or Management. What is 99 per cent of the expenditure of government in normal times but outlays in the nature of investment in industry: investment in property and services of one kind or another, which alone makes possible the vast co-operation and co-ordination of effort which is the very life-blood of industry?

The vaster industrial organization becomes, the more it depends, in a multitude of directions, upon the investments of the Community.

It is the Community which provides the natural resources and powers that underlie all production. Individuals may acquire title by one means or another, but it is from the Community, and with the consent of the Community, that titles are held. It is the Community, organized in various ways, which maintains government and foreign relations, secures law and order, fosters the arts and inventions, aids education, breeds opinion, and promotes, through concession or otherwise, the agencies of transportation, communication, credit, banking, and the like, without which any production, save the most primitive, would be impossible. It is the Community which creates the demand for commodities and services, through which Labor is provided with remunerative employment, and Capital with a return upon its investment. Apart from the Community, inventive genius, organizing capacity, managerial or other ability would be of little value. Turn where one may, it is the Community that makes possible all the activities of industry, and helps to determine their value and scope.

Community investment is supposed to receive its return in enhanced purchasing power to consumers as respects the number and quality of available services and commodities. This is a return akin to the interest Capital receives, and to the wages Labor receives. But is not the Community equally entitled, on grounds of investment, to a voice in the control of industry and in the shaping of industrial policy. Without participation by the Community in the control of industry, there is nothing to prevent the emergence of a joint-profiteering scheme by the other parties, in which high wages and high profits are secured by charges which fall either immediately or ultimately upon consumers.

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Single ~~Individual~~ Control Must Give Way to Partnership

If Industry is to cease to be the battleground of rival factions, each selfishly seeking its own interest, regardless of the interests of the others, its government must cease altogether to be a matter of single control by one of the parties, or of contending controls by the several parties. The parties to industry must be brought into a relationship of partnership, with a recognized community of control.

Partnership is essentially a matter of status. It does not involve identity or similarity of function on the part of the partners, or equality of either service or rewards; but it does simply equality as respects the right of representation in the determination of policy on matters of common interest. It is this principle that has ~~been~~ thus far so largely failed of recognition. The justice of the principle, however, cannot be gainsaid.

The Necessary Transition

If to secure a just consideration of the rights of all ~~the~~ four parties to industry something in the nature of partnership, involving community of control, is necessary, how, it will be asked, is that transition to be effected. Certainly, it will never be brought about by violent upheavals, or revolutionary methods, which serve only to disorganize industry and occasion loss to all its parties. It must be brought about in an evolutionary manner, here a little, there a little; line upon line, precept upon precept, all working toward the consummation of the one ideal.

Government in the State a Guide to Government in Industry

There is much in the government of the state to give us guidance as well as hope in the evolution of government within industry. The British constitution may have its limitations, but no instrument of government has ever been devised which has so effectively helped to preserve and extend the freedom and liberties of men. What the British constitution stands for in the government of the state, we should aim at effecting in the working out of a constitution for industry. It will not all be accomplished within a day; neither need it be the work of generations. With free political institutions our one great inheritance, the application to industry of those

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principles which underlie government within the state should ~~not~~ be neither impossible nor difficult. A willingness to recognize the justice of them, and to act in the light of knowledge we already have, is all that is necessary.

From Autocratic to Responsible Government.

In government within the state, there are three outstanding stages of development. The first stage is that of the autocratic executive, in which there is single control by one only of the parties to the state. King John is an outstanding example of this type of autocratic government. It was not believed, in the time of John, that the people had any ability to govern themselves. Even the lords and the nobles were without a voice in the government of the kingdom. They secured the first advance in popular liberties when they wrested the Magna Charta from John, and secured his signature to a written statement of their rights as citizens.

Representative Government marks the next important phase in the evolution of government within the state. That takes us back to 1265, to the famous Parliament of Simon de Montfort, when for the first time in British history there was at least an attempt at representation of all three estates. At the outset, representation was restricted and nominal. All subsequent development has been in the nature of a broadening of the basis of representation, and rendering more effective the representation gained.

It is only within the past century that the highest form of government: namely, Responsible Government, had been attained. When the managers of industry become responsible to Labor, Capital, and the Community for the manner in which their vast powers and opportunities are exercised, we shall have something in the government of industry closely resembling the responsible executive in the government of the state. Meanwhile, our duty would appear to be that of putting an end to autocracy and monopoly of control, no matter by which of the parties to industry it may be attempted or exercised, and to work out a system of joint-control based upon representation of all the parties in the determination of industrial policy.

Under Responsible Government, the executive is responsible to the people as a whole, not to any one class.

P.

The Basis of an Industrial Constitution

~~Recognition of the Four Parties the First Essential~~

Time forbids more than a suggestion or two as to the manner in which a constitution ~~between~~ for the parties to industry might be worked out in a way which will help to allay the industrial unrest of our times, and advance the highest interests of industry, and all of its parties. Obviously, what is most

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needed is recognition of the fact that industry is not a matter which concerns only one party, but that it is of vital concern to all four: to Capital, to Labor, to Management, and to the Community, and that no one of the four is entitled to a monopoly of control.

Once recognition is given the four parties to industry, the solution of the problem of industrial relations is a matter simply of proceeding in accordance with principles which ~~are~~ have long been regarded as obviously fair and just.

The Principle of Conference

The first of these principles I should like to mention is that of Conference. It is impossible ~~to hope~~ to get anywhere with a man with whom you are unwilling to confer. Conference is chiefly a matter of attitude. It implies approach, good-will, confidence; not aloofness, distrust, and suspttion, which too frequently is the attitude between the parties to industry.

Conference between the four parties to industry has been tried, and with the best of results. It was found absolutely necessary to the winning of the War. It was not until the Government of Britain, representing the Community, invited Capital, Management, and Labor to meet in common, and policies were arrived at as the result of Round Table Conference, that the necessary adjustments of industry were so arranged as to make possible the vast production of munitions ~~of War~~. What was necessary to the winning of War is equally necessary to the winning of Peace - which we can hardly say exists so long as international strife gives way only to industrial ~~anarchy~~ unrest.

required to win the

The Principle of Investigation

The second principle is that of Investigation. Investigation is ~~only~~ but a method of getting at the truth; and, as I said at the outset, it is the truth alone that shall set us free. In problems of the magnitude of those which industry presents, any just solution is impossible without a knowledge of the facts. There are a class of evils which publicity is more effective in preventing and remedying than penalty; and unfair dealings between the parties to industry are of this kind. Meanness, injustice, gross selfishness - these cannot endure under the light of an intelligently formed public opinion. Most industrial ills belong to this class.

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Investigation, too, has been tried between the four parties to industry, and found to be of the utmost service.

I notice that the Minister of Labor informed the House of Commons a day or two ago that Canada had had fewer strikes in recent years than any other country in the world. If that statement is true, and I believe it is, it is because we have on our statutes a law which makes provision for the investigation of industrial controversies prior to lockouts and strikes.

The principle of that law is the one being acted upon in Great Britain to-day. If England is being saved at the moment from industrial strife, hardly less frightful in its consequences than actual war, it is because Capital and Management, Labor, and the Community, are represented upon the Commission recently appointed by Mr. Lloyd George to investigate the demands of the miners, and the condition of the coal mining industry throughout Britain.

It is upon the same principle of ~~encouraging~~ investigation prior to the commencement of hostilities that the League of Nations is being founded. If war between nations and between the parties to industry is to end, it will only be through the acceptance of the principle of investigation before ~~the~~ a severance of ~~peaceful~~ relations.

What we need quite as much as a League of Nations is a League of the Parties to Industry to see to the enforcement of this great principle, and the moulding of public opinion to that end. Such a league would lead, I believe, even more quickly than a league of nations, to the maintenance of international, as well as of industrial, peace. Accustom men to the adoption of fundamental principles in their industrial relations, which are something that immediately concerns their every day life, and the application of like principles to international affairs will take care of itself.

The Principle of Organization and Collective Action

A third principle is that of Organization and Collective Action. The problems of industry are world problems. To cope with them successfully, organization is absolutely necessary.

What would become of Capital under the stress of world competition, if its units were not permitted to coalesce, and large organization of business ~~were~~ rendered impossible? What would become

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of the Community, if its activities were not organized? Deprive Managers of the right of membership in an employers or manufacturers association, and they would be the first to say that their liberties had been infringed. Where, then, is the justice of denying to one party to industry a right which is conceded as just and necessary to the other three? If Capital, Management, and the Community have the right to organize, so also should Labor have this right.

Without organization of Labor - where Capital, Management, and the Community are organized - what equality of relationship can there possibly be between the four parties to industry? And where are the individual units of Labor likely to find themselves in the teeth of a world competition, more relentless where Labor is concerned than in the case of Capital or Management? Labor left but briefly in a condition of isolation will starve; Capital and Management are usually in a position to wait.

It is not against organization that we ought to protest, but against the possible abuses of organized power. In this connection it is well to remember that the use of a thing is one thing, and its abuse another; and that with human nature what it is, abuses of power are not confined to any one class.

The Principle of Representation

A fourth principle is that of representation. Here we are at the beginning of the real solution of the problems of industry. Government within the state has widened down from autocratic authority to authority broad-based upon a people's will. The expansion of the principle of representation is responsible for that development. It will be equally so in industry. The problems of industry are essentially problems of government. Adequate representation of all the parties, ~~in interest~~, effected through organization, enjoying the right of investigation, and meeting in Round Table Conference - in such an obviously fair and just arrangement, we have the beginnings of law and order in industry, just as we have had it in the state, and the hope of a future development along constitutional and evolutionary ~~, not revolutionary,~~ lines, instead of along lines that are illegal and revolutionary.

Joint Committees and Joint Industrial Councils

Once the principle of Representation is conceded, it is only a step to the formation of joint committees of employers and employees, the establishment of known, orderly, and expeditious

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procedure in all matters requiring adjustment, and the determination of industrial policies in a manner which will have regard for the interests of all concerned.

From joint committees in individual establishments, meeting at periodical intervals for little more than purposes of conference and consultation, the principle of representation should lead to the establishment of permanent standing joint industrial councils, embracing all the workers and all the employers in a given trade or industry - and concerned with the determination of industrial policies, and the fixation of industrial standards enforceable throughout by the co-operation of Government, representing the Community and protecting its interests. This, as you know, is the objective of the recommendations of the so-called Whitley Committee which the Government of Great Britain has adopted as the corner-stone of its reconstruction policy.

Nor is the formation of such joint committees and industrial councils any longer a matter of experiment. Every day is adding to the number that are being formed, many of them in industries which have hitherto opposed anything in the way of organization among employees, and which have conceded little or nothing in the way of conference.

The Service of Organized Labor.

The Trade Unions are mainly responsible for the development that has thus far been achieved. They have pioneered the path; they have blazed the trail which has led to collective bargaining, joint agreements, and contracts between the parties to industry. It has been a long and bitter struggle, this struggle for recognition on the part of Organized Labor. It has involved any amount of ill-feeling and misunderstanding, and fostered no end of prejudice and hatred; but the real purport of Labor's struggle is coming to be better understood, and the part which the large organizations of Capital and of Labor are capable of playing in reconstructing human society is emerging into clearer day.

It is coming to be seen that the control of Labor by its leaders is wholly dependent upon its organization into conservative unions; that it is among the unorganized and undisciplined workers that Bolshevism and I.W.W.-ism recruit their armies of terror and destruction. In a union of the organized forces of Labor and of Capital, against a common enemy which menaces all human society, lies the hope of the future. Industrial concerns which have hitherto stood out against anything in the nature of a democratic organization

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of industry will do well to evidence a disposition to act upon the principles of conference, investigation, organization, and representation, in dealings with their employees, and to concede to Labor the right of collective bargaining, and a voice in the determination of terms of employment and matters pertaining to their working and living conditions.

It may be that Labor needs educating, that its ~~is that~~ are leaders need more in the way of experience; but whence education and qualities of leadership to be gained if not in the industries in which Labor is employed, and through joint dealings with parties more highly favored?

The Joint Industrial Councils being formed in England show how this new approach between Capital and Labor is certain, in its ~~highest~~ most fruitful forms, to take account of ~~all~~ existing organizations of Labor and Capital, and to change the attitude of these powerful bodies from one of militancy based on a belief in opposed interests into one of co-operation based on a belief in the larger interests which they have in common.

A New Spirit Necessary

One thing, and one thing only, remains to ensure a new world rising out of the ashes of the old; ~~and~~ without it nothing can be achieved. It is the acceptance by each of the parties to industry of the spirit which has saved not only Britain, but the world, in the overthrow of Prussian arrogance and ambition. It was through a love of liberty and a hatred of domination that men by the millions sacrificed their lives that freedom might not perish from the earth. The overthrow of Prussian Despotism is only part of the vast undertaking which the free nations of the world have still before them if Freedom worthy of the name is to be maintained. Industrial autocracy and political autocracy may go hand in hand, but not autocracy in industry and democracy in politics. The latter combination is as ill-mated as the former is natural. To the nations that have won political freedom, there remains the task of reorganizing their industries into harmony with their governments. Anything short of harmony means perpetual conflict. Institutions opposed in organization and spirit can only work against each other till one or the other prevails. To democratize industry, so that along with democracy in government there may be a true industrial democracy, is the task that lies ahead.

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A New Conception of Industry

With the new spirit must come also a wholly new conception of industry. No longer must industry be thought of as a mere revenue-producing process, in which Capital, Labor, Management, and the Community meet like so many rival and contending factions, each to appropriate to itself by force or might the largest possible share of the fruits of industry. Industry must be thought of, as in reality it is, in the nature of social service, and participation in industry, whether in the form of labor or capital investment, as social service of the highest kind, since upon its successful accomplishment rest all other forms of human service.

~~A Final~~ Hope

May I conclude these remarks with words with which I have concluded a volume in which I have sought to enlarge upon the principles outlined to-day. This moment of silence at the close of the Great War, and this Lenten season, seem to ~~give to~~ lend them appropriateness to this occasion, and to the subject we have been considering.

"Is it too much to believe that, having witnessed Humanity pass through its Gethsemane, having seen its agony in its Garden of Fears, having beheld its crucifixion upon the cross of Militarism, Labor and Capital will yet bring to a disconsolate and brokenhearted world the one hope it is theirs alone to bring; and that, in the acceptance of principles which hold deliverance from the scourges that beset Mankind, they will roll back the stone from the door of the world's sepulchre to-day, and give to Humanity the promise of its resurrection to a more abundant life?"

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17 March 1919

Montreal Canadian Club

"THE FOUR PARTIES TO INDUSTRY"

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1919

THE GAZETTE, MONTREAL, TUESDAY, MARCH 18

MUST PUT END TO WEALTH WORSHIP

Way to Restore Civilization to Peace, Said Hon. Mackenzie King

THE INDUSTRIAL UNREST

Reorganization Recognizing Capital, Labor, Management and the Community, Remedy Suggested

Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, C.M.G., ex-Minister of Labor, aroused enthusiasm at the Canadian Club yesterday in a discussion on the labor problems that will face the Dominion now that the after-the-war problems must be faced. He based his address on "The Four Parties to Industry," which he classified as capital, management, labor and the community. His general argument was that so far industry had been almost entirely controlled by capital, with management as a closely allied force.

There was a large attendance at the meeting, which was presided over by Mr. C. F. Sise, while among others at the table of honor were Bishop Farthing, Rev. George Duncan, C. E. Ussher, A. D. Anderson and others.

In opening president Sise announced that next Monday the Canadian Club would be addressed on "Repatriation Problems," by Lt.-Col. (Trooper) Mulloy, and then introduced Hon. Mr. King as a grandson of William Lyon Mackenzie, who had led the rebellion against the family compact. in conjunction with Papineau, which had eventually ended in the Lord Durham report and the growth of constitutional government in Canada.

Hon. Mr. King said that he had seen so much adverse comment in the Montreal press regarding his Toronto speech on the industrial position that he wished to repeat and explain his views.

If the problems of capital and the unrest of labor were to be dealt with, he said, it was necessary to face the truth squarely. The war had revealed a civilization full of injustice, and if it was to be restored to peace the old wealth worship and domination must be ended. The present industrial unrest was not an ephemereal affair, nor could it be put down by the sword of repression.

SETTLEMENT OF UNREST.

The settlement of this unrest was not a matter of capital and labor alone. It concerned the managing forces, generally allied with capital, and the community as such. All were interested in varying degrees, and therefore he argued all should have some control in th direction of industry.

The great industries, transportation mining, manufacturing, etc., were all organized to earn dividends for capital, with their managing element, but there was nothing suggesting joint control by the two other elements, labor and the community. This gave a monopoly of control to capital, which, he believed more than anything else contributed to industrial unrest.

State socialism had been shown by the war to be capable of greater autocracy than capitalism, while the substitution of political managers for business managers was not good for industry. Bolshevism and the I.W.W. propaganda simply suggested red terror for sane control, while industrial unionism was frequently a move to secure control of industry and dictate to capital and the rest of the community. This would simply change the monopoly of capital to a monopoly of unionism, merely changing from one curse to another.

RIGHTS OF FOUR PARTIES.

The only remedy was a reorganization which would recognize the rights of all four parties, capital, labor, management and the community in the control of industry. The rights of the community, he said, had been demonstrated in the work of the Railway Commission. If evolution instead of revolution was wanted it could only be got by mutual concessions, and a recognition of the rights of each of the four parties to a control of industry commensurate with their interests, and he believed that an adoption of such joint control would prevent the development of the present industrial unrest.

As a beginning he suggested a conference between the four interests such as was had in Great Britain during the war, which made possible such a collaboration and solution of difficulties as eventually won the war. The second principle was organization of capital, labor and the community—organization was not wrong, but the abuse of organization. This must be followed by commensurate representation of each of the four parties, with the right of investigation and conference. With joint committees based on these principles he believed that the future of industrial progress would be assured, with a recognition of the basic rights of each of the four parties, which would end the present unrest.

The final thing was a recognition of the spirit of the men who had gone overseas to save the world from autocratic despotism. To do this it was necessary to recognize that industrial autocracy and democracy could never come together.

"Industry," concluded Hon. Mr. King, "should be regarded as social service, without which no other service can be carried on. A full realization of this principle would give their proper place and dignity to capital, management and labor." (Applause.)

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1919

TREAL HERALD AND THE DAILY TELEGRAPH, MONDAY, MARCH 17.

Industrial League Essential For Trade Stability, Say Hon. Mackenzie King

Industry, Labor, Capital and Management Must Get Together Says Former Labor Minister in Address At the Canadian Club To-Day—Such a League, He Declares, He Panacea For Present Day World Ills.

As its guest of honor to-day the Canadian Club had the Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King who was minister of labor in the cabinet of Sir Wilfrid Laurier. His subject was the "Four Parties to Industry' and he received a great welcome from the large audience that met in the Rose Foom of the Windsor Hotel. As a panacea for the unrest in the world of industry to-day, which he regarded as no ephemeral and transitory affair, no mere aftermath of the convulsion caused by the war, he recommended a league formed of the four parties to industry, labor, capital, management and the community or organized society. With such an industrial league in existence, holding beneficial conferences, he thought that with skilful consideration and operation much of the cause of unrest in the industrial world to-day would disappear.

After outlining the four parties to industry, he said there would be no understanding of the problems of industry until the people adequately appreciate what industry itself is, and who the parties are that are responsible for the carrying on of industry. It was the custom to discuss problems of industry in terms of capital and labor, and the inability to find a workable solution to many industrial problems arose from such circumscribed vision. First, there was labor which supplied the muscular and mental energy. Next there was capital, then management or directing ability, so frequently associated with capital that the two were more or less merged, but which was necessary to effect efficient co-operation not only between labor and capital in the work of production, but also to effect and maintain right relations with the fourth party, the community under whose sanction all industry was carried on, and by whose continuous co-operation with the other parties to industry, production, distribution and exchange were rendered possible.

SINGLE CONTROL AUTOCRATIC.

When management regarded itself as responsible solely to capital, labor and the community became, said Mr. King, a consideration only in so far as they were able to make their power felt, and it was this monopoly on the part of capital in the control and direction of industry which had led to developments described as Socialistic, ultra-radical and even anarchistic. It was the same monopoly which lay at the root of the industrial upheavals of the present time, and single control, whether by capital, labor or the State, sooner or later was certain to mean autocratic control.

He said during recent years he had found many managers of large industries posessed of a feeling that everything was to be gained by having the function of capital and the function of management kept separate and distinct, and management given a freer hand in considering the interests of labor and the community, and in the emancipation of management from the single control of one or other of the parties, Mr. King said, was to be found the hope of any ultimate solution of the industrial problem.

With the managers of industry responsible to labor, capital and the community, there would be something in the government of industry closely resembling the responsible executive in the government of the state.

FOUR PRINCIPALS NECESSARY.

Four principals which were obviously fair and just were necessary to the solution desired, Mr. King declared. The first was that of conference, which implied approach, good-will and confidence. The second was that of investigation, which was not only the method of getting at the truth, but in face of which meanness, injustice, gross selfishness, could not endure.

The third principle was that of organization and collective action, and the fourth representation. The latter conceded it was only a step to the formation of joint committee of employers and employees and the observation of expeditious procedure in all matters requiring adjustment. In addition to joint committees in individual establishments there should be permanent standing joint industrial councils, embracing all the workers and employers in a given trade or industry and concerned with the determination of industrial policies and the fixing of industrial policies and standards, representing the community and protecting its interests.

COLLECTIVE BARGAINING.

After giving credit to trade unions for the development thus far achieved, Mr. King advised industrial concerns which have hitherto stood out against democratic organization of industry to show a disposition to act upon the principles outlined in dealings with their employees and to concede to labor the right of collective bargaining and a voice in the determination of terms of employment and in matters pertaining to working and living conditions.

Concluding, he said a new spirit of love of liberty and a hatred of domination was necessary to ensure a new world rising out of the ashes of the old for, without it, nothing could be achieved. To democratize industry so that along with democracy in government there may be a true industrial democracy was the task that lay ahead.

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[LE CANADA, 18 MARS 1919]

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LES QUATRE GRANDS FACTEURS A CONSIDRER DANS L'INDUSTRIE

Très instructive conférence de l'honorable Mackenzie King, ex-ministre du Travail dans le gouvernement Laurier, hier, au Canadian Club. — Les droits qu'il faut absolument reconnaître. — L'autocratie industrielle.

L'honorable Mackenzie King, ancien ministre du Travail, dans le gouvernement Laurier, était, hier, l'hôte du Canadian Club. L'économiste distingué prononça un très éloquent discours sur les quatre facteurs de l'industrie et des moyens à prendre pour éviter le malaise social qui se répand actuellement avec la rapidité de l'éclair. Le problème du capital et du travail est très sérieux et il demande toutes les énergies et toutes les intelligences pour le régler avec justice aux deux parties.

"Dans les relations industrielles spécialement, dit l'orateur, nous nous sommes laissés aller avec complaisance à un état de choses qui s'est compliqué. Le choc de la guerre, qui a secoué les âmes jusqu'au plus profond d'elles-mêmes, nous a révélé une civilisation industrielle en lutte contre les injustices de toutes sortes. Elle nous force à se décider si nous devons retourner à l'ancien régime de la richesse matérielle et la puissance matérielle, et l'indifférence envers la valeur humaine, où si nous devons s'adapter à un ordre de choses nouveau, digne des sacrifices accomplis par nos héroïques morts, dont l'abnégation a assuré nos libertés et notre vie dont nous jouissons encore aujourd'hui.

"L'agitation qui règne aujourd'hui dans l'industrie n'est pas éphémère, qu'on ne l'oublie pas. Ce n'est pas une affaire transitoire, c'est le cri d'une humanité souffrante qui expose ses griefs et qui demande justice dans les relations de l'industrie. Et qu'on soit assuré que l'épée n'est pas l'arme adéquate pour réprimer ce malaise. La vérité est plus forte que l'épée, et le seul espoir d'une solution se trouve dans une conférence de tous les intérêts, plutôt que dans la coercition. Pour bien comprendre la situation, il est nécessaire de mettre de côté le vieux point de vue qui se limite à deux seuls facteurs de l'industrie: le Capital et le Travail. Il y a aussi le génie de la direction qui doit se partager entre les deux premiers facteurs et le quatrième qui est la communauté. La communauté a aussi son rôle à jouer dans la bonne conduite de l'industrie et l'élimination des désordres au sein du travail.

Les quatre facteurs plus haut mentionnés, sont aussi indispensable l'un de l'autre. Le Capital ne peut rien faire sans le Travail, et le Travail ne peut rien faire sans le Capital. Ni le Capital, ni le Travail ne peuvent donner leur maximum de forces sans le génie de la direction qui, à son tour, ne pourrait rien faire sans le bénéfice des occasions que lui donne la communauté. Alors si les quatre facteurs sont indispensables, chacun devrait avoir une voix égale dans le contrôle de l'industrie.

"Notre organisation actuelle de l'industrie constitue-t-elle une association de ces quatre facteursb Loin de là. Dans toutes les grandes industries, c'est le Capital qui contrôle. C'est lui qui choisit ses bureaux de direction et dicte les politiques à suivre. La direction, de son côté, n'est responsable qu'au Capital. Le Travail et la Communauté ne deviennent que de simples considérations en autant qu'elles peuvent faire sentir leur puissance. La première considération du Capital est de faire des profits, aussi élevés que possible. Le Travail et la Communauté ne sont pas considérés comme associés et ils n'ont aucun droit aux profits. Ce contrôle est donc forcé, ce n'est pas un contrôle volontaire.

C'est le capital, plus que tout autre chose, qui est à la base de tous les troubles dont on est témoin aujourd'hui : socialisme, ultra-radicalisme, même l'anarchie. Et les grèves qui se produisent aujourd'hui sont la forme dont se sert le travail pour demander sa part dans le contrôle de l'industrie. Et pour la communauté, elle prend ses droits par les lois qui sont passées par l'Etat ou le municipalités pour prendre le contrôle unique.

Mais ce n'est pas dans ces mouvements réactionnaires qu'on trouvera la réforme nécessaire à un malaise qui se répand aujourd'hui dans le monde entier. Poussées à la révolte par les injustices d'une autocratie, les victimes en sont venues à en établir une autre et il n'y aurait aucun espoir de succès dans le changement de contrôle: le prendre d'un facteur pour le placer entre les mains d'un autre. La seule réforme équitable sera trouvée dans une association proportionnelle ou chaque facteur aura droit de parler. Cela, sans doute, ne peut être établi soudainement, par des méthodes révolutionnaires ; il faut que l'évolution soit graduelle, qu'elle suive normalement son cours vers l'idéal auquel elle aspire.

La première mesure à prendre est de reconnaître à chacun des facteurs ses droits et de créer une confiance entre tous et chacun. Cette confiance ne sera atteinte que par les conférences qui devront être tenues de temps à autre. Beaucoup de choses heureuses seront accomplies quand le capital, le travail, la direction et la communauté seront etroitement liés vers un but commun. C'est ce qui a aidé à gagner la guerre en Angleterre, et c'est ce qui devrait aider à gagner la paix et les fruits de la victoire.

Le deuxième principe à adopter est celui des enquêtes. La ligue des nations n'est pas plus importante pour sauvegarder la paix que ne l'est une ligue des quatre facteurs de l'industrie à qui il incombera de régler toutes les disputes qui autrement se termineraient par des grèves désastreuses.

Il faut également reconnaître le droit à chacun de s'organier : là est le gage du progrès. C'est un fait acquis que le bolshevisme n'a trouvé que peu d'adhérents parmi le travail organisé. C'est pourquoi il faut reconnaître la faction des organisations ouvrières et coopérer avec les chefs ouvriers dans une association industrielle où les quatre facteurs seront également représentés.

Une seule chose, dit en terminant l'hon. MacKenzie King, nous délivrera de l'ancien état de chose : c'est l'amour de la liberté et la haine de la domination, quelle qu'elle soit. C'est ce qui a détruit le militarisme prussien, c'est ce qui a motivé les sacrifices de nos fils sur le champs de bataille. La destruction du despotisme prussien n'est qu'une partie du travail que doivent accomplir toutes les nations libres, vraiment dignes de ce titre. Il leur faudra aussi détruire le despotisme et l'autocratie au sein de l'industrie. L'autocratie industrielle et l'autocratie politique ne le peuvent pas. Aux nations qui ont conquis leur liberté politique, il incombe de baser leur industrie d'accord avec leur gouvernement. Le manque d'harmonie entre les deux, résultera toujours en frictions désastreuses. La tâche qui nous reste à faire à l'avenir est de démocratiser notre industrie.

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20 March 1919

Chicago Industrial Club

"THE FOUR PARTIES TO INDUSTRY"

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HERALD EXAMINER
MAR 21, 1919

Herald Examiner Mar 21, 1919

JOINT CONTROL OF INDUSTRY IS DEMANDED

Labor Must Have Just Share, Says Former Canadian Minister of Labor.

Joint control of industry by capital and labor as the only solution of the industrial problem was suggested to members of the Industrial Club by W. L. Mackenzie King, former minister of labor of the Dominion of Canada, at a dinner in the Blackstone Hotel last night.

"Industrial unrest is not a result of the war," said Mr. King. "Neither can it be stayed by the sword or tramped underfoot by the heel of autocracy. It can only be stopped by looking it square in the face.

"The extreme radical movements are a fierce effort on the part of leaders of unorganized labor to gain control of industry, regardless of capital, management or community."

SOLUTIONS OFFERED.

Mr. King outlined these four principles, the adoption of which, he said, would enable capital to continue business on a normal basis.

1. Conferences between representatives of labor and representatives of capital on a footing of equality. Labor to state its grievances and requests and capital to agree to a reply.

2. Investigation of complaints and grievances made by labor to capital. To get at the truth and justice of the requests and by settling them fairly, gain the confidence and loyalty of labor.

3. Organization — Concede the right to labor to organize. If you admit the right of capital to combine and organize, how can you deny that same right to labor? If you do not grant labor the right of decent, clean organization you face the alternative of Bolshevism.

4. Representation — Workers demand the right of representation. Grant them that right.

JOINT CONTROL NEEDED.

"The crux of the industrial problem is the question of control," said Mr. King. "Naturally the worker, through whose physical effort is made possible the actual production of the community's needs, wants some voice in the government of the industry by which he is employed.

"All through history these sam lessons of fair representation ar found. Where they are granted w see peace; when refused, revolutio

"It is this spirit of freedom that to day pervades the world. It is th spirit that took the youth of th country from their homes to battl and to death. This spirit will no tolerate domination.

INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY.

"Autocracy in politics and in government has been abolished. Autocracy in industry and democracy in the state will not go hand in hand."

Mr. King was introduced by Benjamin H. Marshall, chairman of the banquet committee. Among those present were the leaders of the various lines of industry in the city.

CHICAGO POST
MARCH 21, 1919

LET LABOR SHARE IN MANAGEMENT OF INDUSTRY, SAYS KING

Former Canadian Official Tells How Bolshevism Can Be Overthrown.

Give labor an opportunity to assist in the management of industry, of which it is a vital part, and industrial unrest will be allayed and bolshevism will find no foothold, is the advice of W. L. Mackenzie King, former minister of labor of Canada, who is credited with forming the Rockefeller-Colorado Fuel and Iron company agreement in 1914.

Mr. King spoke last night before the Industrial Club of Chicago at the Blackstone hotel.

"Labor and capital are not the only parties in the analysis of industry," he said. "There is a third party—namely, management—and a fourth, the community, which must be considered. As long as capital controls the management and the management answers solely to capital, which represents the investors, we must expect unrest in labor.

"The overthrow of autocracy has been accomplished in Europe. And unless capital prepares itself it will be overthrown in industry. The community must be represented in labor.

"The present condition of industrial and political affairs is the result of hungry, penniless men and women awakening after the horrible shock of the war to find capital in possession of first needs. Their movements are their cry for recognition."

CHICAGO TRIBUNE
MAR 21, 1919

'LABOR MUST BE RECOGNIZED TO END BOLSHEVISM'

King, Canada's Expert on Industry, Gives Cure for Unrest.

Organized labor must be recognized if the present universal discontent is to be met successfully, W. L. Mackenzie King, former minister of labor of Canada, told the Industrial Club of Chicago at a dinner at the Blackstone hotel last night. "The Four Parties to Industry" was his subject. He strove to convey the causes and solution of bolshevism, the I. W. W., and other radical movements.

Mr. King is credited with the formation of the agreement between the Colorado Fuel and Iron company and its employés after the disturbances in 1914.

Parties to Industry.

"Labor and capital are not the only parties in the analysis of industry," he said last night. "There is a third party—namely, management—and a fourth, the community, which must be considered. As long as capital controls the management and the management answers solely to capital, which represents the investors, we must expect unrest in labor.

"By the community I refer to the state, the people, and the government. Without the support of this fourth party industry must cease.

"Bolshevism, the I. W. W., and kindred movements are but the expression of the community seeking to rectify conditions. The leaders in these movements come largely from the labor class, but they come from unorganized labor.

"So long as you grant your capital the right to organize, so long as you permit your managements to organize, so long as the community is organized, you must admit that in the name of justice labor, too, has the right to organize.

"There is no need to become alarmed at the present situation. But there are four cardinal principles that must be admitted before a reconstruction period can begin.

Must Welcome Investigation.

"First, capital must admit to conference the representatives of labor. Capital must welcome investigation, making it clear to labor that capital is interested in grievances and wrongs, fancied or real. Third, organization of your employés as well as of your managers and executives must be countenanced, and fourth, labor must be granted representation in the operation of industry.

"The overthrow of autocracy has been accomplished in Europe. And unless capital prepares itself it will be overthrown in industry. The community must be represented in labor.

"The present condition of industrial and political affairs is the result of hungry, penniless men and women awakening after the horrible shock of the war to find capital in possession of first needs. Their movements are their cry for recognition.

A Word for Capital.

"Unfortunately many labor people do not realize the importance of capital, which furnishes the utensils by which labor lives. They do not appreciate the work of financing, marketing, and see only the production side.

"The capitalist or investor puts his dollars into industry, the laborer puts his life. I believe his investment the greater, therefore he is entitled to as much profit, at least.

"Concessions must be made and round table conferences, representative of all four parties, adopted, if reconstruction in industry is to progress."

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D 4056

29 March 1919

Quebec: l'Association de la jeunesse liberale

QUEBEC EAST - A CENTRE OF CANADIAN LIBERALISM

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CANADA

[redacted]

Speech by Mr. King at Quebec Reform Club

March 29, 1919

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

M. le President,
Membres de l'Association de la jeuness liberale.

Messieurs -

Prenant pour la premiere fois contact avec les liberaux de cette vieille cite de Quebec, j'en saisis tout d'abord l'occasion pour leur exprimer ma profonde reconnaissance pour l'honneur et le plaisir qu'ils m'ont fait en me conviant ce soir au milieux d'eux.

C'est en francais, dans cette langue admirable qui est la votre, que je voudrais vous dire ce que je ressens a cette minute. Je compte sur votre indulgence pour me pardonner les defauts de la forme, pour n'y voir de ma part, qu'une manifestation de ma forte sympathie et de mon profond respect pour les traditions de cette cite et de cette Province, qui ont donne au Canada sa premiere formation historique et au peuple canadien, le plus distingue, le plus illustre et le plus aime de ses chefs politiques.

En me levant pour vous adresser la parole, je me rappelle que je suis a Quebec-Est, dans ce foyer du liberalisme, ou les luttes memorables du passe ont permis et facilite les victoires de notre parti.

Je ne puis oublier en ce moment ces liens nombreux qui rattachent tout specialement a cette cite et a cette Province, Il suffit de rappeler le passe. Ce furent les patriotes de

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Quebec, qui, sous Louis Joseph Papineau, s'allierent avec les "reformers" d'Ontario, sous William Lyon Mackenzie, pour combattre ensemble en faveur du gouvernement responsable.

Petit fils de Lyon Mackenzie, je n'ai pas oublie et je n'oublierai jamais ce gage d'union entre les deux Provinces et les deux races qui l'habitent.

Ce fut Quebec-Est, qui eut l'honneur d'envoyer au Parlement, Wilfrid Laurier a l'heure ou il etait appele a faire partie du Ministere liberal d'Alexander Mackenzie, comme le plus jeune representant de cette administration. De meme, Wilfrid Laurier, devenu premier ministre, m'appelait a ses cotes comme le plus jeune membre de son administration.

Messieurs, ces relations intimes, cette amitie si solide dont j'eus le privilege et l'honneur de jouir de la part de notre vieux chef, non pas seulement aux jours ensoleilles de la victoire, mais plus specialement, aux heures sombres de la defaite, resteront toujours pour moi comme le plus precieux des tresors et le plus cher de mes souvenirs.

Pour moi, Sir Wilfrid Laurier fut non seulement l'ami fidele et genereux; ce fut le guide toujours sur qui me dirigea dans les luttes ardentes de la politique.

C'est de tout coeur que je vous remercie pour m'avoir invite a porter la parole au coeur meme de sa chere division de Quebec-Est.

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29 March 1919

Quebec: National Trades and Labour Council

THE LIBERAL PARTY AND CANADIAN LABOUR

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Speech by Mr. King to Members of National

Trades and Labour Council, Quebec.

March 29, 1919

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D 4862

Messieurs le President et Messieurs

Ma premiere parole sera pour remercier, du fond de mon coeur, les Membres du Conseil central National des metiers et du Travail pour l'adresse qui vient de m'etre lue. Il m'est impossible de vous exprimer combien j'apprecie la confiance que vous me témognez et plus particulierement comme je me sens fier de vous entendre associer mon nom a celui du grand Chef qui vient de desparaitre. Je suis heureux de pouvoir vous dire ces sentimens dans la langue de la majorite de cet auditoire et se sera une manifestation.

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Monsieur le Président et Messieurs,

Avant de commencer le discours que l'on m'a demandé de faire, je désirerais dire quelques mots en français et ce ne sera qu'une manifestation de ma forte sympathie et de mon profond respect pour les traditions de cette cité et de cette Province, qui ont donné au Canada sa première formation historique, et au peuple canadien, le plus distingué, le plus illustre et le plus aimé de ses chefs politiques.

En m'adressant à cet auditoire de travailleurs, cela me fait plaisir de rappeler que ce fut Québec-~~Est~~ qui eut l'honneur d'envoyer au Parlement, le très Honorable Sir Wilfrid Laurier à l'heure ou il était appelé à faire partie du Ministère libéral d'Alexandre Mackenzie, comme le plus jeune représentant de cette administration. Je ne puis oublier, à mon tour, que ce fut aussi votre représentant, devenu chef de son parti et Premier Ministre de son pays, qui m'appelait à ses côtés, le plus jeune membre de son administration, pour représenter les intérêts du travail dans son cabinet.

Messieurs, Sir Wilfrid Laurier fut un ami fidèle de l'ouvrier. C'est à son Gouvernement que nous devons l'établissement d'un Ministère du Travail dans le Dominion du Canada. La démocratisation de l'industrie, comme devant être le grand travail de l'avenir, fut presque le dernier sujet

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mentionné par Sir Wilfrid dans le dernier discours qu'il fit en public. C'est son oeuvre que nous devons essayer d'accomplir; c'est son génie que nous devons essayer de tenir en vie, maintenant que lui-même est disparu.

Je dois remercier, du plus profond de mon coeur, le Conseil Central National des Métiers et du Travail du District de Québec pour le privilège qu'il m'a accordé d'adresser la parole à cette réunion d'ouvriers, sur la grande question de notre époque, à l'étude de laquelle j'ai consacré la plus grande partie de ma vie et une qui fut si chère au coeur de celui dont nous déplorons aujourd'hui la perte.

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Mr. President and Gentlemen:

Before I begin the address I have been asked to deliver, may I say just one word in French, if only qu'une manifestation de ma forte sympathie et de mon profond respect pour les traditions de cette cité et de cette Province, qui ont donné au Canada sa première formation historique et au peuple canadien, le plus distingué, le plus illustre, et le plus aimé de ses chefs politiques.

In addressing this audience of workingmen, it is a pleasure to me to recall that ce fut Québec-Est, qui eut l'honneur d'envoyer au Parlement, le très Honorable Sir Wilfrid Laurier à l'heure ou il était appelé à faire partie du Ministère libéral d'Alexandre Mackenzie, comme le plus jeune représentant de cette administration. Je ne puis oublier, à mon tour, que ce fut aussi votre représentant, devenu chef de son parti et Premier Ministre de son pays, qui m'appelait à ses côtés, le plus jeune membre de son administration, to ~~take charge of the Department of Labor~~.

Gentlemen, Sir Wilfrid Laurier was a true friend of the workingman. It is to his Government that we owe the establishment of a Department of Labor in the Dominion of Canada. Almost the last subject Sir Wilfrid referred to, in the last speech he made in public, was the democratization of industry as the great work of the future. It is his work that we must seek to carry on, and his spirit that we must seek to keep alive now that he himself is gone.

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May I, with all my heart, thank le Conseil Central National des Metiers et du Travail du District de Quebec for the privilege accorded me of addressing this gathering of workingmen on the great question of our day, one to the study of which I have devoted most of my life, and one which was very close to the heart of him whose loss we mourn to-day.

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Monsieur le President et Messieurs,

Avant de commencer le discours que l'on m'a demande de faire, je desirerais dire quelques mots en francais et ce ne sera qu'une manifestation de ma forte sympathie et de mon profond respect pour les traditions de cette cite et de cette Province, qui ont donne au Canada sa premiere formation historique, et au peuple canadien, le plus distingue, le plus illustre et le plus aime de ses chefs politiques.

En m'adressant a cet auditoire de travailleurs, cela me fait plaisir de rappeler que ce fut Quebec qui eut l'honneur d'envoyer au Parlement, le tres Honorable Sir Wilfrid Laurier a l'heure ou il etait appele a faire partie du Ministere liberal d'Alexandre Mackenzie, comme le plus jeune representant de cette administration. Je ne puis oublier, a mon tour, que ce fut aussi votre representant, devenu chef de son parti et Premier Ministre de son pays, qui m'appelait a ses cotes, le plus jeune membre de son administration, pour representer les interets du travail dans son Cabinet.

Messieurs, Sir Wilfrid Laurier fut un ami fidele de l'ouvrier. C'est a son Gouvernement que nous devons l'etablissement d'un Ministere du Travail dans le Dominion du Canada. La democratisation de l'industrie, comme devant etre le grand travail de l'avenir, fut presque le dernier sujet

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mentionne par Sir Wilfrid dans le dernier discours qu'il fit en public. C'est son oeuvre que nous devons essayer d'accomplir; c'est son genie que nous devons essayer de tenir en vie, maintenant que lui-meme est disparu.

Je dois remercier, du plus profond de mon coeur, le Conseil Central National des Metiers et du Travail du District de Quebec pour le privilege qu'il m'a accorde d'adresser la parole a cette reunion d'ouvriers, sur la grande question de notre epoque, a l'etude de laquelle j'ai consacre la plus grande partie de ma vie et une qui fut si chere au coeur de celui dont nous deplorons aujourd'hui la perte.

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Toronto and York
Liberal Assoc.

CAPITAL AND LABOUR

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Toronto World Collected - Labour and Industrial Relations

April 8 - 19

T. AND Y. LIBERALS ELECT OFFICERS

Hartley Dewart Arraigns Government on Every Conceivable Issue.

HON. MACKENZIE KING

Emphasizes the Importance of Co-ordination Between Capital and Labor

That the whole gamut of true Liberalism would be behind the present government if it disclosed its intention of following a policy of real constructive reconstruction, was a statement made last night by Hon. William Lyon Mackenzie King at the inaugural meeting of the Toronto and York Liberal Association, held at Foresters' Hall, College Street, near Yonge Following the course of his addresses of recent date, the speaker emphasized the need of co-ordination between the four real parties of all countries, labor, capital, administration and community, each of these four signifying the four most important factors of communal life thruout the world In common with all the speakers of the evening, the Liberal statesman paid his tribute to the sterling qualities of the late Sir Wilfrid Laurier, whose widow, Lady Laurier had earlier been elected to the honorary presidency of the new association.

Touching upon the need of co-operation between labor and all the other sections of the community, the speaker pointed out that the war had been waged for the express purpose of proving that the only government worth while was that by consent as against that by autocratic control. No country in the world had organized industry to such a state of perfection as Germany, and none had put its commercial and military powers to such autocratic suses. What was Germany's status today? She had none. But, on the other hand those Allied countries whom she had endeavored to crush were today using her own factories, her own railways, and her own products for her own salvation, a greater example of the principle of administration for the weal of the people than that country had ever before experienced. Such was the principle of real Liberalism.

Arrogate Select Few.

Hartley Dewart, K.C., M.L.A., arraigned the government both at Ottawa and at Queen's Park upon every conceivable issue. There was need, he said, for a campaign of Liberal education, that the women, God bless them, might know how Liberalism held the principle of patronage in contempt and loathing, that they might know the depths of autocratic privilege to which Sir William Hearst and his select cabinet had sunk. Orders-in-council had been so administered by the Tory governments, said the speaker, that the people had almost lost their perspective of responsible government. Continuing, Mr. Dewart referred feelingly to order-in-council No. 3069 as a horrible example of the extent to which this principle of government by orders-in-council had been availed. "Do you, people, intend longer, to arrogate to these select few the power to legislate you almost out of existence by such methods?" asked the irate member for South Toronto. Government by commission also came in for the opprebrium of Mr. Dewart, who criticised the commissions no matter how well administered, as subversive of the best interests of the populace.

Jockeying Officialdom.

James A. Robb, M.P., Liberal whip at Ottawa, and member for the county of Chateauguay, P.Q., urged the need of helping to clear away any misunderstandings which might have arisen as to conditions prevailing in political Quebec. He knew of many constituencies which had elected Protestant members to Ottawa and French-Canadian members to Quebec, a very fair means of distribution of representation. He paid a fine tribute to the memory of the late Liberal chieftain. Continuing, he criticized the plan of the present government to give employment thru the medium of public works as unwarranted. "If public works are made where they are not necessary," he said, "it is simply trying to lift ourselves with our own bootstraps." Touching upon the problem of the returned soldiers, he expressed the opinion that the returned man who was true to himself was fully capable of looking after himself without the aid of jockeying officialdom.

Officers Elected.

Major J. C. Tolmie, M.L.A. for Essex, a returned soldier with three years' experience in France, delivered a stirring address of encouragement to those present, and Mrs. Wesley G. Barker in a fine address gave the well expressed hopes of the women champions of Liberalism. The association elected the following officers for the year:

Hon. lady president, Lady Laurier; hon. president, Sir Allan Aylesworth; hon. vice-presidents, Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, H. Hartley Dewart, K.C., M.P.P., P. C. Larkin, John O'Neill, Alex. D. Bruce, Unionville; president, H. D. Ramsden, Mount Albert; vice-presidents, Mrs. Wesley C. Barker, Mrs. P. G. Kiely, Mrs. Greenwood Brown, Mrs. James Bell, Kleinberg; Mrs. A. F. Hall, Thornhill; Frank Denton, K.C., C. W. Kerr, Gordon Waldron, Alex. Macgregor, Ald. J. G. Ramsden, A. J. Young, Harry Winberg, Buy Roach, Russell Reesor, Markham; J. J. Dunbar, John Kennedy, Sergeant J. A. Coffey, Corp. W. A. Gillies; hon. secretary, W. H. Adams; treasurer, J. E. Day, K.C.

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29 Aug. 1919

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Ottawa: Civic luncheon

ROYAL VISIT - PRINCE OF WALES

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"The royal throne which we honour in the presence of Your Royal Highness has its enduring foundations, not in any constitution, but in the hearts of the people.

"In Arthur's court, whence sprang the mythical origin of our kings, the knights were sworn to reverence their king as their conscience, and their conscience as their king, Theirs it was to ride about, redressing human wrong. In that table Round there was one knight beloved of all the rest, Sir Galahad.

"Your Royal Highness will see in the streets of our city, in the approach to our houses of parliament, a symbolical figure of Sir Galahad, and a stone bearing the inscription, 'If I lose myself, I save myself.' These were Sir Galahad's own words as he set forth in the quest of the Holy Grail, words of human service.

"May I say that the Canadian people have recognized in Your Royal Highness the Sir Galahad of the royal household, the young knight, our future King, whose joy is in the service of

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others. And as Sir Galahad, through his pure life and noble deeds, was rewarded by the vision of the Holy Grail, so, too, we pray and believe that in the time appointed yours it will be to win the radiance of a people's love and devotion which makes a lasting glory round the throne."

-- Extract from a speech by W.L.Mackenzie King, at a Luncheon given by the Government of Canada in honour of His Royal Highness The Prince of Wales - Ottawa, August 29, 1919.

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1 Sept. 1919

D 4076

Summerside, P.E.I.:
Nomination meeting

KING'S WAR RECORD

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By-Elections - Pres
D 4077

TRY JONTEL TALCUM TODAY---THE MacKINNON DRUG CO.

EVERYBODY READS THE PATRIOT, PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND'S "ONLY" EVENING PAPER

BUY W.S.S. WAR SAVINGS STAMPS

The Island Patriot.

THE WEATHER

Moderate winds, mostly easterly; unsettled to-day and on Saturday, with occasional rain.

$3.00 a year rural and foreign | CHARLOTTETOWN, PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 3, 1919 | $4.00 delivered in Charlottetown

A GREAT SPEECH BY THE GREAT LEADER OF THE GREAT LIBERAL PARTY IN CANADA

Hon. W. L. McKenzie King, the Brilliant Young Statesman, Destined Soon To Be the Prime Minister of Our Dominion, Enthusiastically Acclaimed by Cheering Thousands in the Crystal Rink, Summerside, As He Formally Accepts the Nomination For Princc. Leading Liberals From All Parts of the Province in Attendance. Mr. King in His Masterly Address Completely Disposes of the Slanderous Charges Made Against Him With Respect to His War Record, and He Declares That He Would Welcome a Contest on That Issue. He Threw Down the Gauntlet For Any One in Canada to Take It Up. The Great Audience Inspired and Thrilled With The Masterly and Memorable Presentation of the Political Situation, Brief Addresses by Mr Hance J. Logan Ex-M. P. and Premier Bell.

The brilliant young leader of the united and reorganized Liberal party of Canada, Hon. William Lyon MacKenzie King, formally accepted the nomination for Prince County at a memorable mass meeting held in the Crystal Rink, Summerside, last night.

Between three and four thousand people crowded the building. Not only leading Liberals from every part of the Island, including Premier Bell and members of the Legislature were in attendance, but quite a number of Conservatives as well.

Mr. Robert Agnew, President of the East Prince Liberal Association, presided.

The cordial welcome extended Mr. King on his arrival in Summerside on Wednesday night, when an informal reception was held, was but a prelude to the tremendous ovation he received when he entered the building last night, the great audience rising as one person, and greeting the leader with cheers and waving of hats and handkerchiefs.

Mr. King, who had attended the Exhibition during the day, had won many friends by his charming personality. Last night he added thousands of admirers to his list by his magnificent oration, which was the first big political speech to be delivered in Canada since becoming leader.

Mr. King's clear, ringing voice carried to every part of the big auditorium and a sounding board proved of considerable assistance.

Mr. King's address was preceded by stirring speeches by Mr. Horace J. Logan, ex-M.P. of Amherst and Premier Bell.

The former, one of the leading orators of Eastern Canada, referred to Mr. King as the leader of the rejuvenated and reunited Liberal party chosen by the great democracy of that party at a convention in Ottawa.

The railways, the great corporations, the famous 18 of 1911 were not behind Mr. King, but the hearts of the people were behind him. Mr. Logan also stated that Sir Wilfrid Laurier, shortly before his death, had spoken of Mr. King to him as one of the most brilliant men in public life in Canada and as ap latform speaker he has scarcely a peer.

Mr. Logan then dealt with some of the outstanding issues of the day including the government's attitude with respect to the high cost of living; their railway policy, etc.

More extended reference to Mr. Logan's address will be given later.

Premier Bell touched briefly on the locals ituation, pointing out that the Conservatives had gone out of power and left not only a deficit of $254,000 for eight months and eight days of this year but they had overdrawn $450,000 from the banks.

He also spoke of Mr. King's great ability and pointed out that in the vote for leadership, he had received strong support from all the provinces

The Liberal leader then rose amid a great outburst of cheers and spoke for over an hour and a half.

Before he began he was presented with an address in French from the Liberal Acadians of the province, read by Mr. F. J. Buote.

The leader first dealt with the nomination offered them, then referred to charges made against him, taking as a typical illustration four mentioned by the Summerside Journal, viz:

1. He was not supported by the better element of the Liberal party.
2. He was a menace to labor.
3. He was not the friend of the farmer.
4. While soldiers fought he dodged

He took up the fourth at first, going fully into his war record, which he fully justified, showing clearly that he had nobly "done his bit" rendering war service in the manner he was best qualified to serve.

He then proceeded to review some of the great issues of the day in Canada.

Appreciation of Welcome.

Mr. King at the outset heartily thanked the Liberals for giving him the nomination and expressed appreciation of the warmth and cordiality of the reception tendered him on his arrival Wednesday night, and the

In coming to Prince Edward Island to accept a nomination he realized one advantage of becoming better acquainted with the Maritime Provinces. He knew Ontario well; he had visited the West several times and in looking forward to assuming the leadership of the great Liberal Party he desired to know Canada from the East to the West; from the first chapter of its history to the last and the East was the place in which to begin. Prince Edward Island cradled on the waves of the Atlantic was also the cradle of Confederation for it was in the capital city of Charlottetown that the first preliminary Confederation conference was held.

Tribute to Capt. Read.

In referring to the vacancy in Prince which necessitated the holding of an election he paid an eloquent tribute to the late Captain Joseph Read, speaking of his business ability and enterprise.

He also made fitting reference to his son, Captain John L. Read, who has won world-wide fame as a navigator in connection with his trip to Russia in command of the ice breaking steamers.

His War Record.

Dealing with the criticism levelled against him for alleged lack of service in the war, Mr. King said that if there should be a contest **he would welcome as an issue his war record alone and hoped to have the privilege of addressing the returned soldiers on this issue** (cheers).

He had kept silent under the attacks heretofore **because he did not wish to traffic in patriotism for political ends,** but now that his political enemies were taking advantage of his silence to create a false impression throughout Canada by saying that he had resided in the United States throughout the war and had returned to Canada only to further his own political ends he felt it was necessary to refer to this matter in the interests of the party. In answer to this charge he would say that he had never resided in the United States at any time except when he was at the University of Chicago for a year and at Harvard University for two years. This was 25 years ago. Since 1900 he has resided continuously at Ottawa.

Helped to avert Industrial War.

Such time as I did spend in the United States during the war, said Mr. King was in answer to special calls to assist in bringing about an industrial peace and averting strike in essentially war industries associated with the manufacture of greatly needed war material and supplies.

Mr. King here gave an outline of his work in Colorado at the beginning of the war, where the large mining population of that State was in a state of civil war which very seriously affected the industries so indispensable for the successful prosecution of the war. He helped to change conditions there so that when the United States entered the war, the coal mines, employing 15,000 men produced a greater quantity of coal per man per day than in any other part of America, as there was less loss of working time. (cheers).

He had been called in by several other of the largest industries including those producing turbines, electrical supplies, ships, steel, etc., embracing some of the largest concerns in America. His whole service had been in the nature of aiding the means by which labor conditions were so improved as to lead to continuous production and maximum output of supplies during the war.

WIN-THE-WAR WORK.

He said he was prepared to produce communications from industrial concerns who had invited his services. One of these communications illustrative of the nature of his work he read to the meeting. It was from the Bethlehem Shipbuilding Corporation of Bethlehem., Pa., and was as follows:—



HON. W. L. McKENZIE KING.

BETHLEHEM SHIPBUILDING CORPORATION, LTD
J. W. POWELL,
Vice President.

Bethlehem, Pa.,
September 22nd, 1919

Mr. W. L. Mackenzie King,
The Roxborough,
Ottawa, Canada.

Dear Sir:—

I am very glad to take this opportunity to tell you in a form that you may use as you may see fit, that we found your advice and counsel at the time we called on you in the Spring of 1918, in connection with the labor situation in our shipyards, of very great benefit in assisting us to arrive at a plan of action that would help us to preserve industrial peace and to improve relations between the Company and its employees.

At the time we asked for your assistance, there was a great deal of unrest among our labor and we believe that the advice that you gave to us was of material assistance in reducing this unrest and in correspondingly increasing the efficiency in the production of ships.

As this Company is far and away the largest shipbuilding concern in the world and as it produced a very large percentage of all the ships actually completed in this country during the period of its participation in the war, i.e., something like 60 per cent of the destroyer and over 20 per cent of the merchant craft, your assistance was evidently of real value from the standpoint of helping to win the war.

Very truly yours,

BETHLEHEM SHIPBUILDING CORPORATION, LTD.
By J. W. Powell,
Vice President.

Mr. King drew attention to the fact that during the war the British Government had appointed to deal with these industrial problems a Ministry of Re-construction, the United States a National War Labor Board, Canada a Labor Sub-Committee of the Re-construction and Development Committee of the Cabinet and the Labor Appeal Board. All these bodies were presumed to have been discharging important war services.

The services which he had been rendering during the war were identical with these rendered by the aforesaid bodies.

INDUSTRY AND HUMANITY

Not only had he done all that was possible in a practical way, but he had given to the country in a permanent form in a volume entitled Industry and Humanity, a feature on the principles underlying industrial re-construction which, published in various countries, and having gone through several editions in this country was contributing materially to the solution of the greatest of all problems,—viz. industrial problems.

A PROPHECY.

Mr. King read from his book referring to the great railway strike now on in Britain drawing a parallel between conditions there and a blockade in time of war.

This strike and the steel strike in the States showed the need of some change in industrial organization whereby the great industrial wars could be averted. In the States it was a fight between Labor and Capital. In Britain it was a fight between Labor and the Government. These two great conflicts were illustrative of the fact that the contending parties were each seeking a single control.

What was needed today was an adjustment of the relations of industry —so that instead of a monopoly of control, by capital labor or the state, there might be a community of control or a joint control which all would share in shaping a policy and reaping the rewards or benefits in connection therewith.

HIS AID TO THE ARMIES AT THE FRONT.

Having been Deputy Minister as well as Minister of Labor, said Mr. King "and a life long student of industrial problems. I feel that the services which I have been able to render industry—and through industry the fighting armies at the front were greater than any other service I could have performed in a military way at my age. (Loud Cheers.)

THE ROCKEFELLER FOUNDATION

Mr. King said it had been charged against him that he had gone to the United States and spent his time in the service of Rockefeller. Those who make that statement evidently do not know what the Rockefeller Foundation means. At the time he took up the work he was a candidate for North York and he consulted his constituents before accepting the offer of the foundation. Mr. King quoted from a pamphlet issued by that organization showing that it derived its name from Rockefeller because the latter had given funds to be used for certain philantrophic purposes. It had no connection wit any industry. It was President Elliott of Harvard University, one of the trustees who had specially invited him and he was glad to accept and undertake it. While carrying it on he had resided in Canada except when he was travelling in different countries. He was no more an employee of Rockefeller than a librarian of a Carnegie Library was an employee of Carnegie, or a principal of the McDonald College an employee of Sir William McDonald. Amid great applause, Mr. King showed that the Rockefeller Foundation spent $22,644,875.00 for war work. Part of this went to help in the relief of the Belgians; part went to fit out hospitals where the wounded men received the most modern and advanced surgical treatment and part went towards the Red Cross work in Siberia.

THE LIBERAL UNIONISTS.

May I pause for a moment to say a word concerning the Liberal Unionists in Parliament and in the country.

I touch here upon ground which I know by many is regarded as delicate, and by some as even dangerous. I have never considered it either, and do not know why it should be so considered. Everything depends upon the point of view from which we take our stand: whether we wish to range ourselves with those who are ever ready to impute mean, or sordid, or evil motives to others; or whether we are ready to concede to others the same standards of right and justice by which we ourselves desire to have our motives and actions judged.

First, as to the Liberal Unionists throughout the country —or, rather, those Liberals who supported the Union Government in the last general elections. Are we to believe that these men—men and women of Liberal convictions— numbering themselves by thousands, were not honest, were not conscientious, were not patriotic in the votes they cast, in the light of the knowledge they had at the time, and the circumstances as represented to them? For my part, I decline to entertain any such belief. I would go farther and say that I believe that, breaking thus temporarily, and on a single issue, with the Liberal party, and in particular with the leadership of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, whom personlaly they loved and respected and had loyally supported throughout long years, many of them suffered for conscience sake as they have seldom suffered in their lives. If you ask me why do I say this, I answer, because I know it to be true, because among the number were many of my own most intimate and lifelong friends, not friends only, but relatives and connections who never cast a Tory vote in all their lives, and who were grieved to the heart to be placed in the position in which they found themselves placed by the action of the Government in making the issue of conscription to appearances the supreme issue of the elections.

It is not surprising that, having acted thus from motives of conscience and the highest patriotism, the issue of conscription being no longer a political issue in this country, these men and women are now but awaiting the opportunity to sweep from power a Government that has become a colorless affair, that is neither Liberal nor Conservative, and is Unionist in nothing save in name and the determination to hold on to office at any cost; and to join with their fellow-Liberals and the forces in this country that are making for progress, in placing in power a government that will be Liberal and progressive and has a policy that it can call its own.

Now, just a word as to the Liberal Unionists in the House and in the Government. Their position has fortunately been defined by themselves, and has been made public by a statement given to the press after a caucus of Liberal Unionist ministers and members held in Ottawa on Tuesday of this week. The press, after mentioning the names of the Liberal-Unionist ministers who were present at the caucus, contains the following quoted statement as having been given out by Messrs Rowell, Calder and Sifton:

"A meeting of the Liberal Unionist members of the House was held in the east block. The meeting expressed unqualified approval of the war policy of the Union Government, and the Government was congratulated on its success. The consensus of opinion was that as the members were elected to support Union Government, it was their intention to continue to do so, and the hope was strongly expressed that the Government would be able to evolve a progressive policy satisfactory to the country to meet the after-the-war conditions."

This statement is very interesting and very suggestive. What it lacks in a sense of humor, it more than makes up in what it reveals of divided opinion. It contains three separate and **distinct announcements. The first is, that the Liberal Unionists expressed "unqualified approval of the war policy of the Union Government," con-** gratulated the Government on its success. That was to be expected. They were elected to support the Government's war policy; their congratulations are therefore in the nature of self-congratulation, which is perhaps quite pardonable. The second announcement is to the effect that "the consensus of opinion was that as the members were elected to support Union Government, it was their intention to continue to do so." That would not be so surprising if the purpose for which Union Government had been formed were not fulfilled— one might say over fulfilled—and but for the statement which immediately follows, and which constitutes the third announcement, namely: "the hope was strongly expressed that the Government would be able to evolve a progressive policy satisfactory to the country to meet the after-the-war conditions." Here is a statement that is truly significant and truly amazing. We are now approaching the anniversary of the armistice which ended the War. Almost a year has passed, and responsible ministers of the Crown tell us of the Government of which they are members that thus far no policy has been evolved to meet the after-the-war conditions. They strongly express the hope that the Government will be able to evolve a progressive policy. They have lost faith, but they still retain hope. Could there be a stronger condemnation of a Government? a stronger reason why the present administration has forfeited all right to further confidence on the part of the people of Canada?

Let me say to my Liberal Unionist friends in the House of Commons, I can sympathize with your desires and with your longings; but unless you wish the country to understand that you desire to become Tories out and out, don't wait too long, for your hopes of a progressive policy will never be realized in the reactionary group of which for the time being you have become members. The Liberal party has already formulated a policy. It is a progressive policy, a policy of which the country is in great need. Don't fear that your constituents will believe that you are betraying any trust in daring to forego an allegiance of which you yourselves are in so grave doubt. Indeed, there can only be offence in continuing to follow where you have ceased to believe.

Mr. King then proceeded to deal with the policy of the Liberal party at the National Convention, dwelling particularly on the resolutions re the Tariff, which had been framed to reduce the high cost of living and increasing agricultural production, also dwelling on the resolution on encouragement to agriculture. He said that under his leadership there would be no playing fast and loose with any policies laid down at the Convention. These policies would find expression in the statutes of Canada. He also touched on the need of greater control of parliament by the people and of the executive by parliament, pointing out that in the eight ridings where byeelections were being held, the government had so arranged the dates that no representative thus elected could sit at this present session, which one member of the government has described as the most important since Confederation.

Mr. King referred to hte telegram from the Minister of the Interior to the Prime Minister re the thousand soldiers' votes to be allotted to particular ridings, illustrative of what there was reason to believe was part of a great conspiracy affecting all of the constituencies of Canada. He could not imagine a colleague of the late Sir Wilfrid Laurier sending such a message to him as Prime Minister, nor Sir Wilfrid remaining silent and permitting his colleague to stifle an investigation, while his honor as a minister of the Crown and Prime Minister was being impugned.

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Enthusiastic Ovation to Mackenzie King in the Crystal Rink

Hon W L Mackenzie King arrived in Summerside about six o'clock on Wednesday evening, During the early forenoon Messrs A E McLean, M L A., B W Tanton and Dr J F McNeill crossed over to Sackville, N B via, the Car Ferry met Mr King there and accompanied him to Summerside. The party consisted of Hon Mr King and his private secretary (Mr F A MacGregor) Messrs Hance J Logan of Cumberland Co..N S, Frank Sweeney. of Moncton. and Fred Magee of Port Elgin.

When Borden was reached some six autos from Summerside and other parts of the county were in waiting and the party at once proceeded to Summerside. In the evening about a hundred from Summerside and nearby localities gathered in the capacious and handsome Oddfellows Hall where a reception to Hon Mr King and his party was held. The meeting was a most enthusiatic one and included a sprinkling of the thoughtful and professional element of the conservative party. Evidently they recognized the honor of having the Hon Mackenzie King in our midst with the possibility of his being the representative of this county in the federal parliament. The meeting closed with speeches—but we will not anticipate was said in the Crystal Rink the following evening Short and pithy addresses, however, were made by the following :—Dr J F McNeill, being chairman, Hon Mr King, Mr Sweeney, Mr Magee, Mr Logan, Mr B Gallant, Mr A E McLean and Mr A C Saunders.

The meeting in the Crystal Rink on Thursday evening was an historic one. The great rink was well seated throughout while it was profusely decorated with bunting. The motto "God Save the King" in large letters was stretched across the rear of the large platform. The band was also present and gave some selections. The immense building was completely filled— rink proper, promenades, platform and gallery behind it. Large numbers of ladies were present and a considerable of our conservative friends were among the audience to "look him over" as they were asked, but also to hear what Mr Mackenzie King had to say as well. The platform was filled with those prominent in society circles, and in the political field as well. The committe of arrangements—in fact, all the committees connected with the arrangements deserve the highest praise. There were between 2000 and 3000 people comfortably seated.

Mr Robert Agnew, President of East Prince Liberal Association presided, When Hon W L Mackenzie-King appeared on the platform considerable applause was accorded him but when he rose to address the immense concourse the ovation was loud and prolonged and this was repeated at the close of his splendid, eloquent and stirring address —the hand-clapping being frequent throughout his oratorical effort.

The proceedings began with a band selection, after which Mr Hance J Logan of Nova Scotia and ex-M P for Cumberland, was called on. He made a splendid effort among other things stating a remark made to him by the late Sir Wilfrid Laurier in the library of the latter only a few months before the death of the late Liberal Chief. Referring to Hon Mr Mackenzie King, Sir Wilfrid said "He is the most brilliant young man in the ranks of Liberal party"—thus forshadowing the position in the party Mr King holds to-day.

This was followed by an address in French by Mr F J Buote, of Tignish.

Premier J H Bell was next called upon and among his remarks he said that the conservative had been saying that the Great Liberal Convention, in choosing Mackenzie King as leader was dominated by Quebec. This the speaker said was untrue, he only got a substantial vote from that province the same as he got from all the other provinces. As he neared the question of the state of local finances cries began for "King, King"—however, undoubtedly the immense audience had come to hear Mackenzie King and their anxiety could not be kept within bonds.

As Mr King came forward the ovation he received was inspiring the assemblage rising to their feet to acclaim him.

His speech was a master effort and is receiving peons of praise on all sides. He began by expressing the gratitude in his heart for the honor done him by the Liberals of Prince County nominating him to contest the bye-election. He also expressed greatful appreciation to those who had so willing stood aside that he might be nominated.

He also paid a just tribute to the late Capt Joseph Read also instancing the feat of Capt John L Read in taking two ice breakers to the White Sea in the North of Russia under adverse Arctic conditions "a worthy son of a worthy sire,' he said.

It is impossible for us on the morning of publication to even mention the different subjects Mr King dwelt upon. Perhaps the most important was that upon the attempt of the conservative press to attack his attitude regarding the war although he was hampered by adverse feelings in talking about himself. But he strongly felt that it was necessary to justify the Liberals of this constituency in backing him up. Upon this point he traced his education through varying colleges and post-graduate courses the bent given to his efforts toward the social questions which are more and more becoming the most prominent questions in Canada, Britain and fhe United States and in fact over the whole earth. He also dwelt upon his connection with the Rockfeller Foundation, stating that he waa not an employee of Mr Rockfeller nimself. When offered that tnat position he consulted his friends in New York and Pres Elliot of Harvard had advised him to accept it. The employment was to study and give advice to the question of the industrial relations of Labor and Capitol. Some said he had went to the United States to live and it was hinted it was to escape army life. In place of that he had done all his work in his own study in the apartment house in which he lived in Ottawa. But that was all before the war.

Amid adverse circumstances connected with his family relatives he had found time to write a book 500 pages as the result of his studies, a volume of which he held in his hand and from which he read an extract showing his anticipation of presents events in Britain. He also instanced his successful efforts in Colorado among miners to allay unrest and stated that as a result these mines produced more coal than others for war purposes. He also read to the audience letters appreciative of his efforts in this respect.

His reference to the conditions of his sick brother, and latterly his death, the death of his sister and father bordered in the pathetic and yet these whom he had greathelped had all been engaged in efforts along war lines—that of his brother—who had developed tubercular knee—being of the utmost service to the leadfng governments engaged in the world war.

The Rockefeller Foundation had spent in war work $22,000,000and even the Canadian wounded men were benefitted thereby. The British government had established a Board to deal with social conditions thus showing the necessity of such work. Was it not a matter of pride to us that a Canadian had been chosen by the R Foundation. What he did, he said, was what was in his heart to do—work for the benefit of his fellowmen. The work regarding the present industrial war is at least of equal importance with the great war and the clash of armies. When he touched upon personal matters he asked the pressmen to suppress that part of his speech so great was his modesty. He also touched upon some of the resolutions passed by the Liberal Convention at Ottawa especially that on the tariff. and others as it affected the Farmers. He also in concluding, spoke of the "Meighan telegram" to Premier Borden and said were he elected to Parliament and became in time the leader of the Federal government as far as his efforts and those of his associates went he would do his utmost to see that in the choice of representatives to parliament the electorate would be free to select the men of their choice.

At the close of his address great cheering took place and the Band closed with the National Anthem many voicing the sentiment in song.

Oromocto Swept by Fierce Fire

The village of Oromocto, shire town of Sunbury County, N B, was practically destroyed by fire which broke out at 11 o'clock last Tuesday morning and raged until late in the afternoon. The fire was the second which has occurred within two years, a large portion of the village being burned in June, 1918. The loss in this fire is conservatively estimated at $500,000, and is the most severe blow Oromocto received, injuring the place even more than the decay of the wooden shipbuilding industry several decades since. The destruction of the saw mill and yard of the River Valley Lumber Company removes the chief industry of the village.

A considerable amount of insurance was carried on the properties which were destroyed. The chief loser is the River Valley Lumber Company which lost sawmill, offices, mill yard and lumber. The loss being estimated at $200,000.

Next Sunday evening the congregations of the Central St Christian Church and the Baptist Church will hold a united service in the Baptist Church, at which Rev W H Harding will preach. Bible school in the Christian Church at 10 15 and sermon at 11 a.m. Bible school at the Baptist Church at 11 a.m. The evening service at the Baptist Church will be at 7 o'clock.

CATARRH DOES HARM

Whether It Is of the Nose, Throat, or Other Organs, Get Rid of It.

Catarrh of the nose or throat when it becomes chronic weakens the delicate lung tissues, deranges the digestive organs, and may lead to consumption. It impairs the taste, smell and hearing, and affects the voice. It is a constitutional disease and requires a constitutional remedy.

Take Hood's Sarsaparilla, which by purifying the blood removes the cause of the disease and gives permanent relief. This alterative and tonic medicine has proved entirely satisfactory to thousands of families in three generations.

If there is biliousness or constipation, take Hood's Pills,—they are a thorough cathartic, a gentle laxative.

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THE ISLAND PATRIOT

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 3, 1919.

McKENZIE KING'S GREAT SPEECH.

The Honourable William Lyon Mackenzie King, in his magnificent speech before the largest audience ever assembled in Prince County, marks a memorable epoch in political history in the Province of Prince Edward Island.

For nearly two hours, the chosen Leader of the great Liberal party of Canada held spell-bound the vast throng of at least four thousand people.

The ovation Mr. King received upon entering the Rink was a spontaneous tribute to his recognized ability and those other qualities for leadership, with which he is so eminently endowed. And when he rose to address the meeting, the people rose with him, as one person, and cheered again and again, while fluttering handkerchiefs and waving hats bore striking evidence, not only to the Leader's popularity but also to the place that he has already gained in the hearts of his fellow-countrymen.

It has been claimed by some that the day of oratory, like the day of chivalry has passed, but no one after listening to Mackenzie King could any longer be deceived regarding the magic power of the art of public speaking.

Upon the splendid Riding of Prince County is fastened the eyes, not only of the people of this Dominion, but also of the British Empire, for in Mr. King is easily recognized, by those in a position to know, not only on this Continent, but across the seas, that he is the man of the hour and that his whole life work has been but a preparation for the high and honourable position he is undoubtedly destined to fill. Therefore Prince County is exceptionally honoured, and every constituency may well envy it its proud position in having Mr. King as its future representative in parliament. Mr. King is also honoured, for he will have as he said himself a greater knowledge of this most important part of Canada, called the Maritime Provinces. It is but truth to state that ever since he landed upon our shores the Liberal Leader has won admiration from all, irrespective of class, creed or politics, by his charming personality and his eminence as a public man, and as one of the greatest living authorities upon industrial questions. Everywhere and by everybody, during his stay amongst us, he has been encouraged and cheered by the warmth of the greeting and the sincerity of the regard. For his speech last night, on all sides, nothing but the sincerest expressions of confidence and pride were voiced concerning it.

We believe we express the mind of the people in stating that no public man who has ever spoken on Prince Edward Island, has made a greater or a more lasting impression upon our people. In his thanks for the honour bestowed upon him and the generous and courteous manner in which the invitation and nomination to contest Prince County were tendered him, Mr. King paid a matchless tribute to the splendid service rendered by the late Captain Joseph Read, whose unfortunate demise opened this fair constituency.

It was a happy stroke on the Leader's part, in his reference to the uniting of the races and religions of our country, for our country's good, to claim that in Prince Edward Island was symbolized that unity and liberty so much to be desired; for here the two great races and the two religions were living and striving harmoniously along those lines which made for the development of the nation and the welfare of its people. "And no wonder that this be so" said Mr. King, "for in this Island, beautifully situated in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, was cradled the first meeting which ultimately resulted in the federation of Canada." "What better place then," he dramatically declared, "could any man begin his career as chosen leader of the Liberal party.

Mr. King then took up the points upon which any on the other side of politics, as enunciated in the Summerside Journal, perhaps expected, that he should reply to.

In a brief editorial that paper made four charges namely:

1st—The better elements of the Liberal party was against him,

2nd—He was a menace to Labour,

3rd—He was not a friend of the farmer,

4th—While soldiers fought and died, he dodged.

He dealt with each of these in such a masterly manner as to frequently evoke great applause ,while again the vast audience shook with laughter.

No wonder! For if ever a man could stand upon a public platform before gathered thousands, and justify himself, in every important step of his public work and career, surely, that man is Mackenzie King. From the year 1899, when he was appointed Deputy Minister of Labour, in the Laurier Administration, and subsequently Minister of Labor, until his election at the great Liberal Convention, in August last, 1919, Mr. King's work for our country, and his service to mankind for the betterment of all peoples as well as his valuable contributions to industrial problems, have been recognized throughout this Continent and the civilized world. His book "Industry and Humanity" alone, places him amongst the foremost leaders on the vital matter of industrial conditions, and makes him one of, if not the most conspicuous figure on questions relating to labour and capital. Those who listened to him—and they embraced all creeds and classes —were singularly impressed as Mr. King related step by step, the noble, heroic, and self-sacrificing part he had played in the great war. He was willing to contest the pending election on that alone and he threw down the gauntlet to anyone, anywhere, to challenge his war record; asked any of the scores of returned soldiers, undoubtedly present, when he had concluded his statement of his case to rise and condemn him, if they felt he deserved it. For a moment or more the Leader paused; the audience was perfectly silent and no man had the temerity to speak or rise. It was one of the greatest and most impressive incidents that we have ever witnessed at a political gathering. Henceforth, it is to be sincerely hoped, for the sake of decency, for the sake of truth and for the observance of the Golden Rule, newspapers and people, though politically opposed, will hesitate and refuse to besmirch the character and the career of any of our public men until the whole truth and nothing but the truth be known. Mr. King the young and masterly Liberal Leader stands justified today by the people of Prince County and the nations of the world. It was necessary that he should take into his confidence the people of Prince because they had taken him into their confidence. The silence he had maintained for personal and obvious reasons up to the present must now be broken,—not for his own sake but for the sake of the position he occupied and the party he represented.

We venture to assert that no single man did greater work in our country or in the United States, to assist the Allies in winning the war, than did Mackenzie King. Proofs of this statement are abundant and no doubt will be given due publicity as time goes on. He did the very thing that he was best fitted to do and no man could have done more. The sympathy of the great audience was poured out to him as he told in earnest and trembling tones the inner history of his immediate family and from which, were it not for the responsible position he now occupies, the veil should never be drawn. It was a period of anguish and agony the reason for which was now clear to him. Inspired by the occasion, the warmth of the welcome extended to him and the genuine friendliness he had met with since his coming and remembering what had preceded it in his personal affairs. Mr. King pledges himself to those listening thousands that he would dedicate the rest of his life to the service of suffering humanity.

He then dealt with the Tariff, the agricultural conditions of our province and of Canada, the platform adopted by the great Liberal Convention, from which he quoted, and in a brief but masterly exposition of these questions, showed that in the hands of the great Liberal party, these and other matters now vexing our people and making for the unrest and the deplorable conditions which prevail today, here, over the border and across the seas, must be adjusted before our country can be well and truly governed. If our public men are actuated by those higher principles they will ever hold before them that however precious gold may be there is nothing so precious as human life. Where the material interests of industry conflicts with the well-being of human lives, when it comes, if it ever does come,to a conflict between the claims of humanity and the claims of industry, remember that industry exists for the sake of humanity and not humanity for the sake of industry.

In his book "Industry and Humanity" Mr. King foretold exactly what is transpiring in England today. He concluded his speech with an analysis of the Union Government, its creation, its purpose and its principles; a summary of this appears elsewhere in today's Patriot. His criticism of a recent telegram regarding the government's hope to evolve a progressive policy satisfactory to the country to meet after-war conditions—nearly a year since the armistice was signed, was very illuminating to all.

He concluded with an earnest invitation to all Liberal Unionists of the rank and file of the Liberals and whom he believed voted according to the dictates of their conscience at that period, to now return to Liberalism.

"It is not surprising that, having acted thus from motives of conscience and the highest patriotism, the issue of conscription being no longer a political issue in this country, these men and women are now but awaiting the opportunity to sweep from power a Government that has become a colorless affair, that is neither Liberal nor Conservative, and is Unionist in nothing save in name and the determination to hold on to office at any cost; and to join with their fellow-Liberals and the forces in this country that are making for progress, in placing in power a government that will be Liberal and progressive and has a policy that it can call its own."

The ostensible purpose of the Union was to win the war—"well the war is won!" And the reason no longer exists." To quote: "Your hopes of a progressive policy will never be realized in the reactionary group of which for the time being you have become members. The Liberal party has already formulated a policy. It is a progressive policy, a policy of which the country is in great need. It would be a grave mistake for any one to continue allegiance to a Government which has forfeited the confidence of the people and whose record is so strongly denounced from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

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15 Sept. 1919

Ottawa: National Industrial Conf.

INTRODUCTORY MESSAGE TO THE CONFERENCE

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(WLMK) ✓ National Industrial Conference

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National Industrial Conference

National

last a party affair

~~new basis of the nation. test of any particular class~~

a recognition of the worker - the public - the community as a party -
- community & orbits - for purpose of to industry -
cost: conflict - organized society
as problem - wealth & well being
as consumers - welfare

Industrial

the nature of industry

the 4 parties - their contributions - interdependence
sharing of control interrelated

Conference - what is implied in conference — statement fairly & their
attitude - human relations - status, unintelligent information publicity. causes
collective action -
representatives

aim - an industrial constitution

Explicit constitution essentials - customs, charter, basic
principles & policies expressed laws.

Industry in nature of moral service

industrial service the moral equivalent of military service

This conference - machinery

Parliament - the forum of national conference

all classes represented there

the will of the people to be expressed (no referendum of classes)

a representative body. freely chosen

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6 Jan. 1920 Newmarket

"LIBERALISM"

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Newmarket, Ont. Jan 6 - 1940 D 4082-A1

Review of Political Situation

It is my purpose this evening, in so far as the circumstances of the occasion will permit, briefly to review what appears to be the outstanding features of the political situation as it exists in Canada today; and to suggest what, as respects government, is most required to enable our country to cope with the vast problems which confront it at the beginning of a New Year, and as we enter upon a new decade in our nation's history. In addressing myself to this theme I shall endeavour to present the attitude of ~~aims and objects of~~ Liberalism as I conceive it towards the existing ~~them in Canada at the present time.~~ situation

War and its Consequences.

First and foremost let us realize that it is impossible to separate the present from the past, and that it is equally impossible to understand conditions in Canada apart from conditions as they exist in other countries.

For many a year to come the war and its consequences will remain a mighty influence in world affairs, and any course of action, or any policy which does not reckon with that fact is certain sooner or later to prove of no avail, and to increase rather than lessen the evils which have been forced upon us.

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This is not a moment to theorize, it is not a moment to rush to extremes, neither is it a moment to stand pat. It is a time, above all others, to be essentially practical; to look facts squarely in the face; to make an accounting of our national assets and liabilities in terms that are human as well as material; and then, understanding what our problems are, not in a visionary mood, but in a concrete and comprehensive way, resolutely to meet and attempt their solution in a manner that will make not only for material progress, but also for ~~the~~ human freedom in ever-increasing measure ~~of human freedom~~, and for ever-widening possibilities in social well-being and individual achievement.

Effects of the World's Upheaval

Let us remember then that the world has just passed through an upheaval unparalleled in all its history. The garment of civilization has been torn into shreds. The nations are now busily engaged in patching it together anew. It will be some time yet before the process is complete.

In physical outline the boundaries of countries have changed. But the changed map of Europe is only one evidence of a changed order; an outward and visible sign of an infinitely greater convulsion from within. All that is living and breathing in the soul of humanity has been stirred to its ~~profoundest~~ depths. A truer simile of the world's condition today is that of the ocean seething after storm. For years to come the tide of emotion will continue to surge in human breasts; with seemingly irresistible flow

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Attitude as Liberal Leader

~~That it may be understood, I propose to assert it wherever I go; and that it may not be regarded as any position suddenly assumed in view of the uncertainties of which we have been made only too well aware in recent months, let~~ Let me repeat here what I said in Summerside P.E.I., in the first speech I made at the time of accepting the nomination of the Liberals of Prince to contest that riding in the bye-election of September last . Here are my words as reported in the Charlottetown "Patriot" of October 4th last:

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"The Island Patriot"

Charlottetown, Oct.4th 1919

First, as to the Liberal Unionists throughout the country, or, rather those Liberals who supported the Union Government in the last general elections. "Are we to believe that these men - men and women of Liberal convictions - numbering themselves by thousands, were not honest, were not conscientious, were not patriotic in the votes they cast, in the light of the knowledge they had at the time, and the circumstances as represented to them ? Formmy part, I decline to entertain any such belief. I would go farther and say that I believe that, breaking thus temporarily, and on a single issue, with the Liberal party, and in particular with the leadership of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, whom personally they loved and respected and had loyally supported throughout long years, many of them suffered for conscience sake as they have seldom suffered in their lives. If you ask me why do I say this, I answer because I know it to be true, because among the number were many of my own most intimate and lifelong friends, not friends only, but relatives and connections who never cast a Tory vote in all their lives, and who were grieved to the heart to be placed in the position in which they found themselves placed by the action of the Government in making the issue of Conscription to appearances the supreme issue of the elections."

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Good-Will as Between Classes

It is not only those who have differed from us in the past whose views we must respect. We must also respect, and this is much more difficult very often, those who, while sharing with us in large measure the principles and policies we advocate, have aims and aspirations of their own. And here may I refer to ~~[illegible]~~ three large and most important elements in our national society: the Farmers, Labour, and the War Veterans. Here we pass from differences between individuals to consider possible differences between classes.

The Ontario Elections

Of the events of the year just past, one of the most significant has been the results attendant upon political organization of the farmers in different parts of Canada, and especially in the Province of Ontario. The overwhelming defeat of the Hearst Government and the formation of a provincial administration under Mr. Drury, was one of those surprises which lend so much interest and zest to politics. Surprising as the outcome of the provincial elections might at first appear, one has not to seek very far for an explanation.

First and foremost must be placed the exasperation of the people with a government that had usurped the sovereign right of the people to govern themselves, and had become the chief ally of the Federal administration in promulgating and maintaining arbitrary enactments. The compact between Mr. Hearst and Mr. Proudfoot to perpetuate the Government in office, and the members in their seats in the

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candidate or the Labour candidate or the Independent candidate. It is a safe and moderate estimate to say that at the very least one-third of the votes noted in the above table as having been cast for the Farmers, Labour and Independent, was Liberal. The total to these three bodies is 429,956 and one-third of this is 143,318. This added to 336,715 makes a total Liberal vote of 480,033, and reduces the combined Farmer, Labour and Independent vote to 286,636, out of a total of 1,153,567, or less than one-fourth of the total vote. This is not without its significance to farmers and liberals alike.

The 111 Conservatives or Government candidates polled 386,796. This is but few over one-third of the grand total vote, so there is no doubt of their defeat. It was a collapse.

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problems is bred of my Liberalism. I can think of the problems of Industry only in terms of Humanity. Liberalism is to me the expression of a wider human freedom, whether it be for those who work in the country, on the farms; or in the cities and towns, in the shops and factories; whether it be the well-being of women and children that is at stake in the home or elsewhere; or the lot of men in the struggle with their several environments. What the workers in one form or another are seeking is what we as Liberals have all along been speaking of as more in the way of equality of opportunity. If that is not part of Liberalism, then Liberalism has ceased to exist.

That these views also are no part of any new expression of my own Liberalism, let me quote from a speech I made in this very hall on 16th March of last year. This was before the U.F.O. had demonstrated its strength as a political force, and when the Liberal Convention of August last was only being talked of. As I repeat the words, it will not be difficult for this audience, or the country, to grasp why in natural sympathy it is impossible for me not to view with some degree of satisfaction these evidences of a spirit at work in our national society which is shattering the fetters of a past order, and releasing new energies in a number of directions.

The GLOBE of 17th March in its account of the meeting referred to contains the following paragraphs: (such reference to my speech)

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"Parliament", he said, "ought to be a mirror reflecting the different elements that go to make up a nation. It is absurd for the Dominion of Canada to have a Parliament that has relatively no farmers in it to speak for the farmers, and no men from the ranks of Labor to speak for Labor. I hope there will be in our next Parliament representatives of both these classes of our people, and also men from our soldier ranks who will speak for those brave men who lie in Flanders' fields and cannot speak for themselves. I think our next Parliament must be truly representative if we are to secure unity and contentment in this country."

LIBERAL ATTITUDE TOWARD WAR VETERANS

This quotation refers to ~~yet~~ a third element in our national life ~~to~~ which I have just alluded ~~spoken~~: the returned soldiers, or, more appropriately, the War Veterans, who are not without ideals and aspirations as a class. If there is in Canada today one portion of its citizenry which more than any other is entitled to consideration, it is the men who risked their lives in battle, and those who shared with them the dangers and privations of war, especially the families of those whose sons made the supreme sacrifice in the cause of the world's freedom. Having fought and suffered and ~~bled~~ sacrificed to save the world from autocratic rule and the tyranny of material power, it is not surprising that these men and women hope for a realization in larger measure of the freedom they fought to preserve. As Liberals, we have special reason to share their hopes and aspirations.

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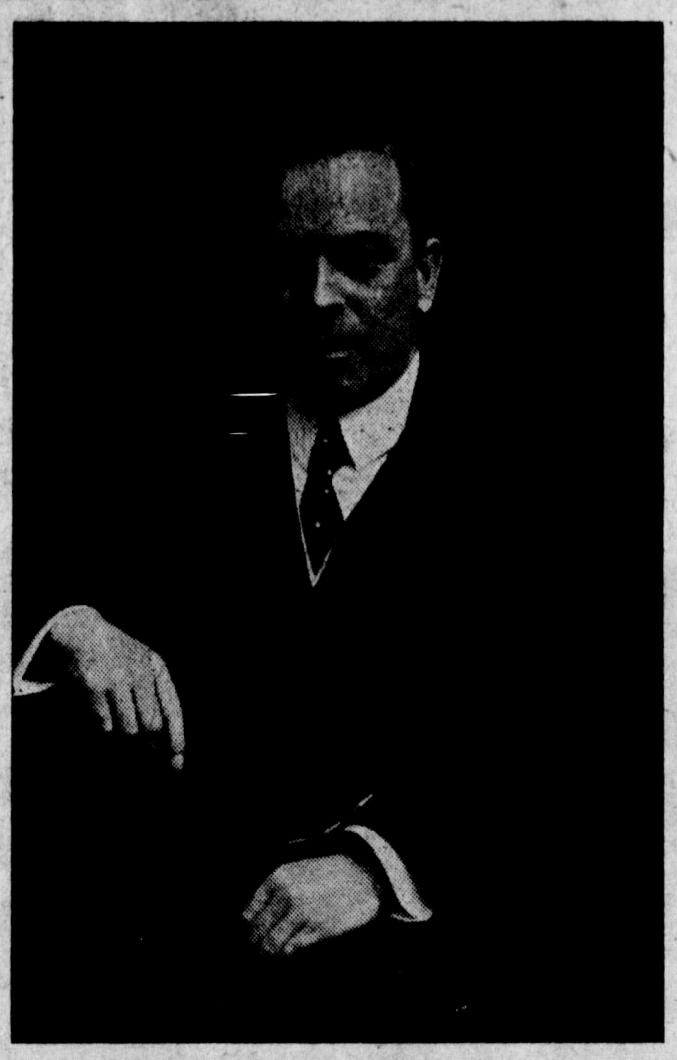

NORTH YORK HONOURS THE NEW LIBERAL LEADER,

Magnificent Banquet in Newmarket,

Hon. Mackenzie King Receives a Cordial Welcome.

Policy of the Opposition Outlined in a Brilliant Oration

The complimentary Banquet tendered to Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King by the Liberals of North York, in the Town Hall at Newmarket on Tuesday evening was a magnificent success. The spacious building was crowded from top to bottom with staunch friends and admirers from all parts of the Riding, each anxious to do honor to the distinguished guest.

The Hall was decorated throughout in a most elaborate manner and was ablaze with electric lights. Large and handsomely painted shields bore the mottoes: "Welcome King Our Leader," "King and a United Canada," "North York the Cradle of Freedom."

The excellent and bounteous Menu served so efficiently by the Cole Co. of Toronto and no less than 40 local helpers was fitting to the occasion and the music supplied by Bodley's Double Orchestra of Toronto was greatly applauded. Every detail of the Banquet was carried out systematically and elaborately and it was conceded on all sides to be the finest Banquet ever held in the Banner Riding of the County of York. No less than 550 people partook of the Banquet including over 100 ladies.

After the serving, the tables were removed from the Main Hall and the capacity audience reseated, the speaking taking place from the platform, the President of the North York Liberal Association, Mr. Howard Cane of Newmarket, introducing the several speakers. Other occupying seats on the platform were—Mr. I. E. Pedlow, M. P. for South Renfrew, Mr. W. D. Euler, M. P. for Waterloo, Mr. Andrew Hayden, general secretary of the Liberal Organization Committee for the Dominion of Canada, Ottawa, Mr. P. C. Larkin and Mr. W. D. McGreggor of Toronto, Mayor Bassett of Aurora.

Letters of regret at not being able to be present were received from Duncan C. Ross, Chas. Maguire, F. F. Pardee, Sir Alan Aylesworth, Hon. G. P. Graham and others. The letter was read in full and is as follows:

Allow me to thank you for your kind invitation to be present at the banquet to our Liberal Leader. Hon. Mr. King possesses all the elements of successful leadership. He is able, energetic, clean and worthy the undivided support not only of Liberals but of all those who desire that our country should resume its march toward national greatness.

When Sir Wilfrid Laurier left office in 1911, Canada was enjoying the blessings of prosperity and of goodfellowship among the people that comprise her population. Through the incompetence and extravagance of the Borden Government, we were brought face to face with the financial crisis which only the war averted, while the unholy alliance between the Tories of Ontario and the Nationalists of Quebec aroused the demon of discord and revived all the old prejurices and passions that, under Sir Wilfrid, had been well nigh forgotten.

War conditions can no longer be urged as an excuse for overlooking the incompetence and worse of the present administration. Canada is like a man who has lost his way, groping in the dark for some strong guiding hand to lead him back. Only by the application of sound business principles can our financial future be assured, and only by the abolition of prejudices can harmony amongst our people (without which success is impossible) be restored. The Liberalism that restored financial and commercial confidence and that brought harmony out of the discord and distrust that existed in 1896 can perform a like service to the country in 1920.

Trusting that your gathering in the historic riding of North York may be the beginning of a revival of true Liberal sentiment in Canada.

Mayor Eves of Newmarket extended a few words of greeting on behalf of the Town and referred to the guest of the evening as the coming Premier of Canada.

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Newmarket Era
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Mr. H. D. Ramsden, President of the Toronto and York Liberal Association, expressed his pleasure at being present and his approval of extending the invition to the ladies. He referred to the great loss Canada had sustained a year ago when it was flashed over the Dominion that that great and good man, the Hon. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, had passed away after giving 40 years of his life to building up a United Canada. Reference was then made to the great democratic Convention held in Ottawa last September to enunciate a Liberal platform and select a new Leader to carry on the work, when, without any wire-pulling, the Hon. Mr. King was eventually selected, and he believed it was because Mr. King had made a study of the great industrial questions that were disturbing the whole world, and was the best authority in the matter not only in Canada but on this whole continent. He deplored the condition of Canada at the present time without a leader and the Government without a policy.

H. H. Horsey, Esq., of Toronto, President of the Eastern Ontario Liberal Association, congratulated the various committees on the splendid Banquet which was managed in a most orderly and efficient manner, and expressed the greetings of his Association. The Banquet is a honor to a distinguished man, chosen from all the Liberals of Canada to carry their banner. Mr. King is a trained economist, successful in bringing many distressing disputes to a harmonious conclusion— a man of noble character and talent for expression—a man upon whom we can rely and fight to the very end.

Mr. King, on rising to reply to the introduction of the chairman, received a great oration. He said he had great difficulty to find words to express his gratitude for this splendid Banquet and manifestation of his reception. He prophesied that the organization in getting up this gathering was but an expression of Liberalism throughout the Dominion. There is no incentive like meeting the sons and grandsons of the stalwart Liberals of the past to inspire one to the best endeavors. He referred to his pleasure at seeing some Tory friends present and added that it was only by having respect and regard for difference of opinion that we can discover the truth. Jockularly he remarked that the times are changing and alluding to the defeat of the Hearst Government he said, "My Liberalism leads me to rejoice in that kind of a turnover." Continuing he said :

Review of Political Situation.

It is my purpose this evening, in so far as the circumstances of the occasion will permit, briefly to review what appear to be outstanding features of the political situation as it exists in Canada to-day; and to suggest what, as respects government, is most required to enable our country to cope with the vast problems which confront it at the beginning of a New Year, and as we enter upon a new decade in our nation's history. In addressing myself to this theme I shall endeavour to present the attitude of Liberalism, as I conceive it towards the existing situation.

War and its Consequences.

First and foremost let us realize that it is impossible to separate the present from the past, and that it is equally impossible to understand conditions in Canada apart from conditions as they exist in other countries.

For many a year to come the war and its consequences will remain a mighty influence in world affairs, and any course of action, or any policy which does not reckon with that fact is certain sooner or later to prove of no avail, and to increase rather than lessen the evils which have been forced upon us.

This is not a moment to theorize, it is not a moment to rush to extremes, neither is it a moment to stand pat. It is a time, above all others, to be essentially practical; to look facts squarely in the face; to make an accounting of our national assets and liabilities in terms that are human as well as material; and then, understanding what our problems are, not in a visionary mood, but in a concrete and comprehensive way, resolutely to meet and attempt their solution in a manner that will make not only for material progress, but also for human freedom in ever-increasing measure and for ever-widening possibilities in social well-being and individual achievement.

Effects of the World's Upheaval.

Let us remember then that the world has just passed through an upheaval unparalleled in all its history. The garment of civilization has been torn into shreds. The nations are now busily engaged in patching it together anew. It will be some time yet before the process is complete.

In physical outline the boundaries of countries have changed. But the changed map of Europe is only one evidence of a changed order; an outward and visible sign of an infinitely greater convulsion from within. All that is living and breathing in the soul of humanity has been stirred to its depths. A truer simile of the world's condition to-day is that of the ocean seething after storm. For years to come the tide of emotion will continue to surge in human breasts; with seemingly irrestistible flow mounting, ever and anon, high with hope, and then, falling away into depths of despondency and despair.

A recognition of this great truth should make us view with great patience the restlessness of our day; it should awaken a sympathy with all those movements which bespeak an aroused conscience, and sound a new note in human aspiration. But, above all else, it should make clear to us what in the affairs of our country is most needed at such a time as this.

A New Attitude Needed.

It is a new attitude and a new spirit that is most needed to solve the problems of the present time; a spirit and an attitude of good-will to replace the attitude and spirit of ill-will which War never fails to breed. It must be remembered that whilst war may serve to bring forth all that is finest in the character of a people, to manifest latent heroisms and noble capacities for sacrifice, war itself is a hateful and devilish thing, and the spirit that war breeds is hateful and devilish.

That spirit unfortunately continues to lurk in all sorts of places, both prominent and obscure. It manifests itself in high places through a distrust of others, in the autocratic use of power, in the continuance and enactment of repressive measures, long after the reason for any such is gone. It manifests itself from below through similar distrust, in an indifference to rights, whether of person or property, in the defiance of law and order, and in efforts of one kind or another to overthrow constituted authority. We shall fail entirely to grasp the significance of the legacy the War has left unless we note carefully every passion the war has served to arouse and every prejudice upon which it has sought to play.

Liberalism to Foster Good-Will.

It is in the creation of this new spirit, of this new attitude, that Liberalism , as I read its obligations to present day problems, will find its most important task. The substitution of good-will for all that has been making for ill-will in the various phases of our national life.

Let me enumerate some of the more obvious and important phases, and in so doing illustrate the work which, as Liberals, whether in or out of office it is ours to perform.

Let me begin with the most immediate, the spirit which as individuals none of us can escape, and go on to those larger concerns where our attitule becomes part of that of a class, of a race or of a nation.

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Respect for Differences of Opinion.

In the very forefront, I should place the attitude to be assumed towards those who differ from us in opinion. We have come through a period where differences of opinion on many subjects have not been permitted, and where evidenced in any measure have led too often to personal bitterness approaching at moments to public hatred. Our own great Leader in the political battles of 1911 and 1917, did not escape his share of the penalty of greatness, where it looks with eyes beyond its own day, and has the courage to stand or fall by conviction. Pure in life, noble in purpose, patriotic in aim, in all of these respects second to no other political leader of his generation, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, more than any other man was misunderstood or misrepresented by many of those who in former days found their delight in sounding his praises. Is it not indeed, significant, that there is not a political happening of first importance since his death which has not afforded unmistakable evidence of his political wisdom and sagacious patriotism ? The injustice done his life must be righted in the justice to be done his memory.

Attitude Towards Laurier Liberals.

If we are to be a united people, we must try to look at all sides of a question, and to respect the views of others whose opinions differ from our own. This consideration must be shown by others to those who thought as Sir Wilfrid thought and stood as he stood. The ill-will which, at the time, it was sought to engender towards those who were unable to support the Union Government must be replaced by an increase in good-will on the part of all who are now anxious to see the country controlled by a government with a mind of its own, and a policy that it can put into words; a government that is other than a combination for the sake of office.

Attitude towards Unionist Liberals.

But the Liberals who stood with Laurier in 1917, if they are to be true to the first principles of Liberalism, must be as ready to accord sincerity of purpose to those who differed from them, as they are to demand a like attitude towards themselves.

And here let me speak of a very large class of Liberals, those namely who gave their support to the Union Government in the elections of 1917.

Attitude assumed during Elections, 1917.

It is perhaps unnecessary for me, at this time and in this place to emphasize my own attitude toward Liberal Unionists. During the campaign of 1917. I addressed many public meetings in this riding. There is not a man living who heard me utter one word in condemnation of the motive of a single elector. Some of my best friends failed to give me their political support, but they lost none of my friendship, and I am proud to believe that I lost none of theirs. We differed in opinion, but it was an honest difference of opinion, and as such was respected on the part of each. May I say that the attitude I then assumed as an individual, responsible only to those who had nominated me as their candidate, is the attitude I now assume, in the light of the vast responsibilities with which my fellow-Liberals of the Dominion have honoured me. I am anxious that this attitude should be understood as the attitude of the party in whose name it is my privilege to speak.

Attitude as Liberal Leader.

Let me repeat here what I said in Summerside, P. E. I., in the first speech I made after having been chosen as Leader of the Liberal Party. It was at the time of accepting the nomination of the Liberals of Prince to contest that riding in the by-election of September last. Here are my words as reported in the Charlottetown "Patriot" of October 4th last :

"Are we to believe that these men —men and women of Liberal convic-

THE NEW LIBERAL LEADER NORTH YORK HONOURS

(Continued from Page 3)

tions—numbering themselves by thousands, were not honest, were not conscientious, were not patriotic in the votes they cast, in the light of the knowledge they had at the time, and the circumstances as represented to them ? For my part, I decline to entertain any such belief. I would go farther and say that I believe that, speaking thus temporarily, and on a single issue, with the Liberal party, and in particular with the leadership of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, whom personally they loved and respected and had loyally supported throughout long years, many of them suffered for conscience sake as they have seldom suffered in their lives. If you ask me why do I say this, I answer because I know it to be true, because among the number were many of my own most intimate and lifelong friends, not others whose opinions differ from our question, and to respect the views of friends only, but relatives and connections who never cast a Tory vote in all their lives, and who were grieved to the heart to be placed in the position in which they found themselves placed by the action of the Government in making the issue of Conscription to appearances the supreme issue of the elections."

Good-Will as Between Classes.

It is not only those who have differed from us in the past whose views we must respect. We must also respect, and this is much more difficult very often, those who, while sharing with us in large measure the principles and policies we advocate, have aims and aspirations of their own. And here may I refer to some who belong to three of the largest and most important elements in our national society . the Farmers, Labour and the War Veterans. Here we pass from difference between individuals to consider possible differences between classes.

The Ontario Elections.

Of the events of the year just past, one of the most significant has been the results attendant upon political organization of the farmers in different parts of Canada, and especially in the Province of Ontario. The overwhelming defeat of the Hearst Government and the formation of a provincial administration under Mr. Drury, was one of those surprises which lend so much interest and zest to politics. Surprising as the outcome of the provincial elections might at first appear, one has not to seek very far for an explanation.

First and foremost must be placed the exasperation of the people with a government that had usurped the sovereign right of the people to govern themselves, and had become the chief ally of the Federal administration in promulgating and maintaining arbitrary enactments. The compact between Mr. Hearst and Mr. Proudfoot to perpetuate the Government in office, and the members in their seats in the Legislature, may not have been without explanation on grounds of political expediency. If, however, we have not abandoned altogether what is fundamental in the right of the people to self-government, it was wholly without justification on constitutional grounds.

Liberal Attitude towards the Farmers.

Liberals should be the last to deplore any constitutional act on the part of the people to maintain their sovereign rights. It is in this way that governments are taught to respect the people's will. Disgusted with what seemed to them a frame-up by political leaders, whereby those in office, or in the Legislature might be retained in power, the people in the rural districts, who had been doing a lot of thinking on their own account, decided to have candidates of their own. They were assisted in this by the Liberals of the Province, who either withdrew their candidates, or decided not to nominate in 37 ridings. The Liberal Leader of the Province, Mr. Hartley Dewart, who never was a party to the compact of which I have spoken, but who fought it from the outset, tackled some of the difficult Tory strongholds, like Orontos, not with Farmer candi- but with Liberals who like him-

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self were in sympathy with a policy wholly friendly to the Farmers, and he won in a number of these constituencies.

It must never be forgotten that whilst the Farmer candidates were returned in largest number, the overthrow of the Hearst Government was essentially a victory for the Liberal forces of the Province against a reactionary government, a victory accomplished by Farmers and Liberals combined and working in most constituencies in whole-hearted combination. Should there be a doubt of this in the minds of any, let me quote from the Farmers' Sun, the official organ of the United Farmers of Ontario, the figures it has given on the results of the election.

In the issue of December 3rd, 1919, under the heading "How the Votes Divided" is the following table showing the number of candidates elected and the total votes polled by each organization:

	Candidates elected	Votes Polled
Conservatives	25	386,796
Liberals	29	336,715
Farmers	45	256,874
Laborites	11	127,096
Independents	1	46,086
	111	1,153,567

Three Conservatives were elected by acclamation but in the above it is presumed the Sun took past elections into consideration, so in a general way the table is correct.

In an editorial in the Sun of the above date the results are dealt with in a more striking manners as follows :

"Although the Conservatives polled more votes in the last election than either the Liberals or U. F. O., the Conservatives elected fewer candidates than either of the other organizations named. On the other hand the United Farmers polled fewed votes per candidate elected than any other organization in the field. The Conservatives polled over 15,000 per candidate elected, the Liberals nearly 12,000, the Labour party over 11,000, the one Independent upwards of 46,000 and the U. F. O. less than 6,000."

In the above calculations it should be borne in mind that the Liberals withdrew their candidates or decided not to nominate in 37 ridings, three of which went by acclamation to the Conservatives, so that the opposition vote was not divided, and in thirty-four ridings it may be said that the Liberal vote was polled for either the Farmer candidate or the Labour candidate or the Independent candidate. It is a safe and moderate estimate to say that at the very least one-third of the votes noted in the above table as having been cast for the Farmers, Labour and Independent, was Liberal. The total to these three bodies is 429,956 and one-third of this is 143-318. This added to 336.715 makes a total Liberal vote of 480,033, and reduces the combined Farmer, Labour and Independent vote to 286,636, out of a total of 1,153,567, or less than one-fourth of the total vote. This is not without its significance to Farmers and Liberals alike.

The 111 Conservatives or Government candidates polled 386,796. This is but few over one-third of the grand total vote, so there is no doubt of their defeat. It was a collapse.

One further fact helps to explain the success of the Farmers in the election, and it is an all-important factor in all elections, namely, organization. The Farmers, in very large numbers were members of a powerful organization formed originally for social and economic purposes. In the Ontario elections it became an organization for political purposes as well. Whether its plunge into the arena of politics may not bring disruption to the whole organization in its many splendid activities is something which its members cannot weigh too carefully and which time will serve to tell. The point I wish to make at the moment is that, as Liberals, Liberals in the truest meaning of that word, we mistake altogether the significance of these agrarian movements if we do not see in them evidence of Liberal thought and feeling on the part of those who are advocating and supporting their policies.

Liberal Attitude towards Labour.

And the same is true of the Labour movement. Here again is another large class in our national society, which has become conscious not only of economic injustices in the past, but of the need for united action to gain that fuller expression of personal and economic freedom which is of the very essence of all true Liberalism. Can we as Liberals fail to appreciate the aims and aspirations of that movement ? Can we fail to share something of the thoughts and feelings of the men and women who are a part of it Speaking for myself, my interest in industrial problems is bred of my Liberalism. I can think of the problems of Industry only in terms of Humanity. Liberalism is to me the expression of a wider human freedom, whether it be for those who work in the country, on the farms, or in the cities and towns, in the shops and factories; whether it be the well-being of women and children that is at stake in the home or elsewhere; or the lot of men in the struggle with their several environments. What the workers in one form or another are seeking is what we as Liberals have all along been speaking of as more in the way of equality of opportunity. If that is not part of Liberalism, then Liberalism has ceased to exist.

That these views also are no part of any new expression of my own Liberalism, let me quote from a speech I made in this very hall on 16th March of last year. This was before the U. F. O. had demonstrated its strength as a political force, and when the Liberal Convention of August last was only being talked of. As I repeat the words, it will not be difficult for this audience, or the country, to grasp why in natural sympathy it is impossible for me not to view with some degree of satisfaction these evidences of a spirit at work in our national society which is shattering the fetters of a past order, and releasing new energies in a number of directions.

The Globe of 17th March in its account of the meeting referred to contains the following paragraph with reference to my speech :

"Parliament," he said, "ought to be a mirror reflecting the different elements that go to make up a nation. It is absurd for the Dominion of Canada to have a Parliament that has relatively no farmers in it to speak for the farmers, and no men from the ranks of Labor to speak for Labor. I hope there will be in our next Parliament representatives of both these classes of our people, and also men from our soldier ranks who will speak for those brave men who lie in Flanders' fields and cannot speak for themselves. I think our next Parliament must be truly representative if we are to secure unity and contentment in this country."

Liberal Attitude toward War Veterans.

This quotation refers to a third element in our national life to which I have just alluded—the returned soldiers, or more appropriately, the War Veterans, who are not without ideals and aspirations as a class. If there is in Canada to-day one portion of its citizenry which more than any other is entitled to consideration, it is the men who risked their lives in battle, and those who shared with them the dangers and privations of war, especially the families of those whose sons made the supreme sacrifice in the cause of the world's freedom. Having fought and suffered and sacrificed to save the world from autocratic rule and the tyranny of material power, it is not surprising that these men and women hope for a realization in larger measure of the freedom they fought to preserve. As Liberals, we have special reason to share their hopes and aspirations.

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Liberalism in Canada had its birth in the struggle against autocracy in government. The war in Europe was an expression upon a world scale of two diametrically opposite systems of government brought into conflict, and provoked by those who sought world domination under their particular system. The War will be without its meaning to our day and generation unless we seek to make out of the sacrifices of the heroic dead a new social order, resplendent with the conception of liberty for which they gave their lives.

Supreme Task of Liberalism to Reconcile Differences.

It is here that the supreme task of Liberalism comes in. Either we shall have an increasing growth of class consciousness on the part of each of the great groups I have mentioned, resulting, as all class . conscious growths are destined to result, in conflict with each other and with forces that sooner or later are certain to oppose them; or we shall have a great progressive movement which will lead to a new era of social progress and social justice. It will all depend upon whether the spirit of good-will is sufficiently strong to overcome the spirit that war breeds and that continues to lurk in its wake.

War has shown what can be accomplished by co-operation and sacrifice. If we can carry the spirit of co-operation and sacrifice into this period of reconstruction, we have nothing to fear. If, on the other hand, each element in our national life is going to seek to go its own gait, unwilling to join hands with other groups that share like aims and aspirations to its own, if, each separately, intends to aim at domination in national affairs, then we may look for a prolongation of the period of confusion, and, in the end, retrogression rather than advance.

Monopoly of Government by any Class Objectionable.

Just here let me say quite frankly that when it comes to matters of government, I am unalterably opposed to monopoly in any form, or by any class. I am relentlessly opposed to government being controlled visibly or invisibly by railway, manufacturing, or financial interests. I am not less opposed to a monopoly of control on the part of any other of the essential elements of our national economy, be they farmers, labor, war veterans, or the newly enfranchised female voters. I know no finer maxim of government than that of the illustrious statesman Pym, enunciated in the reign of Charles I, which is as applicable to our politics to-day, as it was to England in that unsettled period:

"That form of government is best which doth actuate and dispose every part and member of the State to the common good."

Certainly, such a form of government is not to be found in any attempt at monopoly by an class. It is only to be found in co-operation between the different classes, made effective by a spirit of genuine good-will.

Good-Will in Matters of Race and Religion.

Let me pass from classes to a still larger consideration, the difference between race and race, and religion and religion. No one who participated in the last general elections in this riding, or any other riding in this province, will say that the spirit which speaks ill of its neighbour was not abroad in the land at that time. Every artifice known in the mould-of opinion was employed to create a prejudice in the minds of English-speaking Protestants of this Province against French-speaking Roman Catholics of the neighbouring province of Quebec.

Just as in a previous election in the province of Quebec, the Nationalists, and those who aided and abetted their methods, spared no means of inflaming the racial passions of men against a great man in his advocacy of a great cuse, when Sir Wilfrid Laurier sought the creation of a Canadian Naval Service as a means of Canada fulfilling her duty in naval defence, as a growing country and as a part of the British Empire.

I shall not seek to stir the smouldering embers of these unfortunate chapters in our history by enlarging in any way upon them. The ill-will that the passions of war have been employed to inflame between persons of different races and different religions in Canada will not be lived down in a day. Let us remember, however, that whatever perpetuates or augments that ill-will adds to the problem of government in Canada to-day; and that whatever of good-will we can engender in its stead will by so much lessen and lighten the magnitude and weight of the problems which confront us. As Liberals we can have but one attitude towards prejudice whenever it raises its vicious head and that is to strike it hard; strike it, if that be possible, to the death.

Good-Will in Inter-Imperial and International Relations.

The spirit of good-will must be carried also into all our inter-imperial and international relations. It is in good-will in international relations that the hope of the future lies. We in Canada have a special opportunity in this regard; for it is to North America the world looks for the supreme realization of that hope. To afford it expression between neighboring countries in of vast significance to mankind. Its realization is the highest destiny of which a continent i capable. In such a destiny it is given to us to share, and in so doing, to foster friendliness in Anglo-American relations, and thereby aid in maintaining the future peace of the world. Whilst, in the old world, the old order of international hatreds is passing away, it is for us in the new to give ampler expression to the new order of international good-will.

National Unity the Great Aim.

It is not only as regards differences between persons and classes, racial and religious differences, national and international difference, that we must seek, in a spirit of good-will, to bind up the wounds, and to bridge the chasms which the roused passions of the War have served to widen and create; we must resolve, as never before, to permit no new cleavages to destroy our national unity.

There was a remote time in our country's history when the inhabitants of Quebec were alone thought of as belonging to Canada. That time ended with the enactment of the Constitutional Act of 1791. Then there came the time when we had an Upper and a Lower Canada. That time was nominally at an end when the Union Act of 1840 was passed. It came pretty effectively to an end with Confederation in 1867. There remained, however, a considerable period, which may be said to have prevailed pretty generally until the end of the last century, and to have continued in some parts up to the very moment of the War, when the Nova Scotian about to visit Quebec or Ontario, talked about his visit to the Canadas, and when the traveller from British Columbia similarly described his journey to our province.

Canadian Unity Established by the War.

The War, we believe, has put an end forever to geographical divisions, even in thought, so far as the unity of our Dominion is concerned. Not only in the eyes of the world, but in our own eyes, that single word "Canada" on the shoulder strap of our soldiers, in the fighting armies overseas, has welded this country into one, as no symbol of nationhood in the past has ever united it. It was for the unity of Canada, the unity of the British Empire of which Canada is a part, the unity of aim and purpose of the free nations associated as allies in the titanic struggle for the world's freedom, that our brave heroes gave their lives in the fields of Flanders and of France, and the word comes back to us from them,

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"If ye break faith with us who die
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National unity we must at all cost maintain, and our political platforms must be so drafted, and our political policies so conceived and carried out as to make that unity at all times a great reality.

Sectional and Class Policies Imperil Unity.

And this leads me to speak of the East and the West of our wide Dominion, and of all the vast intervening space of British Columbia with its wonderful diversified resources, of the Prairie Provinces with their vast agricultural wealth, of Ontario and Quebec, and the Maritime Provinces with their rural as well as urban populations and their enterprising manufacturing and commercial developments. Is the splendid unity of our great country to be imperilled by a conflict of policies related primarily to geographical areas, or particular interests, or are we to carry into the shaping of our national policies the same noble spirit of some sacrifice on the part of each, and willing co-operation on the part of all, by which alone the War was won? Shall it be each for self, or all for all? Shall it be the special interest of a class, or the well-being of the whole community? Shall it be Canada first, as it was with the men who gave their lives, with though of naught save the honour of their country and their duty before God?

A Great Political Party Needed to Achieve Reforms.

If it is this larger, this nobler ideal, we must have in our Federal politics some political party large enough, broad enough, tolerant enough, fearless enough to carry forward such a policy of national unity. It cannot be a manufacturers' party, for that will never suit the farmers or consumers; neither can it be a farmers' part, for that, too, in the long run, will raise up powerful combinations against itself which will serve to divide east and west, to set the cities and towns and villages over against the farming communities, and the rural districts over against the urban. Neither can it be a Labor party, for that means the organization, sooner or later, of a Capitalist party, and added strife in industrial relations, rather than the working out of system of joint-control, by which alone the problems of industry are to be solved. Least of all is it likely ever to be a War Veterans' party. The War Veterans themselves have been the first to repudiate any thought of the kind; that would be introducing into this new world the old-time conflicts between the Army and the Civil authorities, which take us back to the days of Cromwell, and a condition of society which our citizen soldiery would be the first to deplore. No, it cannot be a party of any class, of any creed, of any race, or of any special interest. It must be a party representative of all the interests of the nation, and reflecting in its composition the many-sided elements of our national life.

Lessons from the War.

A great political party has a significance scarcely dreamed of by many who to-day appreciate too little what continuity of effort in a great cause means in the maintenance of freedom, and in the ultimate achievement of victory for policies with which its names and history have been identified.

Let me make a comparison which will appeal to all. In the great war just ended, did past history and tradition mean nothing to the historic regiments which participated in the fight for freedom? Did the Black Watch and the Gordon Highlanders signify nothing to Scotchmen and men of Scotch descent? Did the Guards and the Middlesex add nothing of fighting quality to the Englishmen and the sons of Englishmen. Were the Dublin Fusiliers and the Inniskillen Dragoons mere names to Irishbent and those who fought at their side in these historic regiments? More than one Canadian soldier will ever regret the loss of identity of his regiment in the Canadian Expeditionary Force; but is there a Canadian living who would take from the colors of our army the names of the battles displayed upon them?

All through history the liberties of our human society have been preserved, and new liberties won, by great fighting forces. The military and naval forces in the arena of war, and the not less militant forces in the political arena, and the finer the tradition of the fighting forces in either field, the greater has been the measure of their achivement.

Permanent Political Parties Necessary and Inevitable.

It is not a mere accident that the system of party has been established in England for more than two centuries. The existence of permanent parties can alone give a guarantee of caution in adopting, and perseverance in advocating, policies and proposals. It assures, better than any other means can do, a full consideration of difficult problems, and safeguards the country against the hurried adoption by Parliament of ill-digested measures.

The existence of parties, moreover, is inevitable. As a distinguished English Parliamentarian has said, the Conservative temper and the Liberal Temper, the Conservative ideal an the Liberal ideal, Conservativ methods and Liberal methods, diffe fundamentally. A ministry cannot fail to belong to one school or the other. It will attract to its support those of its own views. It will drive into opposition those who disagree with it. Let existing parties be destroyed or cast into confusion, as has been temporarily the case in all the countries of Europe, and to some extent in our country under the stress and strain of war, certain they are to reappear before long, possibly under different names for a time, but with the same predominating ideas as now, and to support the same respective policies.

In the last analysis, there is something in political parties which corresponds to fundamental instincts and tendencies in human nature. There is in man an impulse which makes for onward and progressive thought and action, and there is a counter tendency which makes for delay, which fears new beginnings, which resists change. The former impulse is stronger in youth; the latter gains emphasis with age. An exaggeration of the one tendency leads to extreme courses of action; the exaggeration of the other leads to reactionary behaviour just as extreme. But between the extremes, the cleavage between the reactionary and the reformer is clearly seen in every age and in every class. Those who feel and think alike on great questions will do well, in the endeavor to make their views prevail, to link their efforts and to co-operate as members of one large party, with a policy and platform broad enough in essentials to command the allegiance of those who differ only as respects non-essentials. Parties are necessary, useful and likely to endure. To what better party can those of Liberal views look for a fulfillment of their desires than to a party that is Liberal in name, as well as in aim, and which has a century of Liberal tradition to hold it true to its highest principles, and to spur it on to yet nobler achievement.

Unity of Command Essential to Victory.

Just here let me make one further observation from the experience of war. No one will question that the Allied countries were one in aim, or that there was other than the strongest of reasons to compel co-operation in their resistance of the Central Powers. Their fighting capacity and their heroism was not for a moment in doubt. It was not, however, till unity of command was established that the tide of battle turned and that victory by the Allied armies became assured.

With the Liberal forces at work in Canada to-day, among the farmers in the rural communities, among Labour in the cities and towns, among the returned soldiers, and among that great body of Canadian citizenry, men and women alike, who, apart from class affiliations or associations, are thinking and praying and striving for the dawn of that better day which the sacrifices and privations of war were to usher in, there is nothing to with-

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stay ultimate and speedy victory in the triumph of Liberal ideas and policies except a failure on the part of those who are opposed to a common enemy to co-operate in a spirit that has regard primarily for the good of all.

Stability as Important as Unity.

Whilst the spirit of good-will is the one that must inspire us in all our national, international and inter-imperial relations, something more is required in the government of the state. We must have as a chart and compass, something that will give certainty of direction, as well as ensure increasing calm upon our own course. Stability as well as unity is required, in matters of government at this of all times. It is owing to instability in management of the nation's affairs that the ship of state is in such distress in Canada to-day. Not only is the Government without a head to direct its affairs; it is actually without a policy to guide its actions. Never were the affairs of a country in a more hopeless state of muddle, nor an administration more disorganized than is the case at the present time.

Policy of Drift Reviewed.

A policy of drift is the only characterization that can be made of the Government's action. Let us briefly review one or two outstanding circumstances which all present will recall.

It will be remembered that the Union Government was formed for the purposes of the election of 1917. The Union was preceded by the War Measures Act, the Military Voters' Act, the War-Time Election Act, which, were the truth wholly known, could be shown to have been more of a determining factor in bringing about the Union than aught else. While the War was on, the cry "Win the War" was a sufficient rallying cry, sufficient for election purposes, and sufficient for a policy as long as the War lasted. The electors were told that the Union was formed for that purpose and for that only. It was not a government for the purposes of Reconstruction after the War, or for any purpose other than that of helping to "Win the War" according at all events, to the professions of the Prime Minister at the time the administration was formed, and of those who entered his Cabinet.

Prime Minister and Colleagues Absent.

When the War came to an end with the signing of the Armistice in November, 1918, one would have supposed that the Prime Minister would have done one of two things. Either that he would have announced his intention of asking for a dissolution of Parliament, as soon as demobilization of the forces was completed, or that he would have formulated and announced some policy which Parliament and the country would have known was that of the ministry. Did he do either of these things ? No on the contrary, he and two or more of his colleagues found it necessary to be absent in Europe the greater part of a year, and the affairs of state in Canada were permitted to drift along, first under one Acting Prime Minister, then under another; and the work of several of the departments entrusted at one time to one group of colleagues, and at another time to another.

Finally at the end of the regular session of 1919, the Prime Minister returned, to find not only that the policy of drift had rendered the Government helpless in coping with a very serious situation in the city of Winnipeg, and which was not without its ill-effects in all parts of Canada, but that his own following was hopelessly divided on urgent matters of policy; that the Unionist Government itself and its following in Parliament was being held together only by the emoluments of office and the love of power.

Prime Minister Ill during Special Session.

Wearied with the strain of war, and disgusted with these internal wranglings which seemed to offer no promise of solution, the Prime Minister, considerably exhausted in vitality, contracted an illness which prevented him from being in Parliament except for a day or two during the special session held in the fall of last year. Then again, the affairs of state were permitted to drift.

First, the country was told that the session was solely for the purpose of expressing approval of the Peace Treaty, which, as it turned out, was a wholly unnecessary procedure, and occupied but a few days. Then, for weeks Parliament was dragged along, often with nothing at all to do, and seldom with the ministry prepared on any public matter. Then, the Prime Minister became well enough to go away on a trip, to leave the country altogether, and after he was gone, and the Acting Prime Minister had announced that the session would end in another few days, to the amazement of Parliament and the whole country, certain members of the Cabinet brought into Parliament, and rushed through a piece of legislation respecting the railways of the Dominion involving a transaction amounting to over five hundred millions of dollars, or a quarter of the total national debt of the Dominion, vastly augmented as it had become by the tremendous outlays of the War.

Rights of People Ignored.

Wholly indifferent to the rights of even the people's representatives in Parliament, this group controlling in the Cabinet for the time being, refused even to permit the right to Parliament to ratify the agreement to be made between the Government and the Grand Trunk, though this right was expressly reserved, in the legislation brought down, to the shareholders of the Grand Trunk Railway in Great Brittain. Approval has not yet been granted by the shareholders in England, and as Parliament ought to be reassembling in the course of another few weeks, I would like to say publicly again that, it being not yet too late to give ti the Canadian taxpayers, who have to meet these obligations, the same rights as are given to the English shareholders who are to benefit by them, this right of approval of the Grand Trunk agreement should still be reserved to the people of Canada through their representatives in Parliament.

Drift Worse than War.

But let me come at once to the explanation of this policy of drift, and ask whether the causes that account for it are such as are likely to be removed by anything that is likely to happen in the future of an appeal to the electorate. The Prime Minister has just left for parts unknown, for a period of time unknown, and who is to lead Parliament in his absence is still unknown. The situation in this particular, instead of being improved, has gone from bad to worse. The pilot has left the ship, for a long time, just as he left it in the fall of 1919 for a short time, without venturing to decide between the factions in his Cabinet which of the two is to assume his role during his absence. All he had said of policy that is to govern in his absence is that there is none, and all that he has ventured to say concerning a future policy is to repeat what he said before he left the time before, that he hopes while he is away the quarrelling factions may come to some agreement among themselves, so as to be able, somehow, to hold together just as long as the law will permit.

Lest it might appear that I am placing my own interpretation upon the facts of the case, let me quote from the published statements as given to the Press by the Prime Minister and his colleagues.

No After-the-War Policy.

The spirit of these statements was issued from Ottawa on September 30. It referred to a caucus of the Liberal Unionist supporters of the Government held that day and attended by the Liberal Unionist ministers. After mentioning that the suggested policy of the Unionist party would be further discussed at a special meeting of the Cabinet Council on the day following, and that it would be considered on yet another day at a general Government caucus, before Sir Robert Borden left for the South, the statement continued as follows :

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"A meeting of the Liberal Unionist members of the House was held in the east block. The meeting expressed unqualified approval of the war policy of the Union Government, and the Government, and the Government was congratulated on its success. The consensus of opinion was that as the members were elected to support Union Government, it was their intention to continue to do so, and the hope was strongly expressed that the Government would be able to evolve a progressive policy satisfactory to the country to meet the after-the-war conditions."

Note the last of these sentences :

"The hope was strongly expressed that the Government would be able to evolve a progressive policy satisfactory to the country to meet the after-the-war conditions."

Here is a clear statement by one portion of the ministry that notwithstanding the War had been brought to an end by the signing of the Armistice on November 11, 1918, after the lapse of nearly a year the Government had not yet been able to evolve a policy to meet the after-the-war conditions.

Hopes for a Policy Frustrated.

But even the hopes expressed by this wing of the Cabinet and of the Government's supporters in Parliament were not realized. The Government caucus was held on October 2, and here is what was said to the press of its proceedings. The statement will be found in all the papers of that date.

"The feature of the conference was a pronouncement by the Premier setting forth his opinions on the question (i. e., the future of union) and giving expression to the hope that his followers would be consolidated into a party to deal with the great problems of peace."

No policy, no unity, no constructive thought or idea, the mere expression of a hope that internal discord might be healed, that te party might hang together a little longer.

This would be ludicrous enough, were it not quite so tragic. When we realize, however, that this was not only the situation in October last, but that it has continued to be the situation ever since, and is the situation at the present time, that it relates to the business of the whole Dominion, the seriousness of the situation becomes apparent.

It is no longer ago than Christmas week that the Prime Minister, once more weary in body and sick in heart and mind as well, disgusted with the internal wranglings of his cabinet and its inability to unite upon any policy, caused it to be generally known that it was his intention to retire forthwith from the Premiership. The commotion thus occasioned in the counsels of the Unionist Party and throughout the country is so recent that nothing is required to call it to mind. Matters again had reached a crisis. To save the Union from an immediate break-up, the Prime Minister once again agreed to continue a while longer as the nominal head of the ministry. I say, the nominal head, because the basis of the understanding reached was that he should be absent, not only from the business of Parliament, but from the country, for an indefinite time, and to be so far away that he would be beyond the possibility of conference with respect to any situation which might arise.

Let me again avoid any interpretation of my own, but read to this gathering from an official statement. It will be found in all the Canadian papers of December 19, as a statement handed out by the Prime Minister himself, after an interview with members of the Press Gallery. I shall read only the portion of the statement which throws light upon the situation as the Prime Minister has left it with respect to his following and policy. Here is what is set forth :

"Sir Robert Borden is naturally reluctant either to continue duties for which the condition of his health unfits him, or to retain his position as head of the Government while absenting himself for a considerable period from his post. On the other hand, the views of his colleagues have been urged with such force and unanimity that he finds himself unable to disregard them. He has, therefore concluded at their request to take such rest from active work as may prove necessary, during which period effective arrangements will be made for the discharge of the duties which would otherwise be incumbent upon him. The period of his absence from duty will necessarily depend upon his progress toward recovery; and in the end the condition of his health will determine his resumption of official duties or his retirement therefrom.

"Sir Robert Borden desires that the situations here outlined shall be placed before his supporters in Parliament, and he considers it essential that they should approve of the arrangement which his colleagues have urged and which he has accepted.

"It was the purpose of the Prime Minister to have set forth to the country during the recent session the policies for which the Government would stand during the life of the present Parliament. During his illness, and just before his departure, he embodied his proposals in written form, and, on the 2nd of October, the day before he left Ottawa, he submitted them to a gathering of Government supporters. It was his desire that these proposals should be taken into consideration by those present, and that at a further gathering the suggestions of Senators and members should be placed before him, after which he intended to formulate these policies from his place in Parliament as controlling the action of the Government during the period mentioned.

"Some of the proposals thus presented have since been carried out by action taken during the recent session. Sir Robert Borden desires that, after due consideration of the advice and suggestions of the supporters of the Government in Parliament, the policies as finally accepted shall be presented to Parliament and to the people.

Only the Desire for a Policy Left.

This statement is a further confirmation of the absence of any policy on the part of the Government. You will observe that is specifically says that the Prime Minister had intended to set forth the policies for which the Government would stand, during the life of the present Parliament, but that for various reasons this had not been done. It gives no assurance whatever of the certainty of any policy. The only difference in this statement and the earlier one already quoted, is that, whereas the Liberal Unionists in their caucus express the hope that a policy might be reached by the ministry, the Prime Minister in his statement abandons all hope and expresses merely a desire, that after due consideration of the advice and suggestions of the supporters of the Government in Parliament, the policies as finally accepted shall be presented to Parliament and to the people.

The Government without a Head and without a Policy.

This, then, is the actual situation as it exists in Canada at the present time: the Government is without a head and without a policy. It is composed of members differing so completely one from another in attitude on many vital issues that the likelihood of any policy being arrived at is out of the question. Meanwhile, the attitude of drife is to be maintained, in the hope that sup-

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porters of the Government, rather than risk their sessional indemnities by an appeal to the electorate, will continue a support sufficiently strong to enable the members of the administration to hold on to office notwithstanding the absence of a policy of any kind.

This is the logical and natural fruit of unionism, and it should be an object lesson to all citizens of the Dominion, not only for the present, but for years to come. It presents one of the strongest arguments which can be urged against the carrying on a country's business by a government composed of individuals who hold diverse views on matters of national concern. It should cause the advocates of group government to pause in their advocacy of a system which leads only to compromise, subterfuge, and inaction, and give new weight to the arguments of those who, viewing government as it has been carried on for two centuries under the British system, see in a great national party the one effective instrument of government for the formulation of a wise and progressive policy, and also the most effective means of assuring unity and stability in matters of governmental policy and administration.

Without great parties, the House of Commons is likely to become a mere election of discordant and shifting groups. Stability of government will be impossible; either there will be inaction, as in the case of the present union of two parties, or a rapid succession of different ministries supported by different groups directing in turn the departments of administration. If anything is needed still further to unsettle the very unstable condition of government in Canada to-day, it would seem to lie in still further increasing the groups of which the ministry is to be formed, and adding still further to the pressure for compromise in all that pertains to administration.

Portion of Liberal Party a Strinking Contrast.

In splendid and striking contrast to the situation as revealed by the Government and its followers, or to the possible substitution of some group system of government, which would increase rather than lessen the evils so glaringly exhibited, we have the position of the Liberal Party as it stands in Canada to-day. In unity and stability it holds an enviable position. It is a party with a policy clearly and definitely defined; a policy not the outgrowth of a single mind, such as Sir Robert Borden proposes the Unionist Party should accept, nor a group of conflicting policies, as would be the case with an administration composed of special classes and interests; but a broad national policy, wrought out in a convention representative of all classes, of all creeds, of all races, of all parts of our great Dominion, and embodying principles which while not without reference to the special needs of every class, is continued primarily with the well being of all and which all combined are prepared to advocate and support.

The Liberal Platform.

It will be my privilege, in the course of a few public meetings I propose to address in the immediate future, to outlines the main features of the platform adopted at the Liberal Convention. They are known in the main to all present. Suffice it for me at the moment to say that, in thanking my fellow Liberals for the great honor conferred in selecting me as the Party's Leader, I gave my word to the Convention, in the presence of all assembled, that the platform as laid down by that vast assembly would be the chart to which I would adhere in expounding the policy of the Liberal Party, and that, as a compass to hold me true to the course thus mapped out, I should look continuously to the collective wisdom and judgment of the able, distinguished, and experienced men who are the moulders of Liberal thought and opinion in this country.

To the people of Canada, I would say : You will find in the platform of the Liberal Party, as unanimously approved at its great convention in August of last year, that spirit of good-will and that note of certainty which are so much needed to bring unity and stability into our national life. You will find a platform broad and tolerant enough to include the legitimate aims and aspirations of all classes in our society which seek honest, enlightened, and progressive government, yet so harmonized as to afford special privileges to none. In the same spirit in which the platform was framed its various planks will be interpreted, when the Liberal Party is called upon to administer the affairs of this country.

Nomination of North York Liberals.

I have spoken at such length on what seem to me to be matters of supreme national concern, that I have left myself but a few minutes in which to express anew my heartfelt thanks for the honour which the Liberals of North York have conferred upon me in again nominating me to be their standard bearer when the General Elections are held.

Surprise has been expressed n some quarters that, having suffered defeat in 1917, I should have accepted renomination by the Liberals of this riding, at a time when Parliament has just passed an Act, introduced at the last session by one of the Liberal members, by which the election of any candidate for the Federal Parliament is rendered void is the event of his seking election for more than one constituency at a single election.

Had I not been through one political battle with the Liberals of North York, there might be some occasion for suprise; and had our cause not suffered defeat more through a fraudulent franchise than from any other reason, there might be even greater occasion for surprise. The people of Canada mistake my interest in politics if they believe that, gratifying as is the sense of political victory, it weighs with me for one moment in comparison with the vindication of principles of political freedom for which our forefathers sacrificed their all, and which our fathers have taught us to hold in reverend regard.

The Influence of Tradition.

I have no desire to make any special mention of the part played in the past political history of Canada by one whose name I bear, but this I say without fear of contradiction, that in tracing the Liberal Party of Canada to its source, we are brought back to the years of opposition to the arrogance of he Family Compact, to the long and bitter struggle against an autocratic executive, to the demands for representative and responsible government, in which political struggles the Reformers of York played a part second to none in the history of our country. I cannot forget that in those early days, when the foundations of our political liberties were being laid, it was the electors of York who chose my grandfather as their standard bearer, and honoured him with their confidence and esteem as few men in the public life of Canada have been honored. Seven times they returned him as their member; five times after he had been expelled from the Legislative Assembly on pretexts which ignored every right by which the privileges of a free parliament are maintained. On three of these occasions the return was by acclamation, and on one his opponent received but a single vote, which in all probability was his own.

When after a lapse of two generations, the descendants of those very men, and others associated with them, invite me to take up that same standard of political freedom, at a moment when it is being lowered by a gov-

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ernment that has availed itself of measures more arbitrary and autocratic than any enacted since those early reforms were obtained, and which in many of its actions has shown itself more indifferent and less responsible to the people's representatives in Parliament than any government we have had in years, all that there is of chivalry in my nature and of power in tradition, compels me to accept the nomination with gratitude and pride, be the consequences what they may.

Pride in Association.

Recalling, too, that it was Sir William Mulock, who while representative of North York invited me to join with him in the organization of the Department of Labor in Canada, and introduced me to the public life of Canada; and that it was Sir Allan Aylesworth, another of North York's stalwart representatives, who placed my name in nomination for the Leadership of the Party at the Liberal Convention held in August last. I have a further reason why I should like to see my name added to the list of those who appear upon the Liberal banner of this historic riding.

The associations with North York being what they are, your confidence being what it is, with the approval of the Party which has honored me with its leadership, I am proud to plant the standard of Liberalism here in the hearts of my native province, and beneath its colors, to stand and fight with you the battle of much needed reforms till the day of victory comes.

When Mr. King concluded the whole audience rose to their feet and gave three rousing cheers and a tiger, which was followed by cheers for the King and the singing of the National Anthem led by the Orchestra.

The Banquet closed about 11 o'clock and was most satisfactory in every respect.

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Ottawa Journal
January 7 20

D 4100

LIBERAL LEADER OPENS CAMPAIGN AT NEWMARKET

King Appeals for National Unity and New Spirit of Good Will.

By Canadian Associated Press.

NEWMARKET, Ont., Jan. 6. — Appealing for national unity and a new spirit of good will throughout Canada, Hon. W. McKenzie King, leader of the Opposition in the House of Commons, at a banquet tendered him by the North York Liberal Association here tonight, reviewed exhaustively the political situation existing in the Dominion at the present time. Mr. King's speech was preliminary to his forthcoming tour of the Maritime Provinces.

Claiming that the Union Government has no constructive policy, Mr. King scathingly indicted Sir Robert Borden and members of his cabinet, characterizing their record as "a policy of drifting."

After reviewing the war and its consequences, Mr. King emphasized the fact that the hateful and devilish spirit bred by the conflict would have to be combatted by a new attitude and a new spirit if the problems confronting the country were to be solved.

Success of Farmers.

He saw in the success of the United Farmers of Ontario, the natural end of a Government "that had usurped the sovereign right of the people to govern themselves and had become the chief ally of the federal Government administration in promulgating and maintaining arbitrary enactments."

The Liberal leader made practically no reference to the platform adopted at the Ottawa convention last summer, but stated that in his forthcoming tour he would deal with it in detail.

Hon. Mackenzie King announced at the outset that it was his intention to review briefly what appeared to be the outstanding features of the political situation as it exists in Canada today. He would make suggestions, he said, which, as respects government, are most required to enable the country to cope with the vast problems confronting it at the beginning of the new year.

Influence of War.

Discussing the war and its consequences, the leader of the Opposition declared that it is impossible to separate the present from the past, and for many a year the war would remain a mighty influence in world affairs. Urging practicability, he declared that the present was no time for theorizing but a time to look facts in the face and to make an accounting of national assets and liabilities in terms that are human as well as practical.

He said that a new attitude and a new spirit was necessary to solve the problems of the present time, "a spirit and an attitude of good will to replace the attitude and spirit of ill-will which war never fails to breed."

"The hateful and devilish spirit bred by war," he said, "continued to lurk in all sorts of places, both prominent and secure. It was in the creation of this new spirit that Liberalism would find its most important task." Appealing for respect for differences of opinion, Mr. King referred to Sir Wilfrid Laurier, stating that towards the end of his career, he, more than any other man, was misunderstood or misrepresented by many of those who in former days found their delight in sounding his praises. "Is it not indeed significant, that there is not a political happening of first importance since his death which has not afforded unmistakable evidence of his political wisdom and sagacious patriotism? The injustice done his life must be righted in the justice to be done his memory," said Mr. King.

Respect Views of Others.

"If we are to be a united people we must try to look at all sides of a question and to respect the views of others, whose opinions differ from our own. This consideration must be shown by others to those who thought as Sir Wilfrid thought and stood as he stood. The ill will which at the time, it was sought to engender towards those who were unable to support the Union Government must be replaced by an increase in good will on the part of all who are now anxious to see the country controlled by a government with a mind of its own and a policy that it can put into words; a government that is other than a combination for the sake of office.

"But the Liberals who stood with Laurier in 1917, if they are to be true to the first principles of Liberalism, must be as ready to accord sincerity of purpose to those who differed from them as they are to demand a like attitude towards themselves."

Defeat Hearst Government.

Describing it as one of those surprises which lend so much interest and zest to politics, the Liberal leader then made reference to the defeat of the Hearst Government at the recent Ontario elections. Of the events of the past year, one of the most significant, he said, had been the results attendant upon the political organization of the farmers in different parts of Canada, especially in Ontario. Surprising as the outcome of the Ontario elections might at first appear, he claimed that one had not to search very far for an explanation.

First must be placed the exasperation of the people with a Government that had usurped the sovereign right of the people to govern themselves, and had become the chief ally of the federal administration in promulgating and maintaing arbitrary enactments.

Claims Liberal Victory.

Dealing further with the election, he maintained that while Farmer candidates were returned in largest number, the overthrow of the Hearst Government was essentially a victory for the Liberal forces against a reactionary Government, accomplished in many constituencies by the whole-hearted combination of farmers and Liberals. He then spoke of the organization worked up by the farmers in Ontario, citing this as further explanation of the success which attended their campaign. The organization formed by them originally for social and economic purposes became one for political purposes as well. "Whether its plunge into the arena of politics may not bring disruption to the whole organization in its many splendid achievements," he said, "is something which its members cannot weigh too carefully and which time will serve to tell. The point I wish to make at the moment is that, as Liberals, Liberals in the truest meaning of the word, we mistake altogether the significance of these agrarian movements if we do not see in them evidences of Liberal thought and feeling on the part of those who are advocating and supporting their policies."

Liberals and Labor.

The attitude of Liberals towards the labor movement must be one of appreciation, he cautioned. "Can we, as Liberals, fail to appreciate the aims and aspirations of that movement? Can we fail to share something of the thoughts and feelings of the men and women who are a part of it?" he asked. "Speaking for myself, my interest in industrial problems is bred of my Liberalism. I can think of the problems on industry only in terms of humanity. Liberalism is to me the expression of a wider human freedom, whether it be for those who work in the country, on the farms, or in the cities and towns, in the shops and factories; whether it be the well-being of women and children that is at stake in the home or elsewhere, or the lot of men in the struggle with their several environments, what the workers in one form or another are seeking is what we as Liberals have all along been speaking of as more in the way of equality of opportunity. If that is not part of Liberalism, then Liberalism has ceased to exist."

Speaking of the Liberal attitude to war veterans, Hon. Mr. King stated that there was no class more entitled to consideration than those who had risked their lives in battle, and who now hope for a realization in larger measure of the freedom they fought to preserve.

In the attempt to reconcile differences Mr. King saw Liberalism's supreme task. "Either we shall have an increasing growth of class consciousness on the part of each of the great groups I have mentioned," he continued, "resulting, as all class conscious growths are destined to result, in conflict with each other and with forces that sooner or later are certain to oppose them; or we shall have a great progressive movement which will lead to a new era of social progress and social justice. It will all depend upon whether the spirit of good-will is sufficiently strong to ovrecome the spirit that war breeds and that continues to lurk in its wake."

would have to be carried also into

The spirit of good will he said, all our inter-imperial and internation, he emphasized the fact that it tional relations and in this connec- is to North America that the world looks for the supreme realization of good will in international relations.

"Whilst in the old world the old order of international hatreds is passing away, it is for us in the new to give ampler expression to the new order of international good-will," he said.

Continuing this phase of his address, Mr. King appealed strongly for the elimination of all differences, with the resolve that no cleavages should be allowed to destroy our national unity, which he said had been established in no uncertain manner by the war. "National unity we must at all cost maintain," he declared. "Our political platforms must be so drafted and our political policies so conceived and carried out as to make that unity at all times a great reality."

In order to aspire to this ideal he declared that Canada must have in her federal politics some political party "large enough, broad enough, tolerant enough, and fearless enough to carry forward such a policy of national unity."

This party, he said, must not be of any class or creed, but a party representative of all the interests of the nation and reflecting in its composition the many sided elements of our national life.

Criticizes Government.

Referring particularly to the work of the present Government during recent years he maintained that it was owing to the instability in the management of the nation's affairs that the ship of state is in such distress in Canada today. Not only is the Government without a head to direct its affairs; it is actually without a policy to guide its actions," he said. "Never were the affairs of a country in a more hopeless state of muddle, nor an administration more disorganized than is the case at the present time. A policy of drift is the only characterization that can be made of the Government's action."

Mr. King entered into an exhaustive review of the work accomplished by the Borden Government during the past two years, claiming that affairs had been allowed to drift.

Party Without Leader.

"But let me come at once to the explanation of this policy of drift, and ask whether the causes that account for it are such as are likely to be removed by anything that is likely to happen in the future short of an appeal to the electorate," continued the Liberal leader. "The Prime Minister has just left for parts unknown, for a period of time unknown, and who is to lead Parliament in his absence is still unknown. The situation in this particular, instead of being improved, has gone from bad to worse. The pilot has left the ship for a long time, just as he left it in the fall of 1919 for a short time, without venturing to decide between the factions in his Cabinet which of the two is to assume his role during his absence. All he has said of the policy that is to govern in his absence is that there is none, and all that he has ventured to say concerning a future policy is to repeat what he said before he left the time before, that he hoped while he is away the quarrelling factions may come to some agreement among themselves so as to be able, somehow, to hold together just as long as the law will permit.

Retirement of Premier.

"It is no longer ago than Christmas week that the Prime Minister, once more weary in body and sick in heart and mind, as well, disgusted with the internal wranglings of his Cabinet and its inability to unite upon any policy, caused it to be generally known that it was his intention to retire forthwith from the Premiership. The commotion thus occasioned in the councils of the Unionist party and throughout the country is so recent that nothing is required to call to mind. Matters again had reached a crisis. To save the union from an immediate break-up the Prime Minister once again agreed to continue a while longer as the nominal head of the ministry—the nominal head, because the basis of the understanding reached was that he should be absent, not only from the business of Parliament, but from the country, for an indefinite time, and to be so far away that he would be beyond the possibility of conference with respect with any situation which might arise.

In striking contrast to the situation revealed by the Government and its followers was the position of the Liberal party today, he said. In unity and stability it held an enviable position, he said, and he claimed it was a party with a policy clearly and definitely defined.

In conclusion he referred to his coming tour of the maritime provinces and announced his intention of adhering to the platform laid down at the Liberal convention in Ottawa.

"It will be my privilege, in the course of a few public meetings I propose to address in the immediate future, to outline the main features of the platform adopted at the Liberal convention," he said.

D 4101

Halifax Echo
January 7 20

Mackenzie King Got Wonderful Reception At Newmarket, Ont.

The Liberal Leader Made a Strong Appeal for National Unity and a New Spirit of Good Will Throughout Canada—Reviewed the Political Situation in the Dominion.

NEWMARKET, Ont., Jan. 6—Appealing for national unity and a new spirit of good will throughout Canada, Hon. W. L. MacKenzie King, leader of the Opposition in the House of Commons, at a banquet tendered him by the North York Liberal Association, here tonight, reviewed exhaustively the political situation existing in the Dominion at the present time. Mr. King's speech was preliminary to his forthcoming tour of the Maritime Provinces.

Claiming that the Union Government has no constructive policy, Mr. King's scathingly indicted Sir Robert Borden and members of his Cabinet, characterizing their record as "a policy of drift."

The Farmers' Success.

After reviewing the war and its consequences, Mr. King emphasized the fact that the "hateful and devilish" spirit bred by the conflict would have to be combatted by a new attitude and a new spirit if the problems confronting the country were to be solved.

He saw in the success of the United Farmers of Ontario the natural end of a Government "that had usurped the sovereign right of the people to govern themselves and had become the chief ally of the Federal Government's administration in promulgating and maintaining arbitratory enactments.

The Liberal Leader made practically no reference to the platform adopted at the Ottawa convention last summer but declared that on the forthcoming tour he would deal with it in detail.

Got Wonderful Reception.

The Chairman of the meeting was W. H. Cane, and Major Evers, of Newmarket also spoke. It was appropriate that the opening meeting of his tour should have been held in the riding North York, where the Leader of the Opposition will offer himself at the next general election. His announcement of his prospective candidature was heartily received. The honorable gentleman was given a wonderful reception and at the conclusion of his address the crowd which packed the hall, rose as one man, cheering lustily and singing "For He's a Jolly Good Fellow."

Toward the end of his speech Mr. King evoked great enthusiasm when announcing his stand in connection with the formation of group government.

"My attitude in matter of government by any class is one of irrevocable opposition to anything in the shape of monopoly," he said.

"I am not willing to deal with the demands of any one class, but will take the best from them all in order to produce legislation serving the Nation as a whole."

He said that not for a moment would he countenance monopoly of government, and not for an instant would any group exercise any influence over him.

Hon. Mr. King announced at the outset that it was his intention to review briefly what appeared to be the outstanding features of the political situation as it exists in Canada today. He would make suggestions, he said, which as respects government, are most required to enable the country to cope with the vast problems confronting it at the beginning of the new year.

The Problems of Today.

Discussing the war and its consequences, the leader of the opposition declared that it is impossible to separate the present from the past and for many a year the war would remain a mighty influence in the world affairs. Urging practicability, he declared that the present was no time for theorizing but a time to look facts in the face and to make an accounting of national assets and liabilities in terms that are human as well as practical.

He said that a new attitude, and a new spirit was necessary to solve the problems of the present time "a spirit and an attitude of good will to replace attitude and spirit of ill-will which war never fails to breed."

Appealing for respect for differences of opinion, Mr. King referred to Sir Wilfrid Laurier, stating that towards the end of his career he, more than any other man, was misunderstood or misrepresented by many of those who in former days found their delight in sounding his praises. "Is it not indeed, significant that there is not a political happening of first importance since his death which has not afforded unmistakable evidence of his political wisdom and sagacious patriotism? The injustice done his life must be righted in the justice to be done his memory," said Mr. King.

"If we are to be a united people, we must try to look at all sides of a question and to respect the views of others whose opinions differ from our own. This consideration must be shown by others to those who thought as Sir Wilfrid thought, and stood as he stood. The ill-will which, at the time it was sought to engender towards those who were unable to support the Union Government, must be replaced by an increase in good-will on the part of all who are now anxious to see the country changed to control by a Government with a mind of its own, and a policy that it can put into words: a Government that is other than a combination for the sake of office.

Principles of Liberalism.

"But the Liberals who stood with Laurier in 1917, if they are to be true to the first principles of Liberalism, must be as ready to accord sincerity of purpose to those who differed from them, as they are to demand a like attitude towards themselves."

Dealing with the Ontario election, he maintained that while farmer candidates were returned in larger numbers, the overthrow of the Hearst government was essentially a victory for the Liberal forces against a reactionary government, accomplished in many constituencies by the whole-hearted combination of farmers and Liberals. He then spoke of the organization worked up by the farmers in Ontario, citing this as a further explanation of the success which attended their campaign. The organization formed by them originally for social and economic purposes, became one for political purposes as well. "Whether its plunge into the arena of politics may not bring disruption to the whole organization in its many splendid activities," he said, "is something which its members cannot weigh too carefully, and which time will serve to tell. The point I wish to make at the moment is that as Liberals, Liberals in the truest meaning of that word, we mistake altogether the significance of these agrarian movements if we do not see in them evidences of Liberal thought and feeling of the peoples who are advocating and supporting their policies.

Labor and Liberalism.

"The attitude of the Liberals towards the labor movement must be one of appreciation," he continued. "Speaking for myself, my interest in industrial problems is bred by my Liberalism. Liberalism is to me the expression of a wider human freedom, whether it be for those who work in the country, on the farms or in the cities and towns, in the shops and factories; whether it be the well-being of women and children that is at stake in the home or elsewhere or the lot of men in the struggle with their several environments. What the workers in one form or another are seeking is what we, as Liberals, have all along been speaking of as more in the way of equality of opportunity."

Our National Unity.

Speaking of the Liberal attitude to war veterans, Hon. Mr. King stated that there was no class more entitled to consideration than those who had risked their lives in battle, and who now hope for a realization in larger measure of the freedom they fought to preserve.

In the attempt to reconcile differences, Mr. King saw Liberalism's supreme task.

The spirit of good will, he said, would have to be carried also into all our inter-Imperial and international relations.

Mr. King appealed strongly for the elimination of all differences, with the resolve that no cleavages should be allowed to destroy our national unity.

Ship of State in Distress.

Referring particularly to the work of the present Government during recent years, he maintained that it was owing to the instability in the management of the Nation's affairs that the ship of state is in such distress in Canada today. "Not only is the Government without a head to direct its affairs; it is actually without a policy to guide its actions," he said. "Never were the affairs of a country in a more hopeless state of muddle, nor an administration more disorganized than is the case at the present time. A policy of drift is the only characterization that can be made of this Government's action."

Mr. King entered into an exhaustive review of the work accomplished by the Borden Government during the past two years, claiming that affairs had been allowed to drift.

"To save the nation from an immediate break-up, the Prime Minister once again agreed to continue a while longer as the nominal head of the Ministry," Mr. King said. "I say the nominal head, because the basis of the understanding reached was that he should be absent, not only from the business of Parliament, but from the country, for an indefinite time, and to be so far away that he would be beyond the possibility of conference with respect to any situaton which might arise."

Liberal Party's Position.

In striking contrast to the situation revealed by the Government and its followers was the position of the Liberal Party today, he said. In unity and stability it held an enviable position, and he claimed it was a party with a policy clearly and definitely defined.

In conclusion he referred to his coming tour of the Maritime Provinces, and announced his intention of adhering to the platform laid down at the Liberal Convention in Ottawa.

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MONOPOLY OF GOVERNMENT BY CLASS IS CONDEMNED BY MR. KING IN OPENING TOUR



HON. W. L. MACKENZIE KING.

LIBERAL LEADER CALLS FOR NEW GOOD WILL SPIRIT

Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King Speaks in Newmarket on Eve of Trip to Maritime Provinces.

ACCUSES BORDEN OF DRIFT POLICY

Tribute Paid Sir Wilfrid Laurier's Memory and Farmer Movement Dealt With.

(Canadian Press.)

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He said that not for a moment would he countenance monopoly of government, and not for an instant would any group exercise any influence over him.

Vast Problems Ahead.

Hon. Mr. King said he would make suggestions which, as respects government, were most required to enable the country to cope with the vast problems confronting it at the beginning of the new year. Discussing the war and its consequences, he declared that it was impossible to separate the present from the past, and that for many a year the war would remain a mighty influence in world affairs. Urging practicability, he declared that the present was no time for theorizing but a time to look facts in the face and to make an accounting of national assets and liabilities in terms that are human as well as practical.

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Pleads for Unity.

"If we are to be a united people we must try to look at all sides of a question and to respect the views of others, whose opinions differ from our own. This consideration must be shown by others to those who thought as Sir Wilfrid thought and stood as he stood. The ill-will which at the time, it was sought to engender towards those who were unable to support the union government must be replaced by an increase in goodwill on the part of all who are now anxious to see the country controlled by a government with a mind of its own and a policy that it can put into words; a government that is other than a combination for the sake of office.

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Ottawa Citizen
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LIBERAL LEADER CALLS FOR

(Continued from Page One.)

Describing it as one of those surprises which lend so much interest and zest to politics, the Liberal leader then made reference to the defeat of the Hearst government in the recent Ontario elections. Of the events of the past year, one of the most significant, he said, had been the results attendant upon the political organization of the farmers in different parts of Canada, especially in Ontario. Surprising as the outcome of the Ontario elections might at first appear, he asserted that one had not to search far for an explanation.

People Exasperated, He Says.

First must be placed the exasperation of the people with a government that has usurped their sovereign right to govern themselves, and had become the chief ally of the federal administration in promulgating and maintaining arbitrary enactments.

Dealing further with the election, he maintained that while farmer candidates were returned in largest number, the overthrow of the Hearst government was essentially a victory for the Liberal forces against a reactionary government, accomplished in many constituencies by the wholehearted combination of farmers and Liberals. He then spoke of the organization worked up by the farmers in Ontario, citing this as a further explanation of the success that attended their campaign. The organization formed by them originally for social and economic purposes became one for political purposes as well.

"Whether its plunge into the arena of politics may not bring disruption to the whole organization in its many splendid activities," he said, "is something which its members cannot weigh too carefully and which time will serve to tell. The point I wish to make at the moment is that, as Liberals—Liberals in the truest meaning of the word—we mistake altogether the significance of these agrarian movements if we do not see in them evidences of Liberal thought and feeling on the part of those who are advocating and supporting their policies."

Attitude Toward Labor.

The attitude of Liberals towards the labor movement must be one of appreciation, he cautioned.

"Can we, as Liberals, fail to appreciate the aims and aspirations of that movement? Can we fail to share something of the thoughts and feelings of the men and women who are part of it?" he asked. "Speaking for myself, my interest in industrial problems is bred of my Liberalism. I can think of the problems of industry only in terms of humanity Liberalism is to me the expression of a wider human freedom, whether it be for those who work in the country, on the farms, or in the cities and towns, in the shops and factories; whether it be the well-being of women and children that is at stake in the home or elsewhere or the lot of men in the struggle with their several environments. What the workers in one form or another are seeking is what we as Liberals have all along been speaking of as more in the way of equality of opportunity. If that is not part of Liberalism, then Liberalism has ceased to exist."

Speaking of the Liberal attitude to war veterans, Hon. Mr. King stated that there was no class more entitled to consideration than those who had risked their lives in battle and who hope for a realization in larger measure of the freedom they fought to preserve.

In the attempt to reconcile differences Mr. King saw Liberalism's supreme task. "Either we shall have an increasing growth of class consciousness on the part of each of the great groups I have mentioned," he continued, "resulting, as all class conscious growths are destined to result, in conflict with each other and with forces that sooner or later are certain to oppose them; or we shall have a great progressive movement which will lead to a new era of social progress and social justice. It will all depend upon whether the spirit of good-will is sufficiently strong to overcome the spirit that war breeds and that continues to lurk in its wake."

Calls for Breadth.

The spirit of good will, he said, would have to be carried also into all our inter-imperial and international relations and in this connection, he emphasized the fact that it is to North America that the world looks for the supreme realization of good will in international relations.

"Whilst in the old world the old order of international hatreds is passing away, it is for us in the new to give ampler expression to the new order of international good will," he said.

Continuing this phase of his address, Mr. King appealed strongly for the elimination of all differences, with the resolve that no cleavages should be allowed to destroy our national unity, which he said had been established in no uncertain manner by the war. "National unity we must at all cost maintain," he declared. "Our political platform must be so drafted and our political policies so conceived and carried out as to make that unity at all times a great reality."

In order to aspire to this ideal he declared that Canada must have in her federal politics some political party "large enough, broad enough, tolerant enough and fearless enough to carry forward such a policy of national unity."

This party, he said, must not be of any class or creed, but a party representative of all the interests of the nation and reflecting in its composition the many sided elements of our national life.

Sees "State of Muddle."

Referring particularly to the work of the present government during recent years, he maintained that it was owing to the instability in the management of the nation's affairs that the ship of state is in such distress in Canada today. Not only is the government without a head to direct its affairs; it is actually without a policy to guide its action," he said.

"Never were the affairs of a country in a more hopeless state of muddle, nor an administration more disorganized than is the case at the present time. A policy of drift is the only characterization that can be made of the government's action."

Mr. King entered into an exhaustive review of the work accomplished by the Borden government during the past two years, claiming that affairs had been allowed to drift.

"But let me come at once to the explanation of this policy of drift, and ask whether the causes that account for it are such as are likely to be removed by anything that is likely to happen in the future short of an appeal to the electorate," continued the Liberal leader. "The Prime Minister has just left for parts unknown, for a period of time unknown and who is to lead parliament in his absence in still unknown. The situation in this particular, instead of being improved, has gone from bad to worse. The pilot has left the ship for a long time, just as he left it in the fall of 1919 for a short time, without venturing to decide between the factions in his cabinet which of the two is to assume his role during his absence. All he has said of the policy that is to govern in his absence is that there is none and all that he has ventured to say concerning a future policy is to repeat what he said before he left the time before, that he hoped while he is away the quarrelling factions may come to some agreement among themselves so as to be able, somehow, to hold together just as long as the law will permit.

Recent Crisis in Cabinet.

"It is no longer ago than Christmas week that the Prime Minister, once more weary in body and sick in heart and mind as well, disgusted with the internal wranglings of his cabinet and its inability to unite upon any policy, caused it to be generally known that it was his intention to retire forthwith from the premiership.

"The commotion thus occasioned in the counsels of the Unionist party and throughout the country is so recent that nothing is required to call to mind. Matters again had reached a crisis. To save the union from an immediate break-up the prime minister once again agreed to continue a while longer as the nominal head of the ministry. I say the nominal head, because the basis of the understanding reached was that he should be absent, not only from the business of parliament, but from the country, for an indefinite time, and to be so far away that he would be beyond the possibility of conference with respect to any situation which might arise."

In striking contrast to the situation revealed by the government and its followers was the position of the Liberal party today, he said. In unity and stability it held an enviable position, he said, and he claimed it was a party with a policy clearly and definitely defined.

In conclusion, he referred to his coming tour of the Maritime Provinces and announced his intention of adhering to the platform laid down at the Liberal convention in Ottawa.

To Outline Platform.

"It will be my privilege, in the course of a few public meetings I propose to address in the immediate future, to outline the main features of the platform adopted at the Liberal convetion," he said.

"They are known in the main to all present. Sufficient for me at the moment to say that, in thanking my fellow Liberals for the great honor conferred in selecting me as the party's leader, I gave my word to the convention, in the presence of all assembled, that the platform as laid down by that vast assembly would be the chart to which I would adhere in expounding the policy of the Liberal party."

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Charlottetown Guardian
Halifax
January 7 20

D 4104

NEW LIBERAL LEADER

Given a most enthusiastic reception at Newmarket.

Hon. MacKenzie King refers to the ship of state in distress at Ottawa.

NEWMARKET, Ont., Jan. 6.—Hon. W. L. MacKenzie King, leader of the Opposition in the House of Commons, at a banquet tendered him by the North York Liberal Association, here to-night was given a wonderful reception and at the conclusion of his address the crowd, which packed the hall, rose as one man, cheering lustily and singing "For He's a Jolly Good Fellow." It was appropriate that the open meeting of his tour should have been held in the riding North York, where the Leader of the Opposition will offer himself at the next general election.

Mr. King scatchingly indicted Sir Robert Borden and members of his Cabinet, characterizing their record as "a policy of drift."

He saw in the success of the United Farmers of Ontario the natural end of a government "that had usurped the sovereign right of the people to govern themselves and had become the chief allay of the Federal Government's administration in promulgating and maintaining arbitratory enactments.

Appealing for respect for differences of opinion, Mr. King referred to Sir Wilfrid Laurier, stating that towards the end of his career he, more than any other man, was misunderstood or misrepresented by many of those who in former days found their delight in sounding his praises. "Is it not ind ed, significant that their is not a political happening of first importance since his death which has not afforded unmistakable evidence of his politeial wisdom and sagacious patriotism? The injustice done his life must be righted in the justice to be done his memory," said Mr. King.

Dealing with the Ontario election, he maintained that while farmer candidates were returned in large numbers, the overthrow of the Hearst government was essentially a victory for the Liberal forces against a reactionary government, accomplished in many constituencies by the whole-hearted combination of farmers and Liberals. He said, 'Liberals, we mistake altogether the significance of these agrarian movements if we do not see in them evidences of Liberal thought and feeling of the people who are advocating and supporting their policies."

Referring particularly to the work of the present Government during recent years, he maintained that it was owing to the instability in the management of the Nation's affairs that the ship of state is in such distress in Canada to-day. "Not only is the Government without a head to direct its affairs; it is actually without a policy to guide its actions," he said. "Never were the affairs of a country in a more hopeless state of muddle, nor an administration more disorganized than is the case at the present time.

Speaking of the Liberal attitude to war veterans, Hon. Mr. King stated that there was no class more entitled to consideration than those who had risked their lives in battle, and who now hope for a realization in larger measure of the freedom they fought to preserve.

Mr. King appealed strongly for elimination of all differences, with the resolve that no cleavages should be allowed to destroy our national unity.

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Volume D 8

PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Regina Leader
January 7 20
D 4105

cialist Federation — Admitted Sending Letters

NEW YORK, Jan. 6.—An order for mmitment to jail of Dr. Michael isleg, treasurer of the Russian radal paper, Novy Mir, on which Trotky worked before going to Soviet ussia, was prepared today by eputy-Attorney-General Berger.
Misleg was treasurer of the Rusan Socialist federation, which he stified, was engaged in spreading olshevist propaganda throughout e United States by its 10,000 mems. Bolshevism and Socialism are nonymous, and Socialism is the al government. Misleg told the mmittee. He admitted despatch several thousand dollars in federon cheques to the communist party the United States, but denied the ney was "contributed by the fedtion."

ODESSA NOW IN STATE OF PANIC

LONDON, Jan. 6.—Panic exists ong the bourgoise of Odessa owing the approach of the Bolshevik ny, according to a wireless from Soviet government at Moscow lay. Large numbers are leaving Constantinople and enormous ces are being paid for passage on amers.

ights of the working man to strike. A resolution from the resolutions committee asking for legal advice on the state of the laws, provincial and Dominion, with respect to strikes, and if adverse to labor to ask for new laws, giving better protection to labor, was turned down as being too roundabout a method of protest. The resolution which was finally passed declared labor's unalterable decision to refuse to recognize any law which forbids the right to strike.

NO DECISION IS REACHED AS TO PROFIT ON CLOTHES

Will Examine Figures Submitted by Merchants of Ottawa

TORONTO, Jan. 6.—No decision was reached by the Board of Commerce today in regard to the order fixing profits of clothiers at 26 per cent. on suits costing less than $25 and 33 1-3 per cent. on suits costing over that amount.

The board on the suggestion of their counsel adjourned until tomorrow to permit of the examination of figures submitted by Ottawa merchants.

NEAR AN END

All Striking School Teachers Are to Return to Work at Once

OTTAWA, Jan. 6.—The bilingual trouble, which for seventeen years has practically disrupted the separate school system of the city and which has faced the schools with dangerous bankruptcy, is now to all intents and purposes at an end as far as the English supporters of the schools are concerned.

In future the administration of the English-speaking schools will be entirely in the hands of the English-speaking trustees, who now number five, with Rev. Father Cornell at their head. All the striking separate school teachers are to return to work tomorrow.

TWO AMERICANS KILLED

WASHINGTON, Jan. 6.—Earl Bowles and S. J. Rooney, Americans employed by the International Petroleum company, have been murdered by Mexicans within one mile of Palo Blanco, near Port Lobos, according to private advices received here today from Tampico.

held. The note says that non-participation by the United States in the proposed occupation already has decreased the effectives by one fourth and Germany's expenses will be reduced accordingly and that therefore Germany's request for a lessening in the number of troops is unwarranted.

WOMEN SMOKING IS DECLARED NOT TO BE IMMORAL

Husband Failed to Obtain Separation on Ground of Bad Character

NEW YORK, Jan. 6.—Smoking of cigarettes by women was judicially decreed today as not immoral. The decision was made by Supreme Court Justice Mullan in a separation suit in which counsel for the husband tried to show that cigarettes had been found in the wife's dresser drawer and that this constituted evidence of "bad character."

It is not immoral for women to smoke cigarettes, declared the judge. Some of the best women in the country and in the world smoke cigarettes. It would not make any difference if she had a thousand packages of cigarettes there. This is not Hickville, out in the centre of the farm country.

MURDER CHARGE

MOUNT CLEMENS, Jan. 6.—Attorney-General Alex. Groosbeck announced shortly after noon that he had ordered a warrant charging first degree murder, issued against Lloyd Prevost, held as a witness in connection with the slaying of J. Stanley Brown, two weeks ago.

Mackenzie King Makes Appeal For National Unity

LIBERAL LEADER DECLARES THAT ELECTIONS IN ONTARIO REALLY RESULTED IN VICTORY FOR LIBERALS—NEW SPIRIT OF GOODWILL IS NECESSARY

NEWMARKET, Ont., Jan. 6.—(By e Canadian Press, Ltd.).—Appealg for national unity and a new irit of good will throughout Cana, Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, ader of the opposition in the house commons, at a banquet tendered n by the North York Liberal asciation here tonight reviewed exustively the political situation exing in the Dominion at the present e. Mr. King's speech was preliminry to his forthcoming tour of the ritime Provinces.
Claiming that the Union governnt has no constructive policy, Mr. g, scathingly indicted Sir Robert den and members of his cabinet, characterizing their record as "a policy of drifting."

New Spirit and Attitude.

After reviewing the war and its consequences, Mr. King emphasized the fact that the hateful devilish spirit, bred by the conflict, would have to be combatted by a new attitude and a new spirit if the problems confronting the country were to be solved.

He saw in the success of the United Farmers of Ontario, the natural end of a government "that had usurped the sovereign right of the people to govern themselves and had become the chief ally of the federal government administration in promulgating and maintaining arbitrary enactments."

The Liberal leader made practically no reference to the platform adopted at the Ottawa convention last

(Continued On Page Two)

PRINCESS PATS ENTER NEW HOME

LONDON, Ont., Jan. 6.—Three hundred strong, the famous Princess Patricias, led by Col. Willetts, reached the city at 2.30 this afternoon and marched to Wolseley barracks, which will be their permanent home.

The famous regiment was welcomed by thousands of citizens along the line of march. Gen. Paget, D.C.O., and his staff took the salute at one point in the march from the depot to Carling Heights.

FOOD STRIKE IN BERLIN IS POSTPONED

Hotel and Restaurant Keepers Are Forming Organization in Preparation

BERLIN, Jan. 6.—The threatened general food strike throughout Germany, fixed for January 6, has been postponed, but the negotiations with the government have made no progress. The hotel and restaurant keepers in Berlin, therefore, are forming an organization of all the hostelries in Germany to prepare for the general strike, according to the National Zeitung.

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Volume D 8

PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

D 4106

ready to accept sincerity of purpose to those who differed from them, as they are to demand a like attitude towards themselves."

Ontario Election.

Surprising as the outcome of the Ontario elections might at first appear, Mr. King claimed that one had not to search very far for an explanation. First must be placed the exasperation of the people with a government that had usurped the sovereign right of the people to govern themselves, and had become the chief ally of the federal administration in promulgating and maintaining arbitrary enactments. He maintained that while the farmer candidates were returned in largest number, the overthrow of the Hearst government was essentially a victory for the Liberal forces against a reactionary government, accomplished in the circumstance by the wholehearted combination of farmers and Liberals.

He then spoke of the organization worked up by the farmers in Ontario. "The point I wish to make at the moment is that, as Liberals, Liberals in the truest meaning of the word, we mistake altogether the significance of these agrarian movements if we do not see in them evidences of Liberal thought and feeling on the part of those who are advocating and supporting their policies."

Attitude of Labor

The attitude of Liberals toward the labor movement must be one of appreciation, he continued. "What the workers in one form or another are seeking is what we, as Liberals, have all along been speaking of as more in the way of equality of opportunity. If that is not part of Liberalism, then Liberalism has ceased to exist."

Speaking of the Liberal attitude toward veterans, Hon. Mr. King stated that there was no class more entitled to consideration than those who had risked their lives in battle and who now hope for a realization in larger measure of the freedom they fought to preserve.

National Unity

"National unity we must all strive for and work for," he declared. "Our political platforms must be so drafted and our policies so conceived and carried out as to make that unity at all times a great reality.

In order to aspire to this ideal, he declared that Canada must have in her federal politics, some political party, large enough, broad enough, tolerant enough, and fearless enough to carry forward such a policy of national unity.

This party, he said, must not be of any class or creed, but a party representative of all the interests of the nation and reflecting in its composition, the many-sided elements of our national life. Referring particularly to the work of the present government during recent years, he maintained that it was owing to the instability in the management of national affairs that the ship of state is in such distress in Canada today. Not only is the government without a head to direct its affairs, it is actually without a policy to guide its actions, he said.

Hopeless Muddle

"Never were the affairs of a country in a more hopeless state of muddle, nor an administration more disorganized than is the case at the present time. A policy of drift is the only characterization that can be made of the government's action."

The Liberal leader continued:

"The prime minister has just left for parts unknown, for a period of time unknown, and who is to lead parliament in his absence is still unknown. The situation in this particular, instead of being improved, has gone from bad to worse. The pilot has left the ship for a long time, just as he left it in the fall of 1919 for a short time, without venturing to decide between the factions in his cabinet which of the two is to assume his role during his absence.

Again at Crisis

"It is no longer ago than Christmas week that the prime minister, once more weary in body and sick at heart and mind as well, disgusted with the internal wranglings of his cabinet and its inability to unite upon any policy caused it to be generally known that it was his intention to retire forthwith from the premiership. Matters again had reached a crisis. To save the union from an immediate break-up, the prime minister agreed to continue a while longer as the nominal head of the ministry, I say the nominal head because the basis of the understanding reached, was that he should be absent, not only from the business of parliament, but from the country, for an indefinite time and to be so far away that he would be beyond the possibility of conference with respect to any situation which might arise.

Liberals United

"In striking contrast to the situation revealed by the government and its followers was the position of the Liberal party today," he said. "In unity and stability it held an enviable position," he said, and he claimed it was a party with a policy, clearly and definitely defined.

In conclusion, he referred to his coming tour of the Maritime provinces and announced his intention of adhering to the platform laid down at the Liberal convention at Ottawa.

'ACKENZIE KING MAKES APPEAL FOR NATIONAL UNITY

(Continued from Page One)

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Sir Wilfrid Laurier.

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"Is it not indeed significant that there is not a political happening of first importance since his death which has not afforded unmistakable evidence of his political wisdom and sagacious patriotism? The injustice done during his life must be righted in the justice to be done his memory," said Mr. King.

Continuing, he said: "But the Liberals who stood with Laurier in 1917, if they are to be true to the first principles of Liberalism, must be as

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ggists refund money if PAZO TMENT fails to cure Itching, id, Bleeding or Protruding Piles. os Irritation. Soothes and Heals. can get restful sleep after the application. Price 60c

WILL ELECT ALL THE M.P.'S POSSIBLE TO HOUSE OF COMMONS

(Continued from Page One)

benefit the few at the expense of the many;

"Therefore, be it resolved:

"That we, the members of the Canadian Council of Agriculture in conference with the accredited delegates of the federal electoral districts of Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba, and the representatives of the rural districts of Ontario, here assembled in the city of Winnipeg on this sixth day of January, 1920, do declare our intention of electing as many representatives as possible to the house of commons at the next

Horlick's the Original Malted Milk. Avoid Imitations and Substitutes

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CANADA

Winnipeg Free Press
January 7 — 20

D 4107

LIBERAL LEADER IS DINED AT NEWMARKET

Mackenzie King Appeals For National Unity and New Spirit in Canada

Newmarket, Ont., Jan. 6. — (By Canadian Press, Limited).—Appealing for national unity and a new spirit of good will throughout Canada, Hon. W. L. MacKenzie King, leader of the opposition in the house of commons at a banquet tendered him by the North York Liberal association here tonight, reviewed exhaustively the political situation existing in the Dominion at the present time. Mr. King's speech was preliminary to his forthcoming tour of the Maritime provinces.

Claiming that the Union government has no constructive policy, Mr. King scathingly indicted Sir Robert Borden and members of his cabinet, characterizing their record as "a policy of drifting."

After reviewing the war and its consequences, Mr. King emphasized the fact that hateful devilish spirit bred by the conflict would have to be combatted by a new attitude and a new spirit if the problems confronting the country were to be solved.

He saw in the success of the United Farmers of Ontario, the natural end of a government "that had usurped the sovereign right of the people to govern themselves and had become the chief ally of the federal government administration in promulgating and maintaining arbitrary enactments."

The Liberal leader made practically no reference to the platform adopted at the Ottawa convention last summer, but stated that in his forthcoming tour he would deal with it in detail.

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Toronto Daily Star
January 7 - 20

D 4103

PARTY SYSTEM BEST, W. L. M. KING'S BELIEF

Liberal Leader Tells Newmarket Stalwarts of Aims of the Party.

HE URGES UNITY

Differences of Class, Race, and Religion Should Be Wiped Out.

Special to The Star by a Staff Reporter.

Newmarket, Jan. 7.—All the forces of Hon. W. L. McKenzie King, the newly elected leader of the Liberal party in Canada; King, the orator, King the ex-parliamentarian, King the Scholar, King the political leader, King the aggressive intellect whose natural force of personality carried him to the leadership of his party—all these were combined in the successor to Sir Wilfrid Laurier, as he delivered his first political speech to his nominators in the Town Hall at Newmarket last night under the auspices of the North York Reform Association.

North York Liberals, who recently nominated Mr. King to contest the riding for the Dominion seat taxed to capacity the spacious municipal building to hear the leader of their party. A third of those present were women. The meeting was prefaced by a complimentary dinner tendered by the local Liberal Association in honor of their candidate, and during the interval between the banquet and the speech-making Mr. King renewed acquaintances with upwards of five hundred electors in the riding.

Hon. Mr. King was never in finer fettle. Nor could he have received a more hearty and spontaneous reception from North York Liberals, after they had heard him.

Next Premier Says Chairman.

Introduced by Chairman W. S. H. Cane as "the future Prime Minister of Canada," Hon. Mr. King was met by a standing, cheering host. In jocular vein he noted the presence in the audience of "several good stalwart old Tories." He was delighted at that. "The times are changing," he remarked. Referring to the defeat of the Hearst Government Hon. Mr. King drew a sharp round of applause when he said, "My Liberalism leads me to rejoice in that kind of a turnover."

Hon. Mr. King said he would not follow the usual practice of presenting himself as a candidate in two constituencies. "I am pinning all my faith on you," he told the North York Liberals, "because," he added, "you are pinning all your faith on me."

With Hon. Mr. King at the head table were W. H. S. Cane, president of North York Reform Association, who was chairman; H. Herbert Horsey, president Eastern Ontario Liberal Association; I. E. Pedlow, M.P. for South Renfrew; W. D. Euler, of Waterloo; W. D. Gregory, M. J. Kehoe, M. Chapman, S. A. Grose, P. C. Larkin, Mayor Ewes, of Newmarket, J. M. Walton, D. J. Walton, Eugene Rowen, ex-Mayor Thos. Urquhart, of Toronto, T. L. Armstrong, P. W. Pearson, and J. E. Cane.

Opposition Leader's Speech.

The Liberal leader's speech was a review of the outstanding features of the Canadian political situation with suggestions as to what is required, as respects Government, to enable the Dominion to cope with the problems now confronting it. There were several striking statements. Mr. King said that the Laurier Liberals must adopt a friendly attitude toward Unionist Liberals, and "be as ready to accord sincerity of purpose to those who differed from them as they are to demand a like attitude towards themselves." He maintained that monopoly of government by any class of citizens was objectionable, declaring that "I am relentlessly opposed to Government being controlled visibly or invisibly by railway, manufacturing, or financial interests. I am not less opposed to a monopoly of



HON. W. L. M. KING,
Leader of the Liberal Party, who delivered the first address of a political tour at Newmarket last night.

control on the part of any other of the essential elements of our national economy, be they farmers, labor, war veterans, or the newly enfranchised female voters."

Attacks Union Government.

He attacked the Union Government, with "its policy of drift," likening it to "a ship without a pilot," its crew torn by fractions and internal wranglings, and charged that Sir Robert Borden had agreed to remain a while longer as the nominal head of the Ministry "to save the Union from an immediate break-up." He insinuated that the Government hoped that their supporters would stick together "rather than risk their sessional indemnities."

The possible group system of Government he condemned on the ground that it "would increase rather than lessen the evils so glaringly exhibited" under the present Coalition. The remedy for Canada's ills was the policy of the Liberal party.

"A policy not the outgrowth of a single mind, such as Sir Robert Borden proposes the Unionist party should accept, nor a group of conflicting policies, as would be the case with an administration composed of special classes and interests; but a broad national policy, wrought out in a convention representative of all classes, of all creeds, of all races, of all parts of our great Dominion, and embodying principles which, while not without reference to the special needs of every class, is concerned primarily with the well-being of all and which all can join and are prepared to advocate and support."

To Run in North York.

Nor was Mr. King discouraged by the defeat he sustained in North York at the 1917 election. He declared the Liberal forces were beaten "more through a fraudulent franchise than from any other reason" and confidently stated that "I am proud to plant the standard of Liberalism here in the very heart of my native Province, and beneath its colors to stand and fight like you the battle of much needed reforms, till the day of victory comes."

New Attitude Needed.

In his opening remarks the Opposition leader touched on the war and its consequences, observing that it is a new attitude and a new spirit that is most needed to solve the problems of the present time, a spirit and an attitude of good-will to replace the attitude and spirit of ill-will which war never fails to breed.

"That spirit of ill-will unfortunately continues to lurk in all sorts of places, both prominent and obscure. It manifests itself in high places through a distrust of others, in the autocratic use of power in the continuance and enactment of repressive measures, long after the reason for any such is gone. It manifests itself from below through similar distrust, in an indifference to rights, whether of person or property, in the defiance of law and order, and in efforts to overthrow constituted authority.

"It is in the creation of this new spirit, of this new attitude, that Liberalism, as I read its obligations to present day problems, will find its most important task. The substitution of good-will for all that has been making for ill-will in the various phases of our national life. In the very forefront I should place the attitude to be assumed towards those who differ from us in opinion.

"If we are to be a united people, we must try to look at all sides of a question, and to respect the views of others whose opinions differ from our own. This consideration must be shown by others to those who thought as Sir Wilfrid thought and stood as he stood. The ill-will which, at the time, it was sought to engender towards those who were unable to support the Union Government must be replaced by an increase in good-will on the part of all who are now anxious to see the country controlled by a Government with a mind of its own, and a policy that it can put into words; a Government that is other than a combination for the sake of office.

The Golden Rule.

"But the Liberals who stood with Laurier in 1917, if they are to be true to the first principles of Liberalism, must be as ready to accord sincerity of purpose to those who differed from them, as they are to demand a like attitude towards themselves. I am anxious that this attitude should be understood as the attitude of the party in whose name it is my privilege to speak."

Touching briefly on the Ontario elections, Mr. King said the result was one of the most significant events of the year. "The overwhelming defeat of the Hearst Government and the formation of a Provincial Administration under Mr. Drury was one of those surprises which lend so much interest and zest to politics."

The foremost explanation, in his opinion, was "the exasperation of the people with a Government that had usurped the sovereign right of the people to govern themselves, and had become the chief ally of the Federal Administration in promulgating and maintaining arbitrary enactments. The compact between Mr. Hearst and Mr. Proudfoot to perpetuate the Government in office, and the members in their seats in the Legislature may not have been without explanation on grounds of political expediency. If however, we have not abandoned altogether what is fundamental in the right of the people to self-Government, it was wholly without justification on constitutional grounds."

Liberals Assisted U.F.O.

The speaker said the U.F.O. were assisted by the Liberals of Ontario who withdrew their candidates or did not nominate any in 37 ridings, Mr. Dewart concentrating on some of the Tory strongholds. The overthrow of the Hearst Government was essentially a victory for the Liberal forces of the Province accomplished by Farmers and Liberals working in most constituencies in whole-hearted combination." There was a note of warning to the U.F.O. in these words:

"Whether its plunge into the arena of politics may not bring disruption to the whole organization in its many splendid activities is something which its members cannot weigh too carefully, and which time will serve to tell.

"The point I wish to make at the moment," he added, "is that, as Liberals, Liberals in the truest meaning of that word, we mistake altogether the significance of these agrarian movements if we do not see in them evidences of Liberal thought and feeling on the part of those who are advocating and supporting their policies."

Labor Movement.

The same was true of the Labor movement. His interest in industrial problems was bred of his Liberalism. "I can think of the problems of Industry only in terms of humanity. Liberalism is to me the expression of a wider human freedom, whether it be for those who work in the country, on the farms, or in the cities and towns, in the shops and factories; whether it be the well-being of women and children that is at stake in the home or elsewhere, or the lot of men in the struggle with their several environments."

Speaking of the Liberal attitude towards the veterans of the war, Mr. King said, "If there is in Canada today one portion of its citizenry which, more than any other is entitled to consideration, it is the men who risked their lives in battle, and those who shared with them the dangers and privations of war, especially the families of those whose sons made the supreme sacrifice in the cause of the world's freedom."

Liberalism to Reconcile Differences.

"It is here that the supreme task of Liberalism comes in. Either we shall have an increasing growth of class consciousness on the part of each of the great groups I have mentioned, resulting, as all class conscious growths are destined to result, in conflict with each other and with forces that sooner or later are certain to oppose them; or we shall have a great progressive movement which will lead to a new era of social progress and social justice. It will all depend upon whether the spirit of goodwill is sufficiently strong to overcome the spirit that war breeds and that continues to lurk in its wake."

The Liberal leader said social and religious strife must give way to good-will, with a view to national unity, and that the same spirit must be carried into all our inter-imperial and international relations.

He maintained that sectional and class policies imperil unity, adding that "we must have in our Federal politics some political party large enough, broad enough, tolerant enough, fearless enough to carry forward such a policy of national unity. It cannot be a manufacturers' party, for that will never suit the farmers or consumers; neither can it be a Farmers' party, for that, too, in the long run, will raise up powerful combinations against itself, which will serve to divide east and west, to set the cities and towns and villages over against the farming communities, and the rural districts over against the urban. Neither can it be a Labor party, for that means the organization, sooner or later, of a Capitalist party, and added strife in industrial relations, rather than the working out of some system of joint-control, by which alone the problems of industry are to be solved. Least of all, is it likely ever to be a War Veterans party. The war veterans themselves have been the first to repudiate any thought of the kind; that would be introducing into this new world the old-time conflicts between the army and the civil authorities, which takes us back to the days of Cromwell, and a condition of society, which our citizen soldiery would be the first to deplore. No, it cannot be a party of any class, of any creed, of any race, or of any special interest. It must be a party representative of all the interests of the nation,

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Toronto Daily Star Jan 7-20

D 4103

Look at Problems In Practical Way

Newmarket, Jan. 6.—During his speech here last night, Hon. W. L. M. King said: "This is not a moment to theorize, it is not a moment to rush to extremes, neither is it a moment to stand pat. It is a time, above all others, to be essentially practical; to look facts squarely in the face; to make an accounting of our national assets and liabilities in terms that are human as well as material; and then, understanding what our problems are, not in a visionary mood, but in a concrete and comprehensive way, resolutely to meet and attempt their solution in a manner that will make not only for material progress, but also for human freedom in ever-increasing measure, and for ever-widening possibilities in social well-being and individual achievement."

and reflecting in its composition the many-sided elements of our national life."

Must Have Permanent Parties.

"It is not a mere accident that the system of party has been established in England for more than two centuries. The existence of permanent parties can alone give a guarantee of caution in adopting, and perseverance in advocating, policies and proposals. It assures, better than any other means can do, a full consideration of difficult problems, and safeguards the country against the hurried adoption by Parliament of ill-digested measures.

"Parties are necessary, useful, and likely to endure. To what better party can those of Liberal views look for a fulfillment of their desires than to a party that is Liberal in name, as well as in aim, and which has a century of Liberal tradition to hold it true to its highest principles, and to spur it on to yet nobler achievement.

"With the Liberal forces at work in Canada to-day, among the farmers in the rural communities, among Labor in the cities and towns, among the returned soldiers, and among that great body of Canadian citizenry, men and women alike, who, apart from class affiliation, or associations, are thinking and praying and striving for the dawn of that better day, which the sacrifices and privations of war were to usher in, there is nothing to withstay ultimate and speedy victory in the triumph of Liberal ideas and policies, except a failure on the part of those who are opposed to a common enemy to co-operate in a spirit that has regard primarily for the good of all."

Government Denounced.

The Union Government was denounced in unmeasured terms by the Opposition leader, who declared that never were the affairs of a country in a more hopeless state of muddle, nor an administration more disorganized than at the present time. Not only was the Government without a head to direct its affairs, it was actually without a policy to guide its actions. A policy of drift was the only characterization that could be made of the Government's action. When the war came to an end one would have supposed that the Prime Minister would have dissolved Parliament as soon as demobilization was completed or that he would have formulated and announced some policy. He did neither. As a result the Government was helpless to cope with a serious situation in Winnipeg, which had ill-effects all over Canada. Sir Robert Borden's own following was hopelessly divided and the Unionist members of Parliament were held together only by the emoluments of office and the love of power. Wearied with the strain of war and disgusted with these internal wranglings Premier Borden contracted an illness which prevented him from being in Parliament and although the session was called for the exclusive purpose of approving the peace treaty, legislation to acquire the G. T. R. was rushed through in the dying hours of the session and Parliament was refused the right to ratify the purchase agreement.

Mr. King doubted if anything short of an appeal to the electorate would remove the causes of the policy of drift. "The Prime Minister has just left for parts unknown, for a period of time unknown, and who is to lead Parliament in his absence is still unknown. The situation in this particular, instead of being improved, has gone from bad to worse. The pilot has left the ship, for a long time, just as he left it in the fall of 1919 for a short time, without venturing to decide between the factions in his Cabinet which of the two is to assume his role during his absence. All he has said of policy that is to govern in his absence is that there is none, and all that he has ventured to say concerning a future policy is to repeat what he said before he left the time before, that he hopes while he is away the quarrelling factions may come to some agreement among themselves, so as to be able, somehow, to hold together just as long as the law will permit.

Borden Disgusted.

"It is no longer ago than Christmas week that the Prime Minister, once more weary in body and sick in heart and mind as well, disgusted with the internal wranglings of his Cabinet and its inability to unite upon any policy, caused it to be generally known that it was his intention to retire forthwith from the Premiership. The commotion thus occasioned in the counsels of the Unionist party and throughout the country is so recent that nothing is required to call it to mind. Matters again had reached a crisis. To save the Union from an immediate break-up, the Prime Minister once again agreed to continue a while longer as the nominal head of the ministry. I say the nominal head because the basis of the understanding reached was that he should be absent, not only from his business of Parliament, but from the country, for an indefinite time and to be so far away that he would be beyond the possibility of conference with respect to any situation which might arise.

Drift Policy Continues.

"Meanwhile, the attitude of drift is to be maintained, in the hope that supporters of the Government, rather than risk their sessional indemnities by an appeal to the electorate, will continue a support sufficiently strong to enable the members of the administration to hold on to office notwithstanding the absence of a policy of any kind.

Instability Natural Consequence of Union Government.

"This is the logical and natural fruit of unionism, and it should be an object lesson to all citizens of the Dominion, not only for the present, but for years to come. It presents one of the strongest arguments which can be urged against the carrying on of a country's business by a Government composed of individuals who hold diverse views on matters of national concern. It should cause the advocates of group government to pause in their advocacy of a system which leads only to compromise, subterfuge and inaction, and give new weight to the arguments of those who, viewing government as it has been carried on for two centuries under the British system, see in a great national party the one effective instrument of government for the formulation of a wise and progressive policy, and also the most effective means of assuring unity and stability in matters of governmental policy and administration.

"Without great parties, the House of Commons is likely to become a mere collection of discordant and shifting groups. Stability of government will be impossible; either there will be inaction, as in the case of the present union of two parties, or a rapid succession of different ministries supported by different groups directing in turn the departments of administration. If anything is needed still further to unsettle the very unstable condition of government in Canada to-day, it would seem to lie in still further increasing the groups of which the Ministry is to be formed, and adding still further to the pressure for compromise in all that pertains to administration.

"In splendid and striking contrast to the situation as revealed by the Government and its followers, or to the possible substitution of some group system of government, which would increase rather than lessen the evils so glaringly exhibited, we have the position of the Liberal party as it stands in Canada to-day. In unity and stability it holds an enviable position.

Better Days Ahead.

"To the people of Canada I would say: You will find in the platform of the Liberal party, as unanimously approved at its great convention in August of last year, that spirit of good-will and that note of certainty which are so much needed to bring unity and stability into our national life. You will find a platform broad and tolerant enough to include the legitimate aims and aspirations of all classes in our society which seek honest, enlightened and progressive government, yet so harmonized as to afford special privileges to none. In the same spirit in which the platform was framed, its various planks will be interpreted when the Liberal party is called upon to administer the affairs of this country."

As in the August convention of the Liberal Party at Ottawa the spirit of Laurier continually hovered over the gathering. Every speaker referred feelingly at least once to the late leader. His successor, said H. D. Ramsden, president of the Toronto and York Liberal Association, had fortunately been chosen by the most democratic convention ever called in Canada. Liberals had not forgotten as they learned in the days of Laurier, how to rally behind a worthy leader, said H. Herbert Horsey, president of the Eastern Ontario Liberal Association.

A "high spot" of the evening was the warm tribute of Hon. George P. Graham to Mr. King's ability to lead the Liberal Party successfully, contained in a letter of regret explaining his absence. "Mr. King is able, energetic, and clean," wrote Hon. Mr. Graham, "and is worthy of the support of all those who are anxious to resume the march of progress." Hon. Mr. Graham likened Canada to a man who had lost his way in the wilderness, a man groping in the dark, waiting for someone to lead him. The Liberal Party that restored prosperity in Canada in 1896 could perform a similar duty to the country in 1920, he predicted.

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North York Hears New Liberal Leader



HON. MACKENZIE KING,
Liberal Leader, who began his Canadian tour with a speech in Newmarket last night. He made a special plea for fair play and tolerance, saying that a spirit and attitude of good-will was needed to replace the ill-will which war never fails to breathe.

Toronto Globe
January 7 - 20

HON. MR. KING STARTS TOUR WITH SPEECH AT NEWMARKET; DECLARES WAR ON MONOPOLY

Will Contest North York Next Federal Election and Will Not Run in Any Other Riding—Says It Cannot Be a Farmers' Party That is to Run This Country

MAKES A PLEA FOR LIBERALISM AS AGAINST CLASS-CONSCIOUSNESS

Points Out Lesson of Late Conservative Government in Ontario, and Applies Same Lesson to Ottawa, Where Sovereign Rights of People Usurped—Given Great Reception

(Staff Correspondence of The Globe.)

NEWMARKET, Jan. 6.—Hon. W. L. M. King, Dominion Liberal Leader, was given a magnificent welcome here to-night by the Liberal electors of North York. It was the first occasion since he contested the riding in the 1917 election on which Mr. King had spoken in the constituency, and 500 representative guests thronged the Agricultural Hall to hear him.

The Liberal Chieftain devoted much of his time to dealing with the present political situation in Canada, and the significance of the Labor, Farmer and War Veteran movements. Liberals, he declared, could not be anything but sympathetic to any movement which broadened out to help the lot of the people.

OPPOSITION TO ANYTHING LIKE MONOPOLY.

"My attitude in matters of government toward any class is one of irrevocable opposition to anything in the shape of a monopoly," declared Mr. King. He would not countenance a monopoly of government, whether by financial or railway groups, or under the control of Labor, Farmers or War Veterans.

"But I am willing to take the best of them to make legislation to se[illegible] a more united people." He accepted with pleasure the nomination for North York, and pointed out that he was pinning his faith in this riding for success at the next Dominion election. He said that he would not run in two ridings, as has been done in the past.

W. H. S. Cane is Chairman.

Agricultural Hall was gaily bedecked with flags and bunting in honor of the distinguished guest. So large was the attendance that the four hundred men and women guests were accommodated at banquet tables on both the lower and upper floors. The speaking did not get under way until 8.30. Two shields were prominently displayed to either side of the platform: "North York, the Cradle of Freedom," and "King and a United Canada." Mr. W. H. S. Cane, President of the North York Liberal Association, occupied the chair at both the banquet and the subsequent meeting.

Hon. Mr. King was given a most cordial reception when he entered the banquet hall.

The Chairman read several letters of regret from prominent Liberals who were unable to be present. One of these was from Hon. Geo. P. Graham, who, in referring to Mr. King, said he "possesses all the elements of successful leadership."

Mayor Eaves of Newmarket briefly welcomed the Liberal Leader and other outsiders to the town. His aged father was one of those who was on the platform.

Mr. King said that he proposed to review what appeared to be the outstanding features of the political situation as it exists in Canada today, and to endeavor to present the attitude of Liberalism. It must be realized, he said, that it is impossible to separate the present from that past, and that it was equally impossible to understand conditions in Canada apart from the conditions as they exist in other countries.

Time to be Practical.

"This is not a moment to theorize, it is not a moment to rush to extremes, neither is it a moment to stand pat," said Mr. King. "It is a time, above all others, to be essentially practical, to look facts square in the face, to make an accounting of our national assets and liabilities in terms that are human as well as material, and then, understanding what our problems are (not in a visionary mood, but in a concrete and comprehensive way), resolutely to meet them and attempt a solution that will make not only for material progress, but also for human freedom and for ever-widening possibilities in social wellbeing and individual achievement."

Mr. King spoke of the effect of the great war upon the world. "The changed map of Europe is only one evidence of a changed order," he said, "an outward and visible sign of an infinitely greater convulsion from within." A true simile of the world's condition to-day was that of the ocean seething after a storm.

Stop Ill-will.

"It is a new attitude and a new spirit that are most needed to solve the problems at the present time," he continued. "A spirit and attitude of good-will to replace the attitude and spirit of ill-will which war never fails to breathe. That spirit," he said, "continues to lurk in all sorts of places, both high and obscure. It manifests itself in high places through a distrust of others in the autocratic use of power, in the continuance and enactment of repressive measures

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HON. MR. KING OPENS HIS POLITICAL TOUR

(Continued from Page 1, Col. 7.)

long after the reason for such is gone. It manifests itself from below through similar distrust in an indifference to rights, whether of persons or property, in the defiance of law and order. We shall fail utterly to grasp the significance of the legacy the war has left unless we note carefully every passion the war has roused and every prejudice upon which it has sought to play.

"It is in the creation of this new spirit, of this new attitude, that Liberalism's obligations to the present-day problems will find the most important task." Mr. King enumerated some of the phases of work which Liberals were called upon to perform.

Tribute to Laurier.

In front he placed the attitude to be assumed to those who differ from the Liberals in opinion. Here Mr. King referred to Sir Wilfrid Laurier, saying: "Our own great Leader in the political battles of 1911 and 1917 did not escape his share of the penalty of greatness where it looks with eyes beyond its day and has the courage to stand or fall by conviction. Pure in life, noble in purpose, patriotic in aim, in all these respects second to no other political leader of his generation, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, more than any other man, was misunderstood or misrepresented by many of those who in former days found their delight in sounding his praises. Is it not indeed significant that there is not a political happening of first importance since his death which has not afforded unmistakable evidence of his political wisdom and sagacious patriotism? The injustice done his life must be righted in the justice to be done his memory."

Consideration, continued the Liberal Leader, must be shown now to those who thought as Sir Wilfrid did.

"But the Liberals who stood with Sir Wilfrid in 1917, if they are to be true to the first principles of Liberalism, must be as ready to accord sincerity of purpose to those who differed from them as they are to demand like attitude toward themselves.

"We must also respect those who, while sharing with us in large measure the principles and policies we advocate, have aims and aspirations of their own. And here I may refer to some who belong to three of the largest and most important elements in our National Society: the Farmers, Labor and the War Veterans. Here we pass from differences between individuals to consider possible differences between classes."

Usurping Sovereign Rights.

Speaking of the recent Ontario elections, Mr. King said that, surprising as they were, one had not to seek far for an explanation. "First and foremost must be placed the exasperation of the people with a Government that has usurped the sovereign right of the people to govern themselves, and had become the chief ally of the Federal Administration in promulgating and maintaining arbitrary enactments. The compact between Sir William Hearst and Mr. Proudfoot to perpetuate the Government in office and the members in their seats in the Legislature may not have been without explanation on grounds of political expediency. If, however, we have not abandoned altogether what is fundamental in the right of the people to self-government it was wholly without justification on constitutional grounds."

Liberals' Ontario Victory.

Mr. King explained the Farmers' movement on the ground of this compact.

"Disgusted," he said, "with what seemed to them a frame-up by political leaders whereby those in office or in the Legislature might be retained in power, the people in the rural districts, who had been doing a lot of thinking on their own account, decided to have candidates of their own. They were assisted in this by the Liberals of the Province, who either withdrew their candidates or decided not to nominate in thirty-seven ridings. The Liberal Leader of the Province, Hartley Dewart, who never was a party to the compact of which I have spoken, but who fought it from the outset, tackled some of the more difficult Tory strongholds, like the Torontos, not with Farmer candidates, but with Liberals who, like himself, were in sympathy with the policy wholly friendly to the Farmers, and he won in a number of those constituencies. **It must never be forgotten that, while the Farmer candidates were returned in largest numbers, the overthrow of the Hearst Government was essentially a victory for the Liberal forces of the Province against a reactionary Government; a victory accomplished by Farmers and Liberals combined, and working in most constituencies in a whole-hearted combination."**

Liberal Thought Among Farmers.

Mr. King reviewed the figures of the voting, and analyzed the vote in Ontario.

"The point I wish to make at the moment is that, as Liberals, Liberals in the truest meaning of that word, we mistake altogether the significance of these agrarian movements if we do not see in them evidences of Liberal thought and feeling on the part of those who are advocating and supporting their policies," he added.

Speaking of Labor and the Liberal attitude, Mr. King said:

"Liberalism is to me the expression of a wider human freedom, whether it be for those who work in the country on the farms or in the cities and towns in the shops and factories; whether it be the well-being of women and children that is at stake in the home or elsewhere, or the lot of men in the struggle with their several environments. What the workers in one form or another are seeking is what we, as Liberals, have all along been speaking of as more in the way of equality or opportunity. If that is not part of Liberalism, then Liberalism has ceased to exist."

About the Veterans.

The Liberal Leader also referred to the war veterans, saying: "If there is in Canada to-day one portion of its citizenry which more than any other is entitled to consideration it is the men who risked their lives in battle and those who shared with them the dangers and privations of war, especially the families of those whose sons made the supreme sacrifice in the call of the world's freedom. The war will be without its meaning to our day and generation unless we seek to make out of the sacrifices of the heroic dead a new social order resplendent with the conception of liberty for which they gave their lives.

Class Legislation.

"It is here that the supreme task of Liberalism comes in. Either we shall have an increasing growth of class consciousness on the part of each of the great groups I have mentioned, resulting, as all class-conscious growths are destined to result, in conflict with each other and with forces that sooner or later are certain to oppose them, or we shall have a great progressive movement which will lead to a new era of social progress and social justice. It will all depend upon whether the spirit of good-will is sufficiently strong to overcome the spirit that war breeds and that continues to lurk in its wake.

"War has shown what can be accomplished by co-operation and sacrifice. If we can carry the spirit of co-operation and sacrifice into this period of reconstruction, we have nothing to fear. If, on the other hand, each element in our national life is going to seek to go its own gait, unwilling to join hands with other groups that share like aims and aspirations to its own, if each separately intends to aim at domination in national affairs, then we may look for a prolongation of the period of confusion and in the end retrogression rather than advance.

"Just here let me say quite frankly that when it comes to matters of Government I am unalterably opposed to monopoly in any form, or by any class. I am relentlessly opposed to Government being controlled visibly or invisibly by railway, manufacturing or financial interests. I am not less opposed to a monopoly of control on the part of any other of the essential elements of our national economy, be they farmers, labor, war veterans or the newly enfranchised female voters."

Mr. King made an appeal for the abolishing of race and religious difference prejudices. "Let us remember, however, that whatever perpetuates or augments that ill-will adds to the problem of Government in Canada to-day, and that whatever of good-will we can engender in its stead will by so much lessen and lighten the magnitude and weight of the problems which confront us. As Liberals we can have but one attitude toward prejudice whenever it raises its vicious head, and that is to strike it hard, strike it, if that be possible, to the death.

"We must resolve as never before to permit no new cleavage to destroy our national unity.

"Each for Self or All for All."

"Is the splendid unity of our great country to be imperilled by a conflict of policies related primarily to geographical areas or particular interests, or are we to carry into the shaping of our national policies the same noble spirit of some sacrifice on the part of each and willing co-operation on the part of all by which alone the war was won? Shall it be each for self, or all for all? Shall it be the special interest of a class or the well-being of the whole community? Shall it be Canada first, as it was with the men who gave their lives with thought of naught, save the honor of their country and their duty before God?

"If it is this larger, this nobler ideal, we must have in our Federal politics some political party large enough, broad enough, tolerant enough, fearless enough to carry forward such a policy of national unity. It cannot be a Manufacturers' party, for that will never suit the farmers or consumers; neither can it be a Farmers' party, for that, too, in the long run, will raise powerful combinations against itself which will serve to divide East and West, to set the cities and towns and villages over against the farming communities, and the rural districts over against the urban. Neither can it be a Labor party, for that means the organization sooner or later of a Capitalist party, and added strife in industrial relations, rather than the working out of some system of joint control by which alone the problems of industry are to be solved. Least of all is it likely ever to be a War Veterans' party. The war veterans themselves have been the first to repudiate any thought of the kind that would be introducing into this new world the old-time conflicts between the army and civil authorities, which takes us back to the days of Cromwell, and a condition of society which our citizen soldiery would be the first to deplore. No, it cannot be a party of any class, of any creed, of any race, or of any special interest. It must be a party representative of all the interests of the nation and reflecting in its composition the many-sided elements of our national life.

Parties Necessary.

"Parties are necessary, useful and likely to endure. To what better party can those of Liberal views look for a fulfillment of their desires than to a party that is Liberal in name as well as in aim, and which has a century of Liberal tradition to hold it through to the highest principles and to spur it on to yet nobler achievement.

"With the Liberal forces at work in Canada to-day among the Farmers in the rural communities, among Labor in the cities and towns, among the returned soldiers, and among that great body of Canadian citizenry, men and women alike, who, apart from class affiliations or associations, are thinking and praying and striving for the dawn of that better day which the sacrifices and privations of war were to usher in, there is nothing to withstay ultimate and speedy victory in the triumph of Liberal ideas and policies except a failure on the part of those who are opposed to a common enemy to co-operate in a spirit that has regard primarily for the good of all."

Government Without Policy.

Speaking of the present Dominion Administration, Mr. King said: "It is owing to the instability in management of the nation's affairs that the ship of State is in such distress to-day. Not only is the Government without a head to direct its affairs; it is actually without a policy to guide its actions. Never were the affairs of the country in a more hopeless state or muddle, nor an Administration more disorganized, than is the case of the present time. A policy of drift is the only characterization that can be made of the Government's action."

Mr. King reviewed the history of the Union Government since its inception. He spoke of the absence of the Premier and the affairs of State being allowed to drift along.

Referring to the Grand Trunk purchase Mr. King said that as approval had not yet been granted by the shareholders in England, and as Parliament would be reassembling in a few weeks, it was not yet too late "to give Canadian taxpayers who have to meet these obligations the same rights as are given to the English shareholders; this right of approval should still be preserved to the people of Canada."

Pilot Leaves Ship.

Referring again to the Government, Mr. King said: "The Prime Minister has just left for parts unknown, and who is to lead Parliament in his absence is still unknown. The pilot has left the ship for a long time, just as he left in 1919 for a short time, without venturing to decide between the factions in his Cabinet which of the two is to assume his role during his absence." The Government had no policy, no constructive thought or idea—simply that the party might hang on a little longer. It would be ludicrous if it were not tragic. He referred to the statement recently issued by the Premier as further confirmation of the absence of any policy on the part of the Government.

Fruit of Unionism.

"This," said the Liberal Leader, "is the natural fruit of Unionism, and it should be an object lesson to all citizens for years to come. It should cause the advocates of group government to pause in their advocacy of a system which leads only to compromise, subterfuge and inaction."

Claims Fraudulent Franchise.

Mr. King expressed his thanks to the Liberals of North York for nominating him again as their candidate. "Surprise has been expressed in some quarters," said Mr. King, "that, having suffered defeat in 1917, I should have accepted renomination by the Liberals of this riding at a time when Parliament has just passed an act, introduced at the last session by one of the Liberal members, by which the election of any candidate for the Federal Parliament is rendered void in the event of his seeking election for more than one constituency at a single election.

"Had I not been through one political battle with the Liberals of North York, there might be some occasion for surprise; **and had our cause not suffered defeat more through a fraudulent franchise than from any other reason, there might be even greater occasion for surprise.** The people of Canada mistake my interest in politics if they believe that, gratifying as is the sense of political victory, it weighs with me for one moment in comparison with the vindication of principles of political freedom for which our forefathers sacrificed their all, and which our fathers taught us to hold in reverent regard.

Fighting Family Compact.

"In tracing the Liberal party of Canada to its source, we are brought back to the years of opposition to the arrogance of the Family Compact, to the long and bitter struggle against an autocratic Executive, to the demands for representative and responsible government, in which political struggles the Reformers of York played a part second to none.

"It was the electors of York who chose my grandfather as their standard-bearer. When, after a lapse of two generations, the descendants of these very men, and others associated with them, invite me to take up that same standard of political freedom, at a moment when it is being lowered by a Government that has availed itself of measures more arbitrary and autocratic than any enacted since those early reforms were obtained, and which in many of its actions has shown itself more indifferent and less responsible to the people's representatives in Parliament than any Government we have had in years, all that there is of chivalry in my nature and of power in tradition compels me to accept the nomination with gratitude and pride, be the consequences what they may."

Mr. King also made pleasant references to Sir Alan Aylesworth and Sir William Mulock.

Liberal President Praises King.

Mr. H. D. Ramsden, President Toronto and North York Liberal Association, also joined in welcoming the visitors. He spoke feelingly of the late Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and referred to the National Convention last August as one of the most democratic ever held. Mr. Ramsden spoke in glowing language of Mr. King.

The Liberal Leader, the speaker said, had made a lifelong study of Labor matters in Canada, and was one of the foremost authorities on the subject, not only in Canada, but in the United States. This country needs leadership, but at the present time there is none in Canada.

Eastern Ont. President Speaks.

Dr. H. H. Horsey, President of the Eastern Ontario Liberal Association, also spoke briefly. He, too, paid high tribute to Mr. King's ability. The Liberal Leader was not only trained in the themes of Labor matters, but also in a practical way. "He is a man of sterling character, whom we can all get behind and fight for," he decalred.

Those on the platform, in addition to the speakers, included Messrs. P. C. Larkin; W. D. Euler, M.P., for North Waterloo; Isaac Pedlow, M.P. for Renfrew; Mayor Bassett of Aurora, and Andrew Hayden, General Secretary of the National Liberal Committee, of Ottawa.

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Toronto Mail & Empire
January 7 - 20

D 4112

Group System Condemned By New Liberal Leader

Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, Speaking at the North York Liberal Banquet, Sees Menace to Stable Government in the Farmer-Labor Class Movement.

Special to The Mail and Empire from Staff Reporter.

Newmarket, Jan. 6.—To North York, where, in 1917, he went down to defeat as a Laurier anti-conscriptionist, Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King came to-night to prepare the way for a fresh attempt when the people are again called upon for their verdict in a general election. The new leader of Liberalism in Canada was the guest of honor at a banquet given by the North York Liberal Association. The diners were fairly representative of North York Liberals, but there was a noticeable absence of outsiders. Just two Ontario Liberal M.P.'s—Pedley, of South Renfrew, and W. D. Euler, of North Waterloo, were present, and though the new leader was making his first public appearance in Ontario, neither H. Hartley Dewart, K.C., the Provincial leader, nor any of his supporters, put in an appearance.

Following the banquet, Hon. Mr. King spoke to an audience of perhaps three hundred men and women, but the two-hour oratorical effort with which he favored them was intended for far wider consumption. It was an extended survey of the political situation, of the Liberal platform and of the problems and tasks facing Liberalism in the immediate future. The Liberal leader started with the war, and the problems that have come in its train. The solution of these problems was the real task ahead of Liberalism. It was a task that called for tolerance and for understanding—understanding, for instance, of the course taken by Unionist-Liberals in 1917 and appreciation of their sincerity. Mr. King, who was defeated in 1917 by the votes of North York Liberals who could not accept his opposition to the Military Service Act, made it clear that he held no ill-will toward these men—he was willing to let by-gones be by-gones.



HON. W. L. MACKENZIE KING

Love Taps for the U.F.O.

He appealed also for a tolerant attitude toward independent political movements, to that of the farmers, of the Labor forces and the Veterans. He was gentle with the U. F.O., sympathetic toward the labor element and propitiatory in his references to the veterans. Liberalism was on common ground with them all. The defeat of the Hearst Government was really a Liberal victory since the U.F.O. were standing for the same ideals as the Liberal party.

Party System the Best.

But, making all due allowances for the unsatisfactory conditions that had given birth to class political movements in Canada, the Liberal leader was not prepared to admit that they were entitled to be classed with "the grand old Liberal party." The party system was hallowed by tradition and tried by generations of British Governments.

Mr. King urged the need of national unity and the wiping out of the differences between class and class, race and race, religion and religion. The Liberal party was consecrated to that ideal of unity.

The closing half of his address was devoted to a review of the political situation at Ottawa, to a denunciation of the rule of autocracy under the Union Government and of its policy of drift.

Only two other addresses were made, one by H. D. Ramsden, president of the Toronto and York Liberal Association, and the other by H. H. Horsey, president of the Eastern Ontario Liberal Association. Both speakers confined themselves to brief laudatory references to Hon. W. L. M. King, who had been chosen as successor to Sir Wilfrid Laurier in "the most democratic convention ever held in Canada."

W. H. S. Cane, president of the North York Liberals, presided, and Mayor Eaves, of Newmarket, welcomed the guest of the evening in a few sentences, in which he hazarded a guess that Hon. Mr. King would be Canada's next Prime Minister.

The Consequences of War.

Hon. Mr. King began his address by referring to the war and its consequences upon the national life of Canada and the life of the world in general. The world had just passed through an upheavel unparalleled in its history. Humanity had been stirred to its depths and would be subject to surging tides of emotion for years to come. This should make men view with patience the restlessness of our day. A new attitude and a new spirit were need-

Concluded on Page 2, Col. Four.

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Group System Condemned By New Liberal Leader

Concluded from First Page.

d to solve the problems of the pre-
ent time, and it was in the pres-
ion of this new court that Liberal-
sm would find its greatest task.

This new spirit and attitude would, at the outset, call for respect or those who differed with Liberals, t called for consideration on the art of Liberals who differed with ir Wilfrid Laurier and equally for ppreciation of the sincerity of Unionist-Liberals who left Sir Wilrid.

The Light in the Window.

"It is perhaps unnecessary for me t this time and in this place to emphasize my own attitude towards Liberal-Unionists. During the campaign of 1917, I addressed many ublic meetings in this riding. There s not a man living who heard me tter one word in condemnation of he motive of a single elector. Some f my best friends failed to give me heir political support, but they lost one of my friendship, and I am proud to believe that I lost none of heirs. We differed in opinion, but t was an honest difference of opinon, and as such was respected on the part of each. May I say that the ttitude then assumed, as an individual responsible only to those who had nominated men as their candidate, is the attitude I now assume in the light of the vast responsibilities with which my fellow Liberals of the Dominion have honored me. I am anxious that this attitude should be understood as the attitude of the party in whose name it is my privilege to speak.

Must Respect the Farmers.

"It is not only those who have differed from us in the past whose views we must respect. We must also respect and this is much more difficult very often, those who, while sharing with us in large measure the principles and policies we advocate have aims ond aspirations of their own, and here I may refer to some who belong to three of the largest and most important elements in our national society; the farmers, labor, and the war veterans. Here we pass from difference between individuals to consider possible differences between classes.

"Of the events of the year just passed one of the most significant has been the results attending upon political organization of the farmers in different parts of Canada, and especially in the Province of Ontario. The overwhelming defeat of the Hearst Government and the formation of a Provincial administration under Mr. Drury, was one of those surprises which lent so much interest and zest to politics. Surprising as the outcome of the Provincial elections might at first appear, one has not to seek very far for an explanation. First and foremost must be placed the exasperation of the people with a Government that had ursurped the sovereign right of the people to govern themselves and had become the chief ally of the Federal administration in promulgating and maintaining arbitrary enactments. The compact between Mr. Hearst and Mr. Proudfoot to perpetuate the Government in office and the members in their seats in the Legislature may not have been without explanation on grounds of political expediency. If, however, we have not abandoned altogether what is fundamental in the right of the people to self-government it was wholly without justification on constitutional grounds."

A Liberal Victory.

"It must never be forgotten," continued Mr. King, "that whilst the Farmer candidates were returned in largest numbers the overthrow of the Hearst Government was essentially a victory for the Liberal forces of the Province against a reactionary Government, a victory accomplished by farmers and Liberals combined, and working in most constituencies in whole-hearted combination."

"One futher fact helps to explain the success of the farmers in the election, and it is an all important factor in all elections, namely, "Organization." The farmers in very large numbers were members of a powerful organization, formed originally for social and economic purposes. In the Ontario elections it became an organization for political purposes as well. The point I wish to make at the moment is that as Liberals, Liberals in the truest meaning of that word we must take all together the significance of these agrarian movements if we do not see in them evidences of Liberal thought and feeling on the part of those who are advocating and supporting their policies.

Attitude Towards Labor.

And the same is true of the Labor movement. Here again is another large class in our national society, which has become conscious not only of economic injustices in the past but of the need for united action to gain that fuller expression of personal and economic freedom which is the very essence of all true Liberalism. Can we as Liberals fail to appreciate the aims and aspirations of that movement. Can we fail to share something of the thoughts and feelings of the men and women who are a part of it? Speaking of myself, my interests in industrial problems is bread of my Liberalism, I can think of the problems of industry only in terms of humanity. What the workers in one form or another are seeking is what we as Liberals have all along been speaking of, as more in the way of equality of opportunity. If that is not part of Liberalism, then Liberalism has ceased to exist.

In speaking of the Liberal attitude towards the War Veterans, the Liberal leader said that if there is in Canada to-day one portion of its citizenry which more than any other is entitled to consideration it is the men who risked their lives in battle and those who shared with them the dangers and privations of war, especially the families of those whose sons made the supreme sacrifice.

The Supreme Task.

"It is here that the supreme task of Liberalism comes in. Either we shall have an increasing growth of class consciousness on the part of each of the great groups I have mentioned resulting as all class conscious growths are destined to result, in conflict with each other and with forces that sooner or later are certain to oppose them; or we shall have a great progressive movement which will lead to a new era of social progress and social justice. It will all depend upon whether the spirit of good will is sufficiently strong to overcome the spirit that war breeds and that continues to lurk in its wake.

"Just here let me say quite frankly that when it comes to matters of Government I am unalterably opposed to monopoly in any form, or by any class. I am relentlessy opposed to Government being controlled visibly or invisibly by railway, manufacturing or financial interest. I am not less opposed to a monopoly of control on the part of any other of the essential elements of our national economy, be they farmers, labor, war veterans, or the newly enfranchised female voters.

"Let me pass from classes to a still larger consideration, the difference between race and race and religion and religion. No one who participated in the last general elections in this riding, or any other riding in this Province, will say that the spirit which speaks ill of its neighbor was not abroad in the land at that time. Every artifice known in the moulding of opinion was employed to create a prejudice in the minds of English-speaking Protestants of this Province against French-speaking Roman Catholics of the neighboring Province of Quebec. Just as in a previous election in the Province of Quebec, the Nationalists, and those who aided and abetted their methods, spared no means of inflaming the racial passions of men against a great man in his advocacy of a great cause, when Sir Wilfrid Laurier sought the creation of a Canadian Naval Service as a means of Canada fulfilling her duty in naval defence as a growing country and as a part of the British Empire. I shall not seek to stir the mouldering embers of those unfortunate chapters in our history by enlarging in any way upon them. The ill-will that the passions of war have been employed to inflame between persons of different races, and different religions in Canada will not be lived down in a day. Let us remember, however, that whatever perpetuates or augments that ill-will, adds to the problems of government in Canada to-day, and that whatever of goodwill we can engender in its stead will by so much lessen and lighten the magnitude and weight of the problems which confront us. As Liberals we can have but one attitude towards prejudice whenever it raises its vicious head, and that is to strike it hard, strike it, if that be possible, to the death.

"It is not only as regards differences between persons and classes, racial and religious differences, national and international differences that we must seek in a spirit of good-will to bind up the wounds and to bridge the chasms which the roused passions of the war have served to widen and create; we must resolve as never before to permit no new cleavage to destroy our national unity.

"National unity we must at all cost maintain and our political platform must be so drafted and our political policies so conceived and carried out as to make that unity at all times a great reality.

"We must have in our Federal politics some political party large enough, broad enough, tolerant enough, fearless enough, to carry forward such a policy of national unity. It cannot be a manufacturers' party, for that will never suit the farmers or consumers: neither can it be a farmers' party, for that, too, in the long run, will raise powerful combination against itself, which will serve to divide East and West; to set cities and towns and villages over against the farming communities, and the rural districts, over against the urban. Neither can it be a labor party, for that means the organization, sooner or later, of a capitalist party, and added strife in industrial relations. Least of all is it likely ever to be a war veterans' party. The war veterans themselves have been the first to repudiate any thought of the kind, that would be introducing into this new world the old-time conflicts between the army and the civil authorities.

"It is not a mere accident that the system of party has been established in England for more than two centuries. The existence of permanent parties can alone give a guarantee of caution in adopting and perseverence in advocating policies and proposals. It assures better than any other means can do a full consideration of difficult problems and safeguards the country against the hurried adoption by Parliament of ill-digested measures.

Unionists Without Policy.

Mr. King then reviewed history of the Unionist Government, which he referred to as a policy of drift.

After referring to Sir Robert Borden's absence, the speaker continued.

"This, then, is the actual situation as it exists in Canada at the present time: the Government is without a head and without a policy. It is composed of members differing so completely one from another in attitude on many vital issues that the liklihood of any policy being arrived at is out of the question. Meanwhile, the attitude of drift is to be maintained, in the hope that supporters of the Government, rather than risk their sessional indemnities by an appeal to the electorate, will continue a support sufficiently strong to enable the members of the administration to hold on to office notwithstanding the absence of a policy of any kind.

"This is the logical and natural fruit of unionism, and it should be an object lesson to all citizens of the Dominion, not only for the present, but for years to come. It presents one of the strongest arguments which can be urged against the carrying on a country's business by a Government composed of individuals who hold diverse views on matters of national concern. It should cause the advocates of group Government to pause in their advocacy of a system which leads only to compromise, subterfuge, and inaction, and give new weight to the arguments of those who, viewing government as it has been carried on for two centuries under the British system, see in a great national party the one effective instrument of government for the formulation of a wise and progressive policy, and also the most effective means of arriving at unity and stability in matters of governmental policy and administration.

"Without great parties, the House of Commons is likely to become a mere collection of discordant and shifting groups. Stability of government will be impossible; either there will be inaction as in the case of the present union of two parties, or a rapid succession of different ministries supported by different groups directing in turn the departments of administration. If anything is needed still further to unsettle very unstable condition of Government in Canada to-day, it would seem to lie in further increasing the groups of which the ministry is to be formed, and adding still further to the pressure for compromise in all that pertains to administration."

In splendid and striking contrast to the situation as revealed by the Government and its followers, said Mr. King, or to possible substitution of some group system of government, which would increase rather than lessen the evils so glaringly exhibited, we have the position of the Liberal party as it stands in Canada to-day. In unity and stability it holds an enviable position. It is a party with a policy clearly and definitely defined; a policy not the outgrowth of a single mind, such as Sir Robert Borden proposes the Unionist party should accept, not a group of conflicting policies, as would be the case with an administration composed of special classes and interests; but a broad national policy, wrought out of a convention representative of all classes, of all creeds, of all races, of all parts of our great Dominion, and embodying principles which, while not without reference to the special needs of every class, is concerned primarily with the well-being of all and which all combined are prepared to advocate and support.

Mr. King then expressed anew his heartfelt thanks for the honors which the Liberals of North York had conferred upon him in again nominating him to be their standard bearer when the general elections are held.

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EDMONTON BULLETIN
JANUARY 7, 1920

D 4114 (2)

didates were returned in largest ber, the overthrow of the Hearst government was essentially a victory for the liberal forces against a reactionary government, accomplished in many constituencies by the wholehearted combination of farmers and liberals. He then spoke of the organization worked up by the farmers in Ontario.

"The point I wish to make at the moment is that, as liberals, liberals in the truest meaning of the word, we mistake altogether the significance of these agrarian movements if we do not see in them evidences of liberal thought and feeling on the part of those who are advocating and supporting their policies."

The Labor Question

The attitude of liberals towards the labor movement must be one of appreciation, he continued, "what the workers in one form or another are seeking is what we as liberals have all along been speaking of as more in the way of equality of opportunity. If that is not part of liberalism, then liberalism has ceased to exist."

Speaking of the liberal attitude towards veterans, Hon. Mr. King stated that there was no class entitled to more consideration than those who had risked their lives in battle and who now hope for a realization in larger measure of the freedom they fought to preserve.

"National unity we must at all costs maintain," he declared, "our political platforms must be so drafted and our political policies so conceived and carried out as to make that unity at all times a great reality."

In order to aspire to this ideal, he declared that Canada must have in her federal politics some political party "large enough, broad enough, tolerant enough, and fearless enough to carry forward such a policy of national unity."

This party, he said, must not be of any class or creed, but a party representative of all the interests of the nation and reflecting in its composition the many-sided elements of our national life.

With Policy

Referring particularly to the work of the present government during recent years he maintained that it was owing to the instability in the management of the nation's affairs that the ship of state is in such distress in Canada today. Not only is the government without a head to direct its affairs: it is certainly without a policy to guide its actions, he said. "Never were the affairs of a country in a more hopeless state of muddle, nor an administration more disorganized than is the case at the present time. A policy of drift is the only characterization that can be made of the government's action."

Premier's Absence

The liberal leader continued:

"The prime minister has just left for parts unknown, for a period of time unknown and who is to lead parliament in his absence is still unknown. The situation in this particular, instead of being improved, has gone from bad to worse. The pilot has left the ship for a long time, just as he left it in the fall of 1919 for a short time without venturing to decide between the factions in his cabinet which of the two is to assume his role during his absence.

"It is no longer ago than Christmas week that the prime minister, once more weary in body and sick at heart and mind as well, disgusted with the internal wranglings of his cabinet and its inability to unite upon any policy, caused it to be generally known that it was his intention to retire forthwith from the premiership. Matters again had reached a crisis. To save the union from an immediate break-up the prime minister once again agreed to continue a while longer as the nominal head of the ministry, I say the nominal head, because the basis of the understanding reached was that he should be absent not only from the business of parliament but from the country for an indefinite time, and to be so far away that he would be beyond the possibility of conference with respect to any situation which might arise."

Liberals in Unison

"In striking contrast to the situation revealed by the government and its followers was the position of the liberal party today," he said. "In unity and stability it held an enviable position," he said and he claimed it was a party with a policy clearly and definitely defined.

In conclusion he referred to his coming tour of the Maritime provinces and announced his intention of adhering to the platform laid down at the liberal convention in Ottawa.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Ottawa Journal
Jany 8 20

D 4115

MR. KING AT NEWMARKET.

To the little town of Newmarket, a canal zone not unknown to Liberal annals, Mr. MACKENZIE KING on Monday repaired to preach to the faithful assembled and to the country at large the new Opposition dispensation. Although marking the beginning of a speaking tour, which in the hopes of its authors, is to arouse a lethargic Liberalism to heroic impulse and action, Mr. KING'S speech—and we say this not by way of criticism—is hardly likely to find a permanent place in historic political oratory. For a close perusal of the speech, the text of which we have before us, impresses the truth that if it is worth noting for anything at all, it is for the multitude of things which it left unsaid; and this the more remarkable because of the times through which we are passing and the position of Mr. KING. We are at the close of four years of war and stand upon the threshold of reconstruction. Canada, in common with the rest of the world, stands confronted with issues and problems numerous and grave; everywhere about us old and established customs and political doctrines are being severely tested or swept entirely from their moorings; new and strange forms are coming to the surface; and on all sides the cry of the people is for ideas and policies to bring about the New Jerusalem on earth. Mr. KING, as the chosen leader of the historic Liberal party in Canada, might reasonably have been expected to contribute something of light and leading to such a troubled day. He has the blessing of youth and vigor, he is free from the boredom and botheration of office, he has had ample time and leisure to survey the body politic, to diagnose its many ills and to prescribe accordingly.

But, despite all of this, one looks in vain for a lead from Mr. KING. The tariff stands today, as always, the greatest issue of Canadian politics; Mr. KING passes it over in silence. Nationalization, with which is united the vital problem of transportation, challenges attention; Mr. KING utters no word. The financial problem is of the gravest; Mr. KING has no policy to offer. The re-establishment of soldiers into civil life demands the best of statesmanship; Mr. KING passes it by. And so to the end of the chapter.

Nor is there evidence in the speech of the much-heralded indictment of the Government's sins. For two years Union Government has been grappling with the gravest problems ever encountered by a Canadian administration. In that task it must have made mistakes, and, beyond question, it alienated the support of many of its old adherents. Mr. KING might have been expected to indict the Government for sins of commission and omission, to have catalogued its errors and its crimes. But despite all that has been said of Union, despite all the criticism and political blasphemy that has been hurled at its head, the most that Mr. KING could say against it yesterday was a few vague and harmless platitudes.

How disappointing such a singularly barren address must be to the old adherents of LAURIERISM, one can only hazard a guess. But disappointing, unquestionably, it must have been. Groping in the wilderness, far from the Promised Land of office, the party cried out for political manna, and platitudes, old and decayed, were the only reply.

For Liberalism, once so powerful and militant, it is a doleful prospect. Its King stands without a kingdom; its forces are divided; its moral strength is gone; its rank and fyle has found refuge with the Farmers. The Old Pilot, who steered the party craft so long and well is sadly missed, as Mr. KING steers an uncertain course. Ahead the breakers are angry and ominous, no banner floats proudly from the masthead, and the wind moans dismally through the rigging.

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Stouffville Tribune
January 8—20

D 4116

Liberals Banquet W. L. Mackenzie King

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Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King was accorded a magnificent reception at Newmarket on Tuesday evening when over five hundred representative guests attended the banquet given in his honor.

Mr. Howard Cane occupied the chair and mayor Eves gave a brief address of welcome. Short speeches were delivered by Mr. H. D. Ramsden and Mr. Horsey, of the Eastern Ontario Liberal convention.

Mr. King in a magnificent address dwelt upon the attitude of the Liberal party. A new attitude and a new spirit were needed, he said, to meet after the war conditions, an attitude of good will and toleration to deal with the tendencies to overturn human society and of disregard of authority. It is the work of Liberalism, he said, to bring a spirit of good will to bear on the national life of Canada.

He reiterated his opinion in regard to the Liberal Unionists which he made a year ago, that they were conscientious in their stand. He severely scored the Union Government for its actions or rather lack of action since the war. He characterized its policy as a policy of drift, and deplored the present condition of the government without a leader and divided against itself.

Mr. King explained that the U. F. O. victory in the Ontario election was due to the Liberals and Farmers working together for a common cause. The farmer, the labor and soldier movements were the result of disgust at the administration of the Hearst-Proudfoot combination.

To these organizations he pointed out that wherever a class movement has gone into politics it has cost the life of the organization. It was the task of Liberalism to reconcile these differences between class conscious groups, between individuals and between race and religion.

Mr. King thanked the Liberals of North York for nominating him to contest the riding in the next Federal election. He still adhered to his intention to accept the nomination, as his acceptance of a seat in Prince Edward was only temporary. The Liberal Chieftain concluded his address amid prolonged applause.

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Ottawa Citizen

January 8 29

D 4117

THE LIBERAL PARTY'S POSITION.

Mr. Mackenzie King's speaking tour is timely. The government would seem to be simply drifting, without any policy other than the opportunism of the day. But many people are of the opinion that the government is enabled to stay on, with the support of privileged interests, partly because of the weakness of the opposition.

The Liberal party is in danger of disappearing, or dwindling away to nothing, in Canada as it would seem to be doing in Great Britain. It has almost lost the confidence of the organized farmers in the West and in Ontario. Independent political action is developing in New Brunswick. Perhaps the Liberal leader's tour in the Maritime Provinces may help to revive the confidence of old Liberal stalwarts. It will largely depend upon the clearness of Mr. King's coming message on the public platform for Liberalism, as against Mr. Rowell's paternalism, and Mr. Calder's opportunism.

The Liberals have taken one step, at least, towards freeing themselves from the influence of corporation interests, by declaring publicly that contributors to Liberal party funds must not henceforth expect any support of their special interests by the party in return for campaign contributions. They will have the opportunity to show that they mean this, next session, by bringing in a resolution to amend the Elections Act, or supporting an independent resolution, to establish the publicity of campaign fund contributions.

Publicity of campaign funds is one of the planks in the new national platform of the organized farmers. It is proposed that the names of contributors, and the amounts contributed, to the parties, or to election candidates, for political expenses, shall be made public before election day. This form of publicity would let the people of Canada see for themselves whether election expenses of the old parties are paid by private corporations, with some of the privilege-seeking interests contributing to both sides, on the basis of sixty per cent. to the favored side, and forty per cent. to keep the opposition quiet.

Before the next general election, it is in every way likely that the Liberal party will have reached the point when it can no longer rely on campaign funds from the protectionist and subsidized interests. Issues are coming up before the people that are fundamental to the continued existence of the Liberal party. The old political game of running with the people and hunting with the hounds is played out. The Liberal party's stand must either be for freedom, against special privilege, or for coalition with the present government forces.

While the government is apparently letting things drift, as far as the public interest is concerned, the entrenched interests neither slumber nor sleep. In the event of Sir Thomas White being chosen again as government leader, at the next Unionist caucus, the Unionist party will possibly be ready for a general election some time this year. Sir Thomas White is perhaps the man to make Unionist government complete by bringing in protectionist Liberals, so-called, from Quebec. Behind a combination of this kind would be the one big union of transportation, finance, and manufacturing interests.

The next general election will probably eclipse anything ever before done in Canada, in the way of an organized political effort by privileged interests to hold their entrenched position. The growing power of the organized farmers, with economic power behind it, especially the upheaval in Ontario, is a sufficiently plain warning to special privilege that changes are due. But fat contributions to the campaign funds of both old parties cannot stave off the changes this time. Coalition, with all the protectionist forces in one camp, under unified command, with unlimited funds for electioneering, is likely to leave Mr. Mackenzie King, and a diminished group of Liberal party stalwarts, faced with the choice of standing definitely on the side of Liberalism, as it is expressed in the new national platform of the organized farmers, or of disappearing as a political factor in parliament.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Ottawa Citizen
January 8 29

D 4118

MR. KING AT NEWMARKET.

To the little town of Newmarket, a canal zone not unknown to Liberal annals, Mr. MACKENZIE KING on Monday repaired to preach to the faithful assembled and to the country at large the new Opposition dispensation. Although marking the beginning of a speaking tour, which in the hopes of its authors, is to arouse a lethargic Liberalism to heroic impulse and action, Mr. KING'S speech—and we say this not by way of criticism—is hardly likely to find a permanent place in historic political oratory. For a close perusal of the speech, the text of which we have before us, impresses the truth that if it is worth noting for anything at all, it is for the multitude of things which it left unsaid; and this the more remarkable because of the times through which we are passing and the position of Mr. KING. We are at the close of four years of war and stand upon the threshold of reconstruction. Canada, in common with the rest of the world, stands confronted with issues and problems numerous and grave; everywhere about us old and established customs and political doctrines are being severely tested or swept entirely from their moorings; new and strange forms are coming to the surface; and on all sides the cry of the people is for ideas and policies to bring about the New Jerusalem on earth. Mr. KING, as the chosen leader of the historic Liberal party in Canada, might reasonably have been expected to contribute something of light and leading to such a troubled day. He has the blessing of youth and vigor, he is free from the boredom and botheration of office, he has had ample time and leisure to survey the body politic, to diagnose its many ills and to prescribe accordingly.

But, despite all of this, one looks in vain for a lead from Mr. KING. The tariff stands today, as always, the greatest issue of Canadian politics; Mr. KING passes it over in silence. Nationalization, with which is united the vital problem of transportation, challenges attention; Mr. KING utters no word. The financial problem is of the gravest; Mr. KING has no policy to offer. The re-establishment of soldiers into civil life demands the best of statesmanship; Mr. KING passes it by. And so to the end of the chapter.

Nor is there evidence in the speech of the much-heralded indictment of the Government's sins. For two years Union Government has been grappling with the gravest problems ever encountered by a Canadian administration. In that task it must have made mistakes, and, beyond question, it alienated the support of many of its old adherents. Mr. KING might have been expected to indict the Government for sins of commission and omission, to have catalogued its errors and its crimes. But despite all that has been said of Union, despite all the criticism and political blasphemy that has been hurled at its head, the most that Mr. KING could say against it yesterday was a few vague and harmless platitudes.

How disappointing such a singularly barren address must be to the old adherents of LAURIERISM, one can only hazard a guess. But disappointing, unquestionably, it must have been. Groping in the wilderness, far from the Promised Land of office, the party cried out for political manna, and platitudes, old and decayed, were the only reply.

For Liberalism, once so powerful and militant, it is a doleful prospect. Its King stands without a kingdom; its forces are divided; its moral strength is gone; its rank and fyle has found refuge with the Farmers. The Old Pilot, who steered the party craft so long and well is sadly missed, as Mr. KING steers an uncertain course. Ahead the breakers are angry and ominous, no banner floats proudly from the masthead, and the wind moans dismally through the rigging.

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Ottawa Journal
January 9—20

D 4119

MR. KING AT NEWMARKET.

To the little town of Newmarket, a canal zone not unknown to Liberal annals, Mr. MACKENZIE KING on Monday repaired to preach to the faithful assembled and to the country at large the new Opposition dispensation. Although marking the beginning of a speaking tour, which in the hopes of its authors, is to arouse a lethargic Liberalism to heroic impulse and action, Mr. KING's speech—and we say this not by way of criticism—is hardly likely to find a permanent place in historic political oratory. For a close perusal of the speech, the text of which we have before us, impresses the truth that if it is worth noting for anything at all, it is for the multitude of things which it left unsaid; and this the more remarkable because of the times through which we are passing and the position of Mr. KING. We are at the close of four years of war and stand upon the threshold of reconstruction. Canada, in common with the rest of the world, stands confronted with issues and problems numerous and grave; everywhere about us old and established customs and political doctrines are being severely tested or swept entirely from their moorings; new and strange forms are coming to the surface; and on all sides the cry of the people is for ideas and policies to bring about the New Jerusalem on earth. Mr. KING, as the chosen leader of the historic Liberal party in Canada, might reasonably have been expected to contribute something of light and leading to such a troubled day. He has the blessing of youth and vigor, he is free from the boredom and botheration of office, he has had ample time and leisure to survey the body politic, to diagnose its many ills and to prescribe accordingly.

But, despite all of this, one looks in vain for a lead from Mr. KING. The tariff stands today, as always, the greatest issue of Canadian politics; Mr. KING passes it over in silence. Nationalization, with which is united the vital problem of transportation, challenges attention; Mr. KING utters no word. The financial problem is of the gravest; Mr. KING has no policy to offer. The re-establishment of soldiers into civil life demands the best of statesmanship; Mr. KING passes it by. And so to the end of the chapter.

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Anyone who ever heard a Newmarket, Ont., audience sing "He's a Jolly Good Fellow" will understand the severe burden that already has fallen on the shoulders of the young Liberal leader.

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D 4120

St. John Standard
January 9, 1920

WORKING THE ORACLE.

The speech in which the new leader of the Independent Liberals made his bow to the country has caused disappointment, if not disillusionment, among his followers. Liberal organs mournfully complain that vague generalities anent the valiant virtues of Liberal "principles" will not breathe new life into the moribund party, or cut much ice from the cold shoulder of the general public. No doubt they have reason.

Mr. King has a task of some magnitude on his hands. The National Convention that elected him leader gave him only generalities about the beauties and virtues of Liberal principles. Apparently it was content to let him find out what Liberal principles are, and, if possible, to interpret them to the general public. That is a large order for a young man who solved the labor question in America during the war. Liberal principles are rooted in tradition; they are embodied in the achievements of a past that is dead and done with. That is about all the general public knows about Liberal principles. Most of the aspirations of people of the present are inconsistent with Liberal principles.

It may be possible to build a new political philosophy upon Liberal principles; it may be possible to make a practical application of Liberal principles to the specific problems of the present that will impress the popular mind, and enable the Liberal party to command the confidence of the people. But Mr. King's announcement that Liberal principles are the only safe guide for the country in the times, possibly troubled times, that lie ahead of us, is far from satisfactory. That does not answer the questions the people are interested in; that offers no adequate guidance such as the people may want or are likely to accept. And unfortunately there are around Mr King no other Liberal leaders who seem capable of defining Liberal principles in terms most men would be willing to accept, or to illustrate the operation of said principles by showing their application to the national problems as they arise. On the Grand Trunk question, for instance, Mr. King himself boxed the compass, and other Opposition leaders approached it from various angles and bounced off again at various tangents. Many of the abler Liberals are still supporting the Union Government, and, for good or evil, are not much concerned about the treatment of present-day problems from the point of view of Liberal principles. Among the Opposition leaders about the only one who can speak to the nation in tones of authority is Hon. Mr. Fielding, and the ex-Minister has latterly been showing a certain cynicism towards the Liberal party, and is, anyway, too old-fashioned and set in his views to deal with present-day problems in a constructive manner. Such criticism as he has indulged in latterly has been mainly of a negative character; he has given no positive lead as to the principles on which in his opinion the work of reconstruction should be carried forward.

And what other lieutenants has Mr. King capable of giving the Liberal party guidance, and the nation a lead? There is Ernest Lapointe, who appears to be a coming man. A young man who enters Parliament, knowing practically only the French tongue, and in a few years achieves a reputation for eloquence in English, and makes himself master of Quebec after a struggle with so able a political tactician as Premier Gouin, is a force to be reckoned with. But Lapointe is hardly known outside his native province. He has been preoccupied forwarding his personal ambition, and consolidating his position —none too secure as yet. He is not a national figure; he has yet given no sign that he is capable of a national outlook, or even interest in national problems and policies.

Mr. King has no other lieutenants of outstanding abilities, in sight at the moment, who are capable of helping him in the hard task of making Liberal principles understandable to the people, and applying their illumination—if a haze is capable of illumination—to the problems of the day. Lemieux is sulking in his tent. Graham has apparently retired to the rest of old age. The canny Mackenzie is enjoying his hard-earned double indemnity as temporary leader, Martin is still a provincial figure with troubles of his own.

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CANADA

Quebec Telegraph
January 9 20

D 4121

THE LIBERAL POLICY

If ever there was a doubt in any mind as to the present and future policy of the Liberal party in federal politics, that doubt must have been dissipated by the recent speech of its leader, the Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, at Newmarket, in the constituency in which he will be a candidate at the next federal elections. In language that admits of no misunderstanding he has declared that that policy is adherence to the platform laid down at the Liberal convention at Ottawa. That policy is one of union and stability in contrast with what the present federal government's own organ are still calling its policy of "drift."

Some of the most significant features of the new leader's address cannot but awake a responsive echo in the minds of its readers, and it is not surprising to know that it aroused considerable enthusiasm among those who heard it. While the success in Ontario of the movement engineered by the farmers and labor men was no surprise to Mr. Mackenzie King, he made it distinctly understood that for his part he was irrevocably opposed to anything in the shape of monopoly in matters of government by any class, and that not for an instant would any group exercise any influence over him. At the same time he felt that they mistook altogether the significance of these agrarian movements if they do not see in them evidences of liberal thought and feeling. Appreciation of any respect for the value of labor was claimed as a duty, and the speaker uttered no uncertain sound as to the responsibility of the country to its returned soldiers, than whom no class was more entitled to consideration. Perhaps no portion of this speech will more strongly appeal to the public at large than the assertion that if we are to be a united people, we must try to look at all sides of a question and to respect the views of others whose opinions differ from our own. And in this connection he urged that the Liberals who stood with Laurier in 1917, if they are to be true to the first principles of liberalism, must be as ready to accord sincerity of purpose to those who differed from them, as they are to demand a like attitude towards themselves. Mr. Mackenzie King's effort was a memorable one and gives promise of a leadership which will be able to unite under it all who are now anxious to see the country governed by a party with a mind of its own, and a policy that it can put into words:—A government that is something else than a combination for the sake of office.

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Montreal Herald D 4122
January 10/20

Mackenzie King's First Important Address

THE outstanding feature of the address of the Hon. Mackenzie King at Newmarket, his first important platform utterance since his election to the Liberal leadership, was his claim that the policies of the Farmers' Party and the Labor Party are identical in all essentials with the policy of the Liberal Party, and that the latter supplied the only note of certainty and permanence. Old, responsible and enduring parties appear to him to be the best security for a wise and sane policy embracing all classes, races and creeds. He estimates that in the Ontario elections one-third of the votes cast for Farmer, Labor and Independent candidates was Liberal and that the overthrow of the Hearst Government was essentially a victory for the Liberal forces. Liberalism is to him the expression of a wider human freedom whether for those who work in the country or in the city, whether in the workshop or the farm, in the woods or in the home.

The picture Mr. King draws is the work of a master hand, of one who is inspired by love of country and an earnest desire to render service to his fellow men. He spent some time denouncing the present Government, as if there were two opinions on the subject of irresolution, incapacity and drift. The uselessness of flogging a dead horse is proverbial. The Government hasn't a friend in any quarter, unless he holds a "cushy" job, yet on this occasion the new leader could hardly escape, we suppose, entering a few steps into the inviting field of criticism and censure, although not a great deal is to be gained by it.

What the country needs at the present time above all else is a strong man with a constructive policy and a clear vision. There is no other man in sight at this critical period to compare with Mr. King, who has, however, yet to prove himself in the judgment of the people. This address was only the first of a number of speeches to be delivered by him in various parts of the country. He promises to outline and explain the various planks in his platform. No one is better fitted for clear exposition, and he will on occasion address our fellow citizens of French origin in their own language, an advantage possessed by few of our public men outside of this province. Even if he himself does not achieve his high purpose of fostering good-will, uniting the different elements in the Dominion and fulfilling the obligation he freely acknowledges to solve present day problems, if his work succeeds in uncovering a better man then he will have advanced the common interest and the cause of good government and will be entitled to the thanks of the nation. In the meanwhile he is in a fair way to grow to those proportions of a broad statesman at which he earnestly aims.

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St. John Standard

January 10, 1920

THE LOGIC OF EVENTS.

Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King says: "Is it not significant, indeed, that there is not a political happening of first importance since the death of Sir Wilfrid Laurier which has not afforded unmistakable evidence of his political wisdom" One of the political happenings has been the rise of the Farmers' Party, which according to Mr. King himself is an "evidence of Liberal thought and feeling" operating in the rural districts. If this is so, it would look to the ordinary observer as if the farmers had come to the conclusion that Laurier had led the Liberal Party astray, and that the new leader was not to be trusted to lead it back into the straight and narrow way. Another political event of first importance has been the liquidation of the Grand Trunk, a course imposed upon the Government by the disastrous results of Laurier's Grand Trunk Pacific policy, "the crowning achievement of his career." Another political happening of some interest has been the sowing of seeds of division in the Liberal ranks in Quebec. But perhaps in the estimation of Mr. King the only political happening of first importance since the death of Laurier has been his ascension to the leadership of the distracted Liberal Party, though in that case the political wisdom of Sir Wilfrid and the whole Liberal Party has yet to be proven.

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Aurora Banner
January 16 — 20

D 4124 (1)

Successful Banquet to Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King

The complimentary banquet tendered to Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King by the Liberals of North York, in the Town Hall, Newmarket on Tuesday evening of last week, was a magnificent success. The spacious building was crowded from top to bottom with staunch friends and admirers from all parts of the riding, each anxious to do honor to the distinguished guest.

The hall was decorated throughout in a most elaborate manner and was ablaze with electric lights. Large and handsomely painted shields bore the mottoes: "Welcome King our Leader," "King and a United Canada," "North York the Cradle of Freedom."

The excellent and bounteous menu served so efficiently by the Cole Co. of Toronto and no less than 40 local helpers was fitting to the occasion and the music supplied by Bodley's Double Orchestra of Toronto, was greatly applauded. Every detail of the banquet was carried out systematically and elaborately and it was conceded on all sides to be the finest banquet ever held in the Banner Riding of the County of York. No less than 550 people partook of the banquet including over 100 ladies.

After the serving, the tables were moved from the main hall and the capacity audience reseated, the speaking taking place from the platform, the President of the North York Liberal Association, Mr. Howard Cane of Newmarket, introducing the several speakers. Others occupying seats on the platform were Mr. I. E. Pedlow, M.P., for South Renfrew, Mr. W. D. Euler, M.P., for Waterloo, Mr. Andrew Hayden, general secretary of the Liberal Organization Committee for the Dominion of Canada, Ottawa, Mr. C. Larkin and Mr. W. D. McGregor of Toronto, Mayor Bassett of Aurora.

Letters of regret at not being able to be present were received from Duncan C. Ross, Chas. Maguire, E. F. Pardee, Sir Alan Aylesworth, Hon. G. P. Graham and others.

Hon. Mr. King was given a most cordial reception when he entered the banquet hall.

The Chairman read several letters from prominent Liberals who were unable to be present. One of these was from Hon. Geo. P. Graham, who, in referring to Mr. King, said he "possesses all the elements of successful leadership."

Mayor Eves of Newmarket, briefly welcomed the Liberal Leader and other outsiders to the town. His aged father was one of those who was on the platform.

Mr. King said that he proposed to review what appeared to be the outstanding features of the political situation as it exists in Canaday to-day, and to endeavor to present the attitude of Liberalism. It must be realized, he said, that it is impossible to separate the present from the past, and that it was equally impossible to understand conditions in Canada apart from the conditions as they exist in other countries.

"This is not a moment to theorize, it is not a moment to rush to extremes, neither is it a moment to stand pat," said Mr. King. "It is a time, above all others, to be essentially practical, to look facts square in the face, to make an accounting of our national assets and liabilities in terms that are human as well as material, and then, understanding what our problems are (not in a visionary mood, but in a concrete and comprehensive way), resolutely to meet them and attempt a solution that will make not only for material progress, but also for human freedom and for ever-widening possibilities in social well being and individual achievement."

Mr. King spoke of the effect of the great war upon the world. "The changed map of Europe is only one evidence of a changed order," he said, "an outward and visible sign of an infinitely greater convulsion from within." A true simile of the world's condition to-day was that of the ocean seething after a storm.

"It is a new attitude and a new spirit that are most needed to solve the problems at the presen time," he continued. "A spirit and attitude of good-will to replace the attitude and spirit of ill-will which war never fails to brtathe. That spirit," he said, "continues to lurk in all sorts of places, both high and obscure. It manifests itself in high places through a distrust of others in the actual use of power, in the continuance and enactment of repressive measures long after the reason for such is gone. It manifests itself from below through similar distrust in an indifference to rights, whether of persons or property, in the defiance of law and order. We shall fail utterly to grasp the significance of the legacy the war has left unless we note carefully every passion the war has roused and every prejudice upon which it has sought to play.

"It is in the creation of this new spirit, of this new attitude, that Liberalism's obligations to the present day problems will find the most important task." Mr. King enumurated some of the phases of work which Liberals were called upon to perform.

In front he placed the attitude to be assumed to those who differ from the Liberals in opinion. Here Mr. King referred to Sir Wilfrid Laurier, saying: "Our own great Leader in the political battles of 1911 and 1917 did not escape his share of the penalty of greatness where it looks with eyes beyond its day and has the courage to stand or fall by conviction. Pure in life, noble in purpose, patriotic in aim, in all these respects second to no other political leader of his generation, Sir Wilfrid Laurier more than any other man was misunderstood or misrepresented by many of those who in former days found their delight in sounding his praises. Is it not indeed significant that there is not a political happening of first importance since his death which has not afforded unmistakable evidence of his political wisdom and sagacious patriotism? The injustice done his life must be righted in the justice to be done his memory."

Consideration, continued the Liberal Leader, must be shown now to those who thought as Sir Wilfrid did.

"But the Liberals who stood with Sir Wilfrid in 1917, if they are to be true to the first principles of Liberalism, must be as ready to accord sincerity of purpose to those who differed from them as they are to demand like attitude toward themselves.

"We must also respect those who, while sharing with us in large measure the principles and policies we advocate, have aims and aspirations of their own. And here I may refer to some who belong to three of the largest and most important elements in our National Society; the Farmers, Labor and the War Veterans. Here we pass from differences between individuals to consider possible differences between classes."

Speaking of the recent Ontario elections, Mr. King said that, surprising as they were, one had not to seek far for an explanation. "First and foremost must be placed the exasperation of the people with a Government that has usurped the sovereign right of the people to govern themselves, and had become the chief ally of the Federal Administration in promulgating and maintaining arbitrary enactments. The compact between Sir William Hearst and Mr. Proudfoot to perpetuate the Government in office and the members in their seats in the Legislature may not have been without explanation on grounds of political expediency. If, however, we have not abandoned altogether what is fundamental in the right of the people to self-government it was wholly without justification on constitutional grounds.

Mr. King explained the Farmers' movement on the ground of this compact.

"Disgusted," he said, "with what seemed to them a frame up by political leaders whereby those in office or in the Legislature might be retained in power, the people in the rural districts, who had been doing a lot of thinking on their own account, decided to have candidates of their own. They were assisted in this by the Liberals of the province, who either withdrew their candidates or decided not to nominate in thirty-seven ridings. The Liberal Leader of the Province, Hartley Dewart, who never was a party to the compact of which I have spoken but who fought it from the outset, tackled some of the more difficult Tory strongholds, not with Farmer candidates, but with Liberals who, like himself, were in sympathy with the policy wholly friendly to the Farmers, and he won in a number of those constituencies. It must never be forgotten that, while the Farmer candidates were returned in largest numbers the overthrow of the Hearst Government was essentially a victory for the Liberal forces of the Province against a reactionary Government; a victory accomplished by Farmers and Liberals combined, and working in most constituencies in a whole hearted combination."

Mr. King reviewed the figures of the voting, and analyzed the vote in Ontario.

"The point I wish to make at the moment is that, as Liberals, Liberals in the truest meaning of that word, we mistake altogether these agrarian movements if we do not see is them evidences of Liberal thought and feeling on the part of those who are advocating and supporting their policies."

Speaking of Labor and the Liberal attitude, Mr. King said:

"Liberalism is to me the expression of a wider, human freedom, whether it be for those who work in the country on the farms or in the cities and towns in the shops and factories; wherher it be the well being of women and children that is at stake in the home or elsewhere, or the lot of men in the struggle with their several environments. What the workers in one form or another are seeking is what we, as Liberals, have all along been speaking of as more in the way of equality or opportunity. If that is not part of Liberalism, then Liberalism has ceased to exist."

The Liberal Leader also referred to the war veterans, saying: "If there is in Canada today one portion of its citizenry which more than any other is entitled to consideration it is the men who risked their lives in battle and those who shared with them the dangers and privations of war, especially the families of those whose sons made the supreme sacrifice in the call of the world's freedom. The war will be without its meaning to our

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day and generation unless we seek to make out of the sacrifices of the heroic dead a new social order resplendent with the concepaion of liberty for which they gave their lives.

"It is here that the supreme task of Liberalism comes in. Either we shall have an increasing growth of class consciousness on the part of each of the great groups I have mentioned, resulting, as all class-conscious growths are destined to result, in conflict with each other and with forces that sooner or later are certain to oppose them, or we shall have a great progressive movement which will lead to a new era of social progress and social justice. It will all depend upon whether the spirit of good-will is sufficiently strong to overcome the spirit that war breeds and that continues to lurk in its wake.

"War has shown what can be accomplished by co-operation and sacrifice. If we can carry the spirit of co-operation and sacrifice into this period of reconstruction, we have nothing to fear. If, on the other hand, each element in our national life is going to seek to go its own gait, unwilling to join hands with other groups that share like aims and aspirations to its own, if each separately intends to aim at domination in national affairs then we may look for a prolongation of the period of confusion and in the end retrogression rather advance.

"Just here let me say quite frankly that when it comes to matters of Government I am unalterably opposed to monopoly in any form, or by any class. I am relentlessly opposed to Government being controlled visibly or invisibly by railway, manufacturing or financial interests. I am not less opposed to a monopoly of control on the part of any other of the essential elements of our national economy, be they farmers, labor, war veterans or the newly enfranchised female voters."

Mr. King made an appeal for the abolishing of race and religious difference prejudices. "Let us remember, however, that whatever perpetuates or augments that illwill adds to the problem of Government in Canada to-day, and that whatever of goodwill we can engender in its stead will by so much lessen and lighten the magnitude and weight of the problems which confront us. As Liberals we can have but one attiaude toward prejudice whenever it raises its vicious head, and that is to strike it hard, strike it, if that be possible, to the death.

"We must resolve as never before to permit no new cleavage to destroy our national unity.

"Is the splendid unity of our great country to be imperilled by a conflict of policies related primarily to geographical areas or particular interests, or are we to carry into the shaping of our national policies the same noble spirit of some sacrifice on the part of each and willing co-operation on the part of all by which alone the war was won? shall it be each for self, or all for all? Shall it be the sperial interest of a class or the well being of the whole community? Shall it be Canada first, as it was with the men who gave their lives with thought of naught, save the honor of their country and their duty before God?

"If it is this larger, this nobler ideal, we must have in our Federal politics some political party large enough, fearless enough to carry forward such a policy of national unity. It cannot be a Manufacturers' party, for that will never suit the farmers or consumers; neither can it be a Farmers' party, for that, too, in the long run, will raise powerful combinations against itself which will serve to divide East and West, to set the cities and towns and villages over against the farming communities, and the rural districts over against the urban. Neither can it be a Labor party, for that means the the organization sooner or later of a Capitalist party, and added strife in industrial relations, rather than the working out of some system of joint control by which alone the problems of industry are to be solved. Least of all is it likely ever to be a War Veterans' party. The war veterans themselves have been the first to repudiate any thought of the kind that would be introducing into this new world the old-time conflicts between the army and civil authorities which takes us back to the days of Cromwell, and a condition of society which our citizen soldiery would be the first to deplore. No, it cannot be a party of any class, of any creed, of any race, or of any special interest. It must be a party representative of all the interests of the nation and reflecting in its composition the many-sided elements of our national life.

"Parties are necessary, useful and likely to endure. To what better party can those of Liberal views look for a fulfilment of their desires than to a party that is Liberal in name as well as in aim, and which has a century of Liberal traditions to hold it through to the highest principles and to spur it on to yet nobler achievement.

"With the Liberal forces at work in Canada to-day among the Farmers in the rural communities, among Labor in the cities and towns, among the returned soldiers, and among the great body of Canadian citizenry, men and women alike, who, apart from class affiliations, are thinking and praying and striving for the dawn of that better day which the sacrifices and privations of war were to usher in, there is nothing to with-stay ultimate and speedy victory in the triumph of Liberal ideas and policies except a failure on the part of those who are opposed to a common enemy to co-operate in a spirit that has regard primarily for the good of all."

Speaking of the present Dominion Administration, Mr. King said: "It is owing to the instability in management of the nation's affairs that the ship of State is in such distress to-day. Not only is the Government without a head to direct its affairs; it is actually without a policy to guide its actions. Never were the affairs of the country in a more hopeless state or muddle, nor an Administration more disorganized, than is the case of the present time. A policy of drift is the only characterization that can be made of the Government's action."

Mr. King reviewed the history of the Union Government since its inception. He spoke of the absence of the Premier and the affairs of State being allowed to drift along.

Referring to the Grand Trunk purchase, Mr. King said that as approval had not yet been granted by the shareholders in England, and as Parliament would be reassembling in a few weeks, it was not yet too late "to give Canadian taxpayers who have to meet these obligations the same rights as are given to the English shareholders; this right of approval should still be preserved to the people of Canada."

Referring again to the Government, Mr. King said: "The Prime Minister has just left for parts unknown, and who is to lead Parliament in his absence parts unknown, and who is to left the ship for a long time, just as he left in 1919 for a short time, without venturing to decide between the factions in his Cabinet which of the two is to assume his role during his absence" The Government had no policy, no constructive thought or idea—simply that the party might hang on a little longer. It would be ludicrous if it were not tragic. He referred to the statement recently issued by the Premier as further confirmation of the absence of any policy on the part of the Government.

"This," said the Liberal Leader, "is the natural fruit of Unionism, and it should be an object lesson to all citizens for years to come. It should cause the advocates of group government to pause in their advocacy of a system which leads only to compromise, subterfuge and inaction."

Mr. King expressed his thanks to the Liberals of North York for nominating him again as their candidate. "Surprise has been expressed in some quarters," said Mr. King, "that, having suffered defeat in 1917, I should have accepted renomination by the Liberals of this riding at a time when Parliament has just passed an act, introduced at the last session by one of the Liberal members by which the election of any candidate for the Federal Parliament is rendered void in the event of his seeking election for more than one constituency at a single election.

"Had I not been through one political battle with the Liberals of North York, there might be some occasion for surprise; and had our cause not suffered defeat more through a fraudulent franchise than from any other reason, there might be even greater occasion for surprise. The people of Canada mistake my interest in politics if they believe that, gratifying as is the sense of political victory, it weighs with me for one moment in comparison with the vindication of principles of political freedom for which our forefathers sacrificed their all, and which our fathers taught us to hold in reverent regard.

"In tracing the Liberal party of Canada to its source, we are brought back to the years of opposition to the arrogance of the Family Compact, to the long and bitter struggle against an autocratic Executive, to the demands for representative and responsible government, in which political struggles the Reformers of York played a part second to none.

"It was the electors of York who chose my grandfather as their standard-bearer. When after a lapse of two generations, the descendants of these very men invite me to take up that same standard of political freedom, at a moment when it is being lowered by a Government that has availed itself of measures more arbitrary and autocratic than any enacted since those early reforms were obtained, and which in many ways has shown itself more indifferent and less responsible to the people's representativts in Parliament than any Governmtnt we have had in years, all that there is of chivalry in my nature and of power ih tradition compels me to accept the nomination with gratitude and pride, be the consequences what they may."

Mr. King also made pleasant referehces to Sir Alan Aylesworth and Sir William Mulock.

Mr. H. D. Ramsden, President of Toronto and North York Liberal Association, also joined in welcoming the visitors. He spoke feelingly of the late Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and referred to the National Convention last August as one of the most democratic ever held. Mr. Ramsden spoke in glowing language of Mr. King.

The Liberal Leader, the speaker said, had made a life long study of Labor matters in Canada, and was one of the foremost authorities on the subject, not only in Canada, but in the United States. This country needs leadership, but at the present time there is none in Canada.

Dr. H. H. Horsey, President of the Eastern Ontario Liberal Association, also spoke briefly. He, too, paid high tribute to Mr. King's ability. The Liberal Leader was not only trained in the themes of Labor matters, but also in a practical way. "He is a man of sterling character, whom we can all get behind and fight for," he declared.

Those on the platform, in addition to the speakers, included Messrs. P. C. Larkin; W. D. Euler, M.P., for North Waterloo; Isaac Pedlow, M.P. for Renfrew; Mayor Bassett of Aurora, and Andrew Hayden, General Secretary of the National Liberal Committee, of Ottawa.

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LIBERALISM AND CANADIAN
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STABILITY AND
THE GREAT NE

Hon. MacKenzie King Proclaims the Message of Liberalism as the Solution of the Problems Which Face the Country—The Clear Call for Welding All the Progressive Forces into One Great Forward Movement—The Liberal Leader and Mr. Lapointe Won Cheers of Two Splendid Meetings.

Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, successor to Sir Wilfrid Laurier as Leader of the Liberal Party, last night first brought his personal message to the people of Nova Scotia at a mass meeting at the Orpheus Theatre, and made it evident that he was a chieftain of no mean ability. The audience which greeted him, in perhaps a typically Nova Scotian attitude, might have been composed of natives of Missouri, and was patiently waiting to be shown, greeting Mr. King with more or less mechanical applause at the outset. He had not spoken long, however, before he had carried away his audience, even a number of people in the gallery who seemed to have come with the express object of making things unpleasant for him. He was listened to with the deepest of attention, and the most important of his points elicited applause that was spontaneous and fortissimo. When he left the theatre there was a demonstration which lasted for several minutes, and there was little doubt that the personality of the new Liberal Leader had left a profound impression.

More than two thousand citizens heard Mackenzie King at the Orpheus last night, and many more would have been present had Halifax possessed an auditorium with sufficient seating capacity. The doors of the theatre were opened at half-past seven, and thirty minutes earlier there were great crowds at both the Granville and Barrington Street entrances. At a quarter to eight the Orpheus was S.R.O. plus, with people standing in all the aisles and seated on the steps leading to the stage.

A Representative Audience.

The audience was exceedingly catholic in composition, with men and women, young and old, of all ranks of life. College students and returned soldiers were very much in evidence. Most noticeable, however, was the number of citizens of avowedly Conservative belief who listened to the leader of the rival party with the deepest attention, and who did not fail to applaud many of his statements. In the balcony was a small group who endeavored to "rag" Mr. King on his lack of military service, but they were soon silenced.

promptly we will hear far less about Grip or Influenza."
The treatment for colds in the head simple and may be handled at home. Gr Fix, which may be secured at any druggis affords a means whereby relief will be giv in a night and even an attack of grippe ov come in 48 hours. The preparation is o which will be approved by any physician it provides, in capsule form, just the dru he would prescribe. A full list of these printed on each box.
The action of Grip Fix ism to keep th system open, to quickly relieve the clogge up condition of the head reduce the fe



W. L. MACKENZIE KING.

Ald. John B. Douglas, President of the Provincial Liberal Association, was in the chair, and on the platform were seated D. D. Mackenzie, M.P., Hon. E. H. Armstrong, Professor H. L. Stewart, C. C. Blackadar, R. H. Mackay, Hon. R. M. Macgregor, Col. J. L. Ralston, Rev. H. B. Clarke, Attorney General Daniels, Dr. I. M. Lovitt, A. B. Magillivray, J. H. Sinclair, M.P., William Duff, M.P., Hon. George E. Faulkner, Hon. H. H. Wickwire, C. U. Mader, George W. Kyte, Hon. J. Osman, L. H. Martel, Dr. J. B. Black, Andrew Hayden, and others.

A telegram from Premier Murray was read by Mr. Douglas announcing the former's regret at his absence. Mr. Douglas happily welcomed Hon. Mackenzie King to Nova Scotia and briefly introduced him, saying that he was wearing the mantle of the greatest Canadian ever produced, and calling him a future Prime Minister of Canada.

Appeal For Stability and Unity.

Mr. King's speech was eloquent and inspiring, an appeal for unity and stability to enable Canada to face the great problems which were confronting her. He spoke of the three great groups, the Farmers, Labor and the War Veterans, and said that beneath the aspirations of each was the great underlying prin-

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ciple of Liberalism. He claimed that a true Parliament must be like a mirror and represent all these groups; otherwise there could be no hope of a united Canada. It was the work of Liberalism to include the essentials of demands of all of these groups and prevent them from becoming too class-conscious, welding them into one great forward movement. He expressed his complete opposition to monopily of government by any one class.

In appealing for the formation of a great party with a broad platform, Mr. King dwelt upon the value of the traditions of Liberalism. He also spoke of the lives of public men and said that they were no cowards for they were obliged to endure the sneers and insults of men probably less worthy than they were.

A Ship Without a Chart.

He spoke much of unity of command in an endeavor to show wherein Union Government had utterly failed. He said that it had been formed to win the war, nothing else; and now that the war was ended and won, it was seeking a pretext for holding on. Regarding Sir Robert Borden, he said that the agreement had been that the nominal Prime Minister was to go so far away that no one would be able to communicate with him. His sketches of current happenings in Ottawa and the nebulous policy of the Administration won much laughter and applause. The ship of state, he said, was quite without a chart.

Mr. King devoted much time to an exposition of the platform drawn up at the Liberal Convention, stressing the financial situation, and the suggested tariff changes in an effort to reduce the high cost of living.

Warm Tribute to Mr. Fielding.

Speaking of the defeat of Reciprocity and the bogus cries raised against it, the Liberal Party was prepared to stand and fight for it again. He paid a warm tribute to the Hon. W. S. Fielding, "that noble statesman," who had worked for reciprocity so courageously and brilliantly. "There is no man," he said, "who had devoted himself more generously, completely, unselfishly and honorably to the service of his country and to fighting for the people of Canada than has your own Mr. Fielding. He has sacrificed his health in the country's service, but he will live to see his policy triumphant and his splendid efforts crowned with victory." (Cheers.)

Referring to the demands of the Great War Veterans and a letter from them asking him to declare his attitude, he recited what occurred in the House of Commons and declared that he stood now as he stood then.



MR. ERNEST LAPOINTE, M. P.

The Attitude of Liberals.

He spoke reticently of his own war record, refusing to traffic in his personal patriotism for political ends and branded as untrue the rumor that there was any collusion between parties to stave off an election. The Liberals had only one attitude; they wanted a fair and equitable Franchise Act, then an appeal to the people. In conclusion he said that only as Canada became a united people would she become a great nation. The applause which greeted his final words was deafening and lasted for several minutes.

After Mr. King had left, Mr. D. D. MacKenzie spoke in a happy vein. He said that the Liberal Party was to be congratulated upon the talents displayed by its new chief, and predicted victory at the next election.

Good Cheer from Quebec.

The last speaker of the evening was Mr. Ernest Lapointe, member for Quebec East, who in an address which won much enthusiasm and laughter, pled for complete Canadian unity, described the current administration in no very flattering terms, calling the term "Union" a lie and saying that while Borden was wintering in the South, Canadian Government was hibernating in Ottawa. He declared that Quebec would have neither Mr. Meighen nor Mr. Calder and stigmatized the Government as irresponsible and the Parliament as unrepresentative. He repeated Mr. King's statement that the Liberals were eager for a new election.

Mr. King and Mr. Lapointe also addressed a second meeting at St. Patrick's Hall on similar topics. It was well attended and equally enthusiastic.

In introducing Mr. King at the Orpheus, Alderman Douglas said that a warm welcome was extended to him by all thoughtful Nova Scotians, irrespective of political belief, because they understood the responsibilities of a man charged with the leadership of a great historic party. He was wearing the mantle of the greatest Canadian ever produced, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, whose memory would remain bright and green for generations, and whose truest monument was the greatness of Canada. Mr. King's ancestors had fought for the cause of freedom, and his mind was richly endowed by years of studying of the critical problems of the state. It was safe to predict that he would be a future Prime Minister of the Dominion.

Message From the Premier.

Mr. Douglas then read the following message from Premier Murray, who was to have presided at the meeting, but was detained in North Sydney by illness:

North Sydney, Jan. 12, 1920.

Hon. Mackenzie King,
Halifax, N. S.:

Owing to the condition of my health, it is a matter of great regret that I will be unable to preside at your meeting in Halifax tonight, but I take this opportunity of extending to you as Leader of the Liberal Party, and also to Mr. Lapointe, a hearty welcome to Nova Scotia. I feel you have behind you the general support of the Party in this Province ,and I am quite sure your meeting in Halifax will furnish evidence of this fact. I exceedingly regret missing seeing you, but you are in the hands of good friends who will do everything possible to make your visit a pleasant one.

(Sgd.) G. H. MURRAY.

Hon. Mr. Kings's Speech.

Having concluded his introductory remarks, Mr. King said that in his opinion the great need in Canada today was stability; stability as regards conditions throughout the country, and stability in matters of government. In this connection, he opened his address by reference to the world unrest as it had followed in the wake of war, and as it was demonstrating itself in the different class movements which were coming into such prominence at the present time. On these matters he spoke as follows:

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"Let us realize that it is impossible to separate the present from the past, and that it is equally impossible to understand conditions in Canada apart from conditions as they exist in other countries.

"For many a year to come the war and its consequences will remain a mighty influence in world affairs, and any course of action, or any policy which does not reckon with that fact, is certain sooner or later to prove of no avail, and to increase rather than lessen the evils which have been forced upon us.

Effects of World Upheaval.

"Let us remember that the world has just passed through an upheaval unparalleled in all its history. The garment of civilization has been torn into shreds. The nations are now busily engaged in patching it together anew. It will be some time yet before the process is complete. In physical outline the boundaries of countries have changed. But the changed map of Europe is only one evidence of a changed order, an outward and visible sign of an infinitely greater convulsion from within. All that is living and breathing in the soul of humanity has been stirred to its depths. A truer simile of the world's condition today is that of the ocean seething after storm. For years to come the tide of emotion will continue to surge in human breasts with seemingly irresistible flow, mounting ever and anon high with hope and then falling away into depths of despondency and despair. A recognition of this great truth should make us view with great patience the restlessness of our day; it should awaken a sympathy with all these movements which bespeak an aroused conscience, and sound a new note in human aspirations. Here I may refer to some who belong to three of the largest and most important elements in our national society—the farmers, labor, and the war veterans.

The Agrarian Movement.

"It is no mere coincidence that we have the rise of the Grain Growers Party in the West and the United Farmers in Ontario at the time they have come. With the defeat of Reciprocity, a Grain Growers Party in the West was inevitable. Sir Wilfrid Laurier saw this clearly, and told the people of Canada so very plainly. It was not Sir Wilfrid's fault, nor the fault of the Liberal Party, and least of all the fault of Hon. Mr. Fielding and his friends in the Maritime Provinces, that Reciprocity did not carry. It was the forces that were opposed to a wise and progressive Liberalism.

"When, on May 14, 1918, the farmers of Ontario and Quebec came in thousands from all parts of these Provinces to the very doors of Parliament to protest against the broken pledges of the administration, and the arbitrary measures being enacted and arbitrary methods being employed by the Government in carrying out many of its measures and the administration declined to permit them to enter the building, and met with blank indifference—one might almost say with contempt—their respectful petitions; it was equally inevitable that they should return to their homes determined upon political action through their existing organizations. In so far as these movements are in the nature of protest against arbitrary behavior on the part of the administration, and are evidence of determination on the part of those engaged in agriculture to secure a wider measure of economic freedom, there can be only one attitude toward them on the part of all true Liberals, and that an attitude of whole-hearted approval and co-operation in an endeavor to obtain reform already too long delayed.

"Of the events of the year just passed, one of the most significant has been the results attending upon political organization of the farmers in different parts of Canada, and especially in the Province of Ontario. The overwhelming defeat of the Hearst Government and the formation of a Provincial administration under Mr. Drury, was one of these surprises which lend so much interest and zest to politics.

Liberal Attitude Toward Farmers.

"Liberals should be the last to deplore any constitutional act on the part of the people to maintain their sovereign rights. It is in this way that governments are taught to respect the people's will. It must never be forgotten that, whilst the Farmer candidates were returned in large numbers, the overthrow of the Hearst Government in Ontario was essentially a victory for the Liberal forces of the Province against a reactionary Government, a victory accomplished by Farmers and Liberals combined, and working in most constituencies in whole-hearted combination.

"As Liberals, then, in the truest meaning of that word, we mistake altogether the significance of these agrarian movements if we do not see in them evidences of Liberal thought and feeling on the part of those who are advocating and supporting their policies.

Liberal Attitude Towards Labor.

"And the same is true of the Labor movement. Here, again, is another large class in our national society, which has become conscious, not only of economic injustices in the past, but of the need for united action to gain that fuller expression of personal and economic freedom which is of the very essence of all true Liberalism. Can we as Liberals fail to appreciate the aims and aspirations of that movement? Can we fail to share something of the thoughts and feelings of the men and women who are a part of it? Speaking for myself, my interest in industrial problems is bred by my Liberalism. I can think of the problems of industry only in terms of humanity. Liberalism is to me the expression of a wider human freedom, whether it be for those who work in the country, on the farms, or in the cities and towns in the shops and factories; whether it be the well-being of women and children that is at stake, in the home or elsewhere, or the lot of men in the struggle with their several environments. What the workers in one form or another are seeking is what we as Liberals have all along been speaking of as more in the way of equality of opportunity. If that is not part of Liberalism, then Liberalism has ceased to exist.

Liberal Attitude Toward Veterans.

Now, as to the returned soldiers, or, more appropriately, the war veterans, who are not without ideals and aspirations as a class. If there is in Canada today one portion of its citizenry which more than any other is entitled to consideration, it is the men who risked their lives in battle, and those who shared with them the dangers and privations of war, especially the families of those whose sons made the supreme sacrifice in the cause of the world's freedom. Having fought and suffered and sacrificed to save the world from autocratic rule, and the tyranny of material power, it is not surprising that these men and women hope for a realization in larger measure of the freedom they fought to preserve. As Liberals, we have special reason to share their hopes and aspirations.

"Liberalism in Canada had its birth in the struggle against autocracy in government. The war in Europe was an expression upon a world scale of two diametrically opposite systems of government brought into conflict, and provoked by those who sought world domination under their particular systems. The war will be without its meaning to our day and generation unless we seek to make out of the sacrifices of the heroic dead a new social order, resplendent with the conception of liberty for which they gave their lives.

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Supreme Task of Liberalism.

"It is here that the supreme task of Liberalism comes in. Either we shall have an increasing growth of class consciousness on the part of each of the great groups I have mentioned, resulting, as all class conscious growths are destined to result, in conflict with each other and with forces that sooner or later are certain to oppose them; or we shall have a great progressive movement which will lead to a new era of social progress and social justice. It will all depend upon whether the spirit of good-will is sufficiently strong to overcome the spirit that war breeds and that continues to lurk in its wake.

"War has shown what can be accomplished by co-operation and sacrifice. If we can carry the spirit of co-operation and sacrifice into this period of reconstruction, we have nothing to fear. If, on the other hand, each element in our national life is going to seek to go its own gait, unwilling to join hands with other groups that share like aims and aspirations to its own, if each separately intends to aim at domination in national affairs, then we may look for a prolongation of the period of confusion, and, in the end, retrogression rather than advance.

"Parliament ought to be a mirror reflecting the different elements that go to make up a nation. It is absurd for the Dominion of Canada to have a Parliament that has relatively no farmers in it, to speak for the farmers, and no one from the ranks of Labor to speak for Labor. I hope there will be in our next Parliament representatives of both these classes of our people, and also men from the ranks of the War Veterans, to speak for those who have served their country with such heroism and for those who lie in Flanders' fields and cannot speak for themselves. I think our next Parliament must be truly representative if we are to secure unity and contentment in this country.

"Just here let me say quite frankly that when it comes to matters of government, I am unalterably opposed to monopoly in any form, or by any class. I am relentlessly opposed to government being controlled visibly or invisibly by railway, manufacturing, or financial interests. I am not less opposed to a monopoly of control on the part of any other of the essential elements of our national economy, be they farmers, labor, war veterans, or the newly enfranchised female voters. I know of no finer maxim of government than that of the illustrious statesman Pym, enunciated in the reign of Charles I, which is as applicable to our politics today as it was to England in that unsettled period:

"'That form of government is best which doth actuate and dispose every part and member of the State to the common good.'

"Certainly, such a form of government is not to be found in any attempt at monopoly by any class. It is only to be found in co-operation between the different classes, made effective by a spirit of genuine good-will.

Politics of Imperial Unity.

"And this leads me to speak of the East and the West of our wide Dominion, and of all the vast intervening space of British Columbia with its wonderful diversified resources, of the Prairie Provinces with their vast agricultural wealth, of Ontario and Quebec, and the Maritime Provinces with their rural as well as urban populations, and their enterprising manufacturing and commercial developments. Is the splendid unity of our great country to be imperilled by a conflict of policies related primarily to geographical areas, or particular interests; or are we to carry into the shaping of our national policies the same noble spirit of some sacrifice on the part of each, and willing co-operation on the part of all, by which alone the War was won? Shall it be each for self, or all for all? Shall it be the special interest of a class, or the well-being of the whole community? Shall it be Canada first, as it was with the men who gave their lives, with thought of naught save the honor of their country and their duty before God?

Great Political Party Needed.

"If it is this larger, this nobler ideal, we must have in our Federal politics some political party large enough, broad enough, tolerant enough, fearless enough to carry forward such a policy of national unity. It cannot be a manufacturers' party, for that will never suit the farmers or consumers; neither can it be a farmers' party, for that, too, in the long run, will raise up powerful combinations against itself which will serve to divide East and West, to set the cities and towns and villages over against the farmer communities, and the rural districts over against the urban. Neither can it be a Labor party, for that means the organization, sooner or later, of a Capitalist party, and added strife in industrial relations, rather than the working out of some system of joint-control, by which alone the problems of industry are to be solved. Least of all is it likely ever to be a War Veterans' party. The War Veterans themselves have been the first to repudiate any thought of the kind; that would be introducing into this new world the old-time conflicts between the Army and the Civil authorities, which take us back to the days of Cromwell, and a condition of society which our citizen soldiery would be the first to deplore. No, it cannot be a party of any class, of any creed, or any race, or of any special interest. It must be a party representative of all the interests of the nation, and reflecting in its composition the many-sided elements of our national life.

Lessons From the War.

"A great political party has a significance scarcely dreamed of by many who today appreciate too little what continuity of effort in a great cause means in the maintenance of freedom, and in the ultimate achievement of victory for politics with which its name and history have been identified.

"Let me make a comparison which will appeal to all. In the great war just ended, did past history and tradition mean nothing to the historic regiments which participated in the fight for freedom? Did the Black Watch and the Gordon Highlanders signify nothing to Scotchmen and men of Scotch descent? Did the Guards and the Middlesex add nothing of fighting quality to Englishmen and sons of Englishmen? Were the Dublin Fusiliers and the Inniskillen Dragoons mere names to Irishmen and those who fought at their side in these historic regiments? More than one Canadian soldier will ever regret the loss of identity of his regiment in the Canadian Expeditionary Force; but is there a Canadian living who would take from the colors of our army the names of the battles displayed upon them?

"All through history the liberties of our human society have been preserved, and new liberties won by great fighting forces, the military and naval forces in the political arena; and the finer the tradition of the fighting forces in either field, the greater has been the measure of their achievement.

Permanent Parties Necessary.

"It is not a mere accident that the system of party has been established in England for more than two centuries. The existence of permanent parties can alone give a guarantee of caution in adopting, and perseverance in advocating, policies and proposals. It assures, better than any other means can do, a full consideration of difficult problems, and safeguards the country against the hurried adoption by Parliament of ill-digested measures.

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"To what better party can those of Liberal views look for a fulfillment of their desires than to a party that is Liberal in name as well as in aim, and which has a century of Liberal tradition to hold it true to its highest principles, and to spur it on to yet nobler achievement.

"Let me make one further observation from the experience of war. No one will question that the Allied countries were one in aim, or that there was other than the strongest reasons to compel co-operation in their resistance of the Central Powers. Their fighting capacity and their heroism was not for a moment in doubt. It was not, however, till unity of command was established that the tide of battle turned, and that victory by the Allied armies became assured.

"With the Liberal forces at work in Canada today among the farmers, in the rural communities, among Labor in the cities and towns, among the returned soldiers, and among that great body of Canadian citizenry, men and women alike, who, apart from class affiliations or associations are thinking and praying and striving for the dawn of that better day which the sacrifices and privations of war were to usher in, there is nothing to withstay ultimate and speedy victory in the triumph of Liberal ideas and policies, except a failure on the part of those who are opposed to a common enemy to cooperate in a spirit that has regard primarily for the good of all.

"Not only must we have stability and unity of purpose and aim as regards the liberal and progressive forces throughout the country; we must, if we are to have progress and prosperity in the nation, have stability in matters of Government as well. It is not enough to help to calm the restless spirit of the nation; it is also necessary to have its affairs directed in accordance with some policy which is known, and of which the country as a whole has approved. There must be a chart and compass which will give certainty of direction to the ship of state. It is owing to instability in management of the nation's affairs that the ship of state is in such distress in Canada today. Not only is the Government without a head to direct its affairs; it is actually without a policy to guide its actions. Never were the affairs of a country in a more hopeless state of muddle, nor an administration more disorganized than is the case at the present time.

Policy of Drift Reviewed.

"A policy of drift is the only characterization that can be made of the Government's action. Let me briefly review one or two outstanding circumstances which all present will recall.

"It will be remembered that the Union Government was formed for the purpose of the election of 1917. The Union was preceded by the War Measures Act, the Military Voters Act and the War-time Elections Act, which, were the truth wholly known, could be shown to have been more of a determing factor in bringing about the Union than aught else. While the war was on, the cry "Win the war," was a sufficient rallying cry, sufficient for election purposes, and sufficient for a policy as long as the war lasted. The electors were told that the Union was formed for that purpose and for that only. It was not a Government for the purpose of reconstruction after the war, or for any purpose other than that of helping to "win the war," according, at all events, to the professions of the Prime Minister at the time the administration was formed, and of those who entered his cabinet.

The Liberal Convention.

Twice in its history, the Liberal Party of Canada has held a National Convention. The first time was in the summer of 1893, when the party adopted a platform of policies and principles in which it was returned to power three years later. The second occasion was in August of the last year.

Perhaps it would be best to let the platform of the Liberal Party speak for itself. Here are some of the resolutions that were unanimously adopted at the convention, and which now constitute a part of the policy of the Liberal Party.

First and foremost in the Liberal platform is the demand for economy in the administration of public affairs. If there is one criticism above another to which the present admisistration has laid itself open, it is the vast extravagance and waste there has been of public monies at a time when, of all times, the strictest economy was needed. We all realize that the expenditures of war were necessarily abnormal and necessarily very great; but one would have expected that during the period of war, and especially subsequent to it, the Government would have economized in every possible way. Instead of that, an analysis of the Public Accounts will show that there is not a department of the civil government in which the expenditure has not been vastly greater during and since the period of the war than it has ever hitherto been. In addition to that the Government has been taking on new liabilities on an enormous scale.

It is hardly possible to believe—but it is nevertheless true—that the last act of the administration, the taking over of the Grand Trunk System, wos one involving the country in a transaction amounting to over 500 millions of dollars (a sum greater than the total national debt of Canada at the time the Liberals went out of office in 1911), and this at a time when the public debt of this country had reached the enormous figure of over two and a half billions of dollars.

Of recent years, the country has been living almost entirely upon borrowed money. We have had loan, not only to meet the expenses of the war, but also to help meet current expenditure. Is it any wonder, therefore, that the Liberal Convention declared that national disaster would overtake this country should the present method of financing the country's affairs be continued, and that the Convention resolved that the serious nature of the country's financial situation called for the profoundest consideration of all patriotic citizens, and the exercise of the severest economy by the Government.

High Cost of Living.

But how, it will be asked, are the people to carry the burden of increased taxation along with the ever-increasing cost of living. Here we come to what seems to me the problem of problems in Canlada today. Whilst there are classes, large and small, to which some belong while others do not, there is one class to which all whether men, women, or children, belong irrespective of trade or occupation, of race or creed, of origin or circumstances, irrospective even of politics, and that is the great body of consumers. And there is one element in our national economy which affects every member of this class in greater or less degree, and that is the cost of living. There is not a man or woman, there is not a young person, boy or girl, there is not a father or mother, the head of a family, or any individual having the responsibility of little children, or of others dependent on him, who has not in some measure been affected by the increase in the cost of living which has made itself felt of recent years.

It is here that we are at once brought together face to face with the contrast as it exists between the two political parties in Canada today. The Unionist Party, with its policy of drift, the logical and inevitable fruit of the continuance of a Union which has served the purpose for which it was formed, and has ceased to have any real purpose other than that of holding on to office, and the constructive and progressive policy of the Liberal Party as framed by the National Liberal Convention, which assembled in Ottawa in August of last year.

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The Tariff.

"If the problem of the cost of living is to be met in a manner which will be of advantage at once to the consumers of the country and to its producers, this can only be effected by carefully considered changes in the tariff, which will have the effect of stimulating and increasing production, and of removing such artificial barriers to legitimate trade as cause prices of the necessaries of life to be unduly enhanced to consumers. The wealth of the country can only be increased by developing our natural resources, and there is no more effective way of developing these resources, whether they be of the land, of the sea, of the mine, or of the forest, than by placing the necessary instruments of production, in all of these industries, within reach of those engaged in them at as low a cost as may be possible. Accordingly, the Liberal Platform has declared that duties on all instruments of production, and the raw materials entering into the same, should be removed.

"Then, there is a large class of articles, those which constitute the necessaries of life, which should be made as reasonable to consumers as legitimate manufacture and trade will permit.

"Before leaving the Tariff, I should add that, at the Convention the Liberals again expressed their faith in Reciprocity in natural products with the United States, and determined that, if opportunity should be afforded to carry out the free interchange of natural products, as provided in the Reciprocity Agreement of 1911, the earliest advantage would be taken of that opportunity.

"Realizing the importance of Agriculture, the Convention considered very carefully and fully means whereby the interests of this great industry could be best promoted in Canada. Nothing could better disclose the intention of the Liberal Party to render every possible assistance to Agriculture than the resolution passed, which pledges the Party's support to policies for which the farmers have long been contending.

"Not only was careful consideration given to the Farmers, but the interests of Labor also have been made a special concern. The National Liberal Convention agreed to accept the terms of the Labor convention and general principles associated with the League of Nations and incorporated in the conditions of peace.

"With respect to the Great War Veterans, the Party's platform is equally specific and emphatic. This part of the platform was drafted by a committee of which Colonel Ralston of Halifax was the Chairman.

A Fair Franchise.

"Another important resolution was one passed by the Convention respecting election frauds. I shall not read the resolution, but shall pass at once to speak of the necessity that there is in this country at the moment for a Franchise Act which will ensure to the electors, in accordance with a right which every citizen and British subject possess a fair and just franchise.

Speaking of the Franchise leads me to say a word with reference to the subject of a general election.

"One sees it repeatedly asserted in the press, for reason best known to those who are responsible for the assertion, that neither of the old political parties desire an election at the present time. Some have even gone so far as to insinuate that there was likely to be collusion between the leaders of the parties in the House of Commons to avoid an election, on the specious plea that there is much unrest and that there is no telling who may come to occupy the Treasury benches. Let me deal with this assumption and deal with it very plainly.

"I am not in the confidence of the Government, and, therefore, am not in a position to know what the views of its members are. I imagine that in this one single instance they are united, they are all doubtless agreed that, be the wishes of the people what they may, they, the members of the administration are there and intend to hold on to office just as long as this can be done with the support of their following in the House.

As most of the following never expect to see the House of Commons again, the Government has only to threaten resignation to bring them into line, as has been done already on three occasions, first, when the Prime Minister threatened to dissolve Parliament if his followers persisted in taking away the right of his friends to receive titles; second, when he threatened the resignation of the Ministry if approval were not forthwith given the Peace Treaty—an approval which, as the debate went to show, was a mere performance and did not affect in any particular the signing of the terms of peace; and third, when the House of Commons was told only a few months ago, that unless its members accepted the report of the Committee on Soldiers' Civil Re-Establishment the Government would resign. Be the subject as it may, it would seem that the Ministry has only to threaten resignation either behind closed doors or, when the following gets particularly restive, in the open, for enough of the following to fall into line to see the Ministry through. We may expect, then, so far as the Government and its supporters are concerned, that any pretext will be deemed sufficient to avoid an appeal to the electorate, provided that by keeping vital issues postponed they can successfully continue the policy of drift, regardless of its effect upon the country, either in the present or for the future.

Though unable to speak for the party in power, I am in a position where I can speak for the Liberal Party, and for the Liberal members who comprise the Opposition in the House of Commons. What their wishes as individual members may be, I cannot say. No man would go out of his way to court an election any more than in his own interest or the interest of the country. Too great frequency in elections is not a condition to be desired, but the question is not one of individual desires, or even the desire of a parliamentary group.

As Liberals, believing in self-government as the foundation of all our liberties, and in representative and responsible government as the only form of self-government worthy the name, there can be but one attitude towards a government that never was representative, and that only figuratively speaking could be regarded as responsible, and that is that the sooner it makes way for a government that is founded upon the will of the governed, and is truly representative of the people as a whole, the better for peace, order and good government in our midst.

National Unity.

There are other resolutions passed by the Convention to which I might allude, but having already spoken at too great length, I shall refer only to resolutions which relate to our national life One is a resolution on Canadian Autonomy, the other on National Unity. They express the natural antipathy of all true Liberals to anything in the nature of centralized Imperialism, and the desire for a united Canada which should inspire all citizens of the Dominion.

It is not only as regards differences between persons and classes, racial and religious differences, national and international differences, that we must seek in a spirit of good will to bind up the wounds and to bridge the chasms which the roused passions of the war have served to widen and create; we must resolve as never before to permit no new cleavage to destroy our national unity.

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Unity Established by War.

The war, we believe, has put an end forever to geographical divisions even in thought, so far as the unity of our Dominion is concerned. Not only in the eyes of the world, but in our own eyes that single word "Canada" on the shoulder strap of our soldiers in the fighting armies overseas has welded this country into one as no symbol of nationhood in the past has ever united it. It was for the unity of Canada, the unity of the British Empire of which Canada is a part, the unity of aim and purpose of the free nations associated as Allies in the titanic struggle for the world's freedom that our brave heroes gave their lives in the fields of Flanders and of France, and the word comes back to us from them—

"If ye break faith with us who die,
We shall not sleep though poppies grow
On Flanders' Fields."

National unity we must at all cost maintain, and our political platform must be so drafted and our political politics so conceived and carried out as to make that unity at all times a great reality.

Mr. D. D. Mackenzie, who was greeted with enthusiasm, said that although it might possibly be true that no successor to Laurier could be found, still the Liberal Party was to be congratulated upon the talents displayed by its new chieftan. He had spoken of his opponents with charity, but there was a little twinkle in his eye which said plainly: "Mackenzie'll give it to them." The gathering which greeted him in Nova Scotia was a magnificent one, but every town in Nova Scotia from Yarmouth to Louisburg would have done the same.

Mr. Mackenzie spoke of Premier Murray, saying that he had stood for Liberalism, and as the honored leader of Liberalism in Nova Scotia for twenty-five years and that the party had a proud record here as elsewhere in every Province in Canada. The history of Nova Scotia had only one black spot since Confederation, the Holmes-Thompson Government, which had got in by a fluke, but had been speedily wiped off the slate, the people declaring: "Never again will that mistake be made."

Of the Ontario farmers, Mr. Mackenzie said: "God bless them, they have smashed the machine." He felt that when the people of the country had the opportunity to speak at the ballot boxes, they would pronounce a judgment so conclusive that the office holders at Ottawa would be known "no more for ever!" Introducing Mr. Lapointe, he said that he was one of the most popular men in the Parliament of Canada, on both sides of the House.

Mr. Lapointe at St. Patrick's.

There was a smaller but no less enthusiastic meeting at St. Patrick's Hall where Mr. Ernest Lapointe was the first and chief speaker. After a selection by St. Patrick's Band which rendered appropriate music during the intervals of speaking, Mr. Lapointe was introduced very gracefully by Mr. G. A. Redmond President of the Halifax Liberal Association who said that he was happy to be able to welcome to the City two such distinguished visitors as the speakers of the evening.

Mr. Lapointe after thanking the audience for the reception which was given him, and which, he said, was another proof of the friendly spirit which had always existed between Nova Scotia and Quebec, devoted the greater part of his address to consideration of the principles of Liberalism. These seemed to find favorable ground for expansion in Nova Scotia where the sea breezes swept away the germs of narrowness and the microbes of prejudice and where among all classes the motto seemed to be 'live and let live.'

Need of Strong Government.

There had never been a time in the history of Canada, he said, when the application and guidance of Liberal principles were more needed than at the present day. At no time had the country been in need of a strong Government fairly representative of the majority of the people. The Union Government was not such an one. The Union Government was not representative of the people of Canada. For a time it had been staggering between various parties now inclining toward the privileged interests, now away from them, and it had finally reached that condition of inertia which is produced by equal forces operating on an object in opposite directions. "The Premier is sick; I regret it. He has gone away leaving the ship of state in the hands of the crew" he said. "The Ministers are doing practically nothing. They seem to say 'Sufficient unto the day is the statesmanship thereof.' " (laughter, The motive power of the Government, had broken down.

Mr. Lapointe went on to say that the prestige of the Union Government had fallen a good many degrees below zero and added amid laughter that he who is down, need fear no fall.

Quebec Safe and Sane.

He said that there was general dissatisfaction throughout Canada and general unrest. The descendants of Jeremiah in the Union Government were tearing their garments and beating their breasts and saying that salvation lay only in a great unification of all the "safe and sane" elements in the country. They now thought that Quebec, as one of the strongholds of sanity, should be willing to join such a union. "Will you walk into my parlor, said the spider to the fly," said Mr. Lapointe. "Quebec is safe and sane, so is the great Liberal Party, and so is the Liberal Leader." Quebec could not by any means be brought to the support of the present Government.

Me commended Mr. Mackenzie King to his audience as a man who had all the qualifications for a great leader, as a man who had given long study to the great problems which presented themselves to the country at the present, and than whom there was not a better heart or brain in the Dominion. "He is a Liberal, and so am I," he said, "because the Liberal Party is broad enough to embrace every man who is willing to give every other man every chance that is his right."

Outcome of Political Freedom.

He believed in party politics because parties were the outcome of political freedom. Parties, however, were only a means to an end and should be subordinated in the interests of the country. He ridiculed the so-called independents returned at the last election, than whom no members of the Dominion House had ever more slavishly followed the whip of their political officers.

The first thing to be done in Canada, he thought, was to re-establish responsible government in the country, and to elect a Parliament which should fairly represent the majority of the Canadian people. He had read in the Press that both parties were afraid of an election. This was an endeavor to make the opprobrium attached to the present Government, shared by the Opposition.

He characterized the War Times Election Act as a blot on the fair name of the country. The people were not in mood to tolerate such an injustice. British citizens must have the vote, he said, and a new Parliament would see that they had it.

"I ask the Government to appeal to the country as soon as possible," he said. "It is a war parliament. They have demobilized everyone else. Let them demobilize themselves."

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No Right to Speak For Canada.

He urged that a new Government should be elected before an Imperial Conference was held to decide upon relations of the nations in the British Commonwealth. The present Government had no right to speak at such a council without a mandate from the Canadian people. For himself, he was unalterably opposed to anybody sitting outside the Dominion deciding Canadian policies. "Canadian policies must be decided in Canada by Canadians," he said.

He made a plea against the use of patriotism as a football. "Why should our opponents always wrap themselves in the British flag?" We were beginning to suspect that patrioteering and profiteering were becoming synonymous terms. Every time anyone wrapped himself in the flag one was afraid that he was going to steal something somewhere.

Reverting again to the principles of Liberalism, Mr. Lapointe said that no class or interests should be allowed to disregard the rights of others. What the relations between class and class were, must be found out with regard to justice. Liberalism was coming into its own. It was in favor of reforms which it would accomplish, he said. By reforms he did not mean necessarily the introduction of every innovation. Liberalism held the middle course. It was not the father of Bolshevism which was the son of Czarism, of absolutism and the restriction of personal freedom. Liberalism was the best bulwark against such things.

Plea For Canadian Unity.

He concluded his magnificent address with a fine plea for Canadian unity. A son of Quebec, in every fibre of his being a descendant of those hardy French pioneers who had settled that old Province of New France three hundred years ago, he was proud of his descent and proud of his native Province, but he was also proud of Canada, his country. Nova Scotia he felt was a part of his native land, and he hoped to see the day which would endear every Province of the Dominion, every foot of Canadian soil to all her sons. That spirit must come, he said, or we would never obtain true Canadian nationality. Liberalism must see to it that in our great and grand country there was a great, grand united people. The principles of Liberalism might for a time be in abeyance, they might be hidden for a time, but they were strongly founded in the strength of truth and justice, and truth and justice would ultimately prevail. (Cheers.)

The Safe Road of Liberalism.

Mr. H. J. Logan, K.C., of Amherst, was the next speaker. Mr. Logan said that he thought there had not been enough talk of late about Liberalism. It was no wonder that groups and factions were springing up throughout the country. However, when the people came to a common sense conclusion they would discover that in the middle road of Liberalism lay the way to happiness and prosperity. He read the clause referring to labor questions in the lately draughted platform of the Liberal Party and also that referring to the re-establishment of returned soldiers, and placed them before the audience for approval, which was heartily accorded. He scored the Dominion Government on the heads of their methods at the recent election, their appointment of superfluous and useless commissions, and their C.N.R. and G.T.R. transactions which he said would not have favorable effects on the Maritime Provinces.

Mr. E. M. Macdonald, K.C., of Pictou, followed Mr. Logan briefly. He had heard the Union Government referred to in the Press as a "dead horse" which there was no use in kicking, he said. But he was of the opinion that if the dead horse was blocking the public highway, it should be removed to the morgue. He saw no reason why the misdeeds of the Government should not be discussed. Even if it was dead, it sat in Ottawa and would not let go. It ought to be exposed until it got out. He described the serious financial condition Canada finds herself in today and scored the Government for misrepresentation in its debt reports.

Hon. Mackenzie King, whose arrival had been somewhat delayed, as he explained, on account of the desire of the Orpheus audience that he go over a great portion of the Liberal platform, was introduced by Mr. Redmond amid great cheering. Mr. King's address was similar in matter to that which he made at the Orpheus, although lack of time forced him to curtail it.

Met War Record Challenge.

He was twice interrupted by a heckler in the rear of the hall who called out "Where do you fit in? and," where is your rifle and bayonet?" Mr. King did not deign to hear the first interruption, but the second time he could not permit it to pass and in a very concise statement left the man who called out, not a leg to stand on. He asked why the person who had calld out, had not been at Summerside when he had sought an election on his war-record and had been elected by acclamation. He did not know the person whom he was addressing, but he might ask him, he said, whether he had had a brother who was dying of tuberculosis, whether his father who had been blind, had died during the war leaving his mother and sister alone, and whether his mother had been ill during the progress of the war? Mr. King was visibly affected during this part of his reply. But it was not on these things that he based his war record, he said. He then read three letters from large shipbuilding and munition firms thanking him for his services in allaying labor unrest during the war. He had thirty more of these letters, he said, amid applause. It was up to every man to decide in what capacity he would be the more useful during the late war. He might have obtained some staff or clerical position in England and come back and been a hero. He had preferred to accept a task for which he had special training and was particularly fitted.

At the conclusion of Mr. King's address a returned soldier in the body of the hall called for three cheers and a tiger for Mr. King. These were given with great good will and the meeting was concluded by the singing of the National Anthem.

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NEW LEADER WELCOMED.

Hon. W. L. MacKenzie King is greeted by appreciative audiences

At the monster meetings held last night in Halifax.

Sir Wilfrid's successor proclaims the message of Liberalism.

Messrs. Ernest Lapointe, D. D. MacKenzie, H. J. Logan and E. M. MacDonald also make stirring addresses.



HON. W. L. MACKENZIE KING.

Sir Wilfrid Laurier's successor as Leader of the Liberal Party in Canada—Honorable W. L. MacKenzie King—was welcomed to Halifax last night, by two of the largest, most attentive and appreciative audiences ever accorded public men in Halifax.

At the two mass meetings held at the Orpheus Theatre and St. Patrick's Hall, every inch of space was taken, and hundreds were unable to gain admission to the Orpheus Theatre. The doors were announced to be opened at 7.30 o'clock and long before that hour crowds gathered outside, all eager to hear the new leader, whose eloquence is so well known. Within a quarter of an hour every seat was occupied, and several hundreds stood in the aisles and occupied points of various vantage, even to sitting on the edge of the platform.

The Orpheus orchestra provided good music and at sharp 8 o'clock the Honorable Mr. MacKenzie King entered, accompanied by Alderman John B. Douglas, President of the Nova Scotia Liberal Executive Committe, who occupied the chair. As the Leader took his seat on the platform he was greeted by the entire audience with hearty applause which lasted several minutes. Among those on the platform with Hon. MacKenzie King were D. D. MacKenzie, M. P., Hon. E. H. Armstrong, Professor H. L. Stewart, C. C. Blackadar, R. H. Mackay, Hon. R. M. Macgregor, Col. J. L. Ralston, Rev. H. B. Clarke, Attorney General Daniels, Dr. I. M. Lovitt, A. B. Macgillivray, J. H. Sinclair, M. P., William Duff, M. P., Hon. George E. Faulkner, Hon. H. H. Wickwire, C. U. Mader, George W. Kyte, L. H. Martell, Dr. J. B. Black, Andrew Hayden, and others.

The platform had been tastefully decorated with potted palms, etc., and overhead was a large banner containing the words "Welcome to Laurier's successor."

At the conclusion of the applause of greeting to the leader, Ald. Douglas read a telegram from Premier Murray, expressing his great regret at being unable to preside at the meeting, but took the opportunity of extending to Hon. MacKenzie King, and also to Mr. Lapointe, a hearty welcome to Nova Scotia. In his telegram the Premier said :

I feel you have behind you the general support of the party in this Province, and I am quite sure your meeting in Halifax will furnish evidence of this fact. I exceedingly regret missing seeing you, but you are in the hands of good friends who will do everything possible to make your visit a pleasant one.

In introducing Mr. MacKenzie King, Ald. Douglas said that a warm welcome was extended to him by all thoughtful Nova Scotians, irrespective of political belief, because they understood the responsibilities of a man charged with the leadership of a great, historic party. He was wearing the mantle of the greatest Canadian ever produced, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, whose memory would remain bright and green for generations, and whose truest monument was the greatness of Canada. Mr. King's ancestors had fought for the cause of freedom, and his mind was richly endowed by years of studying of the critical problems of the State. It was safe to predict that he would be a future Prime Minister of the Dominion.

The audience contained people of all ranks of life and many women were present and as previously mentioned, the speaker of the evening was given the closest attention throughout the two hours of his address. There were, however, a few at the rear entrance to the theatre, who had no doubt attended in the endeavor to make things unpleasant, but these received their answer from the Liberal leader in a gentlemanly manner, and after that there was but one other interruption, except the applause, and that came from the gallery. The first group to cast any reflection on the honored leader as to his war record, was answered by him by giving his experiences in Princee Edward Island, where he had been offered a constituency.

He had been given the same treatment by opponents to his party, but when he had concluded his address to the four thousand people present, he had challenged his opponents to contest his seat on his war record, and the same explanations had been given at further meetings in Prince Edward Island, the result being that he was elected by acclamation. He was always willing, he said, to contest a seat on his war record. He, however, did not wish to traffic in his personal patriotism for political ends.

During the course of his remarks about Sir Robert Borden being in Cuba, too far away to be recalled, a gallery man asked "What about your policy." The leader paused for a fraction of a second, and with a broad smile said that the remark was rational. It showed the thirst of the people we have in this country who are anxious to learn of the policy of the party of progress. Any who wished the whole policy could easily obtain the same from his secretary.

Mr. King in eloquent terms made an appeal for unity and stability to enable Canada to face the great problems which were confronting her. He spoke of the three great groups, the Farmers, Labor and the War Veterans, and said that beneath the aspirations of each was the great underlying principle of Liberalism.

He spoke much of unity of command in an endeavor to show wherein Union Government had utterly failed.

His sketches of current happenings in Ottawa brought forth much laughter and he compared the present Administration to a ship without a chart.

He paid a warm tribute to the Hon. W. S. Fielding, that noble statesman, who had worked for reciprocity so courageously and brilliantly. He has sacrificed his health in the country's service, but he will live to see his policy triumphant and his splendid efforts crowned with victory.

Referring to the demands of the Great War Veterans and a letter from them asking him to declare his attitude, he

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recited what occurred in the House of Commons and declared that he stood now as he stood then.

The Liberal leader's address will be found on page four.

Mr. D. D. MacKenzie was the next speaker, and he stated that the Liberal Party should be congratulated upon the talents of its new Chieftain.

In referring to Liberalism in this Province Mr. MacKenzie said the history of Nova Scotia had only one black spot since Confederation—the Holmes-Thompson Government—which had got in by a fluke, but had been speedily wiped off the slate, the people declaring "never again, will that mistake be made."

Of the Ontario farmers, Mr. MacKenzie said: "God bless them; they have smashed the machine"

There had never been a time in the history of Canada when the application and guidance of Liberal principles were more needed than at the present day. The Union Government was not representative of the people of Canada. For a time it had been staggering between various parties now inclining toward the privileged interests, now away from them, and it had finally reached that condition of inertia which is produced by equal forces operating on an object in opposite directions. The prestige of the Union Government had fallen a good many degrees below zero and amid laughter said that he who is down need fear no fall.

He commended Mr. MacKenzie King to his audience as a man than whom there was not a better heart or brain in the Dominion, "He is a Liberal, and so am I," he said, "because the Liberal party is broad enough to embrace every man who is willing to give every other man every chance that is his right."

Mr. Ernest Lapointe was the last speaker, and he held the close attention of his audience throughout his half-hour's address, in which he dealt upon the present Administration at Ottawa. His French accent was pleasing to listen to, and demonstrated that in his own native tongue he was an eloquent speaker. He was frequently interrupted by applause and laughter at the terms he applied to the "Sham Union Government."

SECOND MASS MEETING.

St. Patrick's Hall was well filled by an enthusiastic audience where Mr. Ernest Lapointe was the first speaker. St. Patrick's Band rendered appropriate music.

Mr. G. A. Redmond, President of the Halifax Co. Liberal Association, presided, and in introducing Mr. Ernest Lapointe, M. P., said:

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

I have the honor of introducing to you to-night two distinguished visitors in our city, and of offering to them on your behalf the heartiest of Halifax welcomes.

We have with us the recently elected leader of Canadian Liberalism. Some five months ago Mr. MacKenzie King was appointed amid scenes of intense enthusiasm to that great office and that great responsibility. He was chosen at a moment when the problems of public life had become very arduous and very difficult. He was chosen to a task which no man could face without much misgiving and much diffidence. I mean the task of sustaining and pursuing the high traditions of Sir Wilfrid Laurier. But the new leader has risen to his work with that dauntles courage which Liberals count among the first requisites of success. Though he has not the advantage of being a Nova Scotian, he is making haste to repair his loss by becoming acquainted with us as soon as possible. And for our part we are delighted to have the chance of welcoming the new chieftain of the party of progress, and of assuring him that where we have bestowed our trust, there is no form of dutiful support or loyal effort which we mean to withhold.

It is singularly fitting, I think, that Mr. Mackenzie King should be accompanied here by a brilliant follower from the Province of Quebec. Sir Wilfrid Laurier never wearied of impressing upon us that Canada's future depended on maintaining good will and co-operation between those of British and those of French descent. That spirit of mutual conciliation has been caught up by the brilliant Frenchman, Mr. Earnest Lapointe, who is making so deep an imprint upon parliamentary business. If report speaks truly, Mr. Lapointe has succeeded not only to Sir Wilfrid Laurier's seat in the House, he is rapidly succeeding to the dominant place which Sir Wilfrid held in the trust and affection of his province. This is the sort of man whom all good Liberals, loving unity as the basis of strength, and hating racial bitterness as the source of failure, must wish to hear from always.



ERNEST LAPOINTE, M. P.

Mr. LaPointe was greeted by loud applause, and in thanking those present for their reception, he said it was another proof of the friendly spirit which had always existed between Nova Scotia and Quebec. He devoted the greater part of his address to the consideration of the principles of Liberalism. These seemed to find favorable ground for expansion in Nova Scotia, where the sea breezes swept away the germs of narrowness and the microbes of prejudice and where among all classes the motto seemed to be "Live and let live."

As the Leader concluded his address there was a demonstration which lasted several minutes, and when he had departed the audience renewed their applause which conclusively showed that Sir Wilfrid's successor had made a profound impression on his hearers.

Mr. H. J. Logan, K. C., said that he thought there had not been enough talk of late about Liberalism. It was no wonder that groups and factions were springing up throughout the country. He scored the Dominion government on their methods at the recent election, their appointment of superfluous and useless commissions, and their C. N. R. and G. T. R. transactions, which he said would not have favorable effects on the Maritime Provinces.

Mr. E. M. Macdonald, K. C., followed. He had heard the Union Government referred to in the press as a "dead horse," which there was no use in kicking, he said. But he was of the opinion that if the dead horse was blocking the public highway, it should be removed to the morgue. He saw no reason why the misdeeds of the Government should not be discussed. Even if it was dead, it sat in Ottawa, and would not let go.

Hon. MacKenzie King was greeted amid great cheering, and his address was similar to that delivered at the Orpheus.

He was twice interrupted by some person in the rear of the hall who called out "Where do you fit in?" and "Where is your rifle and bayonet?" Mr. King did not deign to hear the first interruption, but the second time he could not permit it to pass. He asked why the person who had called out had not been at Summerside when he had sought an election on his war-record and had been elected by acclamation. He did not know the person whom he was addressing, but he might ask him whether he had had a brother who was dying of tuberculosis, whether his father who had been blind, had died during the war, leaving his mother and sister alone, and whether his mother had been ill during the progress of the war? Mr. King was visibly affected during this part of his reply. But it was not on these things that he based his war record. He then read three letters from large shipbuilding and munition firms, thanking him for his services in allaying labor unrest during the war. He had 30 more of these letters. It was up to every man to decide in what capacity he would be the more useful during the late war. He might have obtained some staff or clerical position in England and come back and been a hero. He had preferred to accept a task for which he had special training and was particularly fitted.

At the conclusion of Mr. King's address a returned soldier in the body of the hall called for three cheers and a tiger for Mr. King. These were given with great good will and the meeting was concluded.

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LIBERAL LEADER'S MESSAGE

To the People of Nova Scotia

At the meetings at the Orpheus Theatre and St. Patrick's Hall last evening.

An Appeal for Unity and Stability to enable Canada to face the great problems.

The address of Hon. W. L. MacKenzie King, the Liberal Leader, at the Orpheus Hall, last evening, was most eloquent and inspiring.

Hon. Mr. Kings's Speech.

Having concluded his introductory remarks, Mr. King said that in his opinion the great need in Canada today was stability; stability as regards conditions throughout the country, and stability in matters of government. In this connection, he opened his address by reference to the world unrest as it had followed in the wake of war, and as it was demonstrating itself in the different class movements which were coming into such prominence at the present time. On these matters he spoke as follows:

"Let us realize that it is impossible to separate the present from the past, and that it is equally impossible to understand conditions in Canada apart from conditions as they exist in other countries.

"For many a year to come the war and its consequences will remain a mighty influence in world affairs, and any course of action, or any policy which does not reckon with that fact, is certain sooner or later to prove of no avail, and to increase rather than lessen the evils which have been forced upon us.

Effects of World Upheaval.

"Let us remember that the world has just passed through an upheaval unparalleled in all its history. The garment of civilization has been torn into shreds. The nations are now busily engaged in patching it together anew. It will be some time yet before the process is complete. In physical outline the boundaries of countries have changed. But the changed map of Europe is only one evidence of a changed order, an outward and visible sign of an infinitely greater convulsion from within. All that is living and breathing in the soul of humanity has been stirred to its depths. A truer simile of the world's condition today is that of the ocean seething after storm. For years to come the tide of emotion will continue to surge in human breasts with seemingly irresistible flow, mounting ever and anon high with hope and then falling away into depths of despondency and despair. A recognition of this great truth should make us view with great patience the restlessness of our day; it should awaken a sympathy with all these movements which bespeak an aroused conscience, and sound a new note in human aspirations. Here I may refer to some who belong to three of the largest and most important elements in our national society—the farmers, labor, and the war veterans.

The Agrarian Movement.

"It is no mere coincidence that we have the rise of the Grain Growers Party in the West and the United Farmers in Ontario at the time they have come. With the defeat of Reciprocity, a Grain Growers Party in the West was inevitable. Sir Wilfrid Laurier saw this clearly, and told the people of Canada so very plainly. It was not Sir Wilfrid's fault, nor the fault of the Liberal Party, and least of all the fault of Hon. Mr. Fielding and his friends in the Maritime Provinces, that Reciprocity did not carry. It was the forces that were opposed to a wise and progressive Liberalism.

"When, on May 14, 1918, the farmers of Ontario and Quebec came in thousands from all parts of these Provinces to the very doors of Parliament to protest against the broken pledges of the administration, and the arbitrary measures being enacted and arbitrary methods being employed by the Government in carrying out many of its measures, and the administration declined to permit them to enter the building, and met with blank indifference—one might almost say with contempt—their respectful petitions; it was equally inevitable that they should return to their homes determined upon political action through their existing organizations. In so far as these movements are in the nature of protest against arbitrary behavior on the part of the administration, and are evidence of determination on the part of those engaged in agriculture to secure a wider measure of economic freedom, there can be only one attitude toward them on the part of all true Liberals, and that an attitude of whole-hearted approval and co-operation in an endeavor to obtain reform already too long delayed.

"Of the events of the year just passed, one of the most significant has been the results attending upon political organization of the farmers in different parts of Canada, and especially in the Province of Ontario. The overwhelming defeat of the Hearst Government and the formation of a Provincial administration under Mr. Drury, was one of these surprises which lend so much interest and zest to politics.

Liberal Attitude Toward Farmers.

"Liberals should be the last to deplore any constitutional act on the part of the people to maintain their sovereign rights. It is in this way that governments are taught to respect the people's will. It must never be forgotten that, whilst the Farmer candidates were returned in large numbers, the overthrow of the Hearst Government in Ontario was essentially a victory for the Liberal forces of the Province against a reactionary Government, a victory accomplished by Farmers and Liberals combined, and working in most constituencies in whole-hearted combination.

"As Liberals, then, in the truest meaning of that word, we mistake altogether the significance of these agrarian movements if we do not see in them evidences of Liberal thought and feeling on the part of those who are advocating and supporting their policies.

Liberal Attitude Towards Labor.

"And the same is true of the Labor movement. Here, again, is another large class in our national society, which has become conscious, not only of economic injustices in the past, but of the need for united action to gain that fuller expression of personal and economic freedom which is of the very essence of all true Liberalism. Can we as Liberals fail to appreciate the aims and aspirations of that movement? Can we fail to share something of the thoughts and feelings of the men and women who are a part of it? Speaking for myself, my interest in industrial problems is bred by my Liberalism. I can think of the problems of industry only in terms of humanity. Liberalism is to me the expression of a wider human freedom, whether it be for those who work in the country, on the farms, or in the cities and towns in the shops and factories; whether it be the well-being of women and children that is at stake, in the home or elsewhere, or the lot of men in the struggle with their several environments. What the workers in one form or another are seeking is what we as Liberals have all along been speaking of as more in the way of equality of opportunity. If that is not part of Liberalism, then Liberalism has ceased to exist.

Liberal Attitude Toward Veterans.

Now, as to the returned soldiers, or, more appropriately, the war veterans, who are not without ideals and aspirations as a class. If there is in Canada today one portion of its citizenry which more than any other is entitled to consideration, it is the men who risked their lives in battle, and those who shared with them the dangers and privations of war, especially the families of those whose sons made the supreme sacrifice in the cause of the world's freedom. Having fought and suffered and sacrificed to save the world from autocratic rule, and the tyranny of material power, it is not surprising that these men and women hope for a realization in larger measure of the freedom they fought to preserve. As Liberals, we have special reason to share their hopes and aspirations.

"Liberalism in Canada had its birth in the struggle against autocracy in government. The war in Europe was an expression upon a world scale of two diametrically opposite systems of government brought into conflict, and provoked by those who sought world-domination under their particular systems. The war will be without its meaning to our day and generation unless we seek to make out of the sacrifices of the heroic dead a new social order, resplendent with the conception of liberty for which they gave their lives.

Supreme Task of Liberalism.

"It is here that the supreme task of Liberalism comes in. Either we shall have an increasing growth of class consciousness on the part of each of the great groups I have mentioned, resulting, as all class conscious growths are destined to result, in conflict with each other and with forces that sooner or later are certain to oppose them; or we shall have a great progressive movement which will lead to a new era of social progress and social justice. It will all depend upon whether the spirit of good-will is sufficiently strong to overcome the spirit that war breeds and that continues to lurk in its wake.

"War has shown what can be accomplished by co-operation and sacrifice. If we can carry the spirit of co-operation and sacrifice into this period of reconstruction, we have nothing to fear. If, on the other hand, each element in our national life is going to seek to go its own gait, unwilling to join hands with other groups that share like aims and aspirations to its own, if each separately intends to aim at domination in national affairs, then we may look for a prolongation of the period of confusion, and, in the end, retrogression rather than advance.

"Parliament ought to be a mirror reflecting the different elements that go to make up a nation. It is absurd for the Dominion of Canada to have a Parliament that has relatively no farmers in it, to speak for the farmers, and no one from the ranks of Labor to speak for Labor. I hope there will be in our next Parliament representatives of both these classes of our people, and also men from the ranks of the War Veterans, to speak for those who have served their country with such heroism and for those who lie in Flanders' fields and cannot speak for themselves. I think our next Parliament must be truly representative if we are to secure unity and contentment in this country.

"Just here let me say quite frankly that when it comes to matters of government, I am unalterably opposed to monopoly in any form, or by any class. I am relentlessly opposed to government being controlled visibly or invisibly by railway, manufacturing, or financial interests. I am not less opposed to a monopoly of control on the part of any other of the essential elements of our national economy, be they farmers, labor, war veterans, or the newly enfranchised female voters. I know of no finer maxim of government than that of the illustrious statesman Pym, enunciated in the reign of Charles I, which is as applicable to our politics today as it was to England in that unsettled period:

"'That form of government is best which doth actuate and dispose every part and member of the State to the common good.'

"Certainly, such a form of government is not to be found in any attempt at monopoly by any class. It is only to be found in co-operation between the different classes, made effective by a spirit of genuine good-will.

Politics of Imperial Unity.

"And this leads me to speak of the East and the West of our wide Dominion, and of all the vast intervening space of British Columbia with its wonderful diversified resources, of the Prairie Provinces with their vast agricultural wealth, of Ontario and Quebec, and the Maritime Provinces with their rural as well as urban populations, and their enterprising manufacturing and commercial developments. Is the splendid unity of our great country to be imperilled by a conflict of policies related primarily to geographical areas, or particular interests; or are we to carry into the shaping of our national policies the same noble spirit of some sacrifice on the part of each, and willing co-operation on the part of all, by which alone the War was won? Shall it be each for self, or all for all? Shall it be the special interest of a class, or the well-being of the whole community? Shall it be Canada first, as it was with the men who gave their lives, with thought of naught save the honor of their country and their [illegible]?

Great Political Party Needed.

"If it is this larger, this nobler ideal, we must have in our Federal politics some political party large enough, broad enough, tolerant enough, fearless enough to carry forward such a policy of national unity. It cannot be a manufacturers' party, for that will never suit the farmers or consumers; neither can it be a farmers' party, for that, too, in the long run, will raise up powerful combinations against itself which will serve to divide East and West, to set the cities and towns and villages over against the farmer communities, and the rural districts over against the urban. Neither can it be a Labor party, for that means the organization, sooner or later, of a Capitalist party, and added strife in industrial relations, rather than the working out of some system of joint-control, by which alone the problems of industry are to be solved. Least of all is it likely ever to be a War Veterans' party. The War Veterans themselves have been the first to repudiate any thought of the kind; that would be introducing into this new world the old-time conflicts between the Army and the Civil authorities, which take us back to the days of Cromwell, and a condition of society which our citizen soldiery would be the first to deplore. No, it cannot be a party of any class, of any creed, or any race, or of any special interest. It must be a party representative of all the interests of the nation, and reflecting in its composition the many-sided elements of our national life.

Lessons From the War.

"A great political party has a significance scarcely dreamed of by many who today appreciate too little what continuity of effort in a great cause means in the maintenance of freedom, and in the ultimate achievement of victory for politics with which its name and history have been identified.

"Let me make a comparison which will appeal to all. In the great war just ended, did past history and tradition mean nothing to the historic regiments which participated in the fight for freedom? Did the Black Watch and the Gordon Highlanders signify nothing to Scotchmen and men of Scotch descent? Did the Guards and the Middlesex add nothing of fighting quality to Englishmen and sons of Englishmen? Were the Dublin Fusiliers and the Inniskillen Dragoons mere names to Irishmen and those who fought at their side in these historic regiments? More than one Canadian soldier will ever regret the loss of identity of his regiment in the Canadian Expeditionary Force; but is there a Canadian living who would take from the colors of our army the names of the battles displayed upon them?

"All through history the liberties of our human society have been preserved, and new liberties won by great fighting forces, the military and naval forces in the political arena; and the finer the tradition of the fighting forces in either field, the greater has been the measure of their achievement.

Permanent Parties Necessary.

"It is not a mere accident that the system of party has been established in England for more than two centuries. The existence of permanent parties can alone give a guarantee of caution in adopting, and perseverance in advocating, policies and proposals. It assures, better than any other means can do, a full consideration of difficult problems, and safeguards the country against the hurried adoption by Parliament of ill-digested measures.

"To what better party can those of Liberal views look for a fulfillment of their desires than to a party that is Liberal in name as well as in aim, and which has a century of Liberal tradition to hold it true to its highest principles, and to spur it on to yet nobler achievement.

"Let me make one further observation from the experience of war. No one will question that the Allied countries were one in aim, or that there was other than the strongest reasons to compel co-operation in their resistance of the Central Powers. Their fighting capacity and their heroism was not for a moment in doubt. It was not, however, till unity of command was established that the tide of battle turned, and that victory by the Allied armies became assured.

"With the Liberal forces at work in Canada today among the farmers, in the rural communities, among Labor in the cities and towns, among the returned soldiers, and among that great body of Canadian citizenry, men and women alike, who, apart from class affiliations or associations are thinking and praying and striving for the dawn of that better day which the sacrifices and privations of war were to usher in, there is nothing to withstay ultimate and speedy victory in the triumph of Liberal ideas and policies, except a failure on the part of those who are opposed to a common enemy to co-operate in a spirit that has regard primarily for the good of all.

"Not only must we have stability and unity of purpose and aim as regards the liberal and progressive forces throughout the country; we must, if we are to have progress and prosperity in the nation, have stability in matters of Government as well. It is not enough to help to calm the restless spirit of the nation; it is also necessary to have its affairs directed in accordance with some policy which is known, and of which the country as a whole has approved. There must be a chart and compass which will give certainty of direction to the ship of state. It is owing to instability in management of the nation's affairs that the ship of state is in such distress in Canada today. Not only is the Government without a head to direct its affairs; it is actually without a policy to guide its actions. Never were the affairs of a country in a more hopeless state of muddle, nor an administration more disorganized than is the case at the present time.

Policy of Drift Reviewed.

"A policy of drift is the only characterization that can be made of the Government's action. Let me briefly review one or two outstanding circumstances which all present will recall.

"It will be remembered that the Union Government was formed for the purpose of the election of 1917. The Union was preceded by the War Measures Act, the Military Voters Act and the War-time Elections Act, which, were the truth wholly known, could be shown to have been more of a determing factor in bringing about the Union than aught else. While the war was on, the cry "Win the war," was a sufficient rallying cry, sufficient for election purposes, and sufficient for a policy as long as the war lasted. The electors were told that the Union was formed for that purpose and for that only. It was not a Government for the purpose of reconstruction after the war, or for any purpose other than that of helping to "win the war," according, at all events, to the professions of the Prime Minister at the time the administration was formed, and of those who entered his cabinet.

The Liberal Convention.

Twice in its history, the Liberal Party of Canada has held a National Convention. The first time was in the summer of 1893, when the party adopted a platform of policies and principles in which it was returned to power three years later. The second occasion was in August of the last year.

Perhaps it would be best to let the platform of the Liberal Party speak for itself. Here are some of the resolutions that were unanimously adopted at the convention, and which now constitute a part of the policy of the Liberal Party.

First and foremost in the Liberal platform is the demand for economy in the administration of public affairs. If there is one criticism above another to which the present administration has laid itself open, it is the vast extravagance and waste there has been of public monies at a time when, of all times, the strictest economy was needed. We all realize that the expenditures of war were necessarily abnormal and necessarily very great; but one would have expected that during the period of war, and especially subsequent to it, the Government would have economized in every possible way. Instead of that, an analysis of the Public Accounts will show that there is not a department of the civil government in which the expenditure has not been vastly greater during and since the period of the war than it has ever hitherto been. In addition to that the Government has been taking on new liabilities on an enormous scale.

It is hardly possible to believe—but it is nevertheless true—that the last act of the administration, the taking over of the Grand Trunk System, was one involving the country in a transaction amounting to over 500 millions of dollars (a sum greater than the total national debt of Canada at the time the Liberals went out of office in 1911), and this at a time when the public debt of this country had reached the enormous figure of over two and a half billions of dollars.

Of recent years, the country has been living almost entirely upon borrowed money. We have had loan, not only to meet the expenses of the war, but also to help meet current expenditure. Is it any wonder, therefore, that the Liberal Convention declared that national disaster would overtake this country should the present method of financing the country's affairs be continued, and that the Convention resolved that the serious nature of the country's financial situation called for the profoundest consideration of all patriotic citizens, and the exercise of the severest economy by the Government.

High Cost of Living.

But how, it will be asked, are the people to carry the burden of increased taxation along with the ever-increasing cost of living. Here we come to what seems to me the problem of problems in Canada today. Whilst there are classes, large and small, to which some belong while others do not, there is one class to which all whether men, women, or children, belong irrespective of trade or occupation, of race or creed, of origin or circumstances, irrespective even of politics, and that is the great body of consumers. And there is one element in our national economy which affects every member of this class in greater or less degree, and that is the cost of living. There is not a man or woman, there is not a young person, boy or girl, there is not a father or mother, the head of a family, or any individual having the responsibility of little children, or of others dependent on him, who has not in some measure been affected by the increase in the cost of living which has made itself felt of recent years.

It is here that we are at once brought together face to face with the contrast as it exists between the two political parties in Canada today. The Unionist Party, with its policy of drift, the logical and inevitable fruit of the continuance of a Union which has served the purpose for which it was formed, and has ceased to have any real purpose other than that of holding on to office, and the constructive and progressive policy of the Liberal Party as framed by the National Liberal Convention, which assembled in Ottawa in August of last year.

The Tariff.

"If the problem of the cost of living is to be met in a manner which will be of advantage at once to the consumers of the country and to its producers, this can only be effected by carefully considered changes in the tariff, which will have the effect of stimulating and increasing production, and of removing such artificial barriers to legitimate trade as cause prices of the necessaries of life to be unduly enhanced to consumers. The wealth of the country can only be increased by developing our natural resources, and there is no more effective way of developing these resources, whether they be of the land, of the sea, of the mine, or of the forest, than by placing the necessary instruments of production, in all of these industries, within reach of those engaged in them at as low a cost as may be possible. Accordingly, the Liberal Platform has declared that duties on all instruments of production, and the raw materials entering into the same, should be removed.

"Then, there is a large class of articles, those which constitute the necessaries of life, which should be made as reasonable to consumers as legitimate manufacture and trade will permit.

"Before leaving the Tariff, I should add that, at the Convention the Liberals again expressed their faith in Reciprocity in natural products with the United States, and determined that, if opportunity should be afforded to carry out the free interchange of natural products, as provided in the Reciprocity Agreement of 1911, the earliest advantage would be taken of that opportunity.

"Realizing the importance of Agriculture, the Convention considered very carefully and fully means whereby the interests of this great industry could be best promoted in Canada. Nothing could better disclose the intention of the Liberal Party to render every possible assistance to Agriculture than the resolution passed, which pledges the Party's support to policies for which the farmers have long been contending.

"Not only was careful consideration given to the Farmers, but the interests of Labor also have been made a special concern. The National Liberal Convention agreed to accept the terms of the Labor convention and general principles associated with the League of Nations and incorporated in the conditions of peace.

"With respect to the Great War Veterans, the Party's platform is equally specific and emphatic. This part of the platform was drafted by a committee of which Colonel Ralston of Halifax was the Chairman.

A Fair Franchise.

"Another important resolution was one passed by the Convention respecting election frauds. I shall not read the resolution, but shall pass at once to speak of the necessity that there is in this country at the moment for a Franchise Act which will ensure to the electors, in accordance with a right which every citizen and British subject possess a fair and just franchise.

Speaking of the Franchise leads me to say a word with reference to the subject of a general election.

"One sees it repeatedly asserted in the press, for reason best known to those who are responsible for the assertion, that neither of the old political parties desire an election at the present time. Some have even gone so far as to insinuate that there was likely to be collusion between the leaders of the parties in the House of Commons to avoid an election, on the specious plea that there is much unrest and that there is no telling who may come to occupy the Treasury benches. Let me deal with this assumption and deal with it very plainly.

"I am not in the confidence of the Government, and, therefore, am not in a position to know what the views of its members are. I imagine that in this one single instance they are united, they are all doubtless agreed that, be the wishes of the people what they may, they, the members of the administration are there and intend to hold on to office just as long as this can be done with the support of their following in the House.

As most of the following never expect to see the House of Commons again, the Government has only to threaten resignation to bring them into line, as has been done already on three occasions, first when the Prime Minister threatened to dissolve Parliament if his followers persisted in taking away the right of his friends to receive titles; second, when he threatened the resignation of the Ministry if approval were not forthwith given the Peace Treaty—an approval which, as the debate went to show, was a mere performance and did not affect in any particular the signing of the terms of peace; and third, when the House of Commons was told, only a few months ago, that unless its members accepted the report of the Committee on Soldiers' Civil Re-Establishment the Government would resign. Be the subject as it may, it would seem that the Ministry has only to threaten resignation either behind closed doors or, when the following gets particularly restive, in the open, for enough of the following to fall into line to see the Ministry through. We may expect, then, so far as the Government and its supporters are concerned, that any pretext will be deemed sufficient to avoid an appeal to the electorate, provided that by keeping vital issues postponed they can successfully continue the policy of drift, regardless of its effect upon the country, either in the present or for the future.

Though unable to speak for the party in power, I am in a position where I can speak for the Liberal Party, and for the Liberal members who comprise the Opposition in the House of Commons. What their wishes as individual members may be, I cannot say. No man would go out of his way to court an election any more than in his own interest or the interest of the country. Too great frequency in elections is not a condition to be desired, but the question is not one of individual desires, or even the desire of a parliamentary group.

As Liberals, believing in self-government as the foundation of all our liberties, and in representative and responsible government as the only form of self-government worthy the name, there can be but one attitude towards a government that never was representative, and that only figuratively speaking could be regarded as responsible, and that is that the sooner it makes way for a government that is founded upon the will of the governed, and is truly representative of the people as a whole, the better for peace, order and good government in our midst.

National Unity.

There are other resolutions passed by the Convention to which I might allude, but having already spoken at too great length, I shall refer only to resolutions which relate to our national life. One is a resolution on Canadian Autonomy, the other on National Unity. They express the natural antipathy of all true Liberals to anything in the nature of centralized Imperialism, and the desire for a united Canada which should inspire all citizens of the Dominion.

It is not only as regards differences between persons and classes, racial and religious differences, national and international differences, that we must seek in a spirit of good will to bind up the wounds and to bridge the chasms which the roused passions of the war have served to widen and create; we must resolve as never before to permit no new cleavage to destroy our national unity.

Unity Established by War.

The war, we believe, has put an end forever to geographical divisions even in thought, so far as the unity of our Dominion is concerned. Not only in the eyes of the world, but in our own eyes that single word "Canada" on the shoulder strap of our soldiers in the fighting armies overseas has welded this country into one as no symbol or nationhood in the past has ever united it. It was for the unity of Canada, the unity of the British Empire of which Canada is a part, the unity of aim and purpose of the free nations associated as Allies in the titanic struggle for the world's freedom that our brave heroes gave their lives in the fields of Flanders and of France, and the word comes back to us from them—

"If ye break faith with us who die,
We shall not sleep though poppies grow
On Flanders' Fields."

National unity we must at all cost maintain, and our political platform must be so drafted and our political politics so conceived and carried out as to make that unity at all times a great reality.

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St. John ~~Standard~~ Telegraph
January 13, 1920

D 4138

UNITY AND STABILITY CANADA'S GREAT NEED

Liberal Leader's Inspiring Speech at Halifax Meeting Last Evening

Beneath Aspirations of Farmers, Labor and the War Veterans, he Says, is the "Great Underlying Principle of Liberalism"—Defends Party System, but Declares There Must be a Great Party "Large Enough, Broad Enough, Fearless Enough to Carry Forward a Policy of National Unity"—Discusses His Platform and Urges Early Election—The Union Government's "Policy of Drift."

(Canadian Press Despatch.)

Halifax, Jan. 12—Hon. Mackenzie King, successor to Sir Wilfrid Laurier, as leader of the Liberal party tonight first brought his personal message to the people of Nova Scotia at a mass meeting at the Orpheus Theatre and made it evident that he was a chieftain of no mean ability. The audience which greeted him might have been composed of natives of Missouri, and was patiently waiting to be shown, greeting Mr. King with more or less mechanical applause. He had not spoken long, however, before he had carried away his audience, even people in the gallery who seemed to have come with the expressed object of making things unpleasant for him. He was listened to with the deepest of attention and the most important of his points elicited applause that was spontaneous and fortissimo. When he left the theatre there was a demonstration which lasted for several minutes, and there was little doubt that the personality of the new Liberal leader had left a profound impression.

More than two thousand citizens heard Mackenzie King at the Orpheus and many more would have been present had Halifax possessed an aduitorium with sufficient seating capacity. The doors of the theatre were opened at 7.30 o'clock and in half an hour the building was filled to capacity. The audience was exceedingly catholic in composition, with men and women, young and old, of all ranks of life; college students and returned soldiers were very much in evidence. On the balcony was a small group who endeavored to rag Mr. King on his lack of military service, but they were soon silenced.

A telegram from Premier Murray was read by Alderman J. B. Douglas, chairman, announcing the former's regret at his absence through illness and cordially Mr. Douglas welcomed Mr. King to Nova Scotia and briefly introduced him, saying he was wearing the mantle of the greatest Canadian ever produced, and calling him a future prime minister.

Mr. King's speech was eloquent and inspiring, an appeal for unity and stability to enable Canada to face the great problems which were confronting her. He spoke of the three great groups, the Farmers, Labor and the War Veterans, and said that beneath the aspirations of each was the great underlying principle of Liberalism. He declared that a true parliament must be like a mirror and represent all these groups; otherwise there could be no hope of a united Canada. It was the work of Liberalism to include the essentials of demands of all of these groups and prevent them from becoming too class-conscious, welding them into one great forward movement. He expressed his complete opposition to monopoly of government by any one class.

In appealing for the formation of a great party with a broad platform, Mr. King dwelt upon the value of the traditions of Liberalism. He also spoke of the lives of public men, and said they were no cowards because they had to bear insults of men probably less worthy than they were.

Some Failures.

He spoke much of unity of command in an endeavor to show wherein the Union government had utterly failed. He said that it had been formed to win the war, nothing else; and now that the war was ended, it was seeking a pretext for holding on. Regarding Sir Robert Borden, he said that the agreement had been that the nominal prime minister was to go so far away that no one would be able to communicate with him. His sketches of current happenings in Ottawa and the nebulous policy of the administration won laughter and applause. The ship of state, he affirmed, was quite without a chart.

Mr. King devoted much time to an exposition of the platform drawn up at the Liberal convention, stressing the financial situation and the suggested tariff changes in an effort to reduce the high cost of living. With regard to reciprocity, he prophesied that Mrs. Fielding, to whom he paid a glowing tribute, as a noble Canadian statesman, would

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live to see the victory for which he had fought. He branded as false, the rumor that neither of the old parties desired an election. The Liberals had only one attitude; they wanted a fair and equitable franchise act, then an appeal to the people. In conclusion, he said that only as Canada became a united people would she become a great nation. The applause which greeted his final words were deafening and lasted for several minutes.

Other Speakers.

After Mr. King had left D. D. MacKenzie spoke. He said that the Liberal party was to be congratulated upon the talents displayed by its new chief and predicted victory at the next election.

The last speaker of the evening was Ernest Lapointe, member for Quebec East, who in an address which won much laughter and enthusiasm, pleaded for complete Canadian unity, described the current administration in no very flattering terms, calling the term "union" a lie and saying that while Sir Robert Borden was wintering in the south Canadian politics were hibernating in Ottawa. He declared that Quebec would have neither Mr. Meighen nor Mr. Calder,

and stigmatized the government as irresponsible and the parliament as unrepresensentative. He repeated Mr. King's statement that the Liberals were eager for an election.

Mr. King and Mr. Lapointe also addressed a meeting at St. Patrick's hall on similar topics. It was well attended and equally enthusiastic.

At this meeting a soldier heckled Mr. King on his war record. Mr. King told of what he had done in labor matters during the war and also read letters from American firms eulogizing the services he had rendered in connection with the output of ammunition, etc. A returned soldier then called for three cheers for Mr. King which were given with a tiger.

In opening his address Mr. King referred to the world unrest, as it had followed in the wake of war, and as it was demonstrated in the different class movements, and said that in his opinion the great need in Canada today was stability. He said:

"For many a year to come the war and its circumstances will remain a mighty influence in world affairs, and any course of action or any policy which does not reckon with that fact, is certain, sooner or later, to prove of no avail, and to increase rather than lessen the evils which have been forced upon us."

Continuing, the speaker dealt with what he described as "three of the largest and most important elements in our national society: the farmers, labor and the war veterans."

In explanation of the rise of the farmers' party, which, he held, was inevitable for the defeat of reciprocity, he said:

The Farmer Movement.

"When, on May 14, 1918, the farmers of Ontario and Quebec came in thousands from all parts of those provinces to the very doors of parilament to protest against the broken pledges of the administration, and the arbitrary measures being enacted and arbitrary methodos being employed by the government in carrying out many of its measures, the administration declined to permit them to enter the building, and met with blank indifference—one might almost say with contempt—their respectful petitions; it was equally inevitable that they return to their homes determined upon political action through their existing organizations. In so far as these movements are in the nature of protest against arbitrary behavior on the part of the administration and are evidence of determination on the part of those engaged in agriculture to secure a wider measure of economic freedom, there can be only one attitude toward them on the part of all true Liberals, and that an attitude of wholehearted approval and co-operation in an endeavor to obtain reforms already too long delayed."

A Liberal Victory.

Continuing he held that the overthrow of the Hearst government in Ontario was essentially a victory for the Liberal forces of the province and said:

"As Liberals, then, in the truest meaning of that word, we mistake altogether the significance of these agarian measures if we do not see in them evidences of Liberal thought and feeling on the part of those who are advocating and supporting their policies.

"And the same is true of the Labor movement. Can we as Liberals fail to appreciate the aims and aspirations of that movement? Can we fail to share something of the thoughts and feelings of the men and women who are a part of it? Speaking for myself, my interest in industrial problems is bred of my liberalism.

"What the workers in one form or another are seeking is that which we as Liberals have all along been speaking of as more in the way of equality of opportunity. If that is not part of Liberalism, then Liberalism has ceased to exist."

The War Veterans.

Turning to the war veterans, he said: "If there is in Canada today one portion of its citizenship which more than any other is entitled to consideration,it is the men who risked their lives in battle, and those who shared with them the dangers and privations of war, especially the families of those whose sons made the supreme sacrifice in the cause of the world's freedom.

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"Liberalism in Canada had its birth in the struggle against autocracy in government. The war in Europe was an expression upon a world scale of two diametrically opposite systems of government brought into conflict and provoked by those who sought world domination under their particular system. The war will be without its meaning to our day and generation unless we seek to make out of the sacrifices of the heroic dead a new social order, resplendent with the conception of liberty for which they gave their lives.

"It is here that the supreme task of Liberalism comes in.

"War has shown what can be accomplished by co-operation and sacrifice. If we can carry the spirit of co-operation and sacrifice into this period of reconstruction we have nothing to fear. If, on the other hand, each element in our national life is going to seek to go its own gate, unwilling to join hands with other groups that share like aims and aspirations to its own, if each separately intends to aim at domination in national affairs, then we may look for a prolongation of the period of confusion, and, in the end retrogression rather than advance."

Parliament, he said, ought to be a mirror reflecting the different elements that go to make up a nation. He continued: "Just here let me say quite frankly that when it comes to matters of government, I am unalterably opposed to monopoly in any form, or by any class. I am relentlessly opposed to government being controlled visibly or invisibly by railway, manufacturing or financial interests. I am not less opposed to a monopoly of control on the part of any other of the essential elements of our national economy, be they farmers, labor, war veterans or the newly enfranchised female voters.

"And this leads me to speak of the east and the west of our wide Dominion, and of all the vast intervening space of British Columbia with its wonderful, diversified resources, of the prairie provinces with their vast agricultural wealth, of Ontario and Quebec and the maritime provinces with their rural as well as urban populations, and their enterprising manufacturing and commercial developments. Is the splendid unity of our great country to be imperilled by a conflict of policies related primarily to geographical areas, or particular interests; or are we to carry into the shaping of our national policies the same noble spirit of some sacrifice on the part of each, and willing co-operation on the part of all, by which alone the war was won?

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The Nobler Ideal.

"If it is this larger, this nobler ideal, we must have in our federal politics some political party large enough, broad enough, fearless enough to carry forward such a policy of national unity. 'It cannot be a party of any class, of any creed, or any race, or of any special interest. It must be a party representative of all the interests in the nation and reflecting in its composition the many-sided elements of our national life."

After defending the party system at some length, he said:

"Parties are necessary, useful and likely to endure. To what better party can those of Liberal views look for a fulfillment of their desires than to a party that is liberal in name as well as in aim, and which has a century of Liberal tradition to hold it true to its highest pitch, and spur it on to yet nobler achievement."

With the Liberal forces at work in Canada today among the farmers, in the rural communities, among labor in the cities and towns, among the returned soldiers and among the great mass of Canadian citizenry who were without class affiliations or associations, the speaker held that there was nothing to withstand ultimate and speedy victory in the triumph of Liberal ideas and policies, except a failure on the port of those opposed to a common enemy, to co-operate in a spirit that had regard for the good of all.

Continuing, Mr. King embarked upon a discussion of what he termed the "policy of drift" of the present government and retracked much of the ground covered in his Newmarket speech.

The speaker then proceeded to discuss the events leading up to the Liberal convention of last year, saying that in many respects conditions today were the same as those obtaining in 1913 when the first great convention of the party was held. As the convention of 1893 had drawn up a party programme so it had fallen to the lot of the convention of last summer to redraft this programme in the light of changed conditions. He said that he proposed to let this revised platform speak for itself and proceeded to discuss it clause by clause. On the subject of finance and taxation he said:

Finance and Taxation.

"It is hardly possible to believe—but it is nevertheless true—that the last act of the administration, the taking over of the Grand Trunk Railway system, was one involving the country in a transaction amounting to more than five hundred million of dollars, a sum greater than the total national debt of Canada at the time the Liberals went out of office in 1911, and this at a time when the public debt of this country had reached the enormous figure of more than two and a half billions of dollars."

Another Loan.

Turning to the prospect of another loan, Mr. King said:

"I am sure I voice the opinion, not only of Liberals, but of all patriotic citizens when I say that, before assisting the government to obtain any further loans, it will be the duty of his majesty's loyal opposition in parliament to demand from the government a clearer statement than has thus far been given the country of expenditures being made, and a justification of them, as well as some reasonable assurance that a stricter economy than has hitherto prevailed shall be exercised in the expenditure of the people's money."

To raise the necessary money by taxation to carry on the business of government was going to be the great problem for years to come. But how, it would be asked, were the people to carry the burden of increased taxation along with the ever-increasing cost of living.

If the problem of the cost of living was to be met in a manner which would be of advantage at once to the consumers of the country and to its producers, this would only be effected by carefully considered changes in the tariff which would have the effect of stimulating and increasing production and of removing such artificial barriers to legitimate trade as cause prices of the necessaries of life to be unduly enhanced to consumers.

The planks of the party from dealing with agriculture, labor and industry and war veterans were then read with brief introductory remarks. Passing to the subject of the franchise, he said:

The Franchise.

"One sees it repeatedly asserted in the press for reasons best known to those who are responsible for the assertion, that neither of the old political parties needs an election at the present time. Some have gone so far as to say that there would be collusion between the leaders of the parties in the House of Commons to avoid an election, on the plea that there is much unrest and that there is no telling who may come to occupy the treasury benches. Let me deal with this assumption and deal with it very plainly.

"Though unable to speak for the party in power, I am in a position where I can speak for the Liberal party, and for the Liberal members who comprise the opposition in the House of Commons. What their wishes as individual members may be I cannot say. No man would go out of his way to court an election any more in the interest of the country, or in his own interest. Too great frequency in elections is not a condition to be desired. But the question is not one of individual desires or even the desires of a parliamentary group. The question fundamentally is, do we believe in government by consent, the consent of the governed, and if so, as liberals, believing in self-government as the foundation of all our liberties and in responsible government as the only form of self-government worthy the name, there can be but one attitude towards a government that was never representative, and that only figuratively speaking could not be regarded as responsible and that is, the sooner it makes way for a government that is founded upon the will of the governed, and is truly representative of the people as a whole, the better for peace, order and good government in our midst."

There were other resolutions passed by the convention to which he might allude, but he said he would refer only to resolutions which related to the national life. One was a resolution on Canadian autonomy; the other on national unity. They expressed the natural antipathy of all true Liberals to anything in the nature of centralized imperialism, and the desire for a united Canada which should inspire all citizens of the Dominion.

In conclusion he again emphasized the need of unity in the following words: National unity we must at all cost maintain, and our political platform must be so drafted and our political politics so conceived and carried out as to make that unity at all times a great reality."

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14 Jan. 1920 Charlottetown

LIBERAL PRINCIPLES AND
PLATFORM

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Charlottetown Island Patriot (1)
January 15 20

D 4142

Masterly Exposition of Liberal Principles and the Liberal Platform by Messrs King and Lapointe

The Liberal Leader, in Two Memorable Speeches in Charlottetown Last Night Delivers An Inspiring Message to Enthusiastic Audiences That Crowded the Market Hall and Opera House to Overflowing. In Liberalism Lies the Solution of the Problems Which Face the Country. Clear Call Sounded For Welding all the Progressive Forces Into One Great Forward Movement. Both Mr. Lapointe and His Leader Carry Their Hearers With Them. The Misnamed Union Government Steadily Drifting to Its Doom. The Voice of Charlottetown Last Night Will be the Voice of Canada at the Next General Election.



HON. W. L. MACKENZIE KING.



Mr. Ernest Lapointe, M. P.

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The brilliant young Leader of the Liberal party, Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, and his able and eloquent lieutenant, Mr. Ernest Lapointe, M. P., have come to this city and gone, but the influence of their visit will remain to inspire and enthuse Liberals, and also to make a lasting impression on the minds of all our people, who realize that the government of the country can be safely entrusted to statesmen of such calibre.

The remarkable success of their meetings, the enthusiastic demonstrations tendered them foreshadow the triumph of Liberalism at the next general elections, when Hon. Mr. King will be Prime Minister of Canada.

The Liberal leader had a strenuous time since coming to this province. On Tuesday night he proceeded to Summerside, where he heard several delegations and where important matters were brought before him as the representative of the county.

Then he came to Charlottetown, where Mr. Lapointe and himself were the guests of honour at a banquet at which both delivered speeches. This was followed by a reception in the Legislative Assembly chamber, at which a large number of our citizens were introduced to the distinguished visitors.

To crown it all were the magnificent meetings last night.

Both Messrs. King and Lapointe are in the very prime of manhood and the fact that each was able to deliver two great speeches last night of over an hour in length—powerful speeches delivered with wonderful vigor and eloquence, indicate that the leader and his lieutenant possess remarkable physical endurance as well as brilliant mental gifts.

They both dealt with the great issues of these stirring times as only orators of their ability can, and it is safe to say that Charlottetown has seldom heard such masterly speeches on subjects which are engrossing the people's mind at this time. Both buildings were crowded to capacity, and the ladies, who in due time will be exercising the right of franchise, were well represented.

In the Market Hall Premier Bell presided, and in the Opera House Mr. Nelson Rattenbury, President of the Queen's County Liberal Association, was Chairman.

The buildings were attractively decorated with the national colors, while mottoes were displayed "Welcome to our Coming Premier," "Welcome to Lapointe," "Greetings to our Island Representative."

Shortly after the doors were thrown open, the buildings were filled with people. All seats were quickly taken, and at the opening hour, 8 o'clock, there was standing room only.

The platforms of both theatres were filled, as well as the auditoriums. The Liberals were out in force and there was a good representation of Conservatives as well.

At the Market Hall, Mr. King was the first speaker, being introduced in a few words by Premier Bell.

He spoke for an hour and a quarter, giving way to Mr. Lapointe, whose address lasted about an hour. He was followed by Mr. A. B. Warburton in a short speech.

At the Opera House, Mr. Lapointe opened, followed by Messrs. J. E. Sinclair, M. P., Mr. J. J. Hughes, Ex-M. P., and Mr. King.

Every speaker was accorded a splendid hearing. The only interruptions were interruptions of applause, and the ovation at the close proclaimed the profound impression made by the personality and the message of the orators.

Mr. King's exposition of the traditionary principles of Liberalism and of the Liberal platform, his defence of the party system, his denunciation of the Union Government's policy of drift, his appeal for stability and unity in the new Canada which has arisen since the war, his statement that a Liberal committee would be appointed in the House to look after the interests of returned men, were features of a memorable speech.

Mr. Lapointe, whose reputation as an orator had preceded him, more than fulfilled high expectations, being not only eloquent but humorous as well, his epigrammatic comments on the so-called Union Government proving very effective.

The policy of the Government, he said is like the weather recently, it is below zero. Quebec is sane and safe, so is the Liberal Party and so is its leader.

The Government has demobilized every one else. Let them demobilize themselves. These were among some of his characteristic utterances.

THE LIBERAL LEADER'S GREAT SPEECH.

Mr. King spoke as follows:—

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:

Assuredly no greater compliment could be paid a speaker than that he should be confronted by such a splendid audience as I am pleased to see here this evening. I take it that this large gathering is an indication of the interest with which the people are following the political situation of Canada at the present time. Indeed, all over the Dominion there are evidences of a revived interest in public life and public questions. There are many reasons why at this time, after the world has rallied from a great convulsion such as it has just experienced, we should all have an added interest in the affairs of the country, an added desire to see it well governed, and an added wish to have a larger freedom secured to the great mass of men than there has been in this country hitherto. And so, from one end of Canada to the other, we are witnessing to-day in political assemblies, just the kind of demonstration one sees this evening.

Before I begin to speak on the public question to which I desire to refer particularly, may I take advantage of this opportunity, on my first visit to the capital of your province, to thank not only the citizens of Charlottetown, but the people of Prince Edward Island generally for the great honour which they have done me in permitting one of their constituencies to elect me as its representative in the Parliament of the Dominion of Canada. I assure you, ladies and gentlemen, that whatever the future may afford in the way of opportunity, this, at least, it will impose in the way of lasting obligation,—that I shall always have a profound feeling of the utmost gratitude to the good people of this Island for having enabled me, with the new responsibilities which have devolved upon me through the goodwill of my fellow-Liberals, to enter the Parliament of this vast Dominion by the door of this province.

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If time permitted, I should gladly speak of the great warmth of the reception which has been accorded Mr. Lapointe and myself since we came over to the Island. To-day at luncheon there was an opportunity to say in public something of what we had been saying in private to each other, and that was, that go where one might, from one end of Canada to the other, it was questionable whether one would find a people whose natures were so universally kind, so universally courteous, and so unreservedly generous as are those of the people of Prince Edward Island. (Applause.) I say this without any intention either to praise or to flatter, but simply as expressing to you what has been a matter of observation on every hand in the brief time I have been privileged to be associated with this province.

I shall not take up the time of the audience by referring to matters of a personal nature upon which I should very much like to touch. The exigencies of our arrangements, however, make it imperative that I should proceed without undue delay to questions of greater moment, and I shall therefore begin at once to deal with what seems to me to be some of the outstanding features of the political situation in Canada at the present time.

Having concluded his introductory remarks, Mr. King said that in his opinion the great need in Canada today was stability; stability as regards conditions throughout the country, and stability in matters of government. In this connection, he opened his address by reference to the world unrest as it had followed in the wake of war, and as it was demonstrating itself in the different class movements which were coming into such prominence at the present time. On these matters he spoke as follows:

THE UNREST OF OUR TIMES.

"Let us realize that it is impossible to separate the present from the past, and that it is equally impossible to understand conditions in Canada from conditions as they exist in other countries."

"For many a year to come the war and its consequences will remain a mighty influence in world affairs, and any course of action, or any policy which does not reckon with that fact, is certain sooner or later to prove of no avail, and to increase rather than lessen the evils which have been forced upon us.

EFFECTS OF THE WORLD UPHEAVAL.

"Let us remember that the world has just passed through an upheaval unparalleled in all its history. The garment of civilization has been torn into shreds. The nations are busily engaged in patching it together anew. It will be some time yet before the process is complete. In physical outline the boundaries of countries have changed. But the changed map of Europe is only one evidence of a changed order an outward and visible sign of an infinitely greater convulsion from within. All that is living and breathing in the soul of humanity has been stirred to its depths. A truer simile of the world's condition today is that of the ocean seething after storm. For years to come this tide of emotion will continue to surge in human breasts with seemingly irresistible flow, mounting ever and anon high with hope and then falling away into depths of despondency and despair. A recognition of this great truth should make us view with great patience the restlessness of our day. It should awaken a sympathy with all these movements which bespeak an aroused conscience, and sound a new note in human aspirations. Here I may refer to some who belong to three of the largest and most important elements in our national society; the farmers, labor, and the war veterans.

THE AGRARIAN MOVEMENT.

It is no more coincidence that we have the rise of the Grain Growers Party in the West and of the United Famers in Ontario at the time they have come. With the defeat of Reciprocity, a Grain Growers Party in the West was inevitable. Sir Wilfrid Laurier saw this clearly, and told the people of Canada so very plainly. It was not Sir Wilfrid's fault, nor the fault of the Liberal Party, and least of all the fault of Hon. Mr. Fielding and his friends in the Maritime Provinces, that Reciprocity did not carry. It was the forces that were opposed to a wise and progressive Liberalism.

Then, on May 14, 1918, the farmers of Ontario and Quebec came in thousands from all parts of these provinces to the very doors of Parliament to protest against the broken pledges of the administration, and the arbitrary measures being enacted and arbitrary methods being employed by the Government in carrying out many of its measures, and the administration declined to permit them to enter the building, and met with blank indifferences— one might almost say with contempt— their respectful petitions; it was equally inevitable they should return to their homes determined upon political action through their existing organizations. In so far as these movements are in the nature of protest against arbitrary behaviour on the part of the administration, and are evidence of determination on the part of those engaged in agriculture to secure a wider measure of economic freedom, there can be only one attitude toward them on the part of all true Liberals, and that an attitude of wholehearted approval and co-operation in an endeavor to obtain reform already too long delayed.

THE ONTARIO ELECTIONS.

Of the events of the year just passed, one of the most significant has been the results attending upon political organization of the farmers in different parts of Canada, and especially in the Province of Ontario. The overwhelming defeat of the Hearst Government and the formation of a Provincial administration under Mr. Drury, was one of these surprises which lend so much interest and zest to politics. Surprising as the outcome of the Provincial elections might at first appear, one has not to seek very far for an explanation. First and foremost must be placed the exasperation of the people with a Government that had usurped the sovereign right of the people to govern themselves and had become the chief ally of the Federal administration in promulgating and maintaining arbitrary enactments. The compact between Mr. Hearst and Mr. Proudfoot to perpetuate the Government in office and the members in their seats in the Legislature may not have been without explanation on grounds of political expediency. If, however, we have not abandoned altogether what is fundamental in the right of the people to self-government, it was wholly without justification on constitutional grounds.

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LIBERAL ATTITUDE TOWARD THE FARMERS.

Liberals should be the last to deplore any constitutional act on the part of the people to maintain their sovereign rights. It is in this way that governments are taught to respect the people's will. It must never be forgotten that whilst the Farmer candidates were returnd in largest numbers the overthrow of the Hearst Government in Ontario was essentially a victory for the Liberal forces of the Province against a reactionary Government, a victory accomplished by Farmers and Liberals combined, and working in most constituencies in wholehearted combination.

As Liberals, then, in the truest meaning of that word, we mistake altogether the significance of these agrarian movements if we do not see in them evidences of Liberal thought and feeling on the part of those who are advocating and supporting their policies.

LIBERAL ATTITUDE TOWARD LABOR.

And the same is true of the Labor movement. Here, again, is another large class in our national society, which has become conscious, not only of economic injustices in the past, but of the need for united action to gain that fuller expression of personal and economic freedom which is of the very essence of all true Liberalism. Can we as Liberals fail to appreciate the aims and aspirations of that movement? Can we fail to share something of the thoughts and feelings of the men and women who are a part of it? Speaking for myself, my interest in industrial problems is bred of my Liberalism. I can think of the problem of industry only in terms of humanity. Liberalism is to us the expression of a wider human freedom, whether it be for those who work in the country, on the farm, or in the cities and towns in the shops and factories; whether it be the well-being of women and children that is at stake, in the home or elsewhere, or the lot of men in the struggle with their several environments. What the workers in one form or another are seeking is what we as Liberals have all along been speaking of as more in the way of equality of opportunity. If that is not part of Liberalism, then Liberalism has ceased to exist.

LIBERAL ATTITUDE VIOLATED VETERANS.

Now, as to the returned soldiers, or, more appropriately, the war veterans, who are not without ideals and aspirations as a class. If there is in Canada today one portion of its citizenry which more than any other is entitled to consideration, it is the men who risked their lives in battle, and those who shared with them the dangers and privations of war, especially the families of those whose sons made the supreme sacrifice in the cause of the world's freedom. Having fought and suffered and sacrificed to save the world from autocratic rule, and the tyranny of material power, it is not surprising that these men and women hope for realization in larger measure of the freedom they fought to prserve. As Liberals, we have special reason to share their hopes and aspirations.

Liberalism in Canada had its birth in the struggle against autocracy in government. The war in Europe was an expression upon a world scale of two diametrically opposite systems of government brought into conflict, and provoked by those who sought world domination under their particular system. The war will be without its meaning to our day and generation unless we seek to make out of the sacrifices of the heroic dead a new social order, resplendent with the conception for which they gave their lives.

SUPREME TASK OF LIBERALISM TO RECONCILE DIFFERENCES.

It is here that the supreme task of Liberalism comes in. Either we shall have an increasing growth of class consciousness on the part of each of the great groups I have mentioned, resulting, as all class conscious growths are destined to result, in conflict with each other and with forces that sooner or later are certain to oppose them; or we shall have a great progressive movement which will lead to a new era of sacial progress and social justice. It will all depend upon whether the spirit of good-will is sufficietly strong to overcome the spirit that war breeds and that continues to lurk in its wake.

War has shown what can be accomplished by co-operation and sacrifice. If we can carry the spirit of co-operation and sacrifice into this period of reconstruction, we have nothing to fear. If, on the other hand, each element in our national life is going to seek to go to its own gait unwilling to join hands with other groups that share like aims and asprations to its own, if each separately intends to aim at dominion in national affairs, then we may look for a prolongation of the period of confusion, and, in the end, retrogression rather than advance.

PARLIAMENT A MIRROR.

Parliament ought to be a mirror reflecting the different elements that go to make up a nation. It is absurd for the Dominion of Canada to have a Parliament that has relatively no farmers in it, to speak for the farmers, and no one from the ranks of Labor to speak for Labor. I hope there will be in our next parliament representatives of both these classes of our people, and also men from the ranks of the war veterans, to speak for those who have served their country with such heroism and for those who lie in Flanders fields and cannot speak for them. I think our next parliament must be truly representative if we are to secure unity and contentment in this country.

MONOPOLY OF GOVERNMENT BY ANY CLASS OBJECTIONABLE.

Just here let me say quite frankly that when it comes to matters of government, I am unalterably opposed to monopoly in any form, or by any class. I am relentlessly opposed to government being controlled visibly or invisibly by railway, manufacturing, or financial interests. I am not less opposed to a monopoly of control on the part of any other of the essential elements of our national economy, be they farmers, labor, war veterans, or the newly unfranchised female voters. I know no finer max-

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im of government than that of the illustrious statesman Pym. enunciated in the reign of Charles I., which is as applicable to our politics today as it was to England in that unsettled period.

"That form of government is best which both actuate and dispose every part and member of the State to the common good.'

Certainly, such a form of government is not to be found in any attempt at monopoly by any class. It is only to be found in co-operation between the different classes, made effective by a spirit of genuine goodwill.

SECTIONAL AND CLASS POLICIES IMPERIL UNITY.

And this leads me ta speak of the East and the West of our wide Dominion, and of all the vast intervening space of British Columbia with its wonderful diversified resources, of the Prairie Provinces with their vast agricultural wealth, of Ontario and Quebec, and the Maritime Provinces with their rural as well as urban populations, and their enterprising manufacturing and commercial developments. Is the splendid unity of our great country to be imperilled by a conflict of policies related primarily to geographical areas, or particular interests; or are we to carry into the shaping of our national policies the same noble spirit of some sacrifice on the part of each, and willing co-operation on the part of all, by which alone the war was won? Shall it be each for self, or all for all? Shall it be the special interest of a class or the well-being of the whole community? Shall it be Canada first, as it was with the men who gave their lives, with thought of nought save the honour of their country and their duty before God?

A GREAT POLITICAL PARTY NEEDED TO ACHIEVE REFORM.

If it is this larger, this nobler ideal, we must have in our Federa politics some political party large enough, broad enough, tolerant enough, fearless enough to carry forward such a policy of national unity. It cannot be a manufacturers' party, for that will never suit the farmers or consumers; neither can it be a farmers' party, for that, too, in the long run, will raise up powerful combinations against itself which will serve to divide east and west, to set the cities and towns and villages over against the farming communities and the rural districts over against the urban. Neither can it be a Labor party, for that means the organization, sooner or later, of a Capitalist party, and aided strife in industrial relations, rather than the working out of some system of joint-control, by which alone the problems of industry are to be solved. Least of all is it likely ever to be a War Veterans' party. The War Veterans themselves have been the first to repudiate any thought of the kind; that would be introducing into this new world the old-time conflicts between the Army and the Civil authorities, which take us back to the days of Cromwell, and a condition of society which our citizen soldiary would be the first to deplore. No, it cannot be a party of any class,of any creed or any race, or of any special interest. It must be a party representative of all the interests of the nation, and reflecting in its composition the many-sided elements of our national life.

LESSONS FROM THE WAR.

A great political party has a significance scarcely dreamed of by many who today appreciate too little what continuity of effort in a great cause means in the maintenance of freedom, and in the ultimate achievement of victory for policies with which its name and history have been identified.

Let me make a comparison which will appeal to all. In the great war just ended, did past history and tradition mean nothing to the historic regiments which participated in the fight for freedom? Did the Black Watch and the Gordon Highlanders signify nothing to Scotsmen and men of Scotch descent? Did the Guards and the Middlesex add nothing of fighting quality to Englishmen and sons of Englishmen? Were the Dublin Fusiliers and the Inniskillen Dragoons mere names to Irishmen and those who fought at their side in these historic regiments? More than one Canadian soldier will ever regret the loss of identity of his regiment in the Canadian Expeditionary Force; but is there a Canadian living who would take from the colors of our army the names of the battles displayed upon them?

All through history the liberties of our human society have been preserved, and new liberties won by great fighting forces, the military and naval forces in the arena of war, and the not less militant forces in the political arena; and the finer the tradition of the fighting forces in either field, the greater has been the measure of their achievement.

NECESSARY AND INEVITABLE.

It is not a mere accident that the system of party has been established in England for more than two centuries. The existence of permanent parties can alone give a guarantee of caution in accepting, and perseverance in advocating, policies and proposals. It assures, better than any other means can do, a full consideration of difficult problems, and safeguards the country against the hurried adoption by Parliament of ill-digested measures.

The existence of parties, moreover, is inevitable. As a distinguished English Parliamentarian has said, the Conservative temper and the Liberal temper, the Conservative ideal and the Liberal ideal, Conservative methods and Liberal methods, differ fundamentally. A ministry cannot fail to belong to one school or the other It will attract to its support those of its own views. It will drive into opposition those who disagree with it. Let existing parties be destroyed or cast into confusion, as has been temporarily the case in all the countries of Europe, and to some extent in our country under the stress and strain of war, certain they are to reappear before long, possibly under different names for a time, but with the same long, possibly under different names for a time, but with the same predominating ideas as now, and to support the same respective policies.

In the last analysis, there is something in political parties which corresponds to fundamental instincts and tendencies in human nature. There is in man an impulse which makes for onward and progressive thought and action, and there is a counter tendency which makes for delay, which fears no beginnings, which resists change. The former impulse is stronger in youth; the latter gains emphasis with age.An exaggeration of the one tendancy leads to extreme courses of action; the ex-

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aggeration of the other leads to reactionary behaviour just as extreme. But between the extremes, the cleavage between the reactionary and the reformer is clearly seen in every age and in every class. Those who feel and think alike on great questions will do well, in the endeavor to make their views prevail, to link their efforts and to co-operate as members of one large party with a policy and platform broad enough in essentials to command the allegiance of those who differ only as respects non-essentials. Parties are necessary, useful, and likely to endure. To what better party can those of Liberal views look for a fulfilment of their desires than to a party that is Liberal in name as well as in aim, and which has a century of Liberal traditions to hold it true to its highest principles, and to spur it on to yet nobler achievement.

UNITY OF COMMAND ESSENTIAL TO VICTORY.

Let me make onef urther observation from the experience of war. No one will question that the Allied countries were one in aim, or that there was other than the strongest of reasons to compel co-operation in their resistance of the Central Powers. Their fighting capacity and their heroism was not for a moment in doubt. It was not, however, till unity of command was established that the tide of battle turned, and that victory by the Allied armies became assured.

With the Liberal forces at work in Canada today among the farmers, in the rural communities, among Labor in the cities and towns, among the returned soldiers, and among that great body of Canadian citizenry, men and women alike, who, apart from class affiliations or associations are thinking and praying and striving for the dawn of that better day which the sacrifices and privations of war were to usher in, there is nothing to withstay ultimate and speedy victory in the triumph of Liberal ideas and policies, except a failure on the part of those who are opposed to a common enemy to co-operate in a spirit that has regard primarily for the good of all.

Not only must we have stability and unity of purpose and aim as regards the liberal and progressive forces throughout the country; we must if we are to have progress and prosperity in the nation, have stability in matters of government as well. It is not enough to help to calm the restless spirit of the nation; it is also necessary to have its affairs directed in accordance with some policy which is known, and of which the country as a whole has approved. There must be a chart and compass which will give certainty of direction to the ship of state. It is owing to instability in management of the nation's affairs that the ship of state is in such distress in Canada today. Not only is the Government without a head to direct its affairs; it is actually without a policy to guide its actions. Never were the affairs of a country in a more hopeless state of muddle, nor an adminisration more disorganized than is the case at the present time.

POLICY OF DRIFT REVIEWED.

A policy of drift is the only characterization that can be made of the Government's action. Let me briefly review one or two outstanding circumstances which all present will recall.

It will be remembered that the Union Government was formed for the purpose of the election of 1917. The Union was preceded by the War Measures Act, the Military Voters Act, the War-time Elections Act, which, were the truth wholly known, could be shown to have been more of a determining factor in bringing about the Union than ought else. While the war was on, the cry "Win the War," was a sufficient rallying cry, sufficient for election purposes, and sufficient for a policy as long as the war lasted. The electors were told that the union was formed for that purpose and for that only. It was not a government for the purpose other than that of helping to "win the war," according, at all events, to the professions of the Prime Minister at the time the administration was formed, and of those who entered his cabinet.

PRIME MINISTER AND COLLEAGUES ABSENT.

When the war came to an end with the signing of the armistice in November, 1918, one would have supposed that the Prime Minister would have done one of two things. Either that he could have announced his intention of asking for a dissolution of Parliament, as soon as demobilization of the forces was completed, or that we would have formulated and announced some policy which Parliament and the country would have known was that of the ministry. Did he do either of these things? No, on the contrary he and two or more of his colleagues found it necessary to be absent in Europe the greater part of a year, and the affairs of state in Canada were permitted to drift along, first under one acting-Prime Minister, then under another; and the work of several of the departments entrusted at one time to one group of colleagues, and at another came to another group.

Finally, at the end of the regular session of 1919, the Prime Minister returned, to find not only that the policy of drift had rendered the government helpless in coping with a very serious situation in the city of Winnipeg and which was not without its ill-effects in all parts of Canada, but that his own following was hopelessly divided on urgent matters of policy; that the Unionist Government itself and its following in Parliament was being held together only by the emolument of office, and the love of power.

PRIME MINISTER ILL DURING SPECIAL SESSION.

Wearied with the strain of war, and disgusted with these internal wranglings which seemed to offer no promise of solution, the Prime Minister, considerably exhausted in vitality, contracted an illness which prevented him from being in Parliament except for a day or two during the special session held in the fall of last year. Then, again, the affairs of state were permitted to drift.

First, the country was told that the session was solely for the purpose of expressing approval of the Peace Treaty, which, as it turned out, was a wholly unnecessary procedure, and occupied but a few days. Then for weeks Parliament was dragged

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along, often with nothing at all to do and seldom with the ministry prepared on any public matter. Then, the Prime minister became well enough to go away on a trip, to leave the country altogether; and after he was gone and the acting-Prime Minister had announced that the session would end in another few days, to the amazement of Parliament and the whole country, certain members of the Cabinet brought into Parliament, and rushed through, a piece of legislation respecting the railways of the Dominion involving a transaction amounting to over five hundred millions of dollars, or a quarter of the capital national debt of the Dominion, and has augmented as it has become one of the tremendous outlays of the war.

RIGHTS OF PEOPLE IGNORED

Wholly indifferent to the rights of even the peoples representatives in Parliament, this group controlling in the Cabinet, for the time being, refused even to permit the right to Parliament to ratify the agreement to be made between the Government and the Grand Trunk, though this right was expressly reserved in the legislation brought down, to the shareholders of the Grand Trunk Railway in Great Britain. Approval has not yet been granted by the shareholders in England, and as Parliament ought to be reassembling in the course of another few weeks, I would like to say publicly again that, it being not yet too late to give the Canadian taxpayers who have to meet these obligations, the same rights as are given to the English shareholders who are to benefit by them, this right of approval of the Grand Trunk agreement should still be reserved to the people of Canada through their representatives in Parliament.

DRIFT WORSE THAN EVER.

But let me come at once to the explanation of this policy of drift, and ask whether the causes that account for it are such as are likely to be removed by anything that is likely to happen in the future of an appeal to the electorate. The Prime Minister has just left for parts unknown, for a period of time unknown, and who is to lead Parliament in his absence is still unknown. The situation in this particular, instead of being improved, has gone from bad to worse. The pilot has left the ship, for a long time, just as he left in the fall of 1919 for a short time, without venturing to decide between the factions in his Cabinet which of the two is to assume his role during his absence. All he has said of policy that is to govern in his absence is that there is none, and all that he has ventured to say concerning a future policy is to repeat what he said before he left the time before, that he hopes while he is away the quarrelling factions may come to some agreement among themselves, so as to be able, somehow, to hold together just as long as the law will permit.

Lest it might appear that I am placing my own interpretation upon the facts of the case, let me quote from the published statements as given to the Press by the Prime Minister and his colleagues.

NO AFTER THE WAR POLICY

The first of these statements was issued from Ottawa on September 30. It referred to a caucus of the Liberal Unionist supporters of the Government held that day, and attended by the Liberal Unionist Ministers. After mentioning that the suggested policy of the Unionist party would be further discussed at a special meeting of the Cabinet Council on the day following, and that it would be considered on yet another day at a general Government caucus, before Sir Robert Borden left for the south, the statement continued as follows:—

"A meeting of the Liberal Unionist members of the House was held in the east block. The meeting expressed unqualified approval of the war policy of the Union Government, and the Government was congratulated on its success. The concensus of opinion was that as the members were elected to support Union Government, it was their intention to continue to do so, and the hope was strongly expressed that the Government would be able to evolve a progressive policy satisfactory to the country to meet the after-the-war conditions."

Note the last of these sentences:—"The hope was strongly expressed that the Government would be able to evolve a progressive policy satisfactory to the country to meet the after-the-war conditions."

Here is a clear statement by one portion of the ministry that, notwithstanding the war had been brought to an end by the signing of the armistice on November 11, 1918, after a lapse of nearly a year the Government had not yet been able to evolve a policy to meet the after-the-war conditions.

HOPES OF A POLICY FRUSTRATED

But even the hopes expressed by this wing of the Cabinet and of the Government's supporters in Parliament were not realized. The Government caucus was held on October 2, and here is what was said to the press of its proceedings. The statement will be found in all the papers of that date:—"The feature of the conference was a pronouncement by the Premier setting forth his opinions on the question (i. e., the future of the union) and giving expression to the hope that his followers would be consolidated into a party to deal with the great problems of peace."

No policy, no unity, no constructive thought or idea, the mere expression of a hope that internal discord might be healed, that the party might hang together a little longer!

This would be ludicrous enough were it not quite so tragic. When we realize, however, that this was not only the situation in October last, but that it has continued to be the situation ever since, and is the situation at the present time, that it related to the business of the whole Dominion, the seriousness of the situation becomes apparent.

PRIME MINISTER GIVES UP THE AFFAIRS OF STATE A SECOND TIME.

It is no longer ago than Christmas week that the Prime Minister, once more weary in body and sick in heart and mind as well, disgusted with the internal wranglings of his Cabinet and its inability to unite upon any policy, caused it to be generally known that it was his intention to retire forthwith from the Premiership. The commotion thus occasioned in the counsels of the Unionist party and throughout the country is so recent that nothing is required to call it to mind. Matters again had reached a crisis. To save the Union from an immediate break-up, the Prime Minister once again agreed to continue a while longer as the nominal head of the ministry. I say the nominal head, because the basis of the understanding reached was that he should be absent, not only from the business of Parliament, but from the country, for an indefinite time, and to be so far away that he would be beyond the possibility of conference with respect to any situation which might arise.

POSITION OF LIBERAL PARTY—A STRIKING CONTRAST.

In splendid and striking contrast to the situation as revealed by the Government and its followers, or to the possible substitution of some group system of government, which would increase rather than lessen the evils

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so glaringly exhibited, we have the position of the Liberal party as it stands in Canada to-day. In unity and stability it holds an enviable position. It is a party with a policy clearly and definitely defined; a policy not the outgrowth of a single mind such as Sir Robert Borden proposes the Unionist party should accept, not a group of conflicting policies, as would be the case with an administration composed of special classes and interests; but a broad national policy, wrought out of a convention representative of all classes, of all creeds, of all races, of all parts of our great Dominion, and embodying principles which while not without reference to the special needs of every class, is concerned primarily with the well-being of all and which all combined are prepared to advocate and support.

THE LIBERAL PLATFORM.

Perhaps it would be best to let the Platform of the Liberal Party speak for itself. Here are some of the resolutions that were unanimously adopted at the Convention, and which now constitute a part of the policy of the Liberal Party.

FINANCIAL CONDITION AND TAXATION.

First and foremost in the Liberal platform is the demand for economy in the administration of public affairs. If there is one criticism above another to which the present administration has laid itself open, it is the vast extravagance and waste there has been of public monies at a time when, of all times, the strictest economy was needed. We all realize that the expenditures of war were necessarily abnormal and necessarily very great; but one would have expected that during the period of war, and especially subsequent to it, the Government would have economized in every possible way. Instead of that, an analysis of the Public Accounts will show that there is not a department of the civil government in which the expenditure has not been vastly greater during and since the period of the war than it has ever hitherto been. In addition to that, the Government has been taking on new liabilities on an enormous scale.

It is hardly possible to believe—but it is nevertheless true—that the last act of the administration, the taking over of the Grand Trunk Railway System, was one involving the country in a transaction amounting to over 200 millions of dollars (a sum greater than the total national debt of Canada at the time the Liberals went out of office in 1911), and this at a time when the public debt of this country had reached the enormous figure of over two and a half billions of dollars.

Let us pause for a moment to look at the figures with regard to Canada's public debt; for all that is possible in the matter of reform and of assistance in one direction and another is necessarily circumscribed by the condition of the country's finances. Taking the public accounts of Canada for 1919, the following figures appear:

THE TOTAL DEBT OF CANADA

In 1911, Canada's total debt was.....	$ 474,941,497.12
In 1919, Canada's total debt was	$2,676,635,724.77
An increase of	$2,201,694,237.65

In 1911 the total debt amounted to $63.32 per person in Canada.

In 1919 the total debt amounted to $358.88 per person in Canada.

An increase of $295.56 per person in Canada.

To raise the necessary money by taxation to carry on the business of government is going to be the great problem for years to come in this country. It means more and more in the way of taxation, for we cannot go on borrowing indefinitely; sooner or later we must face the situation in all its ugliness and begin to meet current expenditures out of current revenues, and to pay off some of the outstanding liabilities. In considering the form taxation should take to meet the country's increasing obligations, the Liberal Party in its platform has laid down the principle that the burden of taxation should be placed on those who are best able to bear it, and to this end has declared that, instead of resorting to further indirect taxation as a means of raising revenue, the increase of revenue must be sought from an equitable and effective imposition and collection of graduated taxes on business profits and income, applicable to all incomes above reasonable exemptions, and also in taxes upon luxuries.

HIGH COST OF LIVING.

But how, it will be asked, are the people to carry the burden of increased taxation along with the ever-increasing cost of living. Here we come to what seems to me the problem of problems in Canada to-day. Whilst there are classes, large and small, to which some belong while others do not, there is one class to which all, whether men, women or children, belong irrespective of trade or occupation, of race or creed, of origin or circumstances, irrespective even of politics, and that is the great body of consumers.

That leads me to ask at once what have the respective parties in Canada to offer in the way of policy to meet what is legitimate in the demands of the farmers and of labor, and at the same time certain to be of benefit to that one class in our national society which embraces all classes, namely, consumers, who are all vitally affected by everything that affects the cost of living. A policy that is going to serve to still further enhance the cost of living is not one which in the end is going to effect much that is good for anyone. What is needed is a policy that will bear directly on this cost of living problem in a way that will aid in its solution, and at the same time further the legitimate demands of those classes in our society upon which all society is dependent for the production and distributing of these commodities which are essential to its very existence.

It is here that we are at once brought face to face with the contrast as it exists between the two political parties in Canada to-day. The Unionist Party, with its policy of drift, the logical and inevitable fruit of the continuance of a Union which has served the purpose for which it was formed, and has ceased to have any real purpose other than that of holding on to office, and the constructive and progressive policy of the Liberal Party as framed by the National Liberal Convention, which assembled in Ottawa in August of last year.

THE TARIFF

If the problem of the cost of living is to be set in a manner which will be of advantage at once to the consumers of the country and to its producers, this can only be effected by carefully considered changes in the tariff, which will have the effect of stimulating and increasing production, and of removing such artificial barriers to legitimate trade as cause prices of the necessaries of life to be unduly enhanced to consumers. The wealth of the country can only be increased by developing our natural resources, and there is no more effective way of developing those resources, whether they be of the land, of the sea, of the mines or of the forest, than by placing the necessary instruments of production, in all of these industries, within reach of those engaged in them at as low a cost as may be possible. Accordingly, the Liberal Platform has declared that duties on all instruments of production, and the raw materials entering into the same, should be removed.

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Then, there is a large class of articles, those which constitute the necessaries of life, which should be made as reasonable to consumers at legitimate manufacture and trade will permit. As the tariff revision is an all-important part of the platform of the Liberal Party, perhaps this plank cannot be too specifically stated. It is as follows:

That the best interests of Canada demand that substantial reductions of the burdens 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 principal articles of food; farm implements and machinery; farm tractors, mining, flour and saw-mill machinery and repair parts thereof; rough and partly 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 material entering into the same.

That a revision downwards of the tariff should be made whereby substantial reductions should be effected in the duties on wearing apparel and footwear, and on other articles of general consumption (other than luxuries), as well as on the raw material 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.

Before leaving the Tariff, I should add that, at the Convention the Liberals again expressed their faith in Reciprocity in natural products with the United States, and determined that, if opportunity should be afforded to carry out the free interchange of natural products, as provided in the Reciprocity Agreement of 1911, the earliest advantage would be taken of that opportunity.

ENCOURAGEMENT TO AGRICULTURE.

Realizing the importance of Agriculture, the Convention considered very carefully and fully means whereby the interests of this great industry could be best promoted in Canada. Nothing could better disclose the intention of the Liberal Party to render every possible assistance to Agriculture than the following resolution, which pledges the Party's support to policies for which the farmers have long been contending:

In the interest of agricultural production and development it is expedient to encourage co-operation and induce greater investment in farming; therefore, it is deemed expedient to utilize the national credit to assist co-operative Agricultural Credit Associations to provide capital for agriculture at the lowest possible rates.

With the object of reducing the high cost of living by eliminating as far as possible the waste and expense in handling food products between the producer and consumer, it is expedient to extend the principle and system of Canadian Government Elevators and to provide interior and terminal cold storage warehouses equipped for the assembling, assorting ,preparing, storing and grading of food products in order that co-operative organizations and others may have available to them reliable, modern equipment, for the distribution of farm products in superior condition and at lessened cost either for domestic consumption or for export. And that cold storage transportation facilities should be provided, at the cost of operation, for the shipment of food products throughout Canada and for the carrying to the markets of the world the surplus farm products of this country and delivering them in such condition that will make Canadian foodstuffs a standard of quality for the world's market.

That in the interests of agriculture, in aid of greater production on the land, and for the conservation of the soil in Canada, it is expedient for the Government to arrange for the distribution of fertilizers at the lowest possible cost.

Your Committee on Agriculture begs to recommend that a Special Committee be appointed to prepare a resolution upon the banking system of Canada and the adapting of said system to satisfactory loans in connection with land and live stock, and to present such resolution to your Committee.

One sees it repeatedly asserted in the press, for reasons best known to those who are responsible for the assertion, that neither of the old political parties desire an election at the present time. Some have even gone so far as to insinuate that there was likely to be collusion between the leaders of the parties in the House of Commons to avoid an election, on the specious plea that there is much unrest and that there is no telling who may come to occupy the Treasury benches. Let me deal with this assumption and deal with it very plainly.

I am not in the confidence of the government, and therefore, am not in a position to know what the views of its members are. I imagine that in this one single instance they are united, they are all doubtless agreed that, be the wishes of the people what they may, they, the members of the administration, are there and intend to hold on to office just as long as this can be done with the support of their following in the House.

Though unable to speak for the party in power, I am in a position where I can speak for the Liberal party, and for the Liberal members who comprise the Opposition in the House of Commons. What their wishes as individual members may be, I cannot say. No man would go out of his way to court an election any more in the interest of the country than in his own interest. Too great frequency in elections is not a condition to be desired. But the question is not one of individual desires, or even the desire of a parliamentary group. The question fundamentally is, do we believe in government by consent, the consent of the governed, and if so as Liberals, believing in self-government as the foundation of all our liberties, and in representative and responsible government as the only form of self-government worthy the name, there can be but one attitude towards a government that never was representative, and that only figuratively speaking could be regarded as responsible, and that is that the sooner it makes way for a government that is founded upon the will of the governed, and is truly representative of the people as a whole, the better for peace, order and good government in our midst.

GOODWILL IN INTER-IMPERIAL AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

It is a new attitude and a new spirit that is needed to develop unity. Whilst war may serve to bring forth what is finest and best in a people, it also helps to develop much that is worst. It breeds a spirit of ill-will which continues to lurk in countries long after the last has been heard of war. The substitution of goodwill for all that war has made of ill-will in the various phases of our national life must be the work of a progressive Liberalism; a spirit of goodwill between individuals who have differed in the past in politics or differ at the present time; a spirit of goodwill toward classes that have their own special aims, ambitions, and aspirations, whether similar to or different

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from our own; a spirit of goodwill in matters of race and religion; in inter-imperial and international relations.

NATIONAL UNITY THE GREAT AIM

It is not only as regards differences between persons and classes, racial and religious differences, national and international differences, that we must seek in a spirit of goodwill to bind up the wounds and to bridge the chasms which the roused passions of the war have served to widen and create. We must resolve as never before to permit no new cleavage to destroy our national unity. There was a remote time in our country's history when the inhabitants of Quebec were alone thought of as belonging to Canada. That time ended with the enactment of the Constitutional Act of 1791. Then there came the time when we had an upper and a lower Canada. That time was nominally at an end when the Union Act of 1840 was passed. It came pretty effectively to an end with Confederation in 1867. There remained, however, a considerable period which may be said to have prevailed pretty generally until the end of the last century and to have continued in some parts up to the very moment of the war, when the Nova Scotian about to visit Quebec or Ontario talked about his visit to Canada, and when the traveller from British Columbia similarly described his journey to Ontario or Quebec.

CANADIAN UNITY ESTABLISHED BY THE WAR

The war, we believe, has put an end forever to geographical divisions even in thought, so far as the unity of our Dominion is concerned . Not only in the eyes of the world, but in our own eyes, that single word "Canada" on the shoulder strap of our soldiers in the fighting armies overseas has welded this country into one as no symbol of nationhood in the past has ever united it. It was for the unity of Canada, the unity of the British Empire, of which Canada is a part, the unity of aim and purpose of the free nations associated as Allies in the titanic struggle for the world's freedom that our brave heroes gave their lives in the fields of Flanders and of France.

National unity we must at all cost maintain, and our political platform must be so drafted and our political policies so conceived and carried out as to make that unity at all times a great reality.

G. W. V. A. DELEGATION

Mr. King said that he had met a delegation of the Great War Veterans' Association, who had pointed out to him that all over Canada there was a feeling among soldiers that great injustice is being done them in the way the legislation respecting themselves and their dependents is being administered. He had a letter from a friend in Montreal suggesting that he appoint a Committee of Liberals from the House, including returned men, to take up questions specially relating to soldiers and see that they are brought to the attention of the different departments of the Government. "I will publicly make this announcement," said Mr. King, "that I will have this committee appointed and will see to it that the War Veterans' interests are looked after."

Mr. King also spoke of the resolution passed by the Liberal Convention that the western provinces should be granted the ownership and control of natural resources within their own boundaries, on terms that are fair and equitable with reference to the other provinces.

He said that when this question came up, he would see to it that when the claims of the west were being considered, the claims of the eastern provinces, including Prince Edward Island, would be considered at the same time.

A report of Mr. Lapointe's speech will appear to-morrow.

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Charlottetown Island Patriot
January 15 — 20

D 41.52

The Prince Edward Island Patriot

THURSDAY, JANUARY 15, 1920.

MacKenzie King and His Message

Much was expected and more was realized from the visit of the Honourable William Lyon Mackenzie King, M.P., to this the Captial of the Province. Every function,beginning with the luncheon at noon, the reception in the afternoon and the two magnificent and crowded meetings in the evening, tell in unmistakeable numbers that our people are Liberal to the core and that all Liberals and Conservatives, Catholics and Protestants, French and Anglo Saxons were eager to hear the message that the great Leader of the Liberal party had to give them. Even at this inclement season of the year, farmers and others flocked from the centres and from the countryside, and filled our two largest halls to their utmost capacity,—scores being unable to gain an entrance. It is estimated that at least between three and four thousand people must have heard Messrs King and Lapointe in their great political deliverances which had been looked forward to with such unusual interest. Certainly following so closely upon the auspicious opening in Halifax of the Chieftain's tour and before the opening of Parliament next month it evidences that the spirit of Liberalism is undoubtedly the one held between the two oceans bounding Eastern and Western Canada.

During the war, politics was to a great extent, dropped and almost all thought and effort were directed to the great conflict, while all eyes were turned across the seas. But now, as has been the case for centuries past, politics, which after all is the government of the state—for there are only two things really worth while in our lives,—namely Church and State—is again taking a great hold upon the people. Responsible government and representative institutions have been won by the fearlessness and boldness of the statesmen of the past,and the good government of our country and the preservation of our liberties and free institutions depend upon "government of the people, for the people and by the people," and to accomplish this the peoples' voice must prevail. This is the very essence of Liberalism!

Messrs King and Lapointe stand first, last and all the time for unity in Canada, unity of the two great races, in our government, and then a Liberal platform based upon a reasoned policy, broad enough, and wide enough and Liberal enough to embrace all conditions, all races, religions, and activities of mankind—and this was the message delivered to our people by Mackenzie King and Ernest Lapointe.

Mr. King's reference to returned soldiers thrilled the hearts of every man and woman in the vast audiences,for all had been touched, either directly or indirectly by the war.

"The boys," he said "had responded to our call, let us respond to theirs. He had been waited upon in the afternoon by representatives of the Great War Veterans' Association and from the platform last night he declared that the soldiers were not only deserving of all consideration, but their wives, mothers and dependents were in an equal measure deserving of the deepest consideration of the Liberal party.

There are three great movements in the world, to be accounted with today:—

FIRST—The agrarian movement.

SECOND—The Labor movement.

THIRD—The Returned Soldiers movement.

"We mistake," said Mr. King, "the significance of the farmers' movements, if we do not see in them evidences of liberal thought and feeling on the part of those who are advocating and supporting their policies."

With respect to the industrial problem, he told the people that his interest in this was bred in liberalism."I can think of the problems of industry only in terms of humanity. Liberalism is to me the expression of a wider human freedom, whether it be for those who work in the country, on the farms, or in the cities and towns in the shops and factories; whether it be the well-being of women and children that is at stake, in the home or elsewhere, or the lot of men in the struggle with their several environments. What the workers in one form or another are seeking is what we as Liberals have all along been speaking of as more in the way of equality of opportunity.If that is not part of Liberalism, then Liberalism has ceased to exist,and so far as returned soldiers, the third great movement is concerned Liberalism in Canada had its birth in the struggle against autocratic government.

Now, as to the returned soldiers, or, more appropriately, the war veterans, who are not without ideals and aspirations as a class. If there is in Canada today one portion of its citizenry which more than any other is entitled to consideration, it is the men who risked their lives in battle, and those who shared with them the dangers and privations of war, especially the families of those whose sons made the supreme sacrifice in the cause of the world's freedom. Having fought and suffered and sacrificed to save the world from autocratic rule, and the tyranny of material power, it is not surprising that these men and women hope for a realization in larger measure of thefreedom they fought to preserve. As Liberals, we have special reason to share their hopes and aspirations.

"Liberalism in Canada had its birth in the struggle against autocracy in government. The war in Europe was an expression upon a world scale of two diametrically opposite systems of government brought into conflict, and provoked by those who sought world domination under their particular systems. The war will be without its meaning to our day and generation unless we seek to make out of the sacrifice of the heroic dead a new social order, resplendent with the conception of liberty for which they gave their lives.

"It is here that the supreme task of Liberalism comes in. Either we shall have an increasing growth of class consciousness on the part of each of the great groups I have mentioned, resulting, as all class conscious growths are destined to result, in conflict with each other and with forces that sooner or later are certain to oppose them; or we shall have a great progressive movement which will lead to a new era of social progress and social justice. It will all depend upon whether the spirit of good-will is sufficiently strong to overcome the spirit that war breeds and that continues to lurk in its wake.

This in brief was the message of Mackenzie King to our people. Of course a great many other matters were touched upon such as the permanency of parties which is such an essential necessity in our form of government—or indeed any government.

The tariff and the reducing thereof, in some instances its abolition, a fairer franchise, and the reducing of the high cost of living were some of the most important planks in the liberal platform; also the encouragement of agriculture and a free interchange of natural products as provided in the Reciprocity Agreement of 1911.

Mr. King's criticism of the present so-called Union Government was both searching and condemnatory. The ship of state is without a pilot who may be at one time in Cuba and another in South Africa, she is captained by the cook anl crew whose only desire is to let her drift and keep her off the rocks of retribution until they find a safe place to beach her.

An enormous debt has been fastened upon our country—the sum of $2,676,000,000—that means $358.00 for every person in our country. He then showed the only possible way of providing means to carry on the affairs of the country, was by the strictest economy and the taxing of what could and should bear it.

Mr. King declared that self-government is the only true form of government for this or any country.

'As Liberals, believing in self-government as the foundation of all our liberties, and in representative and responsible government as the only form of self-government worthy the name, there can be but one attitude towards a government that never was representative, and that only figuratively speaking could be regarded as responsible, and that is that the sooner it makes way for a government that is founded upon the will of the governed, and is truly representative of the people as a whole, the better for peace, or order and good government in our midst."

Mr. Lapointe's reputation as a brilliant speaker was ably sustained and his declaration that the essential of sound Canadianism which knows neither sectionalism or national combintions; which knows no East or West, but only the building up of a larger Canada and a united people, free from prejudice and sectionalism appealed to every individual who heard him.

It was a happy thought on the part of Mr. King to bring to Prince Edward Island the eloquent and magnetic Leader of the French-Canadian race in the Province of Quebec. Upon Mr. Lapointe's shoulders has fallen the mantle of Sir Wilfrid Laurier and he surely is the rising son of this the pivotal province of this broad Dominion.

Thus Messrs King and Lapointe have not only given a great message to our people, but at the same time they have shown that responsible and representative government has ceased to exist in Canada; they have also placed before the country the fact that no one group or plurality of groups can ever successfully or permanently administer public affairs or govern a country, the people of which are in all the various activities of life.

Mr. King by his polished eloquence, his profound philosophy and his masterly grasp of facts has evidenced beyond all question his eminent fitness for the great task that lies before him. The greatest of Canadians and the most eloquent of public speakers on this Continent have at times been seen and heard in our city and we unhesitatingly state that Mr. King ranks with the very best of them.

Both Mr. King and Mr. Lapointe stated that owing to the magnificent welcome they received at the hands of our people and the unreserved generosity and hospitality extended to them, they would if such lie within their power, in the future, see to it that the interests of Prince Edward Island would not be neglected but would be carefully guarded. They are now familiar with the needs and possibilities of the province and what is required in order to fully develop our resources and expand our trade.

Not only have our people been stirred by their utterances but they have been encouraged and hope that when the Liberals again obtain power in this Dominion Prince Edward Island will be accorded a more generous recognition than she has ever enjoyed even in the halcyon days of Liberal rule.

ECHOES OF THE BIG MEETING

The few interruptions last night were good natured and encouraging.

Now do your best one enthusiastic Liberal shouted as Mr. King began.

Who couldn't be inspired to do his best with such a meeting? said the Liberal Leader.

* * * * *

"The Union Government is no more a representative Government than a smuggler is a free trader" said Mr. Lapointe.

* * * * *

The Market Hall fairly rocked with the applause when the brilliant French-Canadian orator paid these tributes to his chief."There is no greater brain in Canada,or bigger heart than Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King's."

* * * * * *

"The Unionists have been goose-stepping at the crack of the whip of the Prime Minister. We have no room in Canada for boodlers, schemers or Bolshevists, but men with brains, vision, honesty and pluck," said Lapointe.

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LIBERALISM AND CANADIAN UNITY

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St. John Telegraph
January 17, 1920

St John NB

LIBERAL LEADER'S STIRRING MESSAGE TO NEW BRUNSWICK

Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King and Ernest Lapointe, M. P., Address Great Meeting in Imperial Theatre.

Spirited Appeal for Unity in Canada and for Stability of Government—Would Wipe Out Tariff on Instruments of Production in Industries Based on Natural Resources of Country—Other Tariff Pronouncements—Hon. Mr. King Declares he Will do All in His Power to Aid Port of St. John—Splendid Reception by Great Audience.

Looking down into a sea of faces in the Imperial Theatre last evening, Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King delivered a stirring message to the people of this city and this province on the political conditions in Canada, the imperative need for a great, united party with a broad, progressive policy, and the obvious necessity for an early election so that the business of the Dominion might be carried on by a government truly representative of the people. The audience, which included a large number of women and a strong representation from every county in the province, taxed the capacity of the theatre after the doors had been closed upon hundreds of eager citizens who went away keenly disappointed when they found that they could not gain admittance; and it was roused to a high pitch of enthusiasm by the eloquent and inspiring appeal of both the leader of the Liberal party in Canada, and Ernest Lapointe the Liberal leader for Quebec in the House of Commons, for national unity and stability of government, without which, they explained amidst cheers and prolonged applause, the people of this country could not hope to give effect to the principles of freedom for which so many of its sons sacrificed their lives on the battlefields overseas.

THE LIBERAL LEADER



HON. W. L. MACKENZIE KING, M.P.

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A Great Meeting.

It was one of the greatest political meetings ever held in St. John, and the speakers were frequently interrupted by enthusiastic applause. Every seat in the theatre—in the body of the house and on the stage—was filled, the available standing room was occupied, and a crowd, rapidly increasing in number, was patiently waiting outside for some sign that more could be accommodated within when Hon. Mr. King and Mr. Lapointe, accompanied by Premier Foster, the chairman of the evening, arrived. Their appearance upon the platform was the signal for flattering applause which must have been highly pleasing to the distinguished visitors. The premier's introductory remarks were warmly received and when Hon. Mr. King arose to speak he was given a magnificent reception,as was his colleague, Mr. Lapointe, when the Quebec representative began his speech two hours later. Neither speech was marked by narrowness or petty criticism. In appealing not only for national unity, but for Liberal unity, so that the progressive political classes might be brought together under the mantle of a broad Liberalism, Hon. Mr. King and Mr. Lapointe made it very clear that they had not the slightest criticism to offer with respect to those Liberals who felt it necessary to support a Union government for the period of the war; on the other hand, they declared that they could have had no respect for any man who failed to follow the dictates of his conscience at such a time. Now, however, Canada had a government without a leader, without a policy, without unity of purpose, and drifting hopelessly along while the vital interests of the country were being neglected. The audience was quick to show its appreciation of the danger of the situation by applauding long and vigorously when Hon. Mr. King declared that the ship of State was drifting rudderless on a troubled and stormy sea, deserted by its captain and manned only by a crew the members of which could not agree among themselves.

Many times during the evening as Mr. King or Mr. Lapointe spoke in a jocular vein of the lack of cohesion in the Unionist cabinet and its apparent determination to hold on to office no matter what its effect might be upon the public weal, the audience was moved to laughter. Turning to the matter of St. John harbor development,—and here his comment on the fact that there was no Minister from New Brunswick to whom the people of this city and this province could look for support, caused laughter—Hon. Mr. King declared that he would do everything in his power to promote the interests of this port. That those present were impressed by his sincerity and his recognition of the importance of the national winterport was clear enough. They greeted his statement with great enthusiasm.

The Tariff.

Those who attended last night's meeting in the hope that the Liberal leader would make a clear and concise statement as to his policy with respect to the tariff, were not disappointed. He pledged himself, if called upon to form a government, to strive to diminish the high cost of living which presses so severely on the masses of the people, to wipe out the tariff on instruments of production in the industries based on the national resources of the Dominion, the vigorous development of which is essential to the progress and prosperity of the country, to increase the British preference to fifty per cent. of the general tariff, and to work for reciprocity in natural products for the purpose of relieving the heavy burden now being carried by those least able to bear it. He paid a high tribute to the Great War Veterans, to the farmers and the labor men, and in spirited fashion he explained that he would not stand for monopoly of government in any form. His eloquent peroration was followed by wildly enthusiastic applause.

A banner ove rthe stage, accompanying which was a large Union Jack, bore the words: "New Brunswick welcomes Laurier's sucessor."

Premier Foster.

Premier Foster was given a very hearty greeting by the great audience when he rose to introduce Hon. Mr. King. The premier said he considered it a great honor to have the privilege of presiding over the meeting. He extended to all a most hearty welcome. He was glad to see the ladies taking such interest in political affairs, remarking, humorously, that he would have to appeal to the people some time. It was their duty, he added, addressing the ladies, to take interest in public affairs. It was their duty to join with the men in exercising the franchise. The ladies were now not only wives and daughters, but citizens, and for that reason he was glad to welcome them.

He desired to extend to those Liberals who had come long distances to take part in the meeting a hearty welcome. To their distinguished leader, Hon. Mr. King, he extended greeting and Mr. Lapointe, a true Canadian from the province of Quebec, he was also glad to welcome. Their appearance here was the natural sequence to that great Liberal convention held in the city of Ottawa in August last. At that convention the hundreds of Liberals present did not deal with past events, but turned confidently with their faces toward the future. At that convention the mantle of the great Sir Wilfrid Laurier fell on Hon. Mr. King. In comparing the Liberal party of today with the party in power they would find that the Liberal party in its prepared platform had something to place before the people, while the party in power was not there by the will of the people. There was not even a cabinet minister to represent New Brunswick, something not seen since Confederation. Thousands of Liberals helped to put the present government in power for the duration of the war, with the understatnding that at the end of the war the people of Canada would have the opportunity of pronounciing on the issues of the day.

Premier Foster spoke of the promise of the Union government to announce a policy and the failure of the ministers to make their promised tour of the country. The war had been over more than a year and no policy of reconstruction had been placed before the people. In fact, they had no policy.

The premier said he felt embarrassed when he was obliged to go before the federal government on business of the province as he had to deal with a federal minister who was a representative of some other province. The reason there was no representative in the government from New Brunswick was because they had no one who could pass the censorship. Some had been called but few were chosen. The rights of the people were being over-ridden from time to time. They were over-ridden by the federal franchise act, which forced on them a system by which they must choose their representatives. Premier Foster declared that he would be found doing whatever he could to relegate a government of that kind to the background. When he realized the responsibility which had been placed on Mr. King, he realized the opportunity which had come to Mr. King for service. He believed the policy Mr. King would announce from time to time would re-

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Hon. Mr. King.

When the premier presented Hon. Mr. King, the Liberal leader was given a magnificent reception by all parts of the house.

The Liberal leader said his first words would be those of grateful acknowledgment for the reception he had received, and he felt grateful to the premier of the province for presiding ove the meeting. He thanked him for bring ing his cabinet and his supporters in the legislature as well. He was glad to see present some of his colleagues in the house of commons and several senators. He was especially pleased to see the large representation from all parts of the province. The government, he began, should not be controlled by a few men who were in office, but by that power that comes from the people, for they were the only ones to rule. He told of the government's opposition to an election, observing that people did not exist for the sake of governments, but that governments existed for the sake of the people. He would say without fear of contradiction that the government considered it was there for itself, but the time had come when the people should be given a chance to express their choice.

They should realize, he continued, that it was impossible to separate the present from the past, and that it was equally impossible to understand conditions in Canada apart from conditions that exist in other countries. For many a year to come the war and its consequences would remain a mighty influence in world affairs, and any course of action, or any policy which did not reckon with that fact is certain, sooner or later, to prove of no avail, and to increase rather than lessen the evils which had been forced upon us.

We should remember that the world had just passed through an upheaval unparalleled in all its history. The garment of civilization had been torn into shreds. The nations were now engaged in patching it together anew. It would be some time yet before the process was complete. In physical outline, the boundaries of countries have changed, but the changed map of Europe was only one evidence of a changed order, an outward and visible sign of an infinitively greater convulsion within. All that is living and breathing in the soul of humanity had been stirred to the depths. A truer picture of the condition of the world today was that of the ocean seething after a storm.

Mr. King spoke of the general unrest in Canada, and of the farmers' and labor movement and of the returned soldiers' organizations. He also spoke of the need of united action to gain that fuller expression of personal an economic freedom which was the very essence of all true Liberalism.

He could think of the problems of industry, he said, only in the terms of humanity. Liberalism was to him the expression of a wider human freedom, whether it were for those who worked in the country, on the farms, or in the cities and towns, or in the shops and factories; whether it were the well being of women and children that was at stake, in the home or elsewhere, or the lot of men in the struggle with their several environments. What the workers in one form or another were seeking was what Liberals had all along been speaking of as more in the way of equality or opportunity. If that was not part of Liberalism then Liberalism had ceased to exist.

Labor and Farmers.

Mr. King told of the Union government's refusal to hear the larger delegation of Ontario and Quebec farmers when they went to Ottawa, when it had just permitted Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, to appear before it. He was not surprised that the farmers had held an indigation meeting and had resented the treatment they received. Neither was he surprised at the entry of farmers into politics. He then told of how the Liberals in Ontario had aided the farmers to overthrow the Hearst government, which had been guilty of duplicity. The Liberals had left thirty-seven constituencies open in the general elections. He rejoiced at the result in Ontario and thought the farmers and Liberals in Ontario had common cause. He felt that in the course of time the Liberals had everything to gain in that province.

Mr. King said it was a question whether organizations of classes should plunge into politics. Any group which sought to control the government would find itself opposed by other groups and in the end become disrupted.

It was inevitable that labor and the farmers should feel a reaction after Liberal rule when they came under a Conservative administration. Now they had a government which sought to maintain privilege. The opposition in parliament was weakened when the Union government was formed and, when the government assumed an arbitrary attitude, the various classes formed groups.

As to the returned soldiers, continued Mr. King, or more appropriately the war veterans who were not without ideals and aspirations as a class, if there was in Canada today one portion of its citizens which more than any other is entitled to consideration, it was the men who risked their lives in battle, and those who shared with them the dangers and privations of war, especially the families of those whose sons made the supreme sacrifice in the cause of the world's freedom. Having fought and suffered and sacrificed to save the world from autocratic rule and the tyranny of material power, it was not surprising that these men and women hoped for a realization in large measure of the freedom they fought to preserve. As Liberals there were special reasons for sharing their hopes and aspirations.

Aims of Liberalism.

Liberalism in Canada had its birth in the struggle against plutocracy in government. The war in Europe was an expression on a world scale of two diametrically opposed systems of government brought into conflict, and provoked by those who sought world domination under their particular systems. The war would be without its meaning in this day and generation unless people sought to make out of the sacrifice of the heroic dead a new social order resplendent with the conception of liberty for which they had given their lives.

It was here that the supreme task of Liberalism came in. Either there would be an increasing growth of class consciousness on the part of each of the great groups he had referred to, resulting as all class conscious growths are destined to result, in conflict with each other and with forces that sooner or later were certain to oppose them; or there would be a great progressive movement which would lead to a new era of social progress and social justice. It would all depend on whether the spirit of good will was sufficiently strong to overcome the spirit that war breeds and that continues to lurk in its wake.

War had shown what could be accomplished by co-operation and sacrifice. If they could carry the spirit of co-operation into this period of reconstruction, there would be nothing to fear.

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War had shown what could be accomplished by co-operation and sacrifice. If they could carry the spirit of co-operation into this period of reconstruction, there would be nothing to fear. If on the other hand each element in the national life was going to seek to go its own gait, unwilling to join hands with other groups that share like aims and aspirations to its own, if each separately intended to aim at domination in national affairs, then there would be a prolongation of the period of confusion, and in the end retrogression rather than advance. Parliament ought to be a mirror reflecting the different elements that went to make a nation.

Mr. King said that the soldiers, farmers and labor men should be repre-

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sented in parliament as should other classes.

Opposed to Monopoly.

Mr. King said frankly that when it came to matters of government he was unalterably opposed to monopoly in any form, or by any class. He was relentlessly opposed to government being controlled, visibly or invisibly, by railway, manufacturing or financial interests. He was not less opposed to a monopoly of control on the part of any other of the essential elements of national economy, be they farmers, labor, war veterans or the newly enfranchised female voters.

He knew of no finer maxim of government than that of the illustrious statesman Pym, enunciated in the days of Charles I., which was as applicable to politics today as it was to England in that unsettled period: "That form of government is best which doth actuate and dispose every part and member of the state to the common good."

Certainly such a form of government was not to be found in any attempt at monopoly by any class. It was only to be found in co-operation between the different classes, made effective by a spirit of genuine good will. It was necessary that all should aim at unity in the country and stability in government. One great progressive party should include all that was best in all these progressive groups. Co-operation of the progressive forces was the only means of certain victory.

National Ideals.

This led him to speak of the east and the west of the wide dominion, and all the vast intervening space, of British Columbia with its diversified resources; of the prairie provinces, with their vast agricultural wealth; of Ontario and Quebec, and the maritime provinces, with their rural as well as urban populations, and their enterprising manufacturing and commercial development. Was the splendid unity of this great country to be imperilled by a conflict of policies related primarily to geographical areas or particular interests, or were Canadians to carry into the shaping of their national policies the same noble spirit of some sacrifice on the part of each, and willing co-operation on the part of all, by which alone the war was won? Should it be each for self or all for all? Should it be the special interest of a class or the well being of the whole community? Should it be Canada first, as it was with the men who gave their lives, with thought of naught save the honor of their country and their duty before God?

If it was this large, this nobler ideal Canadians must have in their federal politics some political party large enough, broad enough, tolerant enough, fearless enough to carry forward such a policy of national unity.

Hon. Mr. King went on to tell of the objections to a governing party composed solely of farmers, or one of labor men or of soldiers. He pointed out that such a party would lead to the formation of a manufacturers' party, merchants' party, etc., leading to endless confusion.

The speaker thought that no one could tell what policy the Union government had, for it had none. He thought that Premier Borden should have left a statement of policy.

A Strange Condition.

It would be easy to find in the records, he said, an account of what the Union government had done. First, the government congratualted itself upon the winning of the war, (laughter) then asked itself to support that government, (laughter) and then, in a resolution, expressed the hope that it might arrive at some policy which would successfully meet the after-war conditions.

Think of such a condition, said the speaker, one part of the government, a year after the war had ceased, expressing the hope that the government of which it was a part, might be able to relieve the prevailing conditions! (Laughter and applause).

Sir Robert Borden had gone south for an indefinite absence, he continued, and had left at Ottawa a condition of affairs which formed a pleasing drama, though it had its serious aspects.

He referred to the condition of Sir Robert's health, expressing the sympathy which all men in public life held for him, but said it was a mistaken kindness on the part of Sir Robert and his friends when he retained his office against his own will and in so nominal a way, being forced to be absent from the conferences at times most critical to the country. No business concern would follow such a policy. It was a mistake, said the speaker, and one that should be laid upon the shoulders of Sir Robert Borden's friends. If Borden did not hold out, the whole structure would fall to pieces; there was no reason for continuing the comedy-drama. (Cries of: Hear, hear.)

There was a government without a head or a policy, said the speaker, and at a time when steady direction and calm judgment was needed more than it had been at any time. Sir George E. Foster, Mr. King understood, was to be the acting prime minister, and as his advanced years would not allow him to officiate at night sessions of the house, there would have to be appointed a deputy acting prime minister. Imagine the conditions that would obtain if the question of the St. John harbor were to come up! The deputy prime minister would refer the matter to the acting prime minister and he in turn would leave it until whatever time Sir Robert would return from the south. It was that way last session—they passed the buck, to use a slang term. (Laughter and applause).

The Grand Trunk.

Before the Grand Trunk railway measure came up, it was announced by Sir George Foster that the house would prorogue on a certain date. On that date many returned to their homes; many took the opportunity of crossing to Great Britain; and while they were away, with a small attendance, a select cabinet group introduced the measure which meant an expenditure of $500,000,000 to $700,000,000, and they put it through on the ground that it was urgent and of vital public importance.

The method was bad—(cries of "Hear, hear")—and gave no possible chance for fair criticism.

As the railway people reserved the right of placing their part of the bargain before their shareholders in Great Britain, many persons were of the opinion that the same right should be given the Canadian people, whose money was being expended, and the speaker himself asked that the agreement be ratified before parliament, but was told that the government would not consider anything of the kind, though the arrangement made with the Canadian Pacific and the Grand Trunk Pacific was offered as contributory evidence.

Was that responsible government? asked the speaker.

Nevertheless, he continued, the agreement had not been signed yet. It was still before the English shareholders and, though the government has signified the intention of making any changes which the shareholders might deem necessary, he was of the opinion that the people and the press of Canada should demand that the agreement should hold over until the house meets again.

The expenditure of this measure would last for years and embraced taxation on future generations.

Not Responsible.

Then, the federal government, as it stood now, was not a responsible and representative government, as the average man understood it. There were no representatives of this province in the government at the present time. He had been in Charlottetown recently and in the legislative chambers there had seen the original engraving of the fathers of confederation, among whom three names stood out prominently—Sir Leonard Tilley, of this province (applause); Sir Charles Tupper and Sir George E. Cartier—all opposed to the Liberal government but held in veneration for the valuable work that they had done. Since that time there had been other representatives of the maritime provinces in the government of Canada—Sir Louis Davis, of Prince Edward Island, Sir Robert Borden and Hon. W. S. Fielding, of Nova Scotia, and the Hon. Andrew G. Blair, of New Brunswick. (Applause).

These were great names in the history of the country; men who had moulded the thought of the younger men throughout the country and models for the guidance of other men of public affairs. The representatives of the Maritime Provinces had done much to help form his opinions and judgments in his early political career—how could the men of Ontario or other parts of the Dominion be helped by the political genius of the Maritime Provinces today when there were no representatives of the three provinces in the government? Through all the three provinces there was not a single man holding a portfolio. To have such representation of the provinces was

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sented in parliament as should other classes.

Opposed to Monopoly.

Mr. King said frankly that when it came to matters of government he was unalterably opposed to monopoly in any form, or by any class. He was relentlessly opposed to government being controlled, visibly or invisibly, by railway, manufacturing or financial interests. He was not less opposed to a monopoly of control on the part of any other of the essential elements of national economy, be they farmers, labor, war veterans or the newly enfranchised female voters.

He knew of no finer maxim of government than that of the illustrious statesman Pym, enunciated in the days of Charles I., which was as applicable to politics today as it was to England in that unsettled period: "That form of government is best which doth actuate and dispose every part and member of the state to the common good."

Certainly such a form of government was not to be found in any attempt at monopoly by any class. It was only to be found in co-operation between the different classes, made effective by a spirit of genuine good will. It was necessary that all should aim at unity in the country and stability in government. One great progressive party should include all that was best in all these progressive groups. Co-operation of the progressive forces was the only means of certain victory.

National Ideals.

This led him to speak of the east and the west of the wide dominion, and all the vast intervening space, of British Columbia with its diversified resources; of the prairie provinces, with their vast agricultural wealth; of Ontario and Quebec, and the maritime provinces, with their rural as well as urban populations, and their enterprising manufacturing and commercial development. Was the splendid unity of this great country to be imperilled by a conflict of policies related primarily to geographical areas or particular interests, or were Canadians to carry into the shaping of their national policies the same noble spirit of some sacrifice on the part of each, and willing co-operation on the part of all, by which alone the war was won? Should it be each for self or all for all? Should it be the special interest of a class or the well being of the whole community? Should it be Canada first, as it was with the men who gave their lives, with thought of naught save the honor of their country and their duty before God?

If it was this large, this nobler ideal Canadians must have in their federal politics some political party large enough, broad enough, tolerant enough, fearless enough to carry forward such a policy of national unity.

Hon. Mr. King went on to tell of the objections to a governing party composed solely of farmers, or one of labor men or of soldiers. He pointed out that such a party would lead to the formation of a manufacturers' party, merchants' party, etc., leading to endless confusion.

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the logical policy of a Union government and would be the policy now if men were not holding public office merely for the sake of power. (Applause.)

The present government knew that it had lost the confidence of the people, and did not dare to open a constituency for it knew that it would be lost to them. (Applause.)

It was rumored that one man, though, had been offered a portfolio, but it was probable that he might favor the port of Halifax more than that of St. John. (Laughter.)

The Harbor Delegation.

Referring to a delegation from the St. John Commercial Club, which waited upon him yesterday morning with regard to the congestion of the harbor and the freight yards here, with American railways carrying Canadian freight and boosting the level of exchange, the speaker said that it semed peculiar to him at first that such a delegation should come to the leader of the opposition to get consideration.

Here he was interrupted with a bedlam of cheering and applause with frequent cries of "That's the stuff."

But on the other hand, who was there else to go to? (Laughter and applause.) They did not know where the Prime Minister was; in fact, the prime minister himself did not know where he was nor wither he was going. There was no cabinet minister to represent them, and so it was evident that they had decided to back a sure thing and put their faith in a man whom they thought would be the people's choice as a representative. (Applause.)

Personally, he pledged himself to do everything in his power in this matter which was so greatly affecting the port and terminus business.

Praise for Lieutenant-Governor.

It was some years since he had sat in the Laurier cabinet with a minister who represented a New Brunswick constituency, and every day that gentleman had something to say about St. John. (Laughter and applause.) He was a man persuasive beyond words, untiring, aggressive. For some time it had been the custom, after the business of the day had been finished, for the ministers to repair to Sir Wilfrid's room and there the usual question of the leader was. "Is there anything else to discuss?" Quite frequently the other members were at a loss for a subject, but Dr. Pugsley would always ask for a few moments to discuss matters in regard to Courtenay Bay. (Applause and laughter.)

This was the spirt, this was the thing that was needed if they wanted anything done, declared the speaker. They could not have things done for the province if they had no representative in the cabinet.

The Liberal Platform.

There were representatives of all classes and all parts of the Dominion at the Liberal convention last August; people who were alive to the best interests of the country, including representatives of the War Veterans, labor farmers and all other classes. In the three days' deliberations was laid down the policy of the Liberal party, not as it had been some twenty years before, but a newer and more progressive policy, coping with all situations which confronted the country at the present time.

The first thing that was considered was the financial condition of the country. Few appreciated the condition of the country at the present time, the enormous public debt, which required an immense sum in payment for the interest alone. A demand for economy was not pleasant to some, but it was the only safeguard against calamity.

On the 31st of March last, according to the statement of the minister of finance, the net public debt was $1,584,000,000, or, roughly, $220 for every man, woman and child in the dominion, involving an annual interest charge of about $115,000,000, and thus imposing an annual burden for interest on debt alone of $15 per head of the population.

The estimated expenditure of the dominion government for the present fiscal year is over $800,000,000, or roughly, $100 per head of the population.

The estimated revenue is only $280,000,000, thus creating an estimated deficit of over $500,000,000—a sum equivalent to $62.50 per head of the population—which sum the finance minister proposes to obtain by borrowing.

Both Great Britain and the United States at present raise more than eighty per cent of their revenue by direct taxation, while Canada raises not more than twenty per cent, and it was the opinion of the convention that increase of revenue shall be sought from an equitable and effective imposition and collection of graduated taxes, on business profits and income.

On Borrowed Money.

Subscribers to the recent Victory loan were all actuated with the ambition to help do all that was possible for the country, but not everyone was aware that every cent of that loan went to pay for current expenditure by the government and that every cent represented by the loan had been borrowed from the banks by the government before the people had subscribed one cent. There would be another loan, he said, for the government needed another $500,000,000 to tide it over its liabilities.

Considering the finances of the country, he thought there should be some accounting of the nation's liabilities, so that there could be more economy. War conditions meant spending money in large amounts rapidly, and so long as the people who had been in that custom were kept in office there would be no relief from debt.

The money which must be raised to meet the country's liabilities must come from taxation, and the Liberal party was convinced that there are many wealthy men in the country who are patriotic enough to shoulder the burden from those who have paid such a sacrifice in the war and make good the payment of a revenue once the debt has gone beyond a certain figure. There would be a great battle over this, he thought, but the party would stand by that decision to a finish. (Applause.)

Taxation of Wealth.

In the last analysis all taxation must come from wealth, and greater wealth would come from a greater development of natural resources. Products of the sea, of the mine, of the land, must be increased, and it must be made so that the worker could carry on his labor at the least cost possible. To this end he would favor the abolition of all import duties on instruments of production in industries based upon the natural resources of the country, such as mines, fishing, lumbering and agriculture, the development of which was essential to the progress and prosperity of the country.

The cost of living was measured by the cost of clothing, food and footwear; if the tariff caused these high prices, then the tariff should be modified. (Applause).

Luxuries, he said, should bear a larger measure of the taxation, but wheat, wheat flour and all products of wheat; the principal articles of food; farm implements and machinery; farm tractors, mining, flour and saw-mill machinery and repair parts thereof; rough and partly 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 material entering into the same.

In respect to commerce with Great Britain, he thought the present preference, which varied from 25 per cent to 33 1-3 per cent, should be increased to 50 per cent on the general tariff, in the interests of closer relationship with the mother country.

Reciprocity.

Reciprocity, though not in favor with the Conservatives, was one of the greatest factors in favor of lower prices, (applause) and it was the opinion of

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the convention "that while, for these reasons, this convention can take no exception to the proposal so made at Washington, we as Liberals again place on record our appreciation of the object of the said agreement and our faith in the principles of friendly international relations underlying it, and we express our earnest hope that in both countries such principles, will be upheld, and that a favorable moment may come when there will be a renewed manifestation by the two governments of a desire to make some similar arrangement."

As the movement was now too great from the farms to the towns and cities, it was thought by the convention that encouragement should be given towards a greater investment in farming, and it seemed expedient to utilize the national credit to assist co-operative agricultural credit associations to provide capital for agriculture at the lowest possible rates.

With the object of reducing the high cost of living by eliminating as far as possible the waste and expense in handling food products between the producer and consumer, it is expedient to extend the principle and system of Canadian government elevators and to provide interior and terminal cold storage warehouses equipped for the assembling, assorting, preparing, storing and grading of food products in order that co-operative organizations and others may have available to them reliable, modern equipment, for the distribution of farm products in superior condition and at lessened cost either for domestic consumption or for export. And that cold storage transportation facilities should be provided, at the cost of operation, for the shipment of food products throughout Canada and for the carrying to the markets of the world the surplus farm products of this country and delivering them in such condition that will make Canadian foodstuffs a standard of quality for the world's market.

That in the interests of agriculture, in aid of greater production on the land, and for the conservation of the soil in Canada it is expedient for the government to arrange for the distribution of fertilizers at the lowest possible cost.

The Labor Plank.

Another plank in the party platform was in regard to labor. He did not believe in a class government. Any successful enterprise was made successful only through the co-operation of four factors: capital, management, service of the state and labor. With regard to labor, he would seek to raise the status of industry so that its voice would be more effective and better heard than ever before. There were industrial boards and railways boards, but few working men acting on those boards. Among the workmen on the railway systems, he said, there were men just as competent to sit on a board of directors as could be found in any other group. If the Liberal party were returned to power he would give the working men the right to place on boards which control their activities a couple of representatives, and he thought that the result would be a better administration and a surer safeguarding of the public. The Liberal party did not stand for monopoly, but for joint control.

With respect to the war veterans, the Liberal party was not in favor of granting a couple of thousands to the men, indiscriminately; the plan was not favorable to the men, either. The veterans, as a class, did not like interference from people who did not understand their needs, and in this regard the party platform was drafted by a committee headed by Colonel Ralston, of Halifax. The plan was complete and covers the matter of education of the war veteran, insurance, pensions, trade training for those disabled by war, employment funds to serve until training is completed, disability pensions for soldiers and their dependents, medical examination, employment agencies, and that those eligible for services under this resolution would include sailors, aviators, soldiers, nurses and Canadian soldiers who served with the Imperial or allied armies.

The soldiers should be met in the same spirit in which they met their responsibilities, he said amid prolonged applause.

A fair and honest franchise was also advocated. In it would lie the security of the rights of the people and the privilege of a self-control of their own affairs.

The Liberal party desired not only to have a stable government, but a country united in all matters and spirit.

He recognized the great responsibility which rested upon him as leader of the Liberal party in this country, but found a greater responsibility in living to the traditions of that departed leader, whose spirit and ambition in life had been for Canadian unity, first, last and always. (Applause.)

In closing, the speaker asked his hearers to forget the differences of the past, to look to the great future which is before the country, and in a very graceful tribute to the manner in which the English-speaking Canadians and French-Canadians had helped at home and overseas in winning the war, introduced his confrere, Ernest Lapointe, M.P.

Mr. Lapointe.

Mr. Lapointe, in his opening remarks, said that in the sixteen years of his public life he had seldom addressed such a magnificent audience, and he thanked them from the bottom of his heart for coupling his name with that of his leader. He said that Mr. King coming from Ontario, and he, representing Quebec, were on that platform animated by the same spirit that animated Cartier and Macdonald and, if those men came fifty years ago to unite Canada, "our ambition and aim is to re-unite Canada," he said. To this, Liberalism and the Liberal party must devote their energies and enthusiasm. He thought there were no germs of narrowness in New Brunswick, but that the atmosphere was free from all microbes of intolerance and prejudice, so that all breathed in perfect harmony—Liberalism. He was not surprised that the Foster government was so strong with the people of this province. (Sustained applause.)

At no time was there a greater need of a strong government at Ottawa, than at the present day when it was necessary to have a parliament representing the Canadian people, and at no time since Confederation had there been a more impotent one than the one now ruling. He had no fault to find with, and he respected, the men who supported the government in 1917, from conscientious motives, but he said the people had now to face the conditions of 1919 and not of 1917. The present government was the offspring of abnormal times, and it had succeeded in breaking pledges, dividing elements against elements and classes against classes and splitting what, under Laurier, was a united people. Any man who supported the Union government, he thought, was maintaining a sham and supporting a hypocrisy.

Condemned by Unionists.

He who was down need fear no fall, said the statesman from Quebec. Perhaps some might think he was a little strong in his remarks about the government, but he thought that the newspapers supporting the government were even stronger than he was, and he quoted an extract from the Montreal Gazette, which brought forth much applause. He would judge from the organs of the government that treachery and cowardice were the cardinal virtues of the Union government. (Laughter.)

The prodigal descendants of Jeremiah maintained that the only salvation for the country was the union of the sane elements of both parties. They said that Quebec was sane and safe, good and kind, and could not help but be attracted by the truth of this principle. "'Will you walk into my parlor,' said the spider to the fly," quoted Mr. Lapointe, amidst loud laughter and cheers.

The Leader's Qualifications.

The various elements that were scattered and divided needed a new leader to give them the impetus back to unity and that leader was Mr. Mackenzie King. He likened Mr. King to his grandfather who fought years ago for liberty, and so Mr. King was fighting today against autocratic domination over the people. He had made a life study of all economic problems and was bringing to the leadership of the Canadian people the brains and intellect of a great scholar as well as the force and energy of a man of action. "Laurier was the greatest Canadian that ever lived," said Mr. Lapointe and he had heard him once say that those who assailed him would render him justice after his death, and they had done so. His memory would remain so long as Canada had a heart. Mr. King was a pupil of Sir Wilfrid's and he would maintain the traditions of his country. Mr. King was a Liberal, so was he, because it was broad enough to invite all Canadians to fight shoulder to shoulder for liberty, explained the speaker. Liberalism embraced all creeds, French and English, capital and labor, giving to each individual the chance he claimed for himself.

He thought that no man supported the government more lavishly than the independents of 1917. On several questions of moment before the house they had swallowed their opinions at the command of the premier and goose-stepped to the crack of his whip. He insisted

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that the government should represent the majority of the people of Canada and the government did not do this, but the ministers were afraid to show their faces to the people and allowed their bye-elections to go by default.

Challenges Government.

In eloquent terms, he challenged the government to make an appeal to the country and elect a parliament representative of the people. He referred to the war-time elections act as a blot on the fair name of Canada, and because of the way the government had manipulated the franchise he thought they had no more right to call themselves a representative governing body of men than a smuggler had to call himself a free trader. The country must be governed on scientific principles and liberalism must hold the middle course between those who like violent changes and those who absolutely refuse to progress or reform.

The policy of Liberalism was justice to all classes, both rich and poor, but to the poor equally as to the rich, imbued with the spirit of tolerance, moderation and justice. He emphatically announced that Canada must have a representative parliament before she took her seat at the Imperial Conference which was to be held at an early date to discuss the relations of Canada and the other dominions as a part of the whole united British Empire. Canadians must not allow this impotent, worn-out government to speak for Canada and pledge the future destinies of the country.

The use of patriotism as a political football, he termed as disrespectful and sacriligious. Canadians all loved Canada and were proud to belong to the British empire. He thought "patrioteering" and profiteering synonomous in this case.

The achievement of national unity in Canada was the great aim of the Liberal party. Canada must have it or she would never become the great nation she was destined to be. The different races and creeds in the country could not be changed and they must be met with the spirit of tolerance, moderation, and charity. He insitsed that Canadians must love every section of their vast inheritance and not only the one small portion where they had been born and bred. He was a son of the province of Quebec; in every drop of his blood he was a descendant of the hardy pioneers who settled New France and he was proud of his race and origin, but he was proud above all of being a Canadian, and loyalty knew no sectional division. He longed for the day when the spirit of patriotism would endear to all Canadians, every foot of soil and until that day the Canadian people could not hope to achieve real Canadian nationality.

Liberalism, he said, was pledged to secure this end, for the party was rocked in the cradle of liberty, the principles of which were eternal and, although they might be borne down at times, they were strongly imbued with the spirit of truth and justice, and ultimately truth and justice would prevail.

Mr. Lapointe sat down amidst such an outburst of cheering as was only equalled by that which had greeted his leader. When the house had subsided, three hearty cheers and a tiger were led by the chairman and then those on the platform who had not already met the Liberal chieftain, were introduced.

Among Those Present.

Among those on the platform were: A. B. Copp, M.P., of Sackville; O. Turgeon, M.P., Bathurst; Hon. P. J. Veniot, Bathurst; Hon. Dr. E. A. Smith, Shediac; Hon. Clifford W. Robinson, Moncton; Hon. J. P. Byrne, Bathurst; Hon. Robert Murray, Chatham; Hon. F. J. Sweney, Moncton; Hon. L. A. Dougal, Edmundston; J. E. Michaud, M.P., Edmundston; Fred Magee, M.P., Port Elgin; G. H. King, M.P.P., Chipman; R. B. Smith, M.P.P., Oromocto; James McQueen, Shediac; Alphonse S. LeBlanc, Shediac; R. A. McQueen, Shediac; A. LeBlanc, M.P.P., Campbellton; Nelson W. Brown Southampton; Wilfred Oulette, J. E. Michaud, A. C. Leveque, A. Violet, J. Garrotte, Arsene Dube, Alex. Arsenault, Joseph Suert, Restigouche county; Hon. C. H. Labillois, Dalhousie; P. A. Richard, Richibucto; L. Colpitt and G. Hopper, Coverdale; John Thompson and J. P. Beatteay, Hillsboro; P. R. Bedell and N. J. Wootten, Andover; H. H. McNeill, Dalhousie; P. J. Veniot, Jr., Bathurst; F. J. Hunter, St. Stephen; Arthur Keith, F. J. Fenwick and H. W. Wallace, Sussex; R. R. McLellan, Chatham; George Miller, Hardwick; D. W. Mersereau. M.P.P., Fredericton Junction; Byron Brewer, Elwood Burtt, R. P. Allen, A. R. Murray, J. J. McCaffrey, J. B. Dickson, P. J. Hughes and J. R. Patten, Fredericton; H. W. Gaskin, Moncton; Wilson Cassidy, Chatham; A. F. Bentley, St. Martins; Senator G. G. King, Chipman; Hon. L. P. Farris, White's Cove; W. J. Mahoney, D. J. Brown, St. John; R. C. McQuin, Albert Sear, H. F. Morton and Hiram Secord, Penobsquis; Dr. W. W. White, W. J. Ambrose, A. W. Adams, G. W. Merritt, George Cushing, E. W. McCready, R. A. Sinclair, Alex. Corbet, Lane Colpitts, S. L. T. Wiggin, Captain J. A. Reed, York county; Geo. Halpin, S. S. Ryan, Coverdale; Fred Colpitts, Louis Cavicchi, J. F. O'Neil, Hon. R. J. Ritchie, A. O. Skinner, H. C. Grout, P. E. McLaughlin, St. Stephen; Joseph L. O'Brien, Martin Dolan, J. A. V. Mahoney, E. A. Mahoney, Irwin Thompson, Cody's; Louis McDonald, Martin McGuire, F. J. McDonald, Alfred Burley, George F. Brannen, F. W. Tapley, G. R. Cragie, William T. Morris, Joseph Harrington, Alfred McCormick, C. A. Conlon, P. J. Gorman, P. C. Johnson, Dr. E. J. Ryan, Thomas McCarthy, Glendon Allan, Arthur Carleton, C. J. Kane, J. M. D. Hay, George Legere, Moncton; J. F. Cassidy, Laurence McDonald, Moncton; M. Bohan, Captain LeP. O. Picard, Frederick Driscoll, Thomas J. Sweeney, John M. Driscoll, J. P. Holland, J. A. Mahoney, G. Oland, Dr. J. D. Maher, R. D. Harrington, Joseph F. Dwyer, Thomas Foley, John E. Wilson, M. J. Connell, C. A. Owens, George C. Partlow, Oromocto; Dr. E. H. S. Clark, Patrick Ryan, Ernest Clark, J. Fred Belyea, F. M. Thompson, Hillsboro; Dr. C. M. Kelly, J. P. Quinn, L. A. Conlon, C. B. Clark, F. C. Fenwick, Arthur Campbell, J. H. McFadden, T. M. Burns, W. M. Baxter, James E. McMurray, James Quinn, Edward Hogan, W. S. McDonald, Martin Dolan, C. S. Clark, Anglin Gorman, G. W. Stegman, W. W. McAllister, H. McCarthy, S. A. Smith, C. M. Merritt, Rev. A. D. Allan, Rev. F. Walker, E. J. Henneberry, Joseph Ritchie, George Cushing, Alexander Wilson, Joseph Page, Rev. D. McManus, Dr. Simard, Edmundston; Dr. E. J. Broderick, G. P. McIntyre, A. E. Frame, D. J. Barrett, Dr. Joseph Donnelly, R. H. Carleton, W. P. McDonald, jr., Sgt. K. R. Jack, J. F. Owens, Thomas McKenna, J. G. Dryden, A. P. Jennings, F. J. Rafferty, Donald Morrison, Frank Watson, R. A. Cormier E. P. Scully, E. P. O'Toole, M. T. Morris, F. M. McEvoy (Dalhousie), P. Mahoney, E. Ferris, Milton A. Smith (Hoyt Junction), E. C. Alexander, A. Barberry Dalhousie.

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St. John Standard
January 17, 1920

ATTITUDE IS MORE IMPORTANT IN POLITICS THAN PRACTICAL POLICIES, SAYS NEW LEADER

Hon. Mr. King Gives Definition of a Liberal Which Exclues Premier Foster from Party Until Carleton Vacancy is Filled—Otherwise His Attitude Embraces All Canadian Voters—New Political Star is Brilliantly Nebulous in Two Hours' Harangue—Mr. Lapointe, Quebec's Able Son, Causes Wearied Audience to Sit up and Roar With Laughter.

Important as policies and concrete measures may be attitude is all important, said Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King at the meeting in the Imperial last evening, and attitude was the keynote of a two hour's address in which he remained on an altitude where he could indulge his penchant for platitudes to his heart's content. The new leader traversed the same ground he covered at Halifax. Declared the Union Government was not representative or capable of dealing with the problems of the day and went on to read some extracts from the Liberal platform which intimated that the Liberal party was ready to do a number of things the Union Government has already done or has made provision to do. One statement he made which caused the old line Liberals to sit up, was that the Liberals who supported the Union Government were as sincere in aim and purpose as those who supported Laurier, and that anybody who honored the memory of Laurier must accept that view.

Ernest laPointe, the Quebec leader, described Union Government as a sham and hypocrisy, and thereby ruled Mr. King's declaration of faith in the sincerity of the Liberal Unionist out of court.

Both leaders were given a good requence, and Mr. laPointe the amusequence, and Mr. laPaointe the amusement. Both talked a great deal about Canadian unity and British liberty, but the net result of their efforts was to leave the audience in doubt as to how they proposed to deal with the practical questions of the day.

On the platform were the provincial ministers, and a goodly array of prominent Liberals from all parts of the Province. The theatre was crowded and there was a large number of ladies in the gathering.

Premier Foster presided, with Chairman Belyea of the old line Liberals on his left.

In introducing the new Leader Mr. Foster declared that the Union Government had been elected by the aid of the Liberals on the understanding that when the war was over it would go to the people, and that by holding on to power it was denying the people their rights of representation. He added that he was humiliated when he had to go to Ottawa to transact public business, because he could not deal with a cabinet representative from New Brunswick.

The Leader

Mr. King was loudly applauded on rising. He said he was grateful to the Premier for introducing him and bringing so many members of The Legislature to adorn the platform. He also was pleased to meet so many citizens who did not belong to any particular group. We have come to the time when there was confusion in the mind of government as to the relation which should exist between the governing power and people.

Some said we did not want an election—farmers or a lot of workingmen might get in. So it was claimed those in power should hold on—which was not the Liberal idea of representative government..

hat A Liberal Is

Some friends of the press were saying they hoped Mr. King would tell them what a Liberal was. Well, the men in power at Ottawa said the people exist for the sake of the government. The Liberal idea was that the government existed for the sake of the people. That was the difference.

It was said the Liberal party should be more concrete in the measures they proposed to adopt, but in his opinion it was more important what the attitude of mind was to the policies and movements of the day. The world had passed through a great commotion; the stirring and striving were the outward and visible sign of the change that had gone on in the minds and hearts of the people. Out of the commotion there had appeared in Canada three great movements—the farmers who felt they had suffered from the restraint of trade—the workers in the city, who had suffered from chronic injustice and were determined to achieve a larger industrial freedom, and the veterans whose aspirations deserved the greatest consideration, and who were determined to realize in this country the greater measure of justice and higher civilization they had fought for abroad. These movements were the expression of the new freedom and were in accord with the larger Liberalism.

Some people could not understand the result of the Ontario elections. A large delegation of farmers went to Ottawa. Sam Gompers was invited to



HON. MACKENZIE KING.

address parliament by the speaker. The farmers asked the same privilege, but, it was denied them. There and then they determined to show their resentment of this arbitrary attitude Their first opportunity to do so was when the Hearst Government went to the polls.

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Class Organization.

Mr. King said that while class organization for economic purposes might be good, when any group entered politics for class purposes it would stir up other class movement. It was inevitable that the farmers and Labor should come into field; they represented a reaction from an attitude of mind on the part of the Government which was not the free-loving attitude of the Liberals. When a Government becomes arbitrary it is natural for Groups to form in protest. The real critical problem in Canada as he sees it was the danger of the groups not being united in the face of the common enemy. If we are to have different groups each striving for a monopoly of Government, we will have disunion of the people: sooner or later you will have the east arrayed against the west, the towns against the country. What we should strive for is unity in the nation and stability in the Government. He was unalterably opposed to class government. What was needed was a party broad enough and liberal enough to include in its platform the aims of all these great progressive groups.

Union Government.

Continuing, Mr. King said the Union party did not have a policy. The present Government was chosen for one purpose only—the winning of the war. The Government should have dissolved when it arrived at peace times or given the country some justification for its continuance. But Premier Borden went to Europe without announcing a policy; when he returned he found disunion and wrangling in the Government. Oe part of the Government was expressing the hope that the whole would develop a reconstruction policy; but the Liberal Unionists felt that having been elected to support Union Government they should go on doing so.

Mr. King sympathized with the Premier and the illness that was the result of his many troubles. But he thought it was a mistake for Sir Robert to hold on to office. The only reason he did so was that if he left the whole combination would fall to pieces.

Next session Sir Geo. Foster would be acting Premier, but as he would not be able to attend evening sessions, there would have to be another acting leader. If a question was asked about the harbor of St. John you would never get anywhere; the Ministers would pass the buck.

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Speaking of the Grand Trunk Act, Mr King said it involved a matter of between $500,000,000 and $700,000,000. He had asked that the people have the same right as the shareholders—to see the agreement before it was signed. But the Government forced through the bill in an arbitrary manner, and were now showing the agreement to the Grand Trunk shareholders in England—perhaps were amending it to satisfy the shareholders.

St. John's Need.

Mr. King said we did not have representative government, but a group of men holding office for the sake of power. Laurier found great men in the Maritime Provinces, but in the present Cabinet there was not a Maritime man with a portfolio. A. K. McLean was mentioned for a portfolio. That might help Halifax.

Continuing, Mr. King said he thought it strange that the Commercial Club should come to the leader of the opposition. But then it was not so strange after all. They couldn't go to the Prime Minister. They did not know where he was, and he did not know where he was going. They couldn't go to a Maritime Minister, for there wasn't any. So they put their faith in the man whom they thought the people of Canada would put their faith in.

Continuing Mr. King said he did not know what he could do for St. John, but he would do his best, and went on to say that Hon. Mr. Pugsley reminded him of the Californian who at a funeral said: "If nobody has anything more to say about the deceased, I will have a few words to say about California." There was hardly a cabinet meeting when Mr. Pugsley did not have a few words to say about Courtenay Bay.

The Liberal convention laid down the guiding policy of the party, provided it got a chance to put it into effect. The Liberals felt the first thing they should put in their platform was economy.

At the close of the fiscal year Canada's net debt was $1,584,000,000, or $220 per capita. The interest would be $115,000,000, or $15 per capita.

For the current year estimated expenditure was $800,000,000, and the revenue was $280,000,000.

Did they realize that every cent of the Victory loan went to current expenses? The government would have to make another loan or they could not carry on the affairs of the country. An accounting was necessary, and for this new men were needed. The Liberal party wanted a graduated tax on business profits and incomes.

Mr. King said the cost of living could only be brought down by increased production, and that increased production of natural resources could only be promoted by taking away the tariff on natural products altogether. Luxuries should bear a greater share of the burden; tariff modification must take place on other commodities, and the British preference be increased to 50 per cent.

The party still believes in reciprocity in natural products; it would give greater assistance to agriculture—by providing credits, extending the elevator system, cold storage, etc.

If elected Mr. King would give labor two representatives on the Board of directors of the National Railways, and in general would support the principle of giving labor a voice in the government of the country, and the management of industry.

Mr. King said the needs of returned men should be met in the spirit the men met the call of the soldiers, and in as effective a way as possible.

Before an election they must have an honest franchise. Important as policies and concrete measures might be attitude was all important, and the Liberal attitude was that they must have sable government and stable conditions.

Liberal Unionists Sincere.

Continuing Mr. King spoke of Laurier's influence on his life, and declared his aim, like Laurier's was national unity.

Those Liberals, he added, who supported Union Government, were just as sincere in aim and purpose as those who stood by Laurier, and none are true to Laurier's memory who do not take that charitable view.

In conclusion he said there was nothing in laPointe's point that was not echoed in his—they were both pledged to fight for Canadian unity and British Liberty.

Mr. Foster said the Government was already passing the bucks to Fredericton—one was prohibition and the other Labor Legislation. He then introduced the Quebec leader.

The King Maker

Ernest laPointe, M. P., said Mr. King and himself, were animated by the same spirit as Macdonald and Cartier. He thought New Brunswick was a fertile ground for Liberalism; there were no germs of narrowness; all classes and creeds lived in harmony. Union Government has been lingering for two years, reeling between two parties, and has at last reached a condition of inertia. Being offspring of an abnormal condition the Government had lived an abnormal life; it had divided race against race and element against element and created disunion where under Laurier these had had a great united people. It maintained a sham united supported hypocrisy; the Government's prestige was like the recent cold spell—several degrees below zero.

Some people were afraid of the radicalism prevailing in some parts. The political descendants of Jeremiah were advocating a union of the safe and sane in both parties. Quebec was being flattered, and it was not used to it. At the next election it would be on the side of the safe and sane Liberal party.

Mr. laPointe said the new Leader had studied Liberalism under Laurier, the illustrious son of Quebec and the greatest of Canadians, and under the new leader the Liberal party invited all who believed in freedom to come into the fold.

Mr. laPointe challenged the Government to appeal to the country, as soon as they passed a franchise act—not a war time act which was a disgrace to Canada.

The world is moving; the world is changing; Governments must go forward or they will stumble forward.

Liberalism must hold the middle course between those who would employ violence which would be disastrous to our institutions, and those who obstinately oppose all progress and reform.

Canada is a nation today and will never be reduced to the position of a province. We were proud to belong to the great commonwealth of British Nations, but it was a cheap patriotism that wrapped itself in the British flag. No party or group should be allowed to use the great sentiment of patriotism to promote their own interests—not even the ignoble band of profiteers.

"I am proud of my race and origin but above all I am proud of being a Canadian and my loyalty knows no sectional differences," said Mr. laPointe.

After the meeting the new leader showed a Liberal "attitude" towards the leaders among the faithful. He did not send them empty away, but took them to the Royal and gave them a supper.

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St John Globe
January 17 20

LIBERAL LEADER WAS GREETED BY CHEERING THOUSANDS

Hundreds Unable to Gain Admission to Great Meeting at the Imperial.

APPEAL FOR UNITY KEYNOTE OF THE ADDRESSES.

Premier Foster, Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King and Ernest Lapointe, M. P., Discuss Political Issues Before One of the Largest Audiences Ever Gathered in St. John.

Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, leader of the Liberal party in Canada, and Ernest LaPointe, leader of the same party in the province of Quebec, spoke before a St. John audience on Friday evening, and were given a cordial greeting by an immense audience which filled to capacity the Imperial Theatre, the city's largest playhouse.

The doors were thrown open an hour before the scheduled hour of the opening of the meeting, 8.15, and was quickly filled by lines of citizens who had congregated at King square. Provincial M. P.'s and others had flocked to the city during the day and occupied seats on the stage. Special reservations had been made for ladies and many city leaders in patriotic associations during the war period occupied box and front or orchestra seats, and followed the speakers with interest. The Imperial orchestra rendered a fine programme, while the audience awaited the appearance of the speakers of the evening.

Premier Foster presided and in his introductory remarks urged the female electorate to take an interest in public affairs and to exercise to the full their right of franchise.

Mr. King was given a cordial reception on arising, and during his two hours' discourse was rendered an attentive hearing throughout, with occasional laughter following a humorous reference or story, and enthusiastic applause when a graceful reference of sympathy was made to Sir Robert Borden's illness, and an eloquent tribute in glowinug periods made to Sir Wilfrid Laurier.

Mr. King proved to be a public speaker of ability, and his discourse was marked by an evident deep grasp of economic principles and a broadness of viewpoint that commended itself to his audience.

He made a plea of national unity, dwelt on the principles of Liberalism and offered these as a solution of the country's troubles. He spoke against class government of any sort, criticized the Union government for holding onto power after the war period, referred to the immense debt of the country, urged the necessity of governmental economy and criticized the government's railroad policy.

Mr. King read from the platform of his party planks advocating greater tax on wealth, improvement in the storage and distribution of farm products, dealing with the fitting for civilian life of the war veteran, the right of labor to be represented on the railway commission and the securing of a just franchise.

Mr. LaPointe was given a great reception as he was introduced by Premier Foster and by his ready wit as he criticized the Ottawa government soon had the audience in fine good humor. Mr. LaPointe spoke for national unity, and, although laboring under the handicap of not speaking in his native tongue, made a good impression.

Premier Foster, in rising to introduce Mr. King, extended to all in the House a hearty welcome, and gave greetings to the Hon. Mr. King and Mr. LaPointe. He said the present Union government did not represent the people and drew attention to the Liberal platform recently laid down.

The Liberal leader as an introductory expressed his appreciation for the splendid reception given him and was glad to see so many of his old colleagues present, and so many people from all parts of the province. He said the government should not be controlled by only a few men, but it should be representative of the people. He told of the present government's opposition to an election, and considered that it was there for itself. For many a year to come, said Mr. King, the war and its consequences will remain a mighty influence on the world affairs and any policy that did not take this into consideration must fail. Not only have the maps of countries been changed, but all that is living and breathing in the soul of humanity has been stirred to the depths. He spoke of the unrest in this country and the need of united action to have personal and economic freedom. Liberalism to him was the expression of a wider human freedom, which meant freedom and better conditions for factory workers, men on the farms or in the shops.

He then told how the Liberals in Ontario had helped the farmers to overthrow Hearst's government, and thought that in the course of time the Liberals had everything to gain in that province. He questioned whether organizations of classes should plunge into politics. He felt it natural that there should be a reaction of labor and the farmers after Liberal rule when they came under the administration of the Conservatives. He felt that the war veterans and their rights and claims should have every consideration, and as Liberals there were special reasons for sharing their hopes and aspirations. The war in Europe had been a conflict of two diametrically opposed systems of government: the war would have been useless unless out of it comes a new social order resplendent with the conception of liberty.

The war had shown what could be done by co-operation and sacrifice, and if this co-operation could be carried into the reconstruction period there would be nothing to fear. If, on the other hand, each element souldght its



HON. W. L. MACKENZIE KING.

own gait and refused to join hands and aimed at its own domination then there would be the period of confusion. He thought that all classes, soldiers, farmers and labor men should be represented in Parliament. When it came to matters of government he was unalterably opposed to monopoly in any form. He was opposed to government being controlled, visibly or invisibly by railway, manufacturing or financial interests, and he was none the less opposed to control by farmers, veterans or labor. The best maxim he knew for government was of Pym: "That form of government is best which doth actuate and dispose every part and member of the state to the common good." Such a form of government was to be found only in co-operation between the different classes; co-operation of the progressive forces was the only means of certain victory.

This led him to speak of the east and the west of the wide dominion, and all the vast intervening space, of British Columbia with its diversified resources; of the prairie provinces, with their vast agricultural wealth; of Ontario and Quebec and the Maritime Provinces, with their rural as well as urban populations, and their enterprising manufacturing and commercial development. Was the splendid unity of this great country to be imperilled by a conflict of policies related primarily to geographical areas or particular interests, or were Canadians to carry into the shaping of their national policies the same noble spirit of some sacrifice on the part of each, and willing co-operation on the part of all, by which alone the war was won? Should it be each for self or all for all? Should it be the special interest of a class or the well-being of the whole community? Should it be Canada first, as it was with the men who gave their lives with thought of naught save the honor of their country and their duty before God?

If it was this large, this nobler ideal Canadians must have in their federal politics some political party large enough, broad enough, tolerant enough, fearless enough to carry forward such a policy of national unity. No one at present could tell what was the policy of the Union government, and he felt that Premier Borden should have left a statement of his policy. The Premier had gone south for an indefinite time, and he had left a condition of affairs at Ottawa that formed a pleasing drama yet with its serious aspects. He felt it was a mistaken kindness on the part of Sir Robert Borden and his friends when he retained the office against his own will. No business concern would have followed such a policy. Sir George Foster, whom he understood is to be acting premier, he felt was too old to carry out the duties. There would be delays and it would affect the question of St. John harbor development. The Grand Trunk measure, involving an expenditure of between $500,000,000 and $700,000,000, had been put through parliament when there was a small attendance. The agreement, however, had not yet been signed and he felt that the press and the people of Canada would demand that it should be held over until the House meets.

The federal government, he contended, was not a responsible government. There was no representative of this province in the cabinet. The Maritime Provinces had contributed great men to Canada and her government. He recalled such men as Sir Leonard Tilley, Sir Charles Tupper, Sir George Cartier, Sir Louis Davies, Sir Robert Borden, Hon. W. S. Fielding and the Hon. Andrew G. Blair. The representatives of the Maritime Provinces had done much to form his opinions and judgments in his early political career. In all the three Maritime Provinces there was not a man holding a portfolio. It was rumored that one man, though, had been offered a portfolio, but it was probable that he might favor the port of Halifax more than St. John.

Referring to a delegation from the St. John Commercial Club, which waited upon him yesterday morning with regard to the congestion of the harbor and the freight yards here, with American railways carrying Canadian freight and boosting the level of exchange, the speaker said that it seemed peculiar to him at first that such a delegation should come to the leader of the opposition to get consideration.

Here he was interrupted with a bedlam of cheering and applause with frequent cries of "That's the stuff."

But, on the other hand, who was there else to go to? (Laughter and applause.) They did not know where the Prime Minister was; in fact, the Prime Minister himself did not know where he was nor whither he was going. There was no cabinet minister to represent them, and so it was evident that they had decided to back a sure thing and put their faith in a man whom they thought would be the people's choice as a representative. (Applause.)

Personally, he pledged himself to do everything in his power in this matter which was so greatly affecting the port and terminus business.

He remembered the day when he had sat in the Laurier Cabinet with Dr. Pugsley and when they would gather in Sir Wilfred's room and when others were at a loss for a subject, Dr. Pugsley would talk Courtenay Bay. This was the spirit that was needed if they wanted anything done.

Referring to the Liberal platform he said it had been drawn up at the convention last August, a convention which represented all classes from all parts of Canada, including, war veterans, labor, farmers and other classes It was a new and progressive policy coping with all situations of the present day. It demanded national and government ecomony realizing as it did the enormous public debt of the country. On March 31st last the net public debt was $1,584,000,000 involving an annual interest of $115,000,000 or $15 per head of population.

The estimated expenditure of the Dominion government for the present fiscal year is over $800,000,000, or roughly, $100 per head of the population.

The estimated revenue is only $280,000,000, thus creating an estimated deficit of over $500,000,000—a sum equivalent to $62.50 per head of the population—which sum the finance minister proposes to obtain by borrowing.

The Victory Loan this year he said went to meet the current expenditure of the government. Considering the finances of the country there should be some accounting of the nation's liabilities. The money to meet these liabilities must be raised by taxation, he said.

In the last analysis all taxation must come from wealth and greater wealth could come from a greater development of natural resources. Products of the sea, of the mine, of the land, must be increased, and it must be made so that the worker could carry on his labor at the least cost

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possible. To this end he would favor the abolition of all import duties on instruments of production in industries based upon the natural resources of the country, such as mines, fishing, lumbering and agriculture, the development of which was essential to the progress and prosperity of the country.

The cost of living was measured by the cost of clothing, food and footwear; if the tariff caused these high prices, then the tariff should be modified.

Luxuries, he felt, should bear a larger measure of taxation but flour, foodstuffs and machinery should be free of duty. He thought the preference with Great Britain should be increased from 25 and 33 1-3 per cent. to 50 on the general tariff in the interests of closer relationship. Reciprocity was one of the greatest factors in favor of lower prices. The Liberal convention, he said, had gone on record in favor of a mutual trade agreement between this country and the United States. It had also decided that in the interests of agriculture, in aid of greater production on the land, and for the conservation of the soil in Canada it is expedient for the government to arrange for the distribution of fertilizers at the lowest possible cost.

He then discussed the labor plank in the party platform. With regard to labor he said he would strive to raise the status of industry so that its voice would be more effective. If the Liberal party were returned to power he would give to labor the right to place representatives on boards which control their activities. His party was not in favor of granting $2,000 indiscriminately to war veterans but the policy of the party covered matters of education, insurance, pensions, trade training, etc.

A fair and honest franchise was also advocated. In it would lie the security of the rights of the people and the privilege of a self-control of their own affairs. In closing the speaker asked his hearers to forget the differences of the past, to look to the great future which is before the country, and in a very graceful tribute to the manner in which the English-speaking Canadians and French-Canadians had helped at home and overseas in winning the war introduced his confrere, Ernest Lapointe, M. P.

Ernest LaPointe, who was given a great reception, said he thought there was no germ of narrowness in the Maritime Provinces. This was evidenced by the reception given Mr. King, leader of the Liberal party and from Ontario, and himself, a representative of Quebec. He emphasized the need of a strong government at Ottawa to-day. He showed the weakness of the Union government and its failure to represent the people. The various elements that were scattered needed a new leader to give them impetus back to unity, and that leader was Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King. He made a study of all economic problems and he was bringing to the party and the country the brains and intellect of a great scholar. He challenged the government to make an appeal to the country at the polls. The policy of Liberalism was justice to all classes, both rich and poor, but to the poor equally as to the rich, imbued with the spirit of tolerance, moderation and justice. He contended that Canada must have a representative government before she took her place at the Imperial Conference. Canadians must not allow this impotent and worn out government to speak for her at that conference.

He longed for the day when the spirit of patriotism would endear to all Canadians every foot of soil, and until that day the Canadian people could not hope to achieve real Canadian nationality.

Liberalism, he said, was pledged to secure that end, for the party was rocked in the cradle of liberty, the principles of which were eternal and, although they might be borne down at times, they were strongly imbued with the spirit of truth and justice, and ultimately truth and justice would prevail.

When the house had subsided its cheering three hearty cheers and a tiger were led by the chairman and then those on the platform who had not already met the Liberal chieftain, were introduced.

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St. John Telegraph
January 17, 1920

COMMERCIAL CLUB'S STRONG ARGUMENT FOR HARBOR IMPROVEMENTS

Memorial Presented to Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King and Ernest Lapointe, M. P.

History of Port Development and Present Transportation Situation Given as Reasons for Support by Members of Parliament for Demand for Better Facilities.

A delegation from the Commercial Club waited upon Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King and Ernest Lapointe, M. P., yesterday afternoon and presented the following address to them as members of the parliament of Canada:

January 16, 1920.

Messrs. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, M. P., and Ernest Lapointe, M. P.:

Gentlemen,—The officers and members of the St. John Commercial Club greet and welcome you to our city as fellow citizens of Canada.

Our club is non-political, and has as its aim the advancement of our city and province along such lines as will be of benefit to all our people, thereby not only benefitting our own province but, as must necessarily follow, our nation and our empire.

We say this that you may the better understand our motive in addressing you; and with the knowledge that we are striving to bring about such transportation, terminal and docking improvements as are needed, and that the improvements are not only of local but of national need and importance, we feel that you will be in harmony with us in our efforts and agree with us that the need of these improvements is of such national importance that their construction should be no longer delayed.

From the birth of Confederation, when the four original provinces made a partnership agreement to work together to develop our great Canadian nation, this province has done her share—and perhaps more than her share—without complaint, whether it was in paying our share to buy the northwest territories from the Hudson Bay Company, the construction of our railway systems, our canals, or any public work that would be of benefit and help make Canada what she is today. Our people from the earliest days of Confederation have willingly done their part; we have given of our ablest men and money in carrying out our part of the agreement we made in 1867, feeling that if we builded well and the day should ever come when we would have to call on the people of all Canada for assistance, we would have developed with the people of Canada such an asset as would justify and warrant our asking for assistance and expecting that it would be given to us.

In so far as the development of this port is concerned that day has arrived. In the past our people have done splendidly in supplying shipping facilities here, and with very little outside assistance we have constructed wharves and other facilities that have fairly well taken care of the traffic, but it has grown to such an extent that the supplying of facilities to handle it is beyond our financial ability. Moreover, this is a national port, and we have the right to seek from the people of Canada such financial aid as is necessary to provide facilities to handle the ever increasing traffic.

You have seen, gentlemen, in addition to the steamers that are receiving and discharging cargoes, fourteen large ocean steamers lying at anchor here awaiting a berth. In addition to this, many steamers have come here and been turned away—some of them along with their cargoes which were routed here, have been diverted to foreign ports. You have also seen all the available railway sidings full of loaded cars, and can appreciate what a financial loss this condition is causing, not only to the carriers but to this port and to all of Canada, and we trust you will agree with us that immediate action should be taken to have this condition remedied.

The great war has made our people generally realize many things as they did not realize them before, and perhaps not least among them is the importance to the British Empire of the port of St. John, which is second only to Montreal in the volume of its export and import trade.

Canada today in recognizing her position as the centre of the British Empire should see the necessity of developing her Atlantic ports in the maritime provinces that are accessible at all seasons, and make such arrangements as are necessary for this protection in case of war, and not allow herself to remain as she now is, dependent on our neighbor's bonding privileges.

There is no port that is so easy of access as St. John:

By land—As the terminus of three transcontinental railways and situated 160 miles nearer the heart of the country than any other Canadian port in the winter season.

And by water—With its harbor without ice or tides to prevent steamers entering or leaving it at any time, and no other port in Canada is of such vital importance, or the need of naval protection so apparent, for should the Bay of Fundy be in control of a foreign navy all Nova Scotia ports as well as St. John could easily be cut off.

A structure is no stronger than its weakest point, and it is apparent that in the building up of Canada the maritime provinces have been neglected—not only by the people of other parts of Canada, but by our own people as well in their desire to make Canada great. We have built up a great nation, with a vast and rapidly increasing trade extending all over the world, and have neglected to supply facilities for the handling of that trade, and are now in a position where we are obliged to rely on the generosity of a foreign nation for the transportation of our goods. Canada as a nation, and as the centre of the British Empire, should not be in that position.

There is a feeling of dissatisfaction extending all over Canada on account of the present rate of exchange between the United States and ourselves, and probably no single item of commerce is contributing more to the adverse balance of trade than is the amount of transportation we are buying from the United States—the amount we Canadians are paying the people of the United States to transport our goods through their territory. This condition should not exist, and would not exist if the transportation facilities of the maritime provinces had been built up in conformity with the building up of other parts of Canada.

We ask you as parliamentary representative of the Canadian people to give the national needs of Canada in regard to transportation your most earnest consideration, and we are assured that a study of the subject will convince you of the justice of the claims of St. John.

Respectfully yours,
THE COMMERCIAL CLUB OF ST. JOHN.

The Reply.

The facts presented need no arguments to support them. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King and Ernest Lapointe replied to the delegation from the Commercial Club which, as citizens of St. John, presented to the members of parliament the condition and needs of the port of St. John, at the Royal Hotel this afternoon. Hon. Mr. King said he was glad the delegation had come and had presented facts about conditions here.

H. P. Robinson was spokesman of the delegation, and the other members were D. W. Ledingham, L. J. Seidensticker, R. H. Sime, R. H. Bruce, H. W. Rising, Ronald A. McAvity and T. Drummie.

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St John Globe
January 17/20

D 4166

NATIONALIZATION OF PORT FAVORED

Significant Remark by Liberal Leader After Harbor Trip.

HE SAW THE CONGESTION

Trip as Guest of Board of Trade and Commercial Club Gave Hon. Mr. King First Hand Information,

Voicing surprise and edification at the extent and variety of the water-front activities of the port of St. John, and expressing astonishment at the diversity and importance of the steamship business. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, Liberal leader, stated this morning during a tour of the harbor and Courtenay Bay, that he was convinced that the port of St. John was equally deserving of nationalization as were railways.

He was deeply impressed with the fact that the citizens of St. John had spent their own money to provide facilities for the shipping of the nation and of the Empire.

Ernest Lapointe, M. P., who accompanied Mr. King, also stated that he had greatly enjoyed and was deeply impressed with the extent and variety of the shipping at this port. The Liberal leader, at the end of the harbor trip, requested that he be furnished with facts, figures and photographs concerning the harbor and the railway facilities, in order that he might consider and give proper place to the port of St. John in his treatment of questions arising in the reconstruction period.

The harbor trip was under the joint auspices of the Board of Trade and the Commercial Club, and despite the inclemency of the weather, in the form of a blizzard, the inspection was said by those who participated in the tour to have been a pronounced success.

Accompanying the distinguished visitors were H. C. Schofield, A. P. Paterson, H. B. Robinson, W. S. Allison, W. E. Golding, Ronald A. McAvity, Walter H. Golding, D. W. Ledingham and A. R. Dufresne, chief engineer of the St. John Drydock and Shipbuilding Company.

Hon. Mr. King and Mr. LaPointe, at 11 a. m., left the meeting of provincial Liberals, assembled in Moose Hall, Charlotte street, and accompanied by Premier Foster, W. J. Mahoney and E. J. Henneberry, went to the Eastern S. S. Company's pier, where the visitors were welcomed by the representatives of the Board of Trade and the Commercial Club and escorted to the steamer Sissiboo. Premier Foster then returned to the meeting on Charlotte street.

The inspection trip began with a tour of the harbor, thence the route led to Courtenay Bay, where the visitors were shown the immense coffer dam, the largest in the world, and the excavation work being done on the site of the great dry dock. The party did not land.

The steamer proceeded to the outer harbor, and during this portion of the trip D. W. Ledingham named and explained the many trans-Atlantic connections St. John enjoyed. The Sissiboo travelled slowly, enabling the visitors to read the names and home ports of the freighters which were at anchor awaiting berths. Mr. Ledingham told that the vessels carried grain, general cargo, construction material and other goods to ports in England, Ireland, Scotland, Norway, Sweden, France, Italy, Greece, South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, South America and the West Indies. He advised Hon. Mr. King that some of the craft had been at anchor for ten days, waiting for berthing accommodation. An interesting point was noted in regard to one of the steamers. Her home port was Trieste, formerly the principal shipping port of Austria-Hungary, but to-day it is a port of Italy, according to the flag of the vessel.

Sand Point slip was next visited and here Hon. Mr. King and Mr. LaPointe were afforded an excellent instance of how greatly the port is congested, in that they saw cases of two steamers tied up at the same berth.

At the Long Wharf it was pointed out that the berth on the western side had been rendered useless for steamers drawing more than a certain draft by reason of deposit of silt which had accumulated at the berth. Shipping experts stated that there was imperative need of having the berth dredged out.

The distinguished visitors were deeply impressed with the many scenes of marked activity they witnessed and frequently exclaimed in tones of surprise and pleasure at the diversity and volume of the traffic and business at the Port of St. John. Further, they were deeply impressed with the fact that the citizens here had spent their own money to provide facilities for the benefit of the nation and the Empire. They said that they could appreciate to some extent at least what an immense benefit the port must have been during the war.

Here, Hon. Mr. King remarked certainly facilities of this kind were as well worthy of nationalization as were railways. He added that during his trips across the bay in other years, during summer, he had always been impressed, especially at night, with the commodiousness of St. John harbor! now, seeing it for the first time in winter, and during a snow storm, he was all the more convinced of its wonderful possibilities.

As the Sissiboo neared the journey's end, Hon. Mr. King and Mr. Lapointe dwelt at considerable length on the present business of Canada and on the greater future which awaited the young nation. The trade possibilities of St. John were especially commented on.

It was evident that the members of parliament were greatly taken with the port. The Liberal leader requested that he be furnished with memoranda containing facts and figures such as had been told about during the trip and that he be given photographs of port and railway congestion.

Both the Liberal leader and Mr. Lapointe returned hearty thanks to the Board of Trade and the Commercial Club for the opportunity afforded to get first hand knowledge of the immense volume of Canadian trade which was being carried on here. Hon. Mr. King said he would not have missed the trip for a great deal.

Motion pictures of the trip were taken under the direction of Walter H. Golding of the Commercial Club, for the Canadian Pictorial of Toronto.

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St John Evening Times & Star
January 17 20

D 4167

A GREAT MEETING.

The leader of the Liberal party can have no fault to find with his reception in the maritime provinces. Last night's great meeting in this city was the climax of a remarkably successful tour. The Imperial was far too small to accommodate those who sought to enter, and the packed house listened with the keenest interest until the last word had fallen from the lips of the closing speaker.

Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King sustained his reputation as a brilliant speaker, and the frequent applause proved the sympathy and appreciation of the audience. Not less appreciative were the people of the wit, the earnestness and force of Mr. Lapointe.

It was not difficult to probe the weakness of the present government at Ottawa, but it was done with rare skill by both speakers, and the arguments in favor of an appeal to the people set forth with striking clearness and force.

Canadian unity was the chief theme of both addresses, and as essential to that unity they urged that the people be given without delay the opportunity to set up at Ottawa a truly representative government. The present one, Mr. King pointed out, was chosen for the duration of the war, and there is no longer any reason for its existence, especially since it is practically leaderless, and its members are not in harmony with regard to matters of public policy.

Mr. King holds that the aspirations of the farmers, the labor party and the veterans arise from the same source as those of the great Liberal party, and that if there be any danger at all from any of these sources it could only develop through an effort to legislate for a class. Against any class domination true Liberalism must protest, since in such protest it had its own birth.

There can be no quarrel with the definition of Liberalism given by Mr. King and Mr. Lapointe, or with the emphasis placed by the former upon the vital relation of social, industrial and economic justice to the well-being of the state. Judged by the standards set up by the Liberal leaders the government now clinging to power at Ottawa must stand condemned before the people.

His hearers were especially interested in Mr. King's exposition of the tariff policy of the Liberal party. He made it clear that the party stands for the abolition of many duties now exacted, the modification of others, and an increase in the British preference. He would remove the duties on instruments of production in the development of the great natural resources of the country, since only by greatly increased production can the country progress and obtain relief from the staggering burdens improved by the war. The Liberal party proposes to raise the additional needed revenue by a system of direct taxation which will make the wealth of the country contribute more largely, while a higher tariff on luxuries will offset to some extent the reduction in other directions. Such a policy might be regarded as likely to align the great vested interests against the Liberal party, "but there we stand," said Mr. King, "and there we will fight."

The Liberal leader had no unkind word to say of those who made union government possible in 1917. He recognized that they acted on conviction and in the belief that this course would best aid in winning the war. Now that the war is over, the reason for the existence of a government formed for a specific purpose and a stated period no longer exists, and he appealed for a reunion of all the Liberals to meet the new conditions and very grave problems now confronting Canada.

The farmer movement does not dismay the Liberal leader. He recalls the fact that Sir Wilfrid Laurier warned the government that if the voice of the farmers of the west were unheeded they would unite and take political action. That prediction has been fulfilled. The farmers have organized, and so long as they do not attempt to introduce class rule their entrance into the political arena is not a matter to be deplored. Mr. King points out, moreover, that as soon as one group attempts class domination other groups rise, unite their forces, and drive it from power.

The tone of last night's speeches by Mr. King and Mr. Lapointe was distinctly high, and marked by a broad Canadianism which appealed to every listener. The introductory address of Premier Foster gave the citizens an opportunity to note how greatly he has progressed as a clear and able speaker in the brief period during which he has been in public life. He and the colleagues who were there with him last evening have been giving the people of New Brunswick an excellent illustration of what it means to have a progressive Liberal government administering public affairs.

Last night's audience contained many citizens who have never been Liberals, and who may perhaps be arrayed against the Liberals in the federal elections; for party allegiance is strong, and all men and women cannot see alike in regard to political policies; but all who listened to the speakers of the evening will agree that they heard a very able presentation of the case for Liberalism, and even if they do not agree with the views of the speakers they can nevertheless share with Liberals a feeling of pride that Canada produces men of the high character and intellectual force which mark the Liberal leader and his very able lieutenant from Quebec.

Mr. Lapointe captured the audience at the very outset. His ready wit pierces the armor of an opponent, and he has a ready knack of illustration that is delightful; and when he spoke as a Canadian of the French race, proud of his ancestry, proud to be a Canadian and a loyal citizen of the Empire, eager to see a united Canada moving forward to the realization of a great destiny, the spell of his eloquence charmed and moved the vast audience.

The reception given both speakers must have been intensely gratifying. The presence of a large body of women voters made the occasion the more interesting. There was not a single interruption except in bursts of applause. Liberalism in St. John has given its leader a heartening reception, and he in turn has made a deep impression upon the minds of the people.

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Saint John Globe

ST. JOHN, N. B., JANUARY 17, 1920.

FRIDAY'S GREAT MEETING.

St. John and New Brunswick gave a welcome to the Liberal leader and his brilliant Quebec colleague which both must remember with pleasure and satisfaction, no matter what the sequel. The Imperial never held a larger audience. A house of double the capacity would not have accommodated all who sought admission. The very large number of women in the audience was an indication of the interest women are taking in the issues and problems of the day. Hon. Mr. King had spoken in St. John before, but he was not then the Liberal leader and war had not split old party lines and created new issues. Interest, therefore, centred both in the man and his message. A ready and forceful speaker, Mr. King held the attention of the gathering for practically two hours, and while applause was never demonstrative, it was frequent and hearty. The address was a distinct departure from the stereotyped politican speech, and dealt rather with principles than with policies. Perhaps too much time was given to the academic consideration of great principles and too little to the discussion of specific problems, entirely to satisfy the great bulk of the audience. Liberals, however, found satisfaction in his promises of lower tariff duties on the necessities of life, in the promise that a Liberal government would enlarge the British preference, increase the duties on luxuries, make wealth pay a large share of the tax burden, and seek a reciprocal pact with the United States. Mr. King made it clear that the next political fight in Canada will be a fight between the interests and the people, between the protectionists and those who favor tariff revision, between those who always resist change and those who have won for mankind all or nearly all the reforms which are now sacred rights. Pitched to a high plane, the address of the leader gave unmistakable proof of his oratorical ability, of his skill in the handling of words — whole torrents of words, without too closely committing himself on particular issues. Characterizing the Union government as a party without a policy, Mr. King spent less than one-fourth of the time at his disposal dealing with his own party policy. Putting himself clearly against legislation by classes, he welcomed the class movements — Farmers, Labor, Veteran — which make difficulties for the government of the day and promise to aid in its overthrow. In these and other ways he showed himself the practical politician, while his lofty appeal for unity and for consideration of those great principles which true Liberalism has ever championed spoke broad study and a clear understanding of economic questions. Mr. LaPointe's epigrammatic phrases and earnest, eloquent words won the audience and gave weight to his argument. It was one of the greatest and most successful political meetings St. John has ever known, and the Liberal leader undoubtedly made a favorable impression on an audience, not hostile, but naturally disposed to be critical.

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19 Jan. 1920

D 4169

Montreal Reform Club

FARMERS' MOVEMENTS AND LIBERALISM

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Montreal Gazette
January 20/20

D 4170

LIBERAL LEADER AT REFORM CLUB

Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King Paid First Official Visit to Montreal

DEFERS WESTERN TOUR

Says Farmers' Movement Will Ultimately Harmonize With Liberal Doctrines of Lower Tariff

Hon. William Lyon Mackenzie King yesterday paid his first official visit to Montreal as leader of the Liberal party, when he was given a cordial reception at a special luncheon at the Montreal Reform Club on Sherbrooke street. Although Hon. Mr. King paid something of a surprise visit, there was a fair sized attendance, with many of the regular members of the club present.

In his address Hon. Mr. King devoted much of his time to an account of his recent visit to the Maritime Provinces, and more time to an argument that the farmers' movement was really a species of Liberalism. He declared that there was no danger of a farmers' political movement in the Maritime Provinces, considering that the farmers there were quite content with the political programme of the Liberal party. As to Ontario and the west, he was more hopeful than explicit, considering that the farmers' political movement would in the end harmonize with the Liberal doctrines of lower tariff and reciprocity with the United States.

The Liberal leader stated that, owing to the multiplicity of work that had engaged his attention since last session, and the near approach of another session of Parliament, he had been compelled to drop his original idea of making a tour of the west until after the conclusion of next session. He said he then hoped to make a tour of the west, at a time when it would be possible to hold outdoor meetings, so as to meet the farmers, instead of the city people in their large halls.

In opening the meeting the president, Mr. C. W. Taylor, assured Mr. King that in Montreal he was among his best friends, who were prepared to work all along the line with him, until eventually they made him leader of a Liberal Government.

In a general sketch of his recent eastern tour, Hon. Mr. King said that the idea he had brought back was that while the Union Government was rapidly disintegrating, the Liberal party was uniting as it had not done for years past. He returned convinced that in the three Maritime Provinces, the Liberals were becoming a strong united force.

NO FARMERS' MOVEMENT.

"Everywhere we went we were met by enthusiastic crowds, which included many farmers," he said. "Therefore I do not think we need have any concern as to the farmer movement in Eastern Canada, since this is being more and more recognized as an expression of Liberalism. The reason this farmers' political movement has taken its present form in Ontario and the West is that they had special problems which caused them to undertake political action for themselves."

This, said Hon. Mr. King, had been foreseen by Laurier, when he had introduced the reciprocity measure, and he considered that the farmers' movement had dated from the refusal of the Union Government to admit to Parliament a large deputation of farmers. "The whole movement, I hope," he said, "is the beginning of a new Liberalism which will be stronger and more progressive than anything we have had for a long time past."

"Of course," he said, "Sir Robert Borden is a Minister, but he has gone none knows where, and he himself apparently does not know where he is going, and the Government is left without an executive head, while the Maritime Provinces have no cabinet representation."

DELAYED WESTERN TOUR.

As to his projected western tour Hon. Mr. King said he had considered it better to delay it until after next session of Parliament, since there was not a community in the west that had not demanded a meeting. If the tour were to be made in winter, he and his colleagues would necessarily have to visit only the cities where they would not reach the farming population. He did not think the session would last long, although the Opposition would insist on a new Franchise Act.

He argued that the Union Government had been made for the period of the war. Now the war was over it had outlived its usefulness, and it was time for the two historic parties to reunite, and lay their policies before the people, and to give the people opportunity to elect their representatives, he holding that at present the Government was usurping office without authority. Unless the people were given opportunity to express their opinions by electing a representative government, he argued that conditions instead of becoming more orderly, would become more and more restless.

A vote of thanks was moved by President Taylor, and later in the afternoon Hon. Mr. King met the Women's Liberal Club, and in the evening the Young Men's Liberal Club, leaving by the 10 o'clock train for Ottawa.

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D 4171

13 Feb. 1920

Ottawa:Retail
Grocers' Assoc.

THE RETAIL GROCERY TRADE
AND THE COST OF LIVING

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The High Cost of Living

The largest and most important economic issue of our times is the high cost of living. There is not a class nor an individual in the community which is not affected by it. It is of special interest to members of this Association, because retail grocers, more than members of any other branch of the retail trade, come into touch with the entire community in respect to the most essential of those commodities which we speak of as the "necessaries of life".

GROCERY TRADE A COST OF LIVING BAROMETER

In the olden days, the necessaries of life were purchased more or less direct from the producers at local markets, or, if of a kind obtainable only through international trade, were procured at the great fairs held at intervals in different cities and towns to which merchant traders came long distances to sell, and others equally long distances to buy.

To-day, it is not to fairs that men go at special seasons of the year to purchase the spices of the Orient, dried fruits of the tropics, the foods of other lands and climes, but to the grocery stores in their city or town. To the doors of the retail grocers in our modern communities come the city dwellers, one large army of consumers, seeking some of the necessaries of life. The articles in demand are in large part among the most perishable produced, as well as among the most necessary for the sustenance of life. Taking the grocery business as it is carried on, ~~in fact,~~ bread and meat, butter and eggs, are to be included as well as fruits and vegetables, sugars and cereals. These commodities men, women, and children must have day by day; otherwise they will lack sufficient nourishment and ultimately starve. The commodities themselves must be disposed of without delay; otherwise they too deteriorate or perish.

The articles in which the trade deals are required, not by the few, nor by the many, but by all. In these respects they fall into the same category as clothing, boots and shoes, fuel, and houses; but they differ from most of the other necessaries in that they are just as needful at

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one season of the year as another, and do not lend themselves to continuous use or to a series of uses to anything like the same degree. These circumstances give the retail grocery trade a very significant position in relation to the problem of the high cost of living. It is at the shops of the retail grocers that consumers make their acquaintance in a very real way with the prices of food. Food price lists become a barometer of the cost of living.

GROCERS ON THE FIRING LINE

One further consequence of the position in which the trade is placed is that the members, the grocers themselves, are placed in a quite exceptional, and I must say a somewhat unenviable position. As regards advancing prices, they stand, so to speak, on the firing line. It is across their counters that the first actual contact takes place between the vast army of consumers seeking to purchase food, and the smaller but nevertheless powerful army of producers with food to sell. The average consumer sees only the man directly in front of him, and the price he is demanding. He sees nothing, and very often knows nothing, of the forces which are pressing from behind, and which not infrequently leave to the retail grocer, in the matter of the price he is demanding, no avenue of escape or retreat. The consequence of all this is that the retail grocery trade is put very often in a wholly false position in the eyes of the public. Its members are looked upon, by those who do not understand the situation, as peculiarly selfish, as persons seeking to profit in virtue of the necessities of others. Were the truth actually known, it could readily be shewn that high prices, where they are the result of either a limited production or an inflated currency, are the despair, rather than the joy, of members of the trade, and make for lesser rather than greater returns on the total volume of transactions.

an ~~unnecessary~~ tariff, or other ~~avoidable~~ like cause

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POSITION OF OTHER TRADES

What is true in this respect, in a very noticeable way, of the retail grocery trade, is true of the retail trade in general. It is also true of the wholesale trade in most lines of business that have to do with providing the public with the commodities which supply its daily needs. Assuming that artificial restrictions upon trade in the nature of secret trade agreements and combines are not operative, it is a fact, well known to all engaged in trading, that the total volume of business is the all-important factor in determining at what rate it is possible to sell goods at a legitimate profit, and that a lesser rate will, speaking generally, yield a larger total return, where the volume of trade is large, than a high rate of profit will yield on a limited turnover.

ADVERSE INFLUENCES AFFECT GROCERS AND CONSUMERS ALIKE

High prices of themselves do not make for an increase in the volume of trade. They make, as a matter of fact, in the opposite direction. Trading, as an art, consists in finding the price, consonant with a legitimate profit, which will attract most strongly; or in other words, which will permit of the largest number of sales. Once this truth is grasped, the consumer and the merchant will recognize in each other, not individuals who should stand opposed, in the great economic issue which the problem of the high cost of living has forced to the fore, but persons whose interests are alike prejudiced by a common cause which it is to their mutual benefit to discover, and to have remedied if that be possible at all.

VOLUME OF PRODUCTION AND TRADE THE IMPORTANT CONSIDERATION

I might go a step farther and say that what is true as regards the volume of transactions in trading as applicable to the retail and wholesale trades is also true as respects trade, commerce, and finance generally. It is

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true of the business of the many agencies of transportation and communication, the railways, the merchant marine, the express companies, of the telegraphs and the telephones, and the newspaper press. It is true of the business of banks and the stock exchange - it is the volume of business that counts. It will thus be seen that, as respects the High Cost of Living, any light that can be thrown upon the problem in relation to the retail grocery trade will penetrate far beyond; it should disclose in essential outline much that is fundamental from a national point of view, and that affects the country's business in all its many and varied branches.

GROCERY TRADE THE STORM CENTRE

The fact that in the retail grocery trade the articles that are dealt in are, as already mentioned, among the most essential of the necessaries of life, and at the same time, in large part, the most perishable of commodities, makes it inevitable that things should focus up to a point in this particular trade, and that when a windsow is smashed in hunger riots, it is more likely to be that of a retail grocer than of a hardware merchant, or of a bookseller and stationer.

The retail grocery trade is the storm centre, so to speak, of forces being brought into conflict through the operation of far-reaching underlying economic laws. What is to be seen through the windows of your trade is the battle at its highest pitch. To those immediately concerned, little is visible or understood of the conditions and forces which, operating many miles away and emerging from out the distant past, account for the struggle that is going on to-day.

FUNDAMENTAL CAUSES OF HIGH COST OF LIVING

I should like this evening to look through the window of ~~your~~ trade out over the heads of the immediate participants in this great economic struggle, and beyond to the wide world which is seeking recovery from the ravages

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and desolation of war; and with the aid of the imagination discern, if possible, the causes of the intensity of the issue at the moment, and wherein a change of conditions is to be sought if we are to find a solution of the problem of the high cost of living in a manner that will be helpful alike to consumers generally and to those engaged in commerce and trade in its many forms.

THE LOSS AND WASTE OF WAR IN WEALTH AND HUMAN LIFE

The first thing one observes in any sweep of vision is the enormous loss and waste which war has occasioned. Loss and waste of material wealth, and what is infinitely worse, even from a purely economic point of view, loss and waste of human life. It defies the imagination to estimate, with any degree of accuracy, what all this loss means to the total production of the world; and yet there is not a fraction of it which is without its direct bearing upon the present problem of the high cost of living.

The loss in material wealth is in reality a double loss, for alongside of the actual loss occasioned by war must be reckoned the normal production, wholly different in character, which would otherwise have gone on, steadily replenishing the world's store of supplies. Not only has most of the wealth created for war purposes been totally destroyed or wasted, but the producing energies of the different countries have been devoted so largely to the manufacture of the instruments of destruction and providing the supplies of war, that production for a period of over four and a quarter years has been diverted to that extent from fields which minister in large part primarily to the ordinary needs of human society. Till this loss has been restored, as in time it will be, prices are not likely to find their former level, and time it will certainly take to make good such colossal waste and loss.

What is infinitely more serious, in its effect upon the cost of living throughout the world, than any loss of material wealth, is the loss of the millions of

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human lives sacrificed outright in war, and the other millions that through disease, bodily injury, or other impairment, have lost their industrial efficiency in greater or less degree. Here is a loss to the world and to actual and potential power in production which will never be made up in our day or generation. Our need is vastly greater, and the numbers required to make good that need are vastly less than they were before it was created. ~~Let us, therefore, not expect prices to find their former levels anew.~~

THE DESTRUCTION OF CAPITAL

Then, there is the destruction of capital in industry which the war has occasioned, and which will have to be replaced before many of the normal producing and distributing operations can be recommenced. The mines and factories that have been ruined, the machinery and the railroads that have been destroyed, the loss in part of the merchant marine, all these and countless other losses that the war has occasioned will have to be made good before production can once more assume its normal development. Meanwhile, much capital that would otherwise be investing in the production of commodities that minister immediately to human need will be diverted to these secondary purposes.

PUBLIC DEBT AND TAXATION

Then, there is the vast public debt and the many new obligations which war occasioned to the several countries and the payment of which in the form of interest and pensions must be met as a first charge upon the wealth of the country. Contrive as its administrators may, there is something here which will impose a burden on all classes of industry - which will be reflected in a higher level of prices for years to come, unless some policy is adopted in the interests of consumers which will help to offset these adverse circumstances.

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INFLATED CURRENCY AND INTERNATIONAL EXCHANGES

Akin to this increase in public debt is what is termed "inflation of the currency". Prices are the resultant of two factors considered in relation to each other: commodities on the one hand and currency on the other. The quantity of the precious metals remaining the same, an increase in the quantity of commodities means a decrease in prices; a decrease in the quantity of commodities, an increase in prices. If, in addition to gold, which is the basis of currency, the government of a country issues paper money redeemable in gold, in quantities which raise a doubt in the minds of any appreciable number of people as to the ability of the Government to redeem its paper in gold at the face value, then currency comes to have a less value than before; in other words, it becomes "inflated", and prices, being the resultant of the relation of commodities to currency, increase as the value of the currency falls. There are many who believe that this explains in considerable measure the fall in value of the English sterling, which is the same thing as a rise in prices with regard to those articles which a pound sterling will buy. This is a matter which affects each country in relation to its own currency. Inasmuch as it has a direct bearing on international exchanges, and through this medium on the volume of international trade, it must be noticed in any survey of causes affecting prices throughout the world to-day. It is a factor that needs to be reckoned with, ~~but as regards our own currency is not one which need cause us concern.~~

CUMULATIVE EFFECT OF WORLD INFLUENCES
IN RESTRICTING PRODUCTION AND TRADE

Remembering, however, all these factors; the waste and loss of material wealth and human life in the war, the diversion during the four and a quarter years of war of production into abnormal channels, the capital that must be replaced and restored before production can resume its normal channels, the charge upon industry and trade which public debt and pensions will continue to impose, the inflation of currency and the vagaries of international exchange; and remembering also that the world's markets have become more and more one - let us realize at once that it will be a considerable time, no matter how rapid the recovery of the nations may be, before we may expect a return to the days when commodities were plentiful, and as a consequence obtainable at a moderate cost.

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There is one feature to which I should like to draw attention, with respect to the several factors mentioned, and that is that one and all, with the exception of the last mentioned circumstance of the world's markets being increasingly one, have this in common that they operate as restrictions upon production, and reduction in the total volume of trade.

CONDITIONS IN CANADA

Such is the view as one gets it at wide range of world conditions, which help to account for the prevailing high level of prices and consequent high cost of living. There is little in the conditions described that we can change. As respects these conditions, for the most part we can only wait for the improvement which comes with time. This makes it the more imperative that we should look more closely at conditions as they are within the borders of our own country, and see if they are such as tend to lend emphasis to the high cost of living, or will admit of change to the benefit of all concerned.

SUPPLY OF FOOD ALL-IMPORTANT TO ALL CLASSES

This causes me for the moment to direct attention again to the significance of the class of commodities with which the retail grocery trade is concerned. They are, as already pointed out, in the nature of food, and, as such, the most necessary of the so-called necessaries of life. Two consequences of great importance flow from this. The first is, that if retail groceries are to be made available to consumers at prices which will serve to reduce the high cost of living, they must be available to retail dealers in plenty. The quantity of available supplies, more than anything else, will affect the barometer of the high cost of living. The food price lists will go up as the quantity of available food production lessens. They will come down as the quantity of available food increases. The other consequence is that only as the prices of foodstuffs come down from the present high level can we hope for an appreciable reduction in the cost of living as respects other commodities and services. The artisan cannot work for less than is

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necessary to supply himself and his family with food. High wages can mean nothing to him if every cent of increase in pay is offset or more than offset by an increase in the price of food. The salaried official is in the same position. To enable all branches of construction, manufacture, and trade, to find a level where a fair wage to Labor and a reasonable rate of return on invested capital may be paid, and prices and charges at the same time reduced, there must come some reduction in the cost of food which will be the outcome of a larger production of production at a lessened cost.

KIND OF PRODUCTION AS IMPORTANT
AS QUANTITY

Now note this point, which is all important. Food, in one way or another, is always related to the land. Something has to be grown or raised before there can be any increase in the quantity of food. It may be grain for flour or cereals or bread; it may be hogs for bacon, or lard or ham; it may be cattle for milk or cheese or beef; it may be fruit or vegetables, fresh, ~~fish~~ dried, preserved, or canned - whatever it is, so long as it partakes of the nature of food, it goes back to some form of agricultural or horticultural development. Now what does this mean? It means that only as agriculture in all its branches flourishes can we hope to find any real solution of the problem of the high cost of living. It is not enough to say that there must be increase in the quantity of production. The kind of production is just as important as the quantity, and the kind of production which, above all others, the world is calling out for to-day is food. During the War, it was first more men, then it was more munitions, then it was more ships, then more food. More food it has remained and is likely to remain for many years to come. It was starvation that, in the last analysis, helped to bring ~~brought~~ the Germans and Austrians to their knees, and starvation means the absence of food.

If this be true, is it not time to ask ourselves, how promises it, with our supplies of food? Canada is a great agricultural country. We have land available for cultivation and use, on a scale relative to our population, unequalled by any other country in the world. How have we proceeded?

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URBAN POPULATION GROWING AT EXPENSE OF RURAL

Let us, looking out again through the window of your trade, attempt to make something of a national survey of Canadian conditions as they affect the high cost of living. Once we do this, we are immediately confronted with one of the most amazing situations, and at the same time one of the most serious tendencies to be imagined. Instead of rural development being what we would hope and expect it ought to be, that is to say, considerably ahead of, or even keeping pace with, the growth of population in urban centres, we find that at present, and for many years past, the tendency would appear to be entirely the other way. The population of our cities and towns relatively has been forging away ahead of the population in the rural areas. The number of consumers demanding food in urban centres has steadily increased, whilst the number of persons producing food has relatively steadily declined.

Unfortunately, the only national statistics we have are those of the Dominion Census of 1911 for Ontario and the Eastern Provinces, and a somewhat later census for the prairie provinces; but it is safe to say that the tendencies they represent have been emphasized rather than diminished in the years that have since intervened.

SOME REMARKABLE STATISTICS

Going back to the beginning of this century and starting with the Eastern Provinces, making our survey from East to West, what do we find? First of all, that in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, from 1901 to 1911, the urban population showed comparatively large increases, whilst in these provinces and in Prince Edward Island the rural population decreased materially. In the Province of Quebec, the urban population increased by 314,383 from 1901 to 1911, and the rural population increased by only 39,951. In the old Province of Ontario, the urban population increased by 392,511 in the ten years from 1901 to 1911, and totalled in actual figures 1,328,489, while in the same period of time the rural population decreased by 52,184, and numbered the lesser total of 1,194,785.

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In the Western Provinces, where the statistics are somewhat more recent, we find, notwithstanding the vast agricultural areas, the same alarming tendencies. In 1901, slightly over seventy-five per cent. of the population was rural and slightly less than twenty-five per cent. was urban. In 1916, instead of the rural population holding its own with the urban, something over only sixty-four per cent. of the population was rural and something slightly over thirty-five per cent. was urban. By the census of 1911 the urban population of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta is shown to have increased ninety-two per cent. in ten years; whereas in the same period of time the rural population increased by only fifty-two per cent. The census of 1916 reveals a furtherance of this tendency toward the expansion of the cities and towns at the expense of the country or rural areas. In the one Province of Saskatchewan, where rural population had been the largest relatively, the rural population decreased from something over eighty-four per cent. of the total to something over seventy-two per cent. in the five years from 1911 to 1916.

NECESSITY TO FOSTER AGRICULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

When we stop to consider these figures, and what they signify in their bearing upon such a problem as the high cost of living, it will be seen that it is impossible to exaggerate their significance. In the light of evidence of the kind, the endeavor to regulate prices in a manner which will benefit consumers generally, by such expedients as Boards of Commerce, however useful investigating bodies of the kind may prove in helping to check individual abuses here and there, is the merest pretence. It is, as one humorist has said, like shooting woodpeckers as the most effective means of conserving the forests, like attempting to remedy some serious disease by examining its surface indications. The trouble is not on the surface; it is an internal disorder of the gravest character, one which, if permitted to go on, will sooner or later bring the city-dwellers and the whole country into desperate plights.

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There is only one cure, and that is the one which ordinary common sense, in such obvious circumstances, dictates. If rural areas are being depleted, if agricultural development is not keeping pace with industrial development in other directions, it is for us, not less in the interests of the rural populations than of the urban, to find out the cause, and so shape our national policies as to foster a wise and wide agricultural development.

FOOD PRODUCTION THE MOST NECESSARY OF ALL FORMS OF PRODUCTION

People living and working on the land is Canada's greatest need to-day. Not only Canada's, but the world's, faced with starvation as it has been at so many times of late. This need is all the greater when we recall, as already mentioned, that the markets of the world are increasingly one. A famished world bears the same sort of relation to Canada, with its vast agricultural areas, as do our cities and towns to their rural environments. We are differently situated than most other countries. They have not the agricultural possibilities that we have, either in extent of area, or fertility of soils; they, too, have been building up great industrial centres, that must continue to look beyond their own confines for food. The demand, therefore, for our produce from abroad is a factor of which we must not lose account in considering the supply that at any given time may be available to meet our own need.

But, you say, granting all that has been said to be true, there still remains the problem of how to get the people to live and work on the land. Like all problems of production, it presents three factors, each of which demands careful consideration. They are the three essentials: Land, Labor and Capital. If there were not land available, this would be a problem indeed. Fortunately, we have a condition in this respect which surpasses that of any other country in the world. Canada is still in large part a pioneer's country; agricultural land is its richest

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TIME REQUIRED FOR ANY NEW POLICY
TO BEAR FRUIT

Any policy such as the one described, which seeks ~~to~~ a return of the people to the land, will take time to accomplish its aims. It is not going to be possible, under any conditions, to have people settle upon the land in appreciable numbers except over a period of time. Especially will this be seen to be true when we recall that, in former years we have relied upon immigration from abroad to people our unoccupied areas. We must still look, in large part, to immigration to help us to an ultimate solution. But we do well to recognize what the drain of war has meant to the nations of Europe and in particular to the British Isles in this respect. There are not the numbers of people there were from which to recruit immigrants, nor are the countries of Europe likely to be willing to part too readily with those they have. The necessity, therefore, of some immediate action to help reduce the very high cost of living is all the more apparent.

~~NEED OF IMMEDIATE ACTION.~~

Since an increase in the supply of food is the one obvious necessity, it is scarcely less obvious that anything artificial at present restricting the food supply should be immediately removed. This brings us inevitably to a consideration of the tariff. Were I to pursue this theme farther, I should of course get into the realm of political controversy, and this is a non-partisan organization, and therefore not the time or the place to provoke a discussion. At the same time, I would feel I had not fully stated the case, and might be accused of having sought to dodge the issue, were I to omit to express my own conviction that it is possible so to reform the tariff as not only to diminish the high cost of living in a manner which would immediately benefit consumers, but also to reduce the cost of the instruments of production, and so help agriculture and all the other industries based upon the natural resources of Canada. As these basic industries

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NEED OF IMMEDIATE ACTION

Since an increase in the supply of food is the one obvious necessity, it is scarcely less obvious that anything artificial at present restricting the supply of the principal articles of food should be immediately removed. This brings us inevitably to a consideration of the tariff. Were I to pursue this theme farther, I should of course get into the realm of political controversy, and this is not the time nor the place to provoke a discussion. At the same time, I would feel I had not fully stated the case were I to omit to express my own conviction that it is possible so to reform the tariff as not only to diminish the high cost of living in a manner which would immediately benefit consumers, but also to reduce the cost of the instruments of production generally, and so help agriculture and all the other industries based upon the natural resources of Canada. As these basic industries thrive, all our other industries will thrive, all our interests, whether of agriculture, manufactures, commerce, or transportation. Any revision of the tariff which failed to keep all these interests steadily in view would not be in the national interests. It is obvious, however, that much can be done through tariff revision by way of reducing the high cost of living, which will prove to the benefit of one and all; and foremost in this connection is any well-considered step which will help to increase the supply of food to dwellers in town and country alike.

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Ottawa Journal
Feb" 13—20

D 4186

GROCER WRONGLY BLAMED FOR HIGH COST OF LIVING, SAYS LIBERAL LEADER

At Retailers' Annual Banquet—Talks of Causes and Solution for Problem.

RETAILER ON FIRING LINE

Revision of Tariff and Policy of Back to the Land Are Advocated.

Looking out of a grocer's window at that vital question, the high cost of living, Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King laid stress on the peculiar significance and special importance of the retail grocers, who bear the brunt of the consumers' protests when prices rise, in an address before members of Ottawa Retail Grocers' Association, at its annual banquet in Masonic Temple last night. The retail grocery trade, he said, was the barometer of the cost of living. The grocer was often put in a false light. He was on the firing line between the army of producers and the army of consumers. But his policy was that it was better to have small profits and large sales, rather than large profits and small turnover.

Causes of H. C. of L.

The causes of the high cost of living, he showed, in a succinct, comprehensive analysis of the problem, were fundamental, and the public should see clearly the position in which the retail grocers are placed in regard to it. The retail merchant was helpless in dealing with the question until nature worked out its healing. The loss of material and life, due to the war, the burden of taxation and pensions, the inflation of the currency, all tended to raise prices, and the world's markets were more and more one now. Cheaper food was necessary before there could be reductions in other lines. Until more food was produced the speaker could not see reductions in prices of the necessities of life.

Advocated Tariff Revision.

The remedy he advocated was a downward revision of the tariff on foodstuffs and on agricultural implements, so as to bring about a material decrease in the cost of living, and an energetic policy in rural development. Regard must be had for all existing industries, however, in considering any adjustments to the tariff. Mr. King received a tremendous ovation when he arose to speak and when he sat down. It was a most representative gathering, not only of the Ottawa Retail Grocers' Association, but of the Ottawa Pure Food exhibitors, the mayor, controllers and aldermen, the directors of Central Canada Exhibition, and officers of sister associations. About 300 guests sat down to a dinner the cuisine and service of which left nothing to be desired.

At Head Table.

Mr. B. G. Crabtree, president of Ottawa Retail Grocers' Association, made an excellent toastmaster. Beside him at the head table were Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, Mayor Harold Fisher, A. J. Freiman, president Ottawa Retail Merchants' Association, Lieut.-Col. R. F. Parkinson, T. Sydney Kirby, J. F. Taylor, H. W. Chamberlain, Henry Watters, Controller J. Kent, Ald. J. A. Pinard, Ald. D. Macdonald, Ald. J. P. Balharrie, Controller F. Plant, Controller J. Cameron, W. Macdonald, Ald. W. Y. Denison, Ald. J. Denny, A. Provost, A. Phillips, T. Bowman, T. Collius, Ald. E. D. Lowe, A. W. Huband, E. M. Trowern, Dominion secretary of the Retail Merchants' Association of Canada.

The toast to the King was honored by singing the national anthem. Then followed the toast to the guest of honor, Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King.

"The largest and most important economic issue of our times is the hight cost of living," said Mr. King. "There is not a class nor an individual in the community not affected by it. It is of special interest to members of this association, because retail grocers, more than members of any other branch of the retail trade, come into touch with the entire community in respect to the most essenial of those commodities which we speak of as the 'necessaries of life.'

Grocery Trade Barometer.

"In the olden days, the necessaries of life were purcahsed more or less direct from the producers at local markets, or, if of a kind obtainable only through international trade, were procured at the great fairs held at intervals in different cities and towns to which merchant traders came long distances to sell, and others equally long distances to buy.

"Today, it is not to fairs that men go at special seasons of the year to purchase the spices of the Orient, dried fruits of the tropics, the foods of other lands and climes, but to the grocery stores in their city or town. To the doors of the retail grocers in our modern communities come the city dwellers, one large army of consumers, seeking some of the necessaries of life. The articles in demand are in large part among the most perishable produced, as well as among the most necessary for the sustenance of life. Taking the grocery business as it is carried on today, bread and meat, butter and eggs, are to be included as well as fruits and vegetables, sugars and cereals. These commodities men, women and children must have day by day; otherwise they will lack sufficient nourishment and ultimately starve. The commodities themselves must be disposed of without delay; otherwise they deteriorate or perish.

"The articles in which the trade deals are required not by the few, nor by the many, but by all. In these respects they fall into the same category as clothing, boots and shoes, fuel, and houses; but they differ from most of the other necessaries in that they are just as needful at one season of the year as another, and do not lend themselves to continuous use or to a series of uses to anything like the same degree. These circumstances give the retail grocery trade a very significant position in relation to the problem of the high cost of living. It is at the shops of the retail grocers that consumers make their acquaintance in a very real way

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with the prices of food. Food price lists become a barometer of the cost of living.

Grocers On Firing Line.

One further consequence of the position in which the trade is placed is that the members, the grocers themselves, are placed in a quite exceptional and, I must say, a somewhat unenviable position. As regards advancing prices, they stand, so to speak, on the firing line. It is across their counters that the first actual contact takes place between the vast army of consumers seeking to purchase food, and the smaller, but nevertheless powerful army of producers with food to sell. The average consumer sees only the man directly in front of him, and the price he is demanding. He sees nothing, and very often knows nothing, of the forces which are pressing from behind, and which not infrequently leave to the retail grocer, in the matter of the price he is demanding, no avenue of escape or retreat. The consequence of all this is that the retail grocery trade is put very often in a wholly false position in the eyes of the public. Its members are looked upon, by those who do not understand the situation, as peculiarly selfish, as persons seeking to profit in virtue of the necessities of others. Were the truth actually known, it could readily be shown that high prices, where they are the result of either a limited production or an inflated currency, an unwise tariff, or other like cause, are the despair, rather than the joy, of members of the trade, and make for lesser rather than greater returns on the total volume of transactions.

Other Trades.

"What is true in this respect, in a very noticeable way, of the retail grocery trade, is true of the retail trade in general. It is also true of the wholesale trade in most lines of business that have to do with providing the public with the commodities which supply its daily needs. Assuming that artificial restrictions upon trade in the nature of secret trade agreements and combines are not operative, it is a fact, well known to all engaged in trading, that the total volume of business is the all-important factor in determining at what price it is possible to sell goods at a legitimate profit, and that lower prices will, speaking generally, yield a larger total return, where the volume of trade is large, than high prices will yield on a limited turnover.

"I might go a step further and say that what is true as regards the volume of transactions in trading as applicable to the retail and wholesale trades is also true as respects trade, commerce, and finance generally. It is true of the business of the many agencies of transportation and communication—the railways, the merchant marine, the express companies, of the telegraphs and the telephones, and the newspaper press. It is true of the busines of banks and the stock exchange—it is the volume of busines sthat counts. It will thus be seen that, as respects the high cost of living, any light that can be thrown upon the problem in relation to the retail grocery trade will penetrate far beyond; it should disclose in essential outline much that is fundamental from a national point of view, and that affects the country's business in all its many and various branches.

The Storm Centre.

"The fact that in the retail grocery trade the articles that are dealt in are, as already mentioned, among the most essential of the necessaries of life, and at the same time ,in large part, the most perishable of commodities, makes it inevitable that things should focus up to a point in this particular trade, and that when a window is smashed in hunger riots it is more likely to be that of a retail grocer than of a hardware merchant, or of a bookseller and stationer.

"The retail grocer trade is the storm centre, so to speak, of forces being brought into conflict through the operation of far-reaching underlying economic laws. What is to be seen through the windows of your trade is the battle at its highest pitch. To those immediately concerned little is visible or understood of the conditions and forces which, operating many miles away and emerging from out the distant past, account for the struggle that is going on today.

"There is the destruction of capital in industry which the war has occasioned, capital which will have to be replaced before many of the normal producing and distributing operations can be recommenced. The mines and factories that have been ruined, the machinery and the railroads that have been destroyed, the loss in part of the merchant marine, all these and countless other losses that the war has occasioned will have to be made good before production can once more assume its normal development. Meanwhile much capital that would otherwise be invested in the production of commodities that minister immediately to human need will be diverted to those secondary purposes.

"Then there is the vast public debt and the many new obligations which war occasioned to the several countries, and the payment of which in the form of interest and pensions must be met as a first charge upon the wealth of the country. Contrive as its administrators may, there is something here which will impose a burden on all classes of industry—which will be reflected in a higher level of prices for years to come, unless some policy is adopted in the interests of consumers which will help to offset these adverse circumstances.

Inflated Currency.

"Akin to this increase in public debt is what is termed inflation of the currency. Prices are the resultant of two factors considered in relation to each other: Commodities on the one hand and currency on the other. The quantity of the precious metals remaining the same, an increase in the quantity of commodities means a decrease in prices ; a decrease in the quantity of commodities means an increase in prices. If, in addition to gold, which is the basis of currency, the Government of a country issues paper money redeemable in gold, in quantities which raise a doubt in the minds of any appreciable number of people as to the ability of the Government to redeem its paper in gold at the face value, then currency comes to have a less value than before; in other words, it becomes inflated, and prices, being the resultant of the relation of commodities to currency, increase as the value of the currency falls. There are many who believe that this explains in considerable measure the fall in value of the English sterling, which is the same thing as a rise in prices with regard to those articles which a pound sterling will buy. This is a matter which affects each country in relation to its own currency. In such as it has a direct bearing on international exchanges, and through this medium on the volume of international trade, it must be noticed in any survey of causes affecting prices throughout the world today.

"There is one feature to which I would like to draw attention with respect to the several factors mentioned; and that is that one and all have this in common, that they operate as restrictions upon production, and reduction in the total volume of trade.

Conditions In Canada.

"Such is the view as one gets it at wide range of world conditions, which help to account for the prevailing high level of prices and consequent high cost of living. There is little in the conditions described that we can change. As respects these conditions, for the most part we can only wait for the improvement which comes with time. This makes it the more imperative that we should look more closely at conditions as they are within the borders of our own country, and see if they are such as tend to lend emphasis to the high cost of living, or will admit of change to the benefit of all concerned.

"This causes me for the moment to direct attention again to the significance of the class of commodities with which the retail grocery trade is concerned. They are, as already pointed out, in the nature of food, and, as such, the most necessary of the so-called necessaries of life. Two consequences of great importance flow from this. The first is, that if retail groceries are to be made available to consumers at prices which will serve to reduce the high cost of living, they must be available to retail dealers in plenty. The quantity of available supplies, more than anything else, will affect the barometer of the high cost of living. The food price lists will go up as the quantity of available food production lessens. They will come down as the quantity of available food increases. The other consequence is that as the prices of foodstuffs come down from the present high level can we hope for an appreciable reduction in the cost of living as respects other commodities and services. The artisan cannot work for less than is necessary to supply himself and his family with food. High wages can mean nothing to him if every cent of increase in pay is offset or more than offset by an increase in the price of food. The salaried official is in the same position. To enable all branches of construction, manufacture and trade, to find a level where a fair wage to labor and a reasonable rate of return on invested capital may be paid, and prices and charges at the same time reduce, there must come some reduction in the cost of food which will be the outcome of a larger production or supply or of production at a lessened cost.

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"Now, note this point, which is all important. Food, in one way or another, is always related to the land. Something has to be grown or raised before there can be any increase in the quantity of food. It may be grain or flour, or cereals or bread; it may be hogs for bacon, or lard, or ham; it may be cattle for milk, or cheese or beef; it may be fruit or vegetables, fresh, dried, preserved, or canned—whatever it is, so long as it partakes of the nature of food, it goes back to some form of agricultural or horticultural development. Now what does this mean? It means that only as agriculture in all its branches flourishes, can we hope to find any real solution of the problem of the high cost of living. It is not enough to say that there must be increase in the quantity of production. The kind of production is just as important as the quantity and the kind of production which, above all others, the world is calling out for today is food. During the war, it was first men, then it was more munitions, then it was more ships, then more food. More food it has remained and is likely to remain for many years to come. It was starvation that, in the last analysis, helped to bring the Germans and Austrians to their knees, and starvation means the absence of food.

"If this be true, is it not time to ask ourselves, how promises it with our supplies of food? Canada is a great agricultural country. We have land available for cultivation and use, on a scale relative to our population, unequalled by any other country in the world. How have we proceeded?

How Cities Grow.

"Let us, looking out again through the window of your trade, attempt to make something of a national survey of Canadian agricultural conditions as they affect the high cost of living. Once we do this, we are immediately confronted with one of the most amazing situations and at the same time one of the most serious tendencies to be imagined. Instead of rural development being what we would hope and expect it ought to be, that is to say, considerably ahead of, or even keeping pace with, the growth of population in urban centres, we find that at present, and for many years past, the tendency would appear to be entirely the other way. The population of our cities and towns relatively has been forging away ahead of the population of the rural areas. The number of consumers demanding food in urban centres has steadily increased, whilst the number of persons producing food has relatively steadily declined.

"Unfortunately, the only national statistics we have are those of the Dominion census of 1911 for Ontario and the Eastern Provinces and a somewhat later census in addition for the prairie provinces; but it is safe to say that the tendencies they represent have been emphasized rather than diminished in the years since.

"Going back to the beginning of this century and starting with the eastern provinces, making our survey from east to west, what do we find? First of all, that in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, from 1901 to 1911, the urban population showed comparatively large increases, whilst in these provinces and in Prince Edward Island the rural population decreased materially. In the Province of Quebec, the urban population increased by 314,383 from 1901 to 1911, and the rural population increased by only 39,951. In the old Province of Ontario, the urban population increased by 392,511 in the 10 years from 1901 to 1911, and totalled in actual figures 1,328,489, while in the same period of time the rural population decreased by 52,184, and numbered the lesser total of 1,194,785.

"In the Western Provinces, where the statistics are somewhat more recent, we find, notwithstanding the vast agricultural areas, the same alarming tendencies. In 1901, slightly over 75 per cent of the population was rural and slightly less than 24 per cent was urban. In 1916, instead of the rural population holding its own with the urban, something over only 64 per cent of the population was rural and something slightly over 35 per cent was urban. By the census of 1911 the urban population of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta is shown to have increased by only 52 per cent. The census of 1916 reveals a furtherance of this tendency toward the expansion of the cities and towns at the expense of the country or rural areas. In Saskatchewan, where rural population had been the largest relatively, the rural population decreased from something over 84 per cent in the five years from 1911 to 1916.

Foster Agricultural Development.

"When we stop to consider these figures, and what they signify in their bearing upon such a problem as the high cost of living, it will be seen that it is impossible to exaggerate their significance. In the light of evidence of the kind the endeavor to regulate prices in a manner which will benefit consumers by such expedients as Boards of Commerce, is, the merest pretence, however useful investigating bodies of the kind may prove in helping to check individual abuses here and there. It is, as one humorist has said, like shooting woodpeckers as the most effective means of conserving the forests, or like attempting to remedy some serious disease by examining its surface conditions. The trouble is not on the surface. It is an internal disorder of the gravest character, one which, if permitted to go on, will sooner or later bring the city-dwellers and the whole country into desperate plights.

"There is only one cure, and that is the one which ordinary common sense, in such obvious circumstances, dictates. If rural areas are being depleted, if agricultural development is not keeping pace with industrial development in other directions, it is for us, not less in the interests of the rural populations than of the urban, to find out the cause, and to shape our national policies as to foster a wise and wide agricultural development.

"People living and working on the land is Canada's greatest need today. Not only Canada's, but the world's, faced with starvation as it has been at so many times of late. This need is all the greater when we recall, as already mentioned, that the markets of the world are increasingly one. A famished world bears the same sort of relation to Canada, with its vast agricultural areas, as do our cities and towns to their rural environments. We are differently situated than most other countries. They have not the argricultural possibilities that we have, either in extent of area, or fertility of soils; they, too, have been building up great industrial centres, that must continue to look beyond their own confines for food. The demand, therefore, for our produce from abroad, is a factor of which we must not lose account in considering the supply that at any given time may be available to meet out own need.

New Policy.

"Any policy such as the one described, which seeks a return of the people to the land, will take time to accomplish its aims. It is not going to be possible, under any conditions, to have people settle upon the land in appreciable numbers except over a period of time. Especially will this be seen to be true when we recall that, in former years we have relied upon immigration from abroad to people our unoccupied areas. We must still look, in large part, to immigration to help us to an ultimate solution. But we do well to recognize what the drain of war has meant to the nations of Europe and in particular to the British Isles in this respect. There are not the numbers of people there were from which to recruit immigrants, nor are the countries of Europe likely to be willing to part too readily with those they have. The necessity, therefore, of some immediate action to help reduce the very high cost of living is all the more apparent.

Need of Immediate Action.

"Since an increase in the supply of food is the one obvious necessity, it is scarcely less obvious that anything artificial at present restricting the food supply should be immediately removed. This brings us inevitably to a consideration of the tariff. Were I to pursue this theme further, I should of course get into the realm of political controversy, and this is not the time nor the place to provoke a discussion. At the same time, I would feel I had not fully stated the case were I to omit to express my own conviction that it is possible so to reform the tariff as not only to diminish the high cost of living in a manner which would immediately benefit consumers, but also to reduce the cost of the instruments of production generally, and so help agriculture and all the other industries based upon the natural resources of Canada. As these basic industries thrive, all our other industries will thrive, all our interests whether of agriculture, manufactures, commerce, or transportation. Any revision of the tariff which failed to keep all these interests steadily in view would not be in the national interest. It is obvious, however, that much can be done through tariff revision by way of reducing the high cost of living, which will prove to the benefit of one and all; and foremost in this connection is any well-considered step which will help to increase the supply of food to dwellers in town and country alike."

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Toast To the Press.

The response to the toast to the Press was made by Lieut.-Col. R. F. Parkinson and Mr. W. Macdonald, representing The Journal and The Citizen, respectively. Colonel Parkinson referred to the fact that among the many existing organizations of a semi-commercial semi-public character, few entered into a more intimate and direct relationship with all classes in the community than the Retail Merchants' Association, the members of which catered daily to every man, woman and child in Ottawa. He pointed out their contribution to raising the standard of living by providing pure food. He paid a compliment to the promoters of the Pure Food Show, which was an outstanding feature of that great civic asset, Central Canada Exhibition. The newspapers and the retail merchants, he said, had much in common. He was glad of the cordial relations between the merchants and the newspapers in promoting those enterprises which gave the maximum degree of service and satisfaction to the general public. Advertising made selling easier on the grocer's part. It was good business to push the sale of advertised goods.

To Allay Unrest.

He drew the attention of Hon. Mackenzie King that the press might be utilized as a medium of carrying on a propaganda to educate the people as to the causes of the high cost of living, such as he explained, and play its part in allaying the prevailing unrest. The press of Ottawa was proud of the retail stores and he hoped the retail merchants were proud of the papers here.

"As a whole," the speaker concluded, "I consider the people of Ottawa are more thrifty and progressive, and live more comfortably, than the residents of any other city in Canada. Ottawa is a discriminating city. Its people demand the very best, whether their needs be a daily paper or food products from a grocery store, and I conscientiously believe that the two enterprises — the Retail Grocers' Association and the press of Ottawa—are doing their utmost, individually and collectively, to measure up to the standards of living demanded by the people of our own city."

High Standard Here.

Mr. W. Macdonald, in a short, pithy speech, made felicitous reference to the cordial way in which the toast to the press had been received.

"The fact that you business men are so successful shows that you appreciate advertising," he said. "But some merchants do not appreciate the high standard of the papers here. No city of its size is superior in its news, editorials or advertising. Nor is the retail trade here excelled in any other city. The Ottawa papers try to keep their news and advertising columns clean.

He drew attention to the numerous campaigns conducted for the benefit of the city by the press, and concluded his speech by asserting that the press of Ottawa stood equal to any on the continent.

Mayor In Happy Mood.

Mayor Harold Fisher said that the idea of getting a meal at the expense of the grocers tickled his fancy, and his prediction that a meal served by the grocers would tickle his palate had been justified.

"No matter what they send the rest of us, we can rest assured that they will not put up any tricks on themselves," he said.

"Speaking of grocers, I have to meet at least one each month," said the Mayor, "and once a month is just about enough for me. A gentleman beside me remarks that my experience is limited. I may say that it is more extended than that of Hon. Mackenzie King. The chairman promises Mr. King a successful career as a grocer in the event of his failure in politics. Another gentleman who is not a grocer says that the failures find their way into the grocery business. A grocer then remarks that they 'don't stay there.'

Grocers Acquitted.

"But there is little chance of Hon. Mackenzie King getting into the grocery business. He has proven himself tonight not only a statesman, but a politician as well; he has shown himself to be not only distinguished but even heroic. He not only tackles the high cost of living, but he gets away with it as well. He has arraigned it at the bar, has acted as both judge and jury, and has acquitted the Retail Grocers' Association of any blame whatsoever.

"He took a fling at the hunters of woodpeckers, and there didn't seem to be even one dissenting voice. A man of less experience might have got into serious trouble. He might have told about the 'Cost of High-Living? He might have dwelt upon the crowds attending the moving picture palaces and the dance halls; notwithstanding the fact that the Jazz band produces nothing—I was going to add, not even music. But 'Chu Chin Chow' is playing to crowded houses notwithstanding the H. C. of L. and everything seems to be going on swimmingly.

"Not long ago Sir George Foster was credited with remarking that abolition of importation of tobacco would tend to solve part of our problems of costs. We are all very tolerant where it does not affect ourselves. Everyone says that the dollar is worth only about fifty cents. Many of us would like to pay our landlords with a fifty cent dollar.

"I used to boast that Ottawa had the lowest tax rate in the Dominion. I do not know if I shall do so any more. We are now busy with estimates. Apparently everyone who has anything to do for the city wants more money. But no one wishes to pay any more taxes. The 'High Cost of Governing' is a subject upon which I could talk lengthily. We cannot carry on at the same rate as we did five years ago. If we in Ottawa are to compete with the increased cost of labor and material, there's nothing for it but to put up the taxes and then retire from the public eye.

"Colonel Parkinson referred to the bottom of the programme as the 'cellar'. There's not much advantage in being in the cellar these days. I am in the 'cellar' though, and I have not much to offer you I make speeches every day about Ottawa. In this I have an advantage with strangers. Most of them do not know but that they are probably listening to the first speech I ever made. But with the Retail Grocers my position is different. With you I am known.

Corroborated the Compliment.

"Colonel Parkinson struck a happy note when he referred to the emphatic interest being taken in the city of Ottawa by business men today. I have been struck by the readiness with which the best available men in the Capital come forward to serve the public interest when they are afforded a chance. When men were wanted for the Hospital Board, for the Housing Commission, and for the Fuel Commission, an admirable class of citizens generously offered themselves. We have today on the Hospital Board men who would be a credit upon the directorate of any of the great financial institutions.

"People who throw stones at the City Council are doing so wrongly. It would be impossible to get men who have the interests of the city more at heart than the 23 men who are now on the council. I remember the time when the disposition was to criticize. That time is happily past. Now there is a new spirit being evidenced. We have the making of a very great city. Nature has done much for us, and it is up to all of us to do what we can to make Ottawa the finest city in Canada.

Ottawa's Future.

"If Canada is to be a great nation then the capital city of Canada must have the support of every citizen of the Dominion. Many people who come here believe that Ottawas are beneficiaries of the Government. While we may benefit to a degree, we also have burdens to bear on account of our being the seat of Government."

The Mayor congratulated the association upon the success of the dinner, and extended to the members a cordial wish for every success in the future. If the applause following his remarks was indicative of his popularity, His Worship had a supporter in the person of every retail grocer in the city.

"Our Manufacturers."

Responding to the toast "Our Manufacturers," Alderman J. P. Taylor, secretary-treasurer of the E. B. Eddy Company, paid a tribute to the success of the gathering, and to the distinguished speeches made. Briefly he outlined the conditions with which the manufacturers were confronted since the outbreak of the war. Alderman Taylor said that he had been associated for 39 years with the E. B. Eddy Company, which he termed "the largest and most unique establishment under the British flag."

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Illustrating the phenomenal rise in prices of material, he said that lumber which commanded a price of $30 a thousand in pre-war days was now sold at $85. Chlorate of potash, of which the Eddy Co. uses from two to three thousand pounds daily, costs 50 cents now, as against 7 1-2 cents in pre-war time. Glue, of which the company utilizes in the neighborhood of 150 tons a year, had advanced greatly in price, as had wax, inks, and raw materials of all descriptions. Notwithstanding this, he was glad to say that no increase had been made in the price of matches since August, 1918.

$200,000 a Month.

War excise tax had been responsible for increases in several brands of matches, and the Eddy Company paid over $200,000 a month to the Government in the matter of this tax.

"This has to come from the consumer," said Alderman Taylor.

Speaking of the increased price of wrapping paper, Alderman Taylor pointed out that before the war the men in the paper mills worked two shifts of 12 and 13 hours a day. Now they worked eight hour shifts. Large increases in wages had been given workers, and ground wood pulp, which had prior to the war cost from $15 to $18 a ton delivered, now cost $60 a ton at the mill where it is turned out. Unbleached sulphide pulp had also advanced greatly, and abnormal increases in freight rates had resulted in raising the cost of paper products. Where the former freight rate was 16 cents, it was now 30 cents a hundredweight.

Want More Wages.

Last week the paper makers in convention at Buffalo had decided upon making a demand for a 25 to 30 per cent wage increase in the near future. They had not decided upon a shorter day, as had been rumored they would, however. This increase, if it becomes effective, would mean that machine tenders in charge of a paper machine would receive from $1.15 to $1.30 per hour.

Alderman Taylor stated that he was pleased to know that labor conditions in the province of Quebec were infinitely better than in other provinces. The I.W.W. and the O.B.U. had not succeeded in obtaining a foothold in Quebec. He was confident that within the next few years many new industries would spring into being in Quebec. He concluded with hearty congratulations upon the great work being done by the Retail Grocers' Association, and eulogized the Pure Food Show, which he characterized as a boon to the community.

To Past Presidents.

Mr. Henry Watters precluded the presentation of tokens of regard to the past presidents of the association with a happy speech. He traced the growth of the organization from its inception, and laid stress upon the magnitude of the good work accomplished, and the unselfish efforts of the men who had headed the movement.

Handsome wrist watches were presented to three past presidents, Messrs. A. Phillips, T. W. Collins and Thomas Bowman, all of whom made suitable speeches of acceptance of the evidences of the esteem in which they are held by their fellow merchants.

New Avenue of Thought.

In response to the toast, "Our Wholesale Grocers," Mr. H. W. Chamberlain, of the F. J. Castle Co., Ltd., stated that in his opinion the speech of Hon. Mackenzie King should be circulated broadcast throughout Canada. It opened up a new avenue of though and brought home forcibly a new text—that of justice to the wholesaler.

For four years it had been preached that the jobber should be beheaded, and that immediately, said Mr. Chamberlain. He cited instances of difficulties presented the wholesalers of which the public were unaware. As an instance of this he told of a cargo of molasses which had been "on the way" for eight months, and he had just heard it had arrived in Florida.

Mr. Chamberlain stated that he thought the public was largely responsible for any shortage of sugar. He told of one man who had two bags in his home, and who was looking for more. He advocated the getting together of the wholesaler, the manufacturer and the retailer, for the purpose of discussing their problems, and was of the opinion that misunderstandings which frequently occur would thus be eliminated.

Prosperity Coming.

Mr. A. Provost emphasized the necessity for work, and still more work as the solution of the problem of reconstruction with which Canada was faced today.

"We have passed through the critical warring period with high honor," he said, "and we should enter now into a period of prosperity unheard of before. Canada has the raw material, and the world is crying for the finished product. Everyone seems to desire play in preference to work. We should endeavor to evangelize Canada through the gospel of work."

Mr. A. W. Huband, in responding to the toast, "Our Travellers," ponited out the fact that the travelling salesman was the connecting link between the wholesaler and the consumer. The mission of the salesman was a vital one to the trade, he said.

At the close of the meeting a cordial vote of thanks was moved by Mr. N. Hurteau, and at his suggestion, was seconded by the audience rising. Three hearty cheers and a tiger were given for the guest of honor, and the evening's proceedings were closed when Hon. Mackenzie King's proposal of three cheers for the chairman, Mr. B. G. Crabtree was responded to with great enthusiasm.

During the evening there was community singing, which went with a fine swing. Ottawa male quartette —Messrs. W. J. Nixon, W. R. Burrill, H. M. Hands, N. T. Allan—was heard to good advantage in "The Jolly Blacksmiths' Lay." The number was enthusiastically received, and for an encore the singers gave "She Was but Seven." Messrs. Nixon and Burrill gave that popular duet, "Tenor and Baritone," and for an encore "Annie Laurie." Mr. Stafford Green and Mr. H. Hands also added to the enjoyment of the evening with solos, the former singing "To Canada" and "Dear Old Pal of Mine," and the latter "The Barber of Turin."

The committee in charge of the successful banquet was composed of Messrs. B. G. Crabtree, T. A. C. Kennedy, C. Cummings, Duncan Bell and A. G. Johnson, secretary.

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DOWNWARD TARIFF REVISION WOULD LOWER LIVING COST

Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King Delivers Interesting Address to Retail Grocers On Inflated Prices.

ANNUAL BANQUET IS DECIDED SUCCESS

Presentation of Souvenirs to Past Presidents a Unique Feature of Event.

That a downward revision of the tariff, particularly on the implements of production, would have the beneficial effect of lowering the cost of living, was the interesting statement of Hon. W. L. MacKenzie King, Liberal leader, who was the principal speaker and guest of honor at the annual banquet of the Retail Grocers last night. He, in addition, urged that if the high cost of living question was to be solved, it would be necessary for the government to introduce a policy which would make for a curtailment of the trend of the rural population citywards, and thus ensure more production.

Progress of Retailing.

The banquet, which was attended by upwards of two hundred and fifty retail grocers, wholesalers, manufacturers, commercial travellers and others from all parts of Eastern Canada, was one of the most successful in the history of the association. Coupled with a delightful musical program, and a well-appointed table, was a toast list, with speakers, who apart from the guest of the evening, gave some interesting details of the progress which has been made in merchandizing, particularly with reference to the retail grocers during recent years.

Humorous Address By Mayor.

Mayor Fisher, humorous as usual, made an effective speech and paid a tribute to Hon. Mackenzie King, whom he stated had shown himself to be not only a statesman but a politician. Someone had said he was illustrious, etc. He was not only that but heroic, for he had tackled the high cost of living problem and had got away with it. He stated that the cost of government was not what it was five years ago, with labor demanding higher wages, and the cost of material always going up, and said that while he had been in the habit of boosting Ottawa as having the lowest tax rate of any city, he feared he would not be able to do so any more.

Better Spirit Now.

"In view of present circumstances," said the mayor, "it looks to me as though we would have to boost the tax rate and retire from civic life." (Laughter). He stated he had been struck with one thing, which he thought was a sign of a better future for the city, and that was the readiness which had been displayed by the bigger men of the Capital to get behind progressive measures. There had formerly been a disposition to carp and criticize, but now everyone seemed to be ready to help nature, which had equipped Ottawa with great natural resources, to be what it should be, a worthy Capital of the great Dominion.

Interesting Facts.

Ald. J. F. Taylor, representing the manufacturers, supplied facts and figures in connection with the E. B. Eddy industry, by means of which he showed the reason why the prices of the products of the big Chaudiere concern had increased to such an extent since the war. He issued a warning that in the near future the paper makers were going to demand increased wages, which would mean that, if they were granted, machine tenders would be getting from $1.15 to $1.30 per hour. Would this help to lower prices? He paid a tribute to the province of Quebec, which he stated had barred the I.W.W. and the O. B.U. and where labor conditions had been better than in any other part of the Dominion. He concluded with an eulogy of the Pure Food Show, which he stated was a credit to the city and an asset to the Capital's annual Fair.

Spoke for Wholesalers.

Mr. H. W. Chamberlain, for the Wholesale Grocers, expressed thanks to the speaker of the evening for the excellence of his address which he stated had been a splendid justification of the retail and wholesale merchants, and an offset to the cry which had been raised from time to time, "cut off the head of the jobber and do it immediately." He referred humorously to some of the trials and tribulations which beset the wholesalers and said that the time had arrived when the manufacturers, wholesalers and retailers should stand on common ground, and should evince a more get-together spirit. He stated that the investment in the capital of the wholesale grocers represented over $10,000,000, and said that with regard to the sugar question, his confreres had endeavored always to provide an equitable distribution of this commodity, but that it was largely a matter for the consumers, whom he believed were often well stocked, and endeavored to become more so.

More Production Needed.

Mr. A. E. Prevost of Prevost and Allard, urged more production, less thought of play, and more work, while he favored shorter working conditions for labor in a certain sense, everyone should be prepared to work long hours in the face of an emergency. He felt that if every man and woman adopted this view now, Canada would not face a wave of depression, but would enter on an era of prosperity never known before. More production was needed, this could not be accomplished without more work.

Mr. A. W. Huband responded to the toast of the "Drummers" and Mr. W. Macdonald and Lt.-Col. R. F. Parkinson to that of The Press.

Made Presentations.

Mr. Henry Watters, in a few choice words, in which he paid tribute to what they had accomplished for the Retail Grocers' Association, during their term of office; presented to Messrs. T. W. Collins, Alex. Phillips and T. Bowman, past presidents of the association, handsome gold wrist watches, the gift of the members of the association. The recipients responded in a fitting manner.

Mr. Nap Hurteau, secretary of the association, moved the vote of thanks to the speakers of the evening, and the gathering was brought to a close by Hon. MacKenzie King, who while expressing his appreciation of the hearty manner in which he had been received, eulogized Mr. B. G. Crabtree, president of the association, and chairman of the banquet, for the most excellent manner in which he had presided.

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Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, leader of the Opposition, was received with hearty applause. His theme was the "High Cost of Living." Mr. King said, in part:—

"The largest and most important economic issue of our times is the high cost of living. There is not a class nor an individual in the community not affected by it. It is of special interest to members of this association, because retail grocers, more than members of any other branch of the retail trade, come in touch with the entire community in respect to the most essential of those commodities which we speak of as the 'necessaries of life.'

Groceries a Barometer.

"In the olden days, the necessaries of life were purchased more or less direct from the producers at local markets, or, if of a kind obtainable only through international trade, were procured at the great fairs held at intervals in different cities and towns, to which merchant traders came long distances to sell, and others equally long distances to buy.

"Today it is to the doors of the retail grocers in our modern communities come the city and town dwellers, one large army of consumers, seeking some of the necessaries of life. The articles in demand are in large part among the most perishable produced, as well as among the most necessary for the sustenance of life.

"Taking the grocery business as it is carried on today bread and meat, butter and eggs, are to be included, as well as fruits and vegetables, sugars and cereals. These commodities men, women and children must have day by day; otherwise they will lack sufficient nourishment and ultimately starve. The commodities themselves must be disposed of without delay; otherwise they too deteriorate or perish.

Required by All.

"The articles in which the trade deals are required not by the few, nor by the many, but by all. In these respects they fall into the same category as clothing, boots, and shoes, fuel and houses; but they differ from most of the other necessaries in that they are just as needful at one season of the year as another, and do not lend themselves to continuous use or to a series of uses to anything like the same degree.

"These circumstances give the retail grocery trade a significant position in relation to the problem of the high cost of living.

"It is at the shops of the retail grocers that consumers make their acquaintance in a very real way with the prices of food. Food price lists become a barometer of the cost of living.

Grocers on Firing Line.

"One further consequence," said Mr. King, "of the position in which the trade is placed, is that the members, the grocers themselves, are placed in a quite exceptional, and I must say, a somewhat unenviable position. As regards advancing prices, they stand, so to speak, on the firing line. It is across their counters that the first actual contact takes place between the vast army of consumers seeking to purchase food, and the smaller, but nevertheless powerful army of producers with food to sell.

"The average consumer sees only the man directly in front of him, and the price he is demanding. He sees nothing, and very often knows nothing, of the forces which are pressing from behind, and which not infrequently leave to the retail grocer, in the matter of the price he is demanding, no avenue of escape or retreat. The consequence of all this is that the retail grocery trade is put very often in a wholly false position in the eyes of the public.

"Its members are looked upon, by those who do not understand the situation, as peculiarly selfish, as persons seeking to profit in virtue of the necessities of others. Were the truth actually known, it could readily be shown that high prices, where they are the result of either a limited production or an inflated currency an unwise tariff, or other like cause, are the despair, rather than the joy, of members of the trade, and made for lesser rather than greater returns on the total volume of transactions.

As to Other Trades.

"What is true in this respect, in a very noticeable way, of the retail grocery trade, is true of the retail trade in general. It is also true of the wholesale trade in most lines of business that have to do with providing the public with the commodities which supply its daily needs.

"Assuming that artificial restrictions upon trade in the nature of secret trade agreements and combines are not operative, it is a fact, well known to all engaged in trading, that the total volume of business is the all-important factor in determining at what price it is possible to sell goods at a legitimate profit, and that a lower price will, speaking generally, yield a larger total return, where the volume of trade is large, than a high price will yield in a limited turnover.

"High prices of themselves do not make for an increase in the volume of trade. They make, as a matter of fact, in the opposite direction. Trading, as an art, consists in finding the price, consonant with a legitimate profit, which will attack most strongly; or in other words, which will permit of the largest number of sales.

"Once this truth is grasped, the consumer and the merchant will recognize in each other, not individuals who should stand opposed, in the great economic issue which the problem of the high cost of living has forced to the fore, but persons whose interests are alike prejudiced by a common cause which it is to their mutual benefit to discover and to have remedied if that be possible at all.

The Important Consideration.

"I might go a step further and say that what is true as regards the value of transactions in trading as applicable to the retail and wholesale trades is also also true as respects trade, commerce and finance generally. It is true of the business of the many agencies of transportation and communication, the railways, the merchant marine, the express companies, of the telegraphs, and telephones, and the newspaper press. It is true of the business of banks and the stock exchange—it is the volume of business that counts.

"It will thus be seen that as respects the high cost of living, any light that can be thrown upon the problem in relation to the retail grocery trade will penetrate far beyond; it should disclose in essential outline much that is fundamental from a national point of view, and that affects the country's business in all its many and various branches.

The Storm Centre.

"The fact that in the retail grocery trade the articles that are dealt in are, as already mentioned, among the most essential of the necessaries of life, and at the same time, in large part, the most perishable of commodities, makes it inevitable that things should focus up to a point in this particular trade, and that when a window is smashed in hunger riots, it is more likely to be that of a retail grocer than of a hardware merchant, or of a bookseller and stationer.

"The retail grocery trade is the storm centre, so to speak, of forces being brought into conflict through the operation of far-reaching underlying economic laws. What is to be seen through the windows of your trade is the battle at its highest pitch. To those immediately concerned, little is visible or understood of the conditions and forces which, operating many miles away and emerging from out the distant past, account for the struggle that is going on today.

Causes of High Cost.

"I should like this evening to look with you through the window of the retail grocery trade, out over the heads of the immediate participants in this great economic struggle, and beyond to the wide world which is seeking recovery from the ravages and desolation of war; and with the aid of the imagination discern, if possible, the causes of the intensity of the issue at the moment, and wherein a change of conditions is to be sought if we are to find a solution of the problem of the high cost of living in a manner that will be helpful alike to consumers generally and to those engaged in commerce and trade in its many forms.

The Losses of War.

"The first thing one observes in any sweep of vision is the enormous loss and waste which was has occasioned. The loss a double loss, for alongside of the actual loss occasioned by war must be reckoned the normal production, wholy different in character, which would otherwise have gone on, steadily replenishing the world's store of supplies.

"What is indefinitely more serious in its effect upon the cost of living throughout the world, than any loss of material wealth, is the loss of the millions of human lives sacrificed outright in war, and the other millions that through disease, bodily injury, or other impairment, have lost their industrial efficiency in greater or less degree.

"Then, there is the destruction of capital in industry which the war has occasioned, capital which will have to be replaced before many of the normal producing and distributing operations can be re-commenced.

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"Then, there is the vast public debt and the many new obligations which war occasioned to the several countries and the payment of which in the form of interest and pensions must be met as a first charge upon the wealth of the country. Contrive as its administrators may, there is something here which will impose a burden on all classes of industry which will be reflected in a higher level of prices for years to come, unless some policy is adopted in the interests of consumers which will help to offset these adverse circumstances.

As to Exchange.

"Akin to this increase in public debt is what is termed 'Inflation of the currency.' Prices are the resultant of two factors considered in relation to each other: commodities on the one hand and currency on the other. The quantity of the precious metals remaining the same, an increase in the quantity of commodities means a decrease in prices; a decrease in the quantity of commodities, an increase in prices.

"If, in addition to gold, which is the basis of currency, the government of a country issues paper money redeemable in gold, in quantities which raise a doubt in the minds of any appreciable number of people as to the ability of the government to redeem its paper in gold at the face value, then currency comes to have a less value than before; in other words, it becomes 'inflated,' and prices, being the resultant of the relation of commodities to currency, increase as the value of the currency falls.

There are many who believe that this explains in considerable measure the fall in value of the English sterling, which is the same thing as a rise in prices with regard to those articles which a pound sterling will buy. This is a matter which affects each country in relation to its own currency. In such as it has a direct bearing on international exchanges, and through this medium on the volume of international trade, it must be noticed in any survey of causes affecting prices throughout the world today. It is a factor that needs also to be reckoned with.

The Cumulative Effect.

"Remembering, however, all these factors, let us realize at once that it will be a considerable time, no matter how rapid the recovery of the nations may be, before we may expect a return to the days when commodities were plentiful, and as a consequence obtainable at a moderate cost.

"Such is the view as one gets it at wide range of world conditions, which help to account for the prevailing high level of prices and consequent high cost of living. There is little in the conditions described that we can change. As respects these conditions, for the most part we can only wait for the improvement which comes with time.

"This makes it more imperative that we should look more closely at conditions as they are within the borders of our own country, and see if they are such as tend to lend emphasis to the high cost of living, or will admit of change to the benefit of all concerned.

Food Supply All-Important.

"This causes me for the moment to direct attention again to the significance of the class of commodities with which the retail grocery trade is concerned. They are, as already pointed out, in the nature of food, and, as such, the most necessary of the so-called necessaries of life. Two consequences of great importance flow from this.

"The first is, that if retail groceries are to be made available to consumers at prices which will serve to reduce the high cost of living, they must be available to retail dealers in plenty. The quantity of available supplies, more than anything else, will affect the barometer of the high cost of living. The food price lists will go up as the quantity of available food production lessens. They will come down as the quantity of available food increases.

"The other consequence is that only as the prices of foodstuffs come down from the present high level can we hope for an appreciable reduction in the cost of living as affects other commodities and services. The artisan cannot work for less than is necessary to supply himself and his family with food. High wages can mean nothing to him if every cent of increase in pay is offset or more than offset by an increase in the price of food.

"The salaried official is in the same position. To enable all branches of construction, manufacture and trade, to find a level where a fair wage to labor and a reasonable rate of return on invested capital may be paid, and prices and charges at the same time reduced, there must come some reduction in the cost of food which will be the outcome of a larger production or supply or of production at a lessened cost.

Kind and Quantity.

"Now note this point which is all important. Food in one way or another is always related to the land. Something has to be grown or raised before there can be any increase in the quantity of food."

"If this be true, is it not time to ask ourselves, how promises it, with our supplies of food? Canada is a great agricultural country. We have land available for cultivation and use, on a scale relative to our population, unequalled by any other country in the world. How have we proceeded?"

Urban vs. Rural.

"Let us, looking out again through the window of your trade, attempt to make something of a national survey of Canadian agricultural conditions as they affect the high cost of living. Once we do this, we are immediately confronted with one of the most serious tendencies to be imagined. Instead of rural development being what we would hope and expect it ought to be, that is to say, considerably ahead of, or even keeping pace with, the growth of population in urban centers, we find that at present, and for many years past, the tendency would appear to be entirely the other way.

"Unfortunately, the only national statistics we have are those of the Dominion census of 1911 for Ontario and the Eastern provinces, and a somewhat later census in addition for the prairie provinces; but it is safe to say that the tendencies they represent have been emphasized rather than diminished in the years that have since intervened.

"In the light of evidence of figures of urban vs. rural population, the endeavor to regulate prices in a manner which will benefit consumers generally by such expedients as Boards of Commerce, is the merest pretence, however, useful investigating bodies of the kind may prove in helping to check individual abuses of the kind mayulc'i.us"fr abuses here and there.

"It is, as one humorist has said, like shooting woodpeckers as the most effective means of conserving the forests, or like attempting to remedy some serious disease by examining its surface conditions. The trouble is not on the surface. It is an internal disorder of the gravest character, one which, if permitted to go on, will sooner or later bring the city-dwellers and the whole country into desperate plights.

"There is only one cure, and that is the one which ordinary common sense, in such obvious circumstances, dictates. If rural areas are being depleted, if agricultural development is not keeping pace with industrial development in other directions, it is for us, not less in the interests of the rural populations than of the urban, to find out the cause, and to shape our national policies as to foster a wise and wide agricultural development.

"Any policy such as the one described, which seeks a return of the people to the land, will take time to accomplish its aims. It is not going to be possible, under any conditions, to have people settle upon the land in appreciable numbers except over a period of time.

Immediate Action Needed.

"Since an increase in the supply of food is the one obvious necessity, it is scarcely less obvious that anything artificial at present restricting the food supply should be immediately removed.

"This brings us inevitably to a consideration of the tariff. Were I to pursue this theme further, I should of course get into the realm of political controversy, and this is not the time nor the place to provoke a discussion.

"At the same time, I would feel I had not fully stated the case were I to omit to express my own conviction that it is possible so to reform the tariff as not only to diminish the high cost of living in a manner which would immediately benefit consumers, but also to reduce the cost of the instruments of production generally, and so help agriculture and all the other industries based upon the natural resources of Canada. As these basic industries thrive, all our other industries will thrive, all our interests, whether of agriculture, manufactures, commerce, or transportation.

"Any revision of the tariff which failed to keep all these interests steadily in view would not be in the national interest. It is obvious, however, that much can be done through tariff revision by way of reducing the high cost of living, which will prove to the benefit of one and all; and foremost in this connection is any well-considered step which will help to increase the supply of food to dwellers in town and country alike."

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SPEECH ON THE OPENING
OF PARLIAMENT

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SPEECH

On the opening of

THE 4TH SESSION OF 13TH PARLIAMENT

February 26th, 1920

HON. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (Leader of the Opposition): Mr. Speaker, may I have the privilege, on behalf of His Majesty's Loyal Opposition, of seconding the motion which has just been moved by the right hon. the Acting Prime Minister (Sir George Foster).

The cable of greeting which has been read by you, Mr. Speaker, from His Majesty reminds us not only of the sovereignty which we share in common with all parts of the British Empire, but of the constant concern of members of the Royal Family for the well-being and prosperity of this Dominion, and of the many intimate associations of its Royal members with these Halls of Parliament.

My hon. friend has spoken so feelingly and effectively of the attachment between His Majesty the King and the people of this Dominion that I shall refrain from attempting to add to what he has so elequently said in this connection, beyond mentioning that hon. members on this side of the House share in equal measure the sentiments of loyalty and devotion to the person and office of His Majesty.

If more were needed to reveal the heart of the Canadian people, and, for that matter, the heart of the

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Royal Family, it would be found in the expression of mutual affection everywhere evoked during the recent visit of His Royal Highness, the Prince of Wales, and the memory of that vist at this time.

Sir, may I join my right hon. friend in giving expression to other sentiments which we experience in common on this historic occasion? It is not more a source of regret to supporters of the Government than it is to hon. members of the Opposition, that the right hon. the Prime Minister, (Sir Robert Borden) is prevented, because of the impaired condition of his health, from being present at and participating in these opening ceremonies, certain, as they are, to live in the memories of all who are privileged to witness them. It is gratifying to us, as it will be to the people of Canada, to know that the change of scene and thought, and most of all, the freedom, for a time, from vast responsibility, which the Prime Minister is at present enjoying, have not been without their beneficient effects; and that restoration of health, which we all hope may be speedy and complete, appears now to await him. Still, we regret his absence, and we miss his presence.

There is another presence which will also be missed by this House and by the country on this memorable

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occasion. I am sure every hon. member will deeply regret that the Right Honourable Sir Wilfrid Laurier, who for fifteen years preceded the Prime Minister in that high and important office, and who for forty-four years was an honoured and greatly beloved member of this House, was not spared to witness the restoration of these Halls of Parliament in which his long life was given with such fidelity to his country's service. Especially on occasions of ceremony, such as this, do we miss his distinguished appearance, his chivalrous and courteous manner, and, most of all, his charm of utterance and ability to portray the significance of transpiring events toward which many of us stand as mute spectators.

But, Sir, whilst we miss these leaders of our political parties through the recent past - the one taken from us and the other spared to us - we are all glad, I am sure, that, circumstances being what they are, the honour of being the first to welcome the Commons to their new home, and to speak the word which gives its appropriate setting to this occasion, should have fallen to one who is not only so eminently gifted in the art of expression, but who is also the oldest member of the King's Privy Council for Canada. May I extend to my right hon. friend the congratulations of hon. members of this side of the House,

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in which I know hon. members on his own side will very cordially join, that, despite the many vicissitudes of a long and strenuous public career, he has been spared to attain this distinction, and to enjoy it in the capacity in which he meets Parliament to-day.

With all that my right hon. friend has so elequently and appropriately said, we of His Majesty's Loyal Opposition are in full accord. Did time permit and were it fitting so to do, one might dwell at great length upon the thoughts which this occasion inspires and which the dignified and noble proportions of this imposing edifice cause to be uppermost in one's mind. Great as the temptation is to speak of much that is suggested here, with the permission of the House I shall content myself with but an added reflection or two, upon the notes that are sounded as one contemplates the impressive loveliness and vast architectural beauty of these Halls of Parliament in their finished state.

It is not always easy to interpret the mind of genius; but genius lies in the ability to interpret to others the mystery of the greatness that lies everywhere about them. This, in a word, through the medium of these buildings, is what the Chief Architect, Mr. John Pearson, and Mr. J. O. Marchand, his associate, and others with them have succeeded in doing, with such admirable skill

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and such perfect taste, as respects our vast Dominion. The Committee of both Houses in charge of the work of reconstruction, the departmental officers and officials of Parliament, and all who have assisted in thought or execution of design, are to be congratulated upon what we behold to-day. They are not less to be commended for permitting the architects great freedom in the working out of their ideas. If it is appropriate, as I believe it is, to single out the chief architect for special mention on this occasion, I would remind the House of the tablet which appears in St. Paul's in honour of Sir Christopher Wren, the architect of that great Cathedral: "Lector, si monumentum requiris, circumspice" - "Reader, if it is a monument you seek, look around you." If it be praise of Mr. Pearson and his associate that is demanded, let it be uttered by the visible embodiment of their conceptions.

The first note sounded through a contemplation of these buildings in their unfinished state is that of our Canadian nationality. First and foremost, comes the thought that <u>this is a national edifice,</u> that <u>it symbolizes Canada.</u> More and more, as the years go by, we shall come to feel towards these buildings as the Englishman feels towards the Houses of Parliament at Westminster. How strange that they too should have been destroyed by fire some eighty years ago! These Halls of Parliament, like those yonder,

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represent our nation's story; they are the centre of our national life. With consummate skill, expression is everywhere given to this conception.

The stone of which the walls of the interior are constructed bears upon its surface the marks of the sea, though it comes all the way from the Middle West. It is Canadian stone. Like the Laurentians which we see as we look towards the setting sun, it reminds us that, recent as our country's written history may be, its material foundations belong to the oldest known geological formations to be found anywhere on the surface of the globe.

Francis Parkman has told, in one of his great works descriptive of Canada's past, of how, while New England was still a wilderness, and the settlers of Virginia scarcely dared venture inland beyond the sound of a cannon shot, Champlain, in the near vicinity of the Rideau and the Chaudiere, where these very buildings stand, was planting on shores and islands the emblems of his faith. The daring exploits of these early intrepid explorers and Christian missionaries, that form the romantic and heroic background of our early history, are depicted here and there in sculpture and painting throughout these Halls, reminding us of the great race that first brought the arts of civilization to this part of the North American continent.

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In the main entrance, the central column, commemorative of Confederation, washed at its base by a mythical sea, stands symbolical of the British Isles, whence sprang our political insitutions. It serves to remind us, as well, of what a noted historian has referred to as "The expansion of England", and the other races that have combined to make our Canadian nationality what it is. When completed, the fan-shaped projections of this central column will unite with like expansions from the columns that take their rise from the outer edges of this central court, thereby forming a series of arches symbolical of the several provinces of the Dominion. In this splendid way will be commemorated our Confederation, the unity of the British peoples, and what the Parliament of Canada and the Legislatures of the several provinces owe to the mother of Parliaments in the old land.

The tower which is to be the crowning feature of this structure will be a national memorial to Canada's sons who gave their lives for the world's freedom in the recent war. All Canada will rejoice at this recognition of our heroic dead, the chivalry of our young land. Beneath the stone at its base, laid by His Royal Highness, the Prince of Wales, in September last, will be found the names of the workmen who have carved the stone, and wrought the iron finishings which are part of this structure.

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In the tower itself, I believe it is contemplated to record the name of every man and woman who served with the military and naval forces of Canada during the War. What finer symbolism could there be of the forces that combined to win the War:- the armies in the field, the navy and the merchant marine upon the sea, and the workmen in essential industry wherever found?

In this Chamber and in the Senate, as also in the Reading Room and the Railway Committee Room, the design and artistic detail will be such that, not only will great dignity and impressiveness be lent to the surroundings, but each room will speak of its own purpose.

The Hall of Fame which connects the central court with the Library will be our Canadian pantheon, the prophecy of a Canadian Westminster or St. Paul's of the Canada that is yet to be.

In this unique and inspiring manner, those of us who are privileged to assemble here, will be reminded daily of our country's vastness in extent and resources, its variety and picturesqueness in natural scenery, and ever-changing customs, its strength and virility in all that relates to the development of its industries, its progress in art and letters, as well as in material wealth, and of

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the true greatness of the Canadian people in character and heroic achievement.

A second note sounded in this wonderful environment is that of harmony - harmony of color and design, harmony of aim and purpose, harmony of the several parts that unite to comprise the whole. Surely here is something that will not be without its influence upon the amenities of our parliamentary life, and its bearing upon the great problems that confront our nation. We have too often mistaken the significance of our differences of origin, of temperament, of interest, forgetting that variety may lend a richness to life which uniformity tends wholly to destroy. What is needed in the upbuilding of our nation is not the obliterating of differences, but the reconciling of them. We should seek to make this noble structure a temple of reconciliation in all that pertains to our national life. To what loftier purpose could we dedicate the new privilege that is ours to-day?

There is another note that is sounded, and which at the moment seems to ring out beyond all the rest. It is the spirit of our people. To some it has seemed a misfortune that we should have entered these buildings before they had reached completion. They, surely, have never heard of

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"the glory of the imperfect". What we witnessed in the destruction of these buildings was a symbol of the desecration and the desolation of recent years. What we are witnessing to-day is the spirit of the people rising out of the ashes and ruins of the world, and building anew a civilization of a higher and saner order than any the world has hitherto known. Who would separate himself from this work of reconstruction, standing aside lest his garments may be stained? Why, Sir, we have here a foretaste of the industrial commonwealth that is to be, where, in the affairs of State, the workers in industry are the builders in common with the framers of a nation's laws.

And this note brings out another; it is the greatness that is yet to be. It was on the 56th anniversary of the laying of the corner-stone of the old Parliament Buildings by King Edward VII, at that time the young Prince of Wales, that his brother, His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught, officiated at the relaying of the same stone as the new foundation of these buildings as restored. Speaking of that earlier occasion, His Royal Highness remarked that, looking at that stone, and all that it represented of the changes that had taken place when it was first laid, we recognized how little those who has assisted at the ceremony of those days could foresee the great progress and advancement that

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has been made by this Dominion. If that remark was true when we were still in the midst of war, how much more true it is to-day when Victory has been won and Peace restored. When Edward Prince of Wales visited the Capital of Canada that was to be, he and his party made their journey to Ottawa in canoes, they were escorted by Indians and couriers des bois, they landed at a wharf on the banks of the Ottawa, and climed its slopes. To-day, our transportation terminals rival our legislative halls. What will Canada be in another fifty-six years; who will dare to say? Great as was the faith of the Fathers of Confederation in the future they foresaw their anticipations have been eclipsed even within the lives of some who have been spared until our day.

Sir, this nation's greatness can be limited only by its aspirations. We have been given by Providence a firm and enduring foundation. All that we wish for in material environment is symbolized in what we see to-day. The form, the semblance of loveliness, the outer strength and beauty, are all here. It remains only to cherish and ennoble the nation's ideals and to seek their realization in the justice of our laws.

Words of my own fail to express what I wish for my country in this connection. But the words of another come to me as I speak, and I apply them to the soul of our nation in the spirit of the resurrected form and beauty we

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behold to-day. It is a note clearer, purer, more ethereal,
than all the rest.
Through the deep caves of thought I hear the voice that sings:
"Build thee more stately mansions, O my soul,
As the swift seasons roll!
Leave thy low-vaulted past!
Let each new temple, nobler than the last,
Shut thee from heaven with a dome more vast,
Till thou at length art free,
Leaving thine outgrown shell by life's unresting sea!"

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1 March 1920

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House of Commons

SPEECH ON THE ADDRESS IN
REPLY ....

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On Speech from the Throne.
March 1, 1920.

D 4208

Restoration of Parliamentary Government

Appropriateness of opening paragraph of Address, and of speeches.

Congratulations on speeches.

Impression of speeches -
made most of occasion and opportunity.
inadequacy due to meagreness of Government's programme.
recognizing themselves as props under a crumbling edifice.

Impression of Speech from Throne -

His Excellency's advisers more concerned with external affairs than immediate needs of Dominion.

Ex. features of address -
Treaty with Bulgaria vs. G.T.R.

Another feature of Government's position reflected in Address.

Absence of any policy on social, economic, or political problems demanding solution.

Advisers absorbed in past, or ambitious for future.

Very little of Canada by comparison -
True status of Canada - self-governing Dominion concerned with her own affairs.-

Cost of Living/- more interested in food than drugs.

Amendments to Tariff -
Relief of consumers and producers.

Restoration of essential features of representative and responsible government.

Get out of confusion, uncertainty, and dislocation - needful to begin work of reconstruction in earnest.

Halls of Parliament shew ability and determination to reconstruct material environment.

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RECONSTRUCTION:

Reconstruction of Halls of Parliament -

Determination to reconstruct material environment
of our national life.

Destruction of human life deplored.

Destruction of institutions - religious, political, self.

Restore faith in overruling providence.
" " " our political institutions.
" " " ourselves.

-- the real work of healing and reconstruction.

REAL POINT -

Not restoration of our Parliament Buildings;
But " " " parliamentary government.

British parliamentary institutions, real inheritance.

Laurier's reverence for ancient origins
spirit of freedom

The spirit of institutions, the vital thing
Citadel of freedom vs. stronghold of arbitrary power
abode of indecision

Tendency of Government away -
Relief to producers and consumers in economic field.
Return to representative & responsible govt. in political.

Shew wherein -

Parliament and Government ceased to be representative of will
of the people.

Demand for a new Parliament and a new Government.

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ESSENTIAL CONDITIONS OF PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT

I. House of Commons should be a representative assembly.

Implies a fair franchise -
a policy known and defined.

Neither condition fulfilled.

A - THE FRANCHISE

Examination of methods by which representation effected:

Deemed expedient in time of war.
Violation of letter and spirit of constitution.

The War-Time Elections Act:

Passed during period of extension.
Conditions governing - unanimous agreement - deception -
Words expressive of understanding: closure.
Laurier - A
Maclean - B
To "blot", Administration owes return to power,
as beneficiaries of arbitrary and unscrupulous enactment.

Any wonder administration lost confidence?

The Military Voters Act:

What say of system of manipulation of votes.
approved in principle and practice.
defiance of constitution.
piece of election machinery - not for will
of people - but power.

Effect of these measures:

1. In House - ceased to be representative.
2. In Country - whole system of parliamentary govt.in question.
ceased to be People's Forum.

Announcement in address re Franchise Act:

Removal uncertainty none too soon.
Ministry uncertain - "Star" interview - C
Defer criticism; first question - Why any departure old Act?
Opposition will expedite if fair - otherwise unrelenting.
Particularly objectionable - attempt to defeat federal spirit
of constitution.

B - APPLICATION OF FRANCHISE

Its use in effecting representation of constituencies.
13 by-elections.

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Here again indifference of Government to Party Referendum

D 3 1/2

BY-ELECTIONS

Vacancies since December, 1917 - 13

Pretext: War - till Armistice, Nov. 11, 1918.

Pretext: By-Election Act - assented to July 7, 1919 - fall (3rd) session known. began Sept. 1

Date of elections so arranged:

	Vacated	By-election	Time Vacant	Represented in House
LANARK -	Feb. 27,1918	May 9,1918	71 days	
GLENGARRY - STORMONT -	Apr. 13,1918	Oct.27,1919	562 "	2 or 3 days
NO. ONTARIO -	May 25,1918	Dec. 9,1919	563 "	Not at all
ASSINIBOIA -	Sept.23,1918	Oct.27,1919	399 "	Not at all
QUEBEC EAST -	Feb. 17,1919	Oct.27,1919	242 "	" " "
PRINCE,P.E.I.	Apr. 6,1919	Oct.20,1919	177 "	A fortnight
KINGSTON -	July 7,1919	Oct.20,1919	105 "	A fortnight
VICTORIA CITY	Aug. 2,1919	Oct.27,1919	86 "	
VICTORIA-CARLETON -	Aug. 2,1919	Oct.27,1919	86 "	1 or 2 days

3 Sessions unrepresented

2 Sessions -

Greater part of one session

New Vacancies:

all of one session

x TEMISKAMING - September 22, 1919 April 2.
Death of Hon. Frank Cochrane.

x KAMOURASKA, - October 14, 1919
Resignation of hon. member for Quebec East.
Laurier - 41 yrs.

ST.JAMES EAST- February 9, 1920
Death of sitting member, L. A. Lapointe.

EAST ELGIN - February 14, 1920
Death of sitting member, David Marshall.

Tribute of respect to their memory.

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x - Should be represented in this Parliament at this time, but for neglect or deliberate intent of Government. Government waited till moment of opening to authorize issuance of writs - Elections to be held on in April. Effect, to deny people of these constituencies the right of representation

In considering essential conditions of parliamentary government -
By-elections: (1) complete & hold intact representation in Parliament.
(2) inform public on questions, and keep ministry in touch with popular sentiment.
An important element in representative government - cf. English govt.

II 1176 - Deloraine assembly

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D 4212

ESSENTIAL CONDITIONS OF PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT (Cont'd.)

II. House of Commons should be a deliberative assembly.

Ministry, through H.of C., in touch with will of the people.
Obvious essentials ignored by Government.

(1) Speech from Throne:

Should acquaint Parliament and country with important business.
G. T. R. Bill last session.
Amendments to B.N.A. Act - E

Inform House of all measures.

A word about Supply - essential to control.
need deliberation re appropriations.

(2) Settlements on questions of national importance should be only after consultation with House of Commons.

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Conferences - indirect commitments to policies.
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III. Federal Cabinet should be representative.

Canada - geographical areas, scattered provinces ;
right of provinces to representation - spirit of constitution federal.

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Explanation:
Govt. and people lost confidence in each other.

IV. Root Principle, Collective Cabinet Responsibility - based on known and definite policy - representative & responsible government.

Without a leader - without a policy.
As many opinions as ministers.
Explanation:
A war ministry only.
Course Prime Minister should have taken:
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Speech Opening 8th Parl. — on address

Appropriateness of opening paragraph of Address, and of speeches.

Congratulations on speeches.

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made most of occasion and opportunity.
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Relief of consumers and producers.

Restoration of essential features of representative and responsible government.

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RECONSTRUCTION:

Reconstruction of Halls of Parliament -

Determination to reconstruct material environment of our national life.

Destruction of human life deplored.

Destruction of institutions - religious, political, self.

Restore faith in overruling providence.
" " " our political institutions.
" " " ourselves.

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REAL POINT -

Not restoration of our Parliament Buildings;
But " " " parliamentary government.

British parliamentary institutions, real inheritance.

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The spirit of institutions, the vital thing
Citadel of freedom vs. stronghold of arbitrary power
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Tendency of Government away -
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Show wherein -

Parliament and Government ceased to be representative of will of the people.

Demand for a new Parliament and a new Government.

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ESSENTIAL CONDITIONS OF PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT

I. House of Commons should be a representative assembly.

Implies a fair franchise -
a policy known and defined.

Neither condition fulfilled.

A - THE FRANCHISE

Examination of methods by which representation effected:

Deemed expedient in time of war.
Violation of letter and spirit of constitution.

The War-Time Elections Act:

Passed during period of extension.
Conditions governing - unanimous agreement - deception -
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To "blot". Administration owes return to power,
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The Military Voters Act:

What say of system of manipulation of votes.
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B - APPLICATION OF FRANCHISE

Its use in effecting representation of constituencies.
13 by-elections.

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House of Commons Debates

OFFICIAL REPORT

SPEECH

OF

Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING, Esq.,

MEMBER FOR PRINCE, P.E.I.

ON

THE ADDRESS

IN REPLY TO GOVERNOR GENERAL'S SPEECH

In the House of Commons, Ottawa, on Monday, March 1, 1920.

Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (leader of the Opposition): Mr. Speaker, it is appropriate that the opening paragraph of the speech from the Throne, as well as the burden of the remarks of the hon. members who have just spoken, should have reference in large part to the assembling of this Parliament in its new home. It would be strange, indeed, if, under the spell of the noble and dignified proportions of this chamber, we were not all impressed with the spirit of the Canadian people in rising out of the difficulties of the past and impressed with the future greatness of our country, if we are but willing to put our hands to the task and make the future all that it lies within the possibilities of our people to make it.

It is no mere formality, Sir, to have the privilege at this time of congratulating the mover and the seconder of the Address on the excellence of their speeches. I am sure that all of us who have heard them believe they have made the most of the occasion and of the opportunity afforded to them. If there has been any limitation in the nature of their remarks, that has been due, one must say, to the meagreness of the legislative programme which the Government has presented in the words which it has put into the lips of His Excellency in the Speech from the Throne. Listening to the hon. gentlemen, I could not help remarking how each of them seemed to regard himself as a prop beneath a crumbling edifice. They made a reference or two to some features of the Speech from the Throne, but for the most part they took care to "get out from under" it altogether. The hon. member for Pictou (Mr. McGregor) went entirely into the past; he confined his remarks to giving the House very interesting and valuable statistics on matters of trade, on matters of manufacture, on assistance to the returned soldiers, on munition output, on trade with the United States and trade with the Mother country. He took care, as I have said, to confine his remarks almost

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exclusively to the past and to give the House a mass of statistics for which I am sure we shall all be very grateful.

On the other hand, the hon. member for London (Mr. Cronyn), who moved the Address in such eloquent, witty and poetic language, went to the other extreme, confining his remarks for the most part to the future, in a constructive and helpful way telling the Government wherein he thought they had been remiss in excluding from the Address practically everything in the nature of constructive legislation. I am sure we on this side of the House will all congratulate my hon. friend that he has been the first to draw the attention of the Government to this omission which will be noticed throughout the country and though doubt was not so intended, the remarks of both hon. gentlemen on the Address are a reflection upon the Government in what they have put into the speech of His Excellency to present to this Parliament at this time.

If one examines the speech from the Throne, one cannot help being struck at the outset with the fact that His Excellency's advisers appear to be infinitely more concerned with external affairs than with the business of this country. Omitting the opening section to which I have just referred, let us take the other paragraphs in the speech from the Throne and see what they include. First, there is a reference to the League of Nations, to commissions and mandatories. Then there are references to the Treaty with Bulgaria and to other possible treaties with Hungary and Turkey. The next is a reference to a conference in Washington, and next a reference to the confusion and uncertainty arising out of conditions affecting the League of Nations. There is a passing reference to Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment, and then comes another reference to the European economic field. The next section deals with confusion and dislocation again, and then we come to the International Opium Convention, and finally we are reduced to two tiny concluding paragraphs which contain all in the way of constructive legislation which the Government has to offer to the country at this time.

I could not but be struck the other day, with the President of the Council (Mr. Rowell), being the first to present a document to this Parliament, and at his laying upon the table of the House a copy of the Treaty between the Allied and Associated Governments and Bulgaria. We are all interested in Bulgaria, but I could not help thinking that it would have been more in accord with the wishes of the Canadian people if the first document to be presented to this Parliament had been for the purpose of ratifying and approving the agreement between the Grand Trunk Railway Company and the Government of this country, instead of one of ratification and approval of this particular treaty.

The Government thought well to give to the shareholders of the Grand Trunk Railway Company in England the right to approve an agreement of the terms of which the members of this House, with the exception of the ministry, have no knowledge even at this time. Sir, I submit that the people of Canada are concerned primarily with their own affairs and are entitled to have placed before their representatives in Parliament at the earliest possible moment documents of so vast importance as the one to which I have just referred.

But, Sir, there is a further limitation in the speech from the Throne which serves to reflect the mind of the Government in another particular. The speech discloses an entire absence of any policy on the part of the Administration in regard to the economic, social and political questions which are uppermost in this country at the present time. The hon. gentlemen who have just spoken on the Address drew the attention of the Government to the unrest in Canada, and spoke of "agitators" and so on. By so doing they helped to bring to the attention of the Government that it is high time we had in office in this country an Administration capable of propounding some policy which would help to bring that unrest to a speedy end.

Having referred to the first part of the speech from the Throne, I now come to the legislative programme which it outlines. What does it amount to? It says:

> The ratification of The International Opium Convention renders it necessary to obtain legislation to carry into effect its provisions relating to the sale of opium, cocaine and other deleterious drugs.

No doubt that is important, perhaps important enough to be included in a speech from the Throne, but I submit that the people of this country are much more concerned at this time with the question of food than with the question of drugs, and that it would have been much better if the ministry, in advising His Excellency what should be brought before this Parliament for discussion, had propounded some policy which would help to relieve the high cost of living, instead of skirting about that

great issue and dragging in small affairs such as legislation for regulating the sale of drugs.

The reference to the Dominion franchise is the most important in the speech. As my hon. friend from London (Mr. Cronyn) has said, it will raise in this House the whole question of representative and responsible government. My hon. friend in that remark touched upon what I conceive to be the most important of all matters which we have to consider in Canada at this time. During the war we got far away, in procedure and parliamentary methods, from the ideas of representative and responsible government as they have been held in the past, and we shall not find a solution for the unrest of our time until we have in some very considerable degree restored those safeguards of liberty, freedom and popular rights which have been so much neglected by the present Administration.

Take the only other reference in the speech from the Throne to anything in the nature of constructive legislation:

> Other Bills will be presented for your consideration, including a Bill respecting Copyrights and Bills providing for the amendment of the Patent Act, of the Loan and Trust Companies Acts, the Indian Act, and the Exchequer Court Act.

That is the whole programme. While these Bills may be important enough, I submit that what is needed in the interests of this Dominion at the present time, more needed than any amendment to the Patent Act, is such an amendment of the tariff as will bring relief to producers and consumers. But the Government has not thought well to mention these questions which bear upon the needs of the country and are of vital importance. They have simply skirted around the vital questions and have dealt only with external matters or matters of petty concern, with which the attention of this House should not be taken up to any extent at this time.

The two refer nces to "confusion" and "dislocation" which the speech from the Throne contains suggest that what we must consider above everything else is how we can make our way out of this confusion and dislocation into something that will better represent the ordered system of affairs which we ought to have. In this Chamber to-day we have before us a visible embodiment of what can be done, when the minds of men are put to it, in the way of reconstruction. We have here something which symbolizes the resurrection to a finer life, out of the ruins and ashes of the past, which is possible in connection with our material environments. There is nothing in the way of material environment which we dare not hope to improve in this country.

Sir, unfortunately it is not only our material environments which have suffered during the war. There has been another loss, the greatest of all—the loss of human life, and the impairment of mind and body to many thousands of men who have suffered during this war. That is a loss which can never be made up. It is part of the infinite mystery. It belongs to the sacrifice which has been the price of freedom through all the ages. But the loss that we have suffered in material things and the losses we have suffered in human life do not make up the sum of destruction in this war. The war has also destroyed, as my hon. friend from London has said, much that is sacred and venerable in all our institutions, religious, political, and of every other nature. That indeed has been one of the most serious of all the effects of the war and to a very large extent accounts for the great unrest that exists in the world to-day. In faith, men "have faltered where they firmly stood" This is true alike in State and Church. Men's faith in government is shaken, and in religion, and even in themselves. What we speak of to-day as Bolshevism had its origin in a country where they have had least in the way of free religious and governmental institutions to cling to. Wherever such has been the case, there the world has suffered most. What is needed to-day to bring about a change in conditions is a restoration of the faith that has been weakened, faith in an over-ruling Providence, faith in our political institutions, faith on the part of men and women in themselves.

That brings me to the point which I should like to make in answer to the hon. gentlemen who have spoken so eloquently of the restoration of these halls of Parliament. It is not the restoration of the Parliament buildings that is needed so much as the restoration of our parliamentary system of government. Mr. Speaker, of all that we have inherited through our British connection there is no possession so highly to be prized as the British system of government. The British constitution has been the model for our own. All members of Parliament from the day of Confederation down to the present have spoken of the greatness of that constitution. Its ancient

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origins is something that we reverence. We reverence even more the spirit of freedom which is conserved through that constitution. To the Fathers of Confederation and to this Parliament, it has been, as Sir Wilfrid Laurier once said on a memorable occasion, as a pillar of cloud by day and a pillar of fire by night to lead this nation towards greater unity and nationhood.

But, Sir, the greatness of an institution, as of an individual, lies in its spirit; and an institution, no matter whether it be a material structure such as this or whether it be a constitution, which has lost the vital spirit that has lent it greatness, may become the very opposite of what it was intended to be. Instead of being a citadel of freedom it may become the home of autocracy or, what is perhaps worse, the abode of indecision and inaction in all things. We have suffered in this country, it is true, as a result of the war, but I regret to say, in part also, as a result of the inadequacy of the Administration to meet the needs of the country. That our political institutions, in common with all the other phases of our national life, should suffer through the action of war was inevitable. What is most unfortunate is that the loss is greater than it should have been, and this by reason of the failure of the administration to deal with the affairs of the country as they should have been dealt with.

I should like to point out wherein it seems to me this Parliament and the Government have ceased in large measure to be representative of the will of the people. That, after all, is the supreme, the fundamental fact which confronts us. If I do not deal with other matters that have been touched upon by the mover and seconder of the Address, it is because I feel that the restoration of our political life, and also in large measure of our social and economic life, is dependent on Parliament and the Government being in the truest sense representative of the will of the people. And it is because, throughout this country from the Atlantic to the Pacific, people believe that the Government does not represent their will, that we hear the demand which we on this side of the House desire to voice for a new Parliament and a new Administration.

Mr. Speaker, let me draw the attention of the House to some of the essential conditions of parliamentary government, and show wherein during recent years we have wandered far from a compliance with these conditions. First of all, under any system of parliamentary government, the House of Commons, the elective chamber, should be a representative assembly. To say that an assembly is representative implies that its members have been returned under a fair franchise and on a policy which is known and defined and which has been placed before the people.

Now, Sir, will any one pretend that this Parliament to-day is representative in that sense? Let us go back to the franchise under which hon. members seated in this House to-day secured their return to Parliament. Let us examine the methods by which the representation of the people has been effected and ask ourselves the question whether that franchise was in accordance with the spirit of the constitution or was not in fact in direct violation of it. Take the War-time Elections Act—for it was under that Act that Parliament was elected. Consider the circumstances under which that measure was passed in this House.

Hon. gentlemen who were in the last Parliament will remember that Parliament had exhausted the period allotted to it by the constitution. The constitution of Canada lays it down that five years shall be the period of time for which a parliament shall sit, and the time of Parliament could not have been extended for a single day or a single hour beyond that period except by the consent of hon. members on this side of the House. Except by the unanimous resolution of both Houses of Parliament there would have been no amendment of the British North America Act extending the period of parliament for another year. If any hon. gentleman doubts that statement let him read the language of the Prime Minister (Sir Robert Borden) himself, at the time the matter was under discussion. The Prime Minister took care to point out that it would be impossible—and that he would not suggest it—to have an extension of the period of parliament except by the unanimous agreement of both Houses. What were the conditions under which unanimous agreement was arrived at? What was the condition on which the Rt. Hon. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, who was leading the Liberal party in this House, consented to an extension? It was that Parliament in meeting another year would avoid controversial issues during the progress of the war. That consent was given on the highest grounds of patriotism and on the unequivocal understanding that in no way was Parliament parting with the right of the people to control, but rather that Parliament might take a position which throughout the country it was felt at

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the time was obviously desirable, namely that there should be as little in the way of party strife as was possible during the period of the war. Let me read to the House the words of Sir Wilfrid Laurier in giving consent to the extension and ask hon. members whether, hearing his words, they believe that the spirit of the Constitution was violated in the action that was subsequently taken by the administration. The words to which I refer may be found in Hansard in 1916, February 8, page 634. The matter had been fully discussed between the Rt. Hon. the leader of the Opposition and the Rt. Hon. the Prime Minister, and the Prime Minister had given repeated assurances that the Government had no intention to do anything but simply "carry on" for the next year, as was necessary in the circumstances. Sir Wilfrid, having in mind the interests of the people, whose servant he was, and whose servant every hon. member of this House at that time was, said:

> I would observe, first of all, that it is not proposed here to alter the principle of the constitution. It is not proposed to override the control which the people have over parliament. It is simply proposed to suspend for the time being the operation of the constitution. If it were proposed to make away altogether with that principle which is embodied in the constitution, certainly I would oppose such an attempt with all my might. But no such thing is proposed. This measure simply proposes that the constitution shall be suspended for twelve months, at the expiration of which time it will resume its full force.

Mr. Speaker, mark these words and ask yourself the question: Was the spirit of the constitution lived up to or not?

> It is not proposed to override the control which the people have over parliament.

Sir, do you wonder that the leader of the Opposition of those days felt that he had been grossly deceived; felt that the House had been grossly deceived; felt that the people of the country had been grossly deceived, when, after an understanding of this nature, hon. gentlemen who occupied the treasury benches of that day undertook to change the whole franchise which was the means of entry of the people's representatives, at the people's will, into this House of Commons, and to place upon the statute books one of the most infernal pieces of legislation that have been enacted in this country? I have used a strong term but I do not think it a bit too strong. But I will not trust to my own language to express my conception of that legislation. Let me quote the language of one who until almost yesterday was a member of the present administration. My hon. friend from Halifax (Mr. A. K. Maclean) spoke during the debate upon that measure, and several other gentlemen who occupy the Treasury benches to-day also recorded their views upon that occasion. I might quote the language of one and all to show what their impression of that legislation was, but I think the words of my hon. friend (Mr. A. K. Maclean) meet the case so completely that further quotations are unnecessary. What were the hon. gentleman's words? They will be found on page 5596 of Hansard of 10th September, 1917:

> The Bill before the House proposes to disfranchise arbitrarily a portion of the people of the country. . . . This legislation is objectionable in principle, and I deny that there is anything in the world to justify its introduction or its enactment. . . . A proper regard for the future of this country and for our good name among the nations and peoples of the world compel one to oppose the measure. It is not founded upon any principle of a substantial character. . . . I maintain that history will adjudge the act contemplated by this Bill as a blot upon our National career. And, unfortunately, it comes at a time when we are writing glorious and imperishable pages of our history which will be the future epics of this young nation.

Mark these words, Mr. Speaker.

> A proper regard for the future of this country and for our good name among the nations and peoples of the world compel one to oppose the measure. History will adjudge the act contemplated by this Bill as a blot upon our National career.

And yet, Sir, it is to this "blot upon our National career" that the Administration owes its return to power, and it is as beneficiaries of this "blot upon our National career" that hon. gentlemen opposite continue to occupy the Treasury benches and to draw the emoluments and enjoy the dignities, privileges and power attaching thereto. Is it any wonder, Sir, that the people of Canada have lost confidence in this Administration? They never had any confidence. How could they, when the Administration was returned to power through a violation of the most sacred right which belongs to a free people—the right to a just and honest franchise?

But, Sir, if that legislation is to be spoken of as a blot upon our country, what is to be said of that other piece of legislation, the Military Voters' Act, whereby the ballots of soldiers across the seas were so manipulated as to aid in the return of hon. gentlemen opposite? What is to be said of a piece of legislation which, if not so designed—though it would even appear that such was the intention—was at least used as a mean

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not of furthering the will of the people of Canada but of preventing their will being accorded expression. It has been openly stated in this House, and it will not be denied by hon. gentlemen opposite, that as a consequence of that legislation whole bundles of votes of soldiers overseas—votes by bundles—were taken and put into this riding, and into that riding, and into another riding, at the instance of some committee that was in the confidence of the Administration. That was not done at the will of the brave men who were fighting overseas; they did not know, many of them, where their votes were to be recorded.

Mr. ROBERT H. BUTTS (Cape Breton South and Richmond): Oh you!

Hon. Mr. KING: I beg the hon. gentleman's pardon, I did not gather the purport of his observation. If the hon. gentleman desires to ask a question I shall be very glad to answer it.

Mr. BUTTS: Y-o-u.

Mr. ERNEST LAPOINTE (Kamouraska): Prohibition would be a good thing here.

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT: His case is a bad one. Perhaps the hon. gentleman is a little dry.

Hon. Mr. KING: The hon. member evidently feels that he is not in a position to make a statement that he would care to have the House listen to. If he wishes to resort to other methods of showing his disapproval of my statements I will not have the slightest objection. I would ask him, however, to show due regard for the dignity and decorum of Parliament.

An hon. MEMBER: Take your medicine.

Hon. Mr. KING: I was saying, Mr. Speaker, that both the principle and the practice under the Act in question to which I have just referred have been defended by one of the members of the Administration openly in this House, and, by their silence, other members have acquiesced in both the principle and practice of taking votes from men overseas and assigning them to different constituencies without the knowledge or consent of voters abroad or electors at home. And what has been the effect of these Acts and these methods of dealing with the people's franchise? The effect is that Parliament has lost altogether its representative character, and in the country the people have ceased to have the faith they should have in our whole system of parliamentary government. Instead of regarding Parliament as the forum in which a nation's rights are to be maintained and its freedom preserved, forums have sprung up all over the country which the people themselves are using as pulpits from which to pour their contempt upon Parliament, when in times such as these every arm in the land should be sympathetically outstretched towards Parliament in an effort to promote the great work of reconstruction which is so much needed.

Speaking on the subject of the franchise perhaps I might at this moment say a word in reference to the Government's promise in the speech from the Throne to bring in a new Franchise Bill. It is unfortunate for the country that the Bill referred to will owe its origin in part to some whose names have been associated with the kind of legislation I have just described. But let me assure the Government that if it will bring in a Bill which will help to restore public confidence in our political institutions; if it will bring in a Bill which will be honest and fair and true to the rights of the people, it will find the Opposition ready to assist and to expedite the passage of that measure. But, Sir, if a Franchise Bill is to be introduced in a form which will constitute another blot on our country's name and fame, whatever means the Government adopts to pass it, they must expect to find hon. gentlemen on this side prepared to resist to the utmost of their power legislation prejudicial to the fundamental rights of the people.

The first question we would like to ask the Administration is why should there be a new Franchise Act at all? The old Dominion Elections Act has been on the Statutes for twenty-five years. Administrations representing both political parties have been returned under its provisions. Why then do we need another Act? Why should anything more be necessary than to amend the provisions of the present statute and bring them into conformity with the needs of the country? The Government may have reasons for its proposal and we will await those reasons. But I point out to the Government now so that they may take due notice of it, that if there is any endeavour to substitute a system of Dominion enumeration for the provincial lists which have been followed in accordance with the spirit of our constitution, the Government will have to give a pretty clear and satisfactory explanation before a measure of that kind will meet with the approval of the House and of the country.

After the experience the country has had with Dominion enumerators, care will be taken before the franchise of our people is again placed in the hands of the Administration for manipulation as it may see best by its own creatures. So much, Sir, in reference to the franchise and what it stands for.

Let me now say just a word in regard to the application of the franchise in making good representation in Parliament, for which purpose it is intended. How, under the franchise in relation to the different vacancies that have occurred, has the Government "carried on," so far as representation in this Parliament is concerned? Since the present Administration was returned to power thirteen vacancies have occurred, but hardly any were filled until in December, 1917, the advent of this session. First, the war was made a pretext for not allowing the people representation in constituencies that had been vacated, and to a certain extent the country acquiesced in this. One would have thought that the moment the war was over the Government would immediately have sought to make good the lack of representation by bringing on by-elections in the several constituencies. Did the Government do that? No. One pretext gave way to another. When the war was out of the way the next excuse offered was the necessity of passing a new by-elections Act. When the by-elections Act was passed did the Government attempt to put it into force so as to secure representation in this House for the people of those various constituencies? No. They waited almost until the very day before the opening of the last session before they issued writs, and the Act was so drafted that the vacant constituencies were without representation for almost the period of that entire session.

I think my hon. friend from Kingston (Sir Henry Drayton) and myself were in this Parliament last session for about two weeks. Why did our constituencies not have the privilege of being represented through the whole of last session? Had the Government's plans not miscarried there would have been no representation of those two constiutencies. At the very last moment the Government brought in a measure that was not referred to in the speech from the Throne, the Grand Trunk Railway Bill, consideration of which prolonged the sitting to such an extent that these two constituencies were represented for that short period of time.

But how about the constituencies of Assiniboia, North Ontario, Glengarry and Quebec East? They were all without representation in the last session. Not only that, Sir, but the constituencies of Glengarry and Stormont, North Ontario and Assiniboia were without representation for three entire sessions. I have here the dates at which several vacancies occurred and the by-elections took place. Glengarry and Stormont was vacated on April 13, 1918, and the by-election announced on October 27, 1919. In other words, five hundred and sixty-two days elapsed before the writ was issued, and then a further period elapsed before the return of the member. I think my hon. friend who is in the House to-day (Mr. John W. Kennedy) had the privilege of sitting for two or three days—that was the whole length of time that the people of his constituency were represented in this Parliament from the time the Government assumed office.

Then take the constituency of North Ontario, which became vacant on May 25, 1918. It was December 9, 1919, before the by-election was held, making a period of five hundred and sixty-three days during which the people of that constituency had no representation in this Parliament. In other words, they were without any representation during the last three sessions.

Similarly Assiniboia, one of the largest of the western constituencies, was vacant almost from the moment at which the Government took office, and yet until the day of the opening of this session, three days ago, not a soul was here to speak on behalf of the people of Assiniboia. Three hundred and ninety-nine days elapsed before any writ was issued for that particular vacancy.

Then take the constituency of Quebec East, which was vacated through the death of the Right Hon. Sir Wilfrid Laurier. Through that entire session and the next until my hon. friend, formerly the member for Kamouraska (Mr. Lapointe) was elected to represent the constituency held by his leader for the previous period of forty-three years, it was without representation.

Similarly the constituency of Victoria-Carleton was represented in this House for only one or two days last session, when it should have been represented for the entire session.

In other words, Mr. Speaker, Glengarry and Stormont, North Ontario and Assiniboia were not represented at all for three sessions; Quebec East was not represented

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for two sessions; Prince County, Prince Edward Island, Kingston, Victoria City and Victoria-Carleton were not represented for the greater part of one session.

Then coming down to the present time, since our last meeting of Parliament four vacancies have occurred, those in Timiskaming, Kamouraska, St. James (Montreal) and East Elgin. The constituencies of Timiskaming and Kamouraska were vacated respectively on September 22, 1919, and October 14, 1919. Why are not these constituencies represented in this Parliament at this time? There is only one reason—that the Government by deliberate intent put off the possibility of representation of these ridings as long as it possibly could. It waited until almost the very day before this Parliament was called for the present session to issue writs for the filling of those vacancies. In the case of Timiskaming the electors were a long time without representation through the protracted illness of the former Minister of Railways and Canals, the late Hon. Mr. Cochrane. One would have thought that had the Government cared at all for the representation of the electors they would have been eager and anxious to give them their right to be represented here at the earliest possible date.

During the last two weeks we have had the two vacancies that were referred to this afternoon by the right hon. the Acting Prime Minister (Sir George Foster)—St. James and East Elgin. Why is it that a writ has been issued in the case of one and not in the case of the other vacancy? I asked my right hon. friend at the opening of the session to-day if he would tell this House and, through this House, the people of the latter constituency, when they would have the right to be represented, and he gave me a reply as evasive as it could possibly be, saying nothing and making no promises one way or the other. I would ask my right hon. friend when he does reply to my speech, as no doubt he will, to tell the people of East Elgin when they may expect to have the right of representation in this Parliament which it is their privilege to demand.

So I say, Mr. Speaker, that having regard for Parliamentary Government in the matter of representation, if you look at the laws under which this Parliament has been returned, or if you look at the way in which those laws have been administered, you will find that there has been a complete demoralization of the whole business of parliamentary representation as contrasted with what it should have been were we anxious to preserve intact our political institutions.

There is this to be remembered at all times, Sir, in regard to by-elections: They are a means of keeping the Administration in touch with the country and of giving it the views of the people on great public issues. Have we not all observed how jealously England guards the rights pertaining to the representation of her people in Parliament? We watch our newspapers to see the results of by-elections in the old land as they occur from week to week or from month to month; and in the meantime no attention whatever is paid to the necessity for holding by-elections in our own country. If we are to preserve the spirit of the constitution, which stands for the right of representation of the people in Parliament, we must seek to give to the people the right of representation as soon as possible after a vacancy in an electoral district occurs.

There is one other point that is of importance in considering the essential conditions of parliamentary Government. Parliament should be not only a representative assembly, but also a deliberative assembly. It should be a means of keeping the people informed of the public business and of having all matters of concern to them freely and openly discussed. I shall not attempt to present in detail a statement of the extent to which there has been demoralization in this connection during and since the period of the war. I shall point out, however, three very obvious particulars which are of importance if we are to have a restoration of our political institutions.

Take first the Speech from the Throne, to which we have just listened. If that time-honoured custom has any purpose whatever, it is that of acquainting Parliament, and, through Parliament, the people, with the questions that are to come up for discussion and consideration here. Well, Sir, I have only to mention the last session of Parliament and what took place then to direct the attention of the House and the country to how far we have departed from that important safeguard of a people's rights and liberties. The most important measure that was put through this Parliament last session—the most important financially in the history of Canada—was the Bill for the acquisition of the Grand Trunk Railway System; yet in the speech from the Throne of last session no mention whatever was made of the Government's intention to bring down legislation of that kind. How were the people of the country to be expected to anticipate the bringing down of

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such an important measure? Had reference been made to it in the speech from the Throne, we should have had an opportunity to hear from different parts of Canada an expression of opinion in regard to its merits and the legislation itself might have been vastly improved as a conse. quence. I say at once to the Acting Prime Minister that if the Government has other legislation in contemplation at this session of which no mention has been made in the speech from the Throne, we hope that the Government will announce to the House at the earliest possible moment what that legislation is to be. That is owing to the House; it is owing to the country.

Why, Sir, what an occasion of surprise it is to us when almost the day after His Excellency delivers the Speech from the Throne an announcement—it appears on the Order Paper—is made that the Government intends to introduce two amendments to the British North America Act. I shall not now discuss the proposed amendments; I shall not question what they are or what is the necessity for them. But I should like to point out that on only six occasions since the days of Confederation has the British North America Act been amended. If when the Speech from the Throne was delivered it was the intention of hon. gentlemen opposite to bring down an amendment to the British North America Act, they might at least have had the courtesy to tell His Excellency of it and to have had His Excellency so inform this House and the people. The amending of the Constitution is no small matter; it is a much more important matter than the amending of any drug Act, any copyright or patent law, or any of the things that are spoken of in the speech from the Throne. It is in one sense the most important matter which this Parliament can be called upon to consider. So I say, Mr. Speaker, that in these matters we have been departing altogether from the principles of parliamentary government. If you seek the cause of the unrest which prevails throughout the country, you will find it in these departures from a system of representative and responsible Government.

In this connection I may, perhaps, appropriately say a word in regard to Supply. The voting of Supply is the only way in which the people can exercise their control over Parliament and Parliament its control over the Government. We have all observed that in previous sessions, while items of supply might be brought down early or late, at the very end of the session just when members were leaving, further large appropriations were asked for. Well, Sir, under such conditions it is impossible for the people to exercise the control which they should have over public expenditure; and we on this side of the House hope that the Government will this session, so far as they can possibly do so, bring down their Estimates on the earliest possible day; that they will not in the dying days of the session, when the House will have practically no opportunity of considering them, bring down appropriations of further millions of the people's money.

Final decisions upon matters of national import should not be made by ministers in their private rooms; should not be made without opportunity being afforded to the House of Commons to consider them in the first instance. After all, it is the public business that we are discussing here, and the country has the right to have submitted to it all that is essential in regard to large transactions, before those transactions are finally put beyond the power of this Parliament. I refer again to the Grand Trunk railway agreement. That is one of the largest transactions that this country has ever undertaken. What position are we in to-day? We who sit here in the House of Commons as the representatives of the people have been put in the humiliating position during the last fortnight of reading from cable despatches of approval being given by English shareholders to an agreement with the Government of Canada —an agreement concerning the terms of which we as members of Parliament have not the slightest knowledge. I ask if that is what is owing to the House of Commons; if that is what is owing to the people of Canada? I hope that it is not too late for the ministry to consider the advisability—notwithstanding the fact that at the last session of Parliament they said that they would not accord that right to the Canadian people—of laying on the table of the House that agreement and of asking for its approval, just as they are asking the House to approve of the Treaty of Peace between the Allied and Associated Powers and Bulgaria.

Mr. Speaker, there should be an end to Government by Order in Council. Because of the extent to which the Administration carried on Government by Order in Council during the period of the war, it may be difficult for them to realize that this method of Government—the method followed in the old days, 80 years ago—is not the method of Government which we have come

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to regard as free and representative Government. During the war, Government by Order in Council may have been necessary and may have been tolerated to a large extent by the people; but the time has now come when, if we are to have Government in the true sense of the word, that Government must be by Parliament and through Parliament; it must not be by the substitution of the diplomacy of Cabinet councils, carried on by Cabinet ministers in their secret chambers, for the free discussions and questionings of the ministry in this House in regard to public affairs.

If we are to restore the deliberative aspect of this assembly, ministers should be in their seats in the House where they can answer the questions put to them in regard to public business. The Prime Minister should be in his seat to answer questions with regard to matters of policy. I hasten to express the sympathy which all of us have with the right hon. the Prime Minister (Sir Robert Borden) in that, through the impairment of his health, he is prevented from being here at this time. I hope that no hon. member will endeavour to misconstrue my reference at this moment as being in any way inconsiderate. Indeed, I think a lack of consideration was shown by his colleagues in virtually compelling the Prime Minister to remain at the head of the Government, in spite of his protests over and over again that he was not in a position to attend to public affairs and that he wished to be relieved from that duty altogether. It was a mistaken kindness to him and to the country to ask him to assume a nominal leadership when it was impossible for him to assume any leadership at all. I might remind the House that during the period of the war and since the war the Prime Minister as well as two or three of his colleagues have been not merely out of this House but in large part out of the country. That is the system which has grown up, and it shows the indifference of the Government to the method of carrying on Parliamentary representation here. What is happening at this very moment? If what we read in the newspapers to-day is correct, two of my right hon. friend's colleagues are down in New York discussing the business of this country with the Prime Minister.

Mr. LAPOINTE: No truck or trade with the Yankee.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Why should we have to go to New York to deal with questions that affect this country? The ministers should be here so that they can answer questions. It is astounding, when we see on the other side an endeavour to revive the old cry "No further truck or trade with the Yankees," that our ministers rush off to New York to discuss what is to be the policy, if there is to be any policy of the Government for the next few months to come.

What are the consequences of the frequent absences of the Prime Minister? One is the rumor that the Prime Minister has either conditionally or absolutely tendered his resignation; that he has no intention whatever of returning to Parliament or of occupying a seat in this House. That rumour may be wholly false, and I hope my right hon. friend will give the House some definite statement on this all important matter. But the circumstance that it is so persistently stated that the Prime Minister has no intention of coming back; that he is merely holding the bridge, so to speak, until his colleagues can find someone to take his place, is having an unsettling effect throughout the whole of this country. What is another effect arising out of the same cause? We are told that not only are we to have the Acting Prime Minister (Sir George Foster), who is present in the House to-day, as the leader, but during the evenings or during other periods we are to have an acting leader of the House in addition.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: Is that a rumour or a fact?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: That we hope to find out during the course of the next few days, but the fact is that we do not know whether we are facing a Government without a head or facing a Government with three heads.

Unfortunate as we are with regard to the Prime Minister, we are almost equally unfortunate with respect to the personnel of the Cabinet. Conditions at the present time remind one of the conditions as they were prior to 1896 when the Government of that day went to pieces. The only difference is that at that time there were seven bolters who went all at once, and to-day there are seven of them who have disappeared, one by one. At that time the political edifice was dynamited from within; to-day it is crumbling to pieces. That is the only difference. Let me read the names of the resignations there have been of ministers: first, Hon. T. W. Crothers, on November 7, 1918; then, Hon. T. A. Crerar, June 16, 1919; Sir Thomas White, July 9, 1919; Hon. F. B. Carvell, August 1, 1919; Hon. S. C. Mewburn, January 15, 1920, and Hon. A. K. Maclean, February 23, 1920. Now it is rumoured that the Prime Minister himself is to go. Why, Sir, that is a small ministry all in itself, a ministry of very considerable proportions, and with the Government beginning to split up as it is in that way, the public mind is kept in a restless condition to see who is to be the next one to come out. In that way, we are never sure exactly where we are.

Mr. LAPOINTE: Providence may choose.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: While the Government has been indifferent in the regard mentioned, it has been equally indifferent so far as the deliberative nature of this assembly is concerned, in withdrawing ministers to the other Chamber where they are beyond questioning altogether. We have at the present time in the Senate no less than three ministers holding portfolios, the Minister of Labour, the Minister of Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment, and the Postmaster General. In times like this, of all times, the minister who holds the portfolio of Soldiers' Civil Re-establisment should be in this House where he can be questioned, and so should the Minister of Labour; but these gentlemen, along with the Postmaster General, are taken over to the other Chamber, so that the people's representatives here are put in the position, where they ask questions on many matters, of being unable to obtain authoritative replies at the time information is so necessary in connection with public discussion.

Then there has been the further tendency of the gradual shifting over to irresponsible commissions, boards and delegates of one kind or another, of a great deal of the business that should be carried on by the Government itself. I heard a gentleman say the other day that he thought the time had come when we should have government by the Government, instead of government by commissions, delegates and boards of different kinds. The effect of all this is that, in one way or another, instead of the business of Parliament being discussed here in a deliberative fashion, the country is being committed directly and indirectly to policies of which it has no knowledge, by persons who in no way owe responsibility to the people through their representatives in this House.

There are just two further matters to which I will refer, and I think I can promise the House that I shall be through by six o'clock. I have spoken of the representative nature of this deliberative assembly. Let me say a word in regard to what I think the spirit of the Constitution demands with respect to the representative character of the Cabinet. Canada is a country of wide geographical areas. Up to the time of Confederation it was a country of scattered provinces and territories. The work of nation-building ever since has consisted in welding into one Dominion the various provinces and territories, and cementing between the parts, bonds of friendship, mutual understanding, and common interest. The representative character of the Cabinet has been one of the most effective means to this highly important end, so that it is essential we should have a Cabinet that will represent in a general way the various important considerations of race, religion, economic interest and provincial right and concern. I shall not speak of more than one of these, but every Cabinet that there has been from the time of Confederation up to the present has had regard for the different elements that go to make up the nation in a way that will tend to unite and cement together the different portions of the Dominion.

We have representing the province of Quebec in this House two hon. gentlemen whom I see opposite to me at the moment, the Minister of Justice (Mr. Doherty) and the Minister of Marine and Fisheries (Mr. Ballantyne). Both these hon. gentlemen are English-speaking. There is not in the Cabinet a single representative of the French-Canadians in this country.

An hon. MEMBER: What about the Postmaster General?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I hear someone say "What about the Postmaster General?" Well, Sir, we cannot say that the Postmaster General represents the French-Canadians.

Mr. LAPOINTE: He could not get ten votes in any riding in Quebec.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: The Postmaster General has removed his residence from the province of Quebec altogether, and has come to reside permanently in the province of Ontario; but more than that, the Postmaster General ran in two constituencies in the last election when the voice of the people was heard in the matter of representation. He ran in the constituency of Laurier-Outremont and was defeated there by a majority of 1,247. He ran in the constituency of Champlain and was defeated there by a majority of 6,623. In the face of that, can it

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be said that the Postmaster General represents the French-speaking element of the province of Quebec?

But that is not the most serious feature. From the confines of the city of Montreal right through to the Atlantic ocean there is not a single Cabinet minister, with or without a portfolio, in the Government. The province of Nova Scotia has no representative in the Cabinet; the province of New Brunswick has no representative in the Cabinet; the province of Prince Edward Island has no representative in the Cabinet. That is to say, something like 3,000,000 of the people of this country are without any representation in the Government, so far as their province is concerned. How in the face of a situation like that, can we longer talk about representative government in this country? Why is there no representation? The answer is plain. The people have lost faith in the Government, and the Government has lost faith in the people; neither has any longer any faith in the other, and yet hon. gentlemen opposite would have us believe they are carrying on representative government in this country. No, Sir, if we wish to remedy the unrest in this country let us have a government that is representative of all classes and of all provinces in Canada.

Just this word in conclusion, for it helps to explain all the rest. What is the most fundamental of all principles underlying responsible Government? It is that of collective cabinet responsibility—that there should be a cabinet with a known policy; that its policy should be known and defined as well as its members. Will any one pretend that hon. gentlemen opposite have a defined policy? Why, there are as many policies as there are members in the Cabinet. There are as many opinions as there are members in the Cabinet. When the Prime Minister talks of resigning, one aspirant for the leadership will make a speech in which he will announce a policy regarding trade or some other question, but the other members of the Cabinet do not necessarily follow him. Other aspirants announce other policies. We have no voice of the ministry as a whole, on any great question of national policy. Not only that, but among the Government's own followers in the Senate and in this House, there are those who are framing up new policies for the Administration, showing that they have no faith in the Government any longer. The Government press, which has been behind the Government all along, comes forward with suggestions for a new alignment of parties, so that somehow, in some fashion, we can get back to some system of Government where we will have a Cabinet with a known policy able to carry on the business of the country in accordance with the country's wishes.

What lies at the back of everything else is the absence of any collective cabinet responsibility. How is that to be remedied? Why is there no Government policy to-day? Hon. gentlemen know the reason very well. The Government is composed of two factions, two groups of men of different attitudes of mind, and their job for the last year or two has been, not to find a policy, but to see how they can get along without a policy so they can hold together. If there is any doubt on that question let the ministry answer.

When the war was over one would have supposed that the Prime Minister would have made some statement to the House as to what his post-war policy was to be. The ministry was elected as a war ministry, and when the war was over its purpose was gone. It had no policy at any time other than to carry on the war. If it had I should like any member of the ministry to state what it was. I say it had no policy except to "win the war," and when the war was won it had nothing further to say as to what it represented in the country. One would have supposed that under these conditions the Prime Minister would have stated to the people of this country that the Government would carry on a little longer until demobilization had been completed and that he would then issue a statement of the Government's policies for post-war conditions and would appeal to the people and give them an opportunity of approving those policies. That would have been the proper constitutional method, but was that done? No, that chance was lost, and from the moment that chance went by, the Government began to lose the confidence of the people; it began to lose its ministers one by one, it began to lose by-elections one by one. It became a crumbling edifice until to-day there is only left a remnant of what one could call a united cabinet.

What is the position as stated by the Government itself? The people of this country were prepared to allow the ministry to carry on for a session or two for the purpose of demobilization. That would have brought the situation up to the beginning of last session. Then the job for the Government would have been limited to getting through that session.

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My hon. friend the President of the Privy Council (Mr. Rowell) will recall that he and some of those who came into the Government as Unionist Liberals held a meeting and discussed how they could stay longer in touch with those who represented the other element of which the Cabinet was composed. When that meeting was over, my hon. friend gave out a statement as to its result, which appeared in the press throughout the country on October 1. I shall read only one paragraph of that statement:

> The meeting expressed unqualified approval of the war policy of the Union Government, and the Government is congratulated on its success.

That was self-congratulation.

> The concensus of opinion was, as the members were elected to support Union Government, it is their intention to continue to do so, and the hope was strongly expressed that the Government would be able at an early date to evolve a progressive policy satisfactory to the country to meet the after the war conditions.

Note that. Here is one section of the ministry saying to the other section of the ministry and to the country that they strongly hope that in some way or another the ministry will be able to frame a policy to deal with post-war conditions. Was there ever such an exhibition of cabinet incompetency as is expressed in those words? Well, that was sufficient to keep the Government together through last session. Then we came to the Christmas recess, when the job was to hang on until another session came. That became pretty difficult. Matters grew more and more tense in the Cabinet, as my hon. friends know, and finally there was pretty nearly an explosion. The papers came out on December 15 with headlines such as these: "Sir R. L. Borden to retire from public life—Will make announcement to gathering of supporters—Heeds Medical advice—Parliament will meet in February with new Premier and leader of Unionists." We all remember what consternation there was when it was said that the Prime Minister was to resign. Why did he not resign? The answer is to be found in the newspaper headlines of the following day "Couldn't find successor, so Premier sticks." They have been looking for a successor ever since, but have not found one. Then came the statement which the Prime Minister issued himself before he went away on leave. It appeared in all the papers and is well known to every hon. member of this House. I shall read only one paragraph. It is a sort of political last will and testament by the Prime Minister. To quote:

> Sir Robert Borden desires that the situation as here outlined—

He had been outlining what took place in the Cabinet.

> —shall be placed before his supporters in Parliament, and he considers it essential that they should approve of the arrangement which his colleagues have urged and which he has accepted.
>
> It was the purpose of the Prime Minister to have set forth to the country during the recent session the policies for which the Government would stand during the life of the present parliament. During his illness, and just before his departure, he embodied his proposals in written form, and, on the second of October, the day before he left Ottawa, he submitted them to a gathering of Government supporters. It was his desire that these proposals should be taken into consideration by those present and that at a further gathering, the suggestions of senators and members should be placed before him, after which he intended to formulate these policies from his place in parliament as controlling the action of the Government during the period mentioned.
>
> Some of the proposals thus presented have since been carried out by action taken during the recent session. Sir Robert Borden desires that after due consideration of the advice and suggestions of the supporters of the Government in parliament the policies as finally accepted shall be presented to Parliament and to the people.

Now, Mr. Speaker, there is the present situation. The Prime Minister has gone away. He has left some document which is to be discussed by his followers in Parliament. He has set out what he thinks should be the policy of the party, and if all cannot agree on that policy as outlined by him, then he and they must part company. That, Mr. Speaker, is what it amounts to. In other words, instead of the policy being decided by the party's followers, or by a convention representative of the people belonging to the party, the Prime Minister, as an individual, lays down what is to be adopted, and if it is possible to secure agreement on his policy they will carry on. But what does this document say? "During the life of the present Parliament,"—another couple of years. That is the proposal that is put before the country at this time. This Government and this House, as unrepresentative as it is, is to be continued for another couple of years through some policy that is yet to be framed and that is still unknown. Why, Sir, a position of that kind is impossible, and, in the opinion of the people, will prove intolerable.

There is no remedy for such a situation except the remedy which the

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constitution provides; that is to say, at the earliest possible moment there should be an appeal to the people of the country so that the will of the people shall be known and voiced by a parliament and government that is truly representative. Sir, we have passed the time when people exist for the sake of governments. People do not exist to-day for the sake of governments. On the contrary, governments exist to give expression to the will of the people. Having this fundamental principle in mind, therefore, I beg to move, seconded by the hon. member for Cape Breton North and Victoria, (Mr. D. D. McKenzie), that the following be added to the Address to His Excellency:

We respectfully submit to Your Excellency that the conditions under which the Government was formed and the present House of Commons was elected have now passed away, and that new conditions have arisen which are not being adequately met. The regrettable protracted absence of the Prime Minister, the widely accepted belief that it is not his intention to return to the duties of his office, the makeshift arrangements for the direction of important departments to which no minister has been regularly appointed, the attempt to carry on the public business when the three eastern Maritime Provinces are entirely unrepresented in the Cabinet—these and other things operate to produce a condition of uncertainty and instability from which a vigourous and efficient administration of the Dominion's affairs cannot be expected.

We respectfully submit to Your Excellency that in the interest of the peace, order, and good government of this Dominion such a condition of our public affairs should be brought to a speedy termination, and that the only effective remedy is to be found in an appeal to the electors at a general election.

We, therefore, respectfully represent that Your Excellency's advisers should forthwith bring forward the promised Franchise Bill for the enrollment of the electors and give it precedence over all other business, and that upon the enactment of such a measure as may be necessary, and the making of temporary provisions for the urgent public service, they should take the proper constitutional steps to obtain Your Excellency's approval of an appeal to the people at the polls.

I submit this resolution, Sir, as being fundamental in the way of what is necessary in the reconstruction of our political institutions.

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"STATUS OF CANADA AS A NATION
(BULGARIAN TREATY)"

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CANADA

House of Commons Debates

OFFICIAL REPORT

SPEECH

OF

Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING, ESQ.,

MEMBER FOR PRINCE, P.E.I.,

ON

STATUS OF CANADA AS A NATION

(BULGARIAN TREATY)

In the House of Commons, Ottawa, on Tuesday, March 16, 1920.

Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (Leader of the Opposition): Mr. Speaker, before speaking to the resolution I should like to ask my hon. friend the Secretary of State for External Affairs (Mr. Rowell) whether in the resolution itself the word "plenipotentiaries" is correct, or whether the word "plenipotentiary" should be used. I notice the resolution states that the Treaty has been signed "on behalf of His Majesty, acting for Canada, by the plenipotentiaries therein named." But on referring to the Treaty itself I find there is only one plenipotentiary mentioned for the Dominion of Canada, the Hon. Sir George Perley—unless it is to be understood that the other British representatives named are also signing on behalf of the Dominion.

Hon. N. W. ROWELL: It should be "plenipotentiary." In this case only one representative signed on behalf of Canada; in the other case there were two Canadian ministers.

Mr. W. L. MACKENZIE KING: Mr. Speaker, while listening to my hon. friend, the Secretary of State for External Affairs, in introducing this resolution I could not help feeling that he himself in asking Parliament for the approval of this Treaty was doing so simply as a matter of form. There was really nothing in his argument in the way of a substantial reason why this Parliament should approve of the Treaty so far as the relations between Canada and Bulgaria are concerned. This is a Treaty between the Allied and Associated Powers and Bulgaria, and we as a Canadian Parliament are being asked to give our approval to it. One would assume that, the Canadian Parliament being asked to approve the Treaty, we would find in it somewhere something relating to the Dominion of Canada. One would also have expected that there would be a possibility of an opinion of this Parliament influencing the judgment of those who have to do with the final ratification of the Treaty. But looking at the Treaty, one sees that it was signed by the different powers at Neuilly-sur-Seine on November 27, 1919, and I am very sure my hon. friend will agree that anything that this Parliament

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may do in the nature of approving or disapproving the Treaty will not affect the dotting of a single "i" or the crossing of a single "t" in a single clause of the Treaty from beginning to end. It is for that reason I say, it seems to me, that the approval of this Parliament is being asked for simply as a matter of form.

But while the hon. member has given us no substantial reasons why this Parliament should approve the Treaty, he has given reasons why it would be unwise for us not to approve the Treaty. In drawing attention to its different clauses, he pointed out that practically everything that we are asked to approve here was approved last year when we had before us the Treaty between the Allied and Associated Powers and Germany. Therefore, not to approve this Treaty at this time would be to have it appear that in the interval something had arisen which had caused this Parliament to take a different attitude towards the Treaties of Peace which are being signed in Europe from that which was taken at the last session. I am not aware that anything of the kind has arisen, and for that reason, I think it would be unwise for Parliament not to take, in the matter of approving the Treaty, the same action as it took in the matter of approving the Treaty between the Allied and Associated Powers and Germany.

But I want to point out just what are the grounds upon which my hon. friend has asked this Parliament to approve the Treaty. The grounds are broadly comprised under two headings. My hon. friend has mentioned one particular in which the Treaty has "special interest" to Canada, and it is the only particular in which he has specified any special interest to Canada as regards this Treaty. My hon. friend says that the provisions relating to debts and financial matters are of special interest to Canada in view of the fact that there are a number of Bulgarian Nationals living in Canada, and that there is a certain amount of enemy property in this country. It sounds very serious that there should be Bulgarian Nationals living in Canada, and that there should be a certain amount of enemy property in this country; but would any one consider for a moment that that was a reason serious enough to present to this Parliament for approving a particular Treaty? Yet, as I said, that was the only mention my hon. friend made in his speech of the particular interest this Treaty has with respect to Canadian affairs. In the same connection he pointed out that the provisions the Treaty contains respecting debts and financial matters are on all fours with similar provisions in the German Treaty which was approved last session.

My hon. friend went on to give another ground which he said made the matter of "most immediate concern" to Canada. It may be summed up in his own words as follows:

> To go back to the two groups of clauses in the Treaty which are of most immediate concern to Canada, should like for a few minutes to speak in reference to the League of Nations and to the labour clauses of the Treaty.

In other words, we are being asked to approve this Treaty at the present time because of what it contains in reference to the League of Nations and the labour clauses of the Treaty. This Parliament has already approved the League of Nations' Covenant; it has already approved the labour clauses of the Treaty. Why should the time of Parliament be taken up in approving a second or a third time these particular matters? There has been no difference of view between us as to these clauses. I am not aware, when they were being debated in connection with the German Treaty, that a single exception was taken by any member of the House to the clauses relating to the League of Nations, and, in particular, to the labour clauses. Therefore, the reasons which my hon. friend has urged, are more in the nature of excuses for bringing this particular Treaty before the House, than they are good and substantial reasons for asking the approval of Parliament of this Treaty. I have said that they are excuses. I think, if my hon. friend would tell the House exactly what was in his thoughts, he would admit that his reason for asking the House to approve the Treaty was

4 p.m. largely that he might repeat at this session what he said in Parliament at the last session and what he has since been saying on a good many platforms in regard to the League of Nations' Covenant and the labour clauses of the Treaty. I think that is the main reason for the introduction of this measure at this time.

My hon. friend, however, in addition to the two statements which I have quoted, has said that the adoption of the resolution involves the acceptance of certain principles which he has set forth. It is important that we should consider what my hon. friend has said in that connection. It affords the reason why, it seems to me, it would be inadvisable for this House not

to approve the Treaty. These statements of principle might be made as separate substantial motions in this House; they might be made in reference to almost any other Treaty as well as this particular one. But should this House, in view of the statement which my hon. friend has made, refuse to approve the Treaty, then it would be immediately said, or the impression would be conveyed, that in some way or another this House was unwilling to accept the statements of principle which my hon. friend set forth.

Let me take up these statements of principle, one by one, and see whether there is any difference of opinion between members on both sides of the House in reference to them. They are all in the nature either of recognitions of something which is already conceded, or of reaffirmations of something which has already been affirmed. The first is the recognition of democratic control of foreign policy, and that Canada should not, without the consent of its Parliament, be finally committed to important international engagements such as are embodied in this Treaty. I venture to say there is not an hon. member who for one moment will take exception to the desirability of democratic control of foreign affairs. If we are to have an increased measure of foreign policy as a part of the business of this Parliament, it becomes increasingly important that we should have some effective democratic control of it; but the first example my hon. friend has given of democratic control by Parliament of foreign affairs is a somewhat unfortunate one inasmuch as he brings here for our approval a Treaty that was signed several months ago, the contents of which were not made known to a single member of this House until within the last two or three days, and a document which, I am sure my hon. friend himself will say, cannot be altered one way or another by anything which this House may do at the present time. But that is not the only example which my hon. friend has given to the House of his view of democratic control in regard to these matters of foreign policy.

On the first of March my hon. friend the Secretary of State for External Affairs (Mr. Rowell) laid upon the Table of the House copies of other treaties:

> The Czecho-Slovak Minorities Treaty, a treaty between the Principal Allied and Associated Powers and Czecho-Slavia, signed at Saint Germain-en-Laye, September 10, 1919. Ratification on behalf of Canada authorized by Order in Council of December 1, 1919.

Note those words "ratification on behalf of Canada authorized by Order in Council of December 1, 1919." Mr. Chairman, is ratification of a treaty by Order in Council an evidence of democratic control on the part of the Parliament of Canada? That is exactly the line of action which hon. gentlemen opposite have been taking in so many matters of all-important concern during recent years—and that we have been protesting against. Instead of submitting these matters to Parliament for consideration, they have taken action upon them by Order in Council.

Copy of another treaty was also laid on the Table by my hon. friend on March 1:

> The Serb-Croat-Slovent Minorities Treaty, a Treaty between the Principal Allied and Associated Powers and the Serb-Croat-Slovene State, signed at Saint Germain-en-Laye, September 10, 1919. Ratification on behalf of Canada authorized by Order in Council of December 1, 1919.

Here again is more ratification by Order in Council instead of by Parliament.

Mr. Speaker, let me repeat, we on this side of the House are strongly in favour of democratic control of all these matters of foreign policy. I think we would be willing to go so far as to say that we would like to have an expression of opinion of this House to the effect that Canada should not be bound by any treaty or agreement in matters of external relations, of which Parliament has not been fully informed in a way of which all of us could take cognizance. That would be helping along the democratic control of foreign relations, and when we have that principle carried out we shall have a sense of security which at present we do not feel in the matter of our external and inter-imperial relations.

The next reason that my hon. friend has given is that the adoption of the resolution will involve:

> A recognition that in any war in which the British Empire is engaged and in which Canada has taken part is a matter of concern to the people of Canada; that the terms of the Treaty of Peace bringing such a war to an end are also a matter of concern to the people of Canada, and that such a Treaty should not be ratified by His Majesty until it has been approved by Canada as of the five nations of the British Commonwealth.

There can be no difference of opinion on that matter. Every one in this country will admit that any war in which the British Empire is engaged and in which Canada has taken part is a matter of the greatest possible concern to Canada. Every one will be fully prepared to admit also that the terms of the treaty of peace bringing such

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a war to an end are also a matter of concern to the people of Canada, and that such a treaty should not be ratified—I think the word "not" has been left out of Hansard by mistake—until it has been approved by Canada as one of the five nations of the British Commonwealth. I am not sure that my hon. friend would not have been more consistent if he had inserted after the word "treaty" in the phrase "such a treaty" the words "in so far as Canada is concerned." I just interject that point for his consideration.

Those are two recognitions or declarations of policy, or whatever one may choose to call them, upon which I think all hon. members of this House are thoroughly agreed. The remaining three are not recognitions of accepted policy, but are reaffirmations of positions this House has already accepted. First there is

A reaffirmation by Parliament of its approval of the creation and maintenance of a League of Nations, for the promotion of international co-operation and the achievements of international peace and security by the methods set forth in the Covenant of the League.

As I mentioned a moment ago, this Parliament has approved of the creation and maintenance of a League of Nations for the promotion of international co-operation and the achievement of international peace and security by the methods set forth in the Covenant of the League. We have approved that over and over again, and why should our approval of it be asked for again in this connection? Is that a reason why this particular treaty with Bulgaria should be brought before the House for its approval at this time?

The fourth reason given by my hon. friend is that the approval of the treaty will mean:

A reaffirmation by Parliament of its approval of the Labour Clauses; and of the creation and maintenance of the International Labour Organization under its provisions.

How often have we to be asked, Mr. Speaker, to state what we have already stated time and time again in this House as to our views upon the Labour Clauses of the Covenant of the League of Nations? It may be that my hon. friend has some doubt as to the position some of his supporters may take towards those Labour Clauses, but let me tell him, speaking for those of us who are members of the Liberal party on this side of the House, that before the House took action one way or the other in regard to the Labour Clauses of the Covenant of the League of Nations, the National Liberal Convention, composed of representatives of the Liberal party from the Atlantic to the Pacific, made as one of the planks of its platform a full acceptance of the Labour Clauses in the spirit in which they were framed as part of the Covenant of the League of Nations. So that there may be no doubt as to the position which we on this side of the House have taken as to the Labour Clauses of the League of Nations, let me read the following from a resolution which was adopted in August last year by the National Liberal Convention:

Resolved that the Committee recommends that the National Liberal Convention accept in their entirety as a part of the Liberal platform, in the spirit in which they have been framed and in so far as the special circumstances of the country will permit, the terms of the Labour Convention and general principles associated with the League of Nations and incorporated in the conditions of peace.

Unless hon. gentlemen opposite entertain a different view of the significance of these Labour Clauses, I cannot see why this Parliament should again be asked to approve them under the guise of expressing its approval of a treaty between Bulgaria and the Allied Powers. So far as the League of Nations is concerned, I believe there is only one opinion in this House and in this country. We all recognize that the League of Nations is in a formative stage, that its constitution is more or less nebulous at the present time, but that it has in it promise of great good for humanity and for mankind. We all desire to see the League of Nations made a success, and we cannot by approval after approval in this House make our position better known than it is.

Now I come to the last reason which my hon. friend gave as to why we should approve this Treaty. He says its adoption involves:

A reaffirmation by Parliament of its approval of the position and status accorded to Canada in the League of Nations and in the International Labour Organization and of its determination to maintain that status.

Well, Mr. Speaker, who has questioned the status which Canada has attained in the League of Nations in any way that calls for a further approval by this Parliament of the status which we already have? Some question has been raised in the House and outside of the House as to whether the status is in any way the new thing which my hon. friend would lead us to believe it is; whether it is not a recognition of something that was achieved long before the Administration, of which he is a member, had anything to do with the matter one way or another. I think we are all agreed, Sir, that whatever status we have we desire to maintain. There is not a man in Canada who would cede one inch of ground on the question of the status which Canada has as a nation, and I do not think there is any difference of view between any of us on that point. Yet my hon. friend seizes this opportunity to bring up this question of Canada's status as a nation. As I have listened to his remarks in this Chamber and read his speeches delivered outside of the House, it has seemed to me that whether he intends to do so or not, he is seeking to convey the impression that we have a new status which we have never had before, and that it has in some mysterious way come about through some action of the Administration with which he is connected. I would be the last one to deny the Administration any credit to which I think it is entitled in regard to the service which it has rendered Canada in helping to maintain and clearly define a status which we have and which has long been admitted. But I think we are allowing full credit to the right hon. the Prime Minister (Sir Robert Borden) and those associated with him, my right hon. friend the Minister of Justice (Hon. Mr. Doherty) and my right hon. friend the Secretary of State (Hon. A. L. Sifton) for their service to this Dominion in standing firm on the question of its status, when we give them credit for having done their duty in a manner satisfactory to the people of the country.

Let me say at once that this whole question of Canada's position as a nation, when it comes to debating the matter, turns very largely on the meaning that we attach to the use of words. Hon. gentlemen opposite, on one or two occasions, have sought to make it appear that gentlemen on this side of the House, were, in some way or other, little Canadians who were endeavouring to minimize the status of their country, because they were unwilling to admit that, from certain points of view, strictly legal, or technical if you will, Canada was a nation with sovereign powers. Now, Mr. Speaker, no good purpose can be served by a contention of that kind. What is needed above everything else is clear and precise thinking on questions of this nature. Let me direct my hon. friend's attention to his own language in order to illustrate my meaning. My hon. friend says that in approving this resolution we are endorsing the following principle:

The recognition that in any war in which the British Empire is engaged and in which Canada has taken part is a matter of concern to the people of Canada; that the terms of the Treaty of Peace bringing such a war to an end are also a matter of concern to the people of Canada and that such a treaty should not be ratified by His Majesty until it has been approved by Canada as of the five nations of the British Commonwealth.

My hon. friend will observe that in the first part of the paragraph he speaks of any war in which the British "Empire" is engaged and in which Canada takes part, while in the last part of the clause he speaks of the five nations of the British "Commonwealth." In other words, we go into war as part of the British Empire and emerge from it as part of the British Commonwealth. My hon. friend knows as well as any one here that, according to one meaning of the term, you cannot say that an empire is a commonwealth; although, according to another meaning, the two terms are more or less identical. It is exactly the same in regard to the use of the word, "nation." If you wish to emphasize and lay particular stress on a certain legal technical point, then it cannot be said that Canada has all the rights, the privileges, and the attributes of a sovereign nation. But if, instead of looking merely at the letter of the word you look at the spirit of it, I think that everyone will be prepared to concede that, with the self-governing status which we have, we are to all intents and purposes a nation. Now that is the point I would direct to the attention of my hon. friend. There is in Holy Writ a familiar passage which says: "The letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life;" and that is as true in reference to the interpretation of constitutional documents as it is in reference to the Scriptures. If you rigidly follow the letter you kill what is real in the relationship between the different nations that comprise the Empire. If, on the other hand, you take the spirit of that relationship, then we distinctly have five nations forming a part of the British Empire or Commonwealth, by whichever name you choose to designate it. I should like to have that point made perfectly clear, and I trust I have done so in a way which will satisfy my hon. friend.

What, then, is the difference which exists between us and my hon. friend, or any of those associated with him, in regard to this question of the status of Canada? So far as I can see, we have no difference on what is fundamental as respects our status. Our difference is that hon. gentlemen opposite, and in particular my hon. friend,

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would have it appear, as I have already said, that our status is something newly acquired; that in some way or other which is inexplicable to us there has been a change within the last few years, and that we stand in a position now, from the legal and constitutional viewpoint, which we did not have before. We on this side of the House maintain that while there has been a clearer defining of the status of Canada, and while there has been unquestionably, and above all else, in the eyes of the world and from the international point of view, a recognition of the status of Canada through the splendid services of her armies overseas, and by reason of the valiant part they played in the great war, all these circumstances have served to emphasize and strengthen and make permanent a status which we already had and which we intend to maintain. If my hon. friend has any doubt at all on this point, I hope his mind will be disabused of any misgivings before I conclude.

By way of illustration of the point which I have been seeking to make clear, let me draw the attention of the House to the first Government notice of motion which appears on the Order Paper. In the name of my right hon. friend, the Minister of Justice, there appears the following proposed resolution:

Resolved, that a humble address be presented to His Most Excellent Majesty, the King, in the following words:

To the King's Most Excellent Majesty:

Most Gracious Sovereign:

We, Your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Commons of Canada, in Parliament assembled, humbly approach Your Majesty, praying that you may graciously be pleased to give your consent to submit a measure to the Parliament of the United Kingdom, to amend the British North America Act 1867, in the manner following, or to the following effect—etc., etc.,

Note the words in that resolution. The prayer from this Parliament is not to the King to assent to an amendment of the British North America Act. It is to His Majesty to submit a measure to the Parliament of the United Kingdom to amend the British North America Act. If you take the letter of the Constitution alone will any one for one moment contend that this country is a sovereign nation to the degree of having all the rights and privileges which the British Parliament has when we have to go to the British Parliament to ask for an amendment to our Constitution? If you construe the Constitution according to the letter, you kill the spirit immediately because we know, as my hon. friend pointed out the other day, that if we ask the British Parliament to amend the Constitution according to the constitutional practice, it is almost certain to do so and, since it is almost certain to do so, we have to all intents and purposes the full rights and privileges of a sovereign people in reference to our own Constitution. But I would like to submit to my hon. friends opposite that perhaps it would be more in accord with the status which Canada has as a self-governing dominion or nation within the British Empire if, instead of presenting an address to His Majesty to ask His Majesty's consent to the Parliament of the United Kingdom amending the British North America Act in the two particulars mentioned, the Government should consider the advisability of an address being presented to His Majesty to have powers given to the Parliament of Canada, subject to the concurrence of the several provinces of the Dominion, to amend the Constitution of Canada in such particulars as may be agreed upon as a result of conference between the provincial and federal authorities and approved by this Parliament and the legislatures of the different provinces.

I have here a copy of the Constitution of the Commonwealth of Australia and of the Dominion of New Zealand. Both Australia and New Zealand have the right to amend their own constitutions in the particulars mentioned therein. Why should this Parliament not have the same powers to amend its own Constitution, subject to the safeguards that are necessary to comply with the spirit of the Act of Confederation, as have these other nations within the British Empire?

As I have said, our difference with hon. members opposite is not at all upon the question of Canada's being a nation but upon the inference which they would convey that national status, or to put it in the phraseology of the minister, equality of status with the other nations of the British Empire, is something newly acquired, something to be credited to the present Administration. What we say is that Canada's status as a nation from the constitutional point of view was established long before the present Administration was formed and in spite of the opposition of some of its own members and their associates in the past. If any one doubts this I will quote my hon. friend an authority which he will not question. Indeed, I am prepared to leave the question of Canada's status as between hon. gentlemen opposite and gentlemen on this side of the House to the testimony of my hon. friend himself.

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I have in my hand a copy of a splendid address—one of the many splendid addresses which my hon. friend has delivered. It was not delivered since the war, or since the present Administration of which he is a member was formed, but it was delivered in Montreal on November 11, 1912—nearly eight years ago. The address is entitled:

A Short History of the Beginning and Growth of Constitutional Government in Canada.

In it my hon. friend has set forth the constitutional development of this country and to whom the credit should be given in that connection. Let me, without quoting too many extracts, just read a few that are significant as showing the position which we on this side of the House are prepared not only to maintain but which we are glad to have the opportunity of advocating and of furthering to the extent of our ability. My hon. friend started in by saying:

In all discussions of the relations of Canada to Great Britain and the other parts of the Empire, three questions appear to be uppermost in the public mind: Our political relations, our trade arrangements, and the defence of the Empire.

I am glad we have with us this evening a descendant of Papineau, a man, who, in the early history of our country, struggled to secure for the people of this province what William Lyon Mackenzie was struggling to secure for the people of Upper Canada—the right to manage their own affairs; and while we may not agree with the methods either pursued, we must agree that they were fighting against grave abuses and were struggling to redress serious injustice to the mass of the people of the two provinces.

The Rebellion of 1837, and the exceedingly able report of Lord Durham on the political conditions in Canada which followed the Rebellion constitute a convenient starting point for our discussion. Permit me to recall to your minds the records of the two political parties in this country from the Rebellion of 1837 down to the year 1911 on the three questions I have mentioned.

I am not going to quote at any great length, but just let me give one or two sentences.

Mr. McMASTER: Whose speech is that?

Mr. KING: It is the speech of my hon. friend the present Secretary of State for External Affairs (Mr. Rowell): He says:

The four main events in the development of our political relations during this period were: (1) the struggle for and securing of responsible government; (2) Canadian Confederation, including the purchase of the Northwest Territories; (3) the evolution of Canada from the position of a colony of Great Britain to that of one of the free self-governing nations of the Empire; (4) the creation of a truly Imperial organization under the name of "The Imperial Conference."

I wish to remind hon. members that this is an address which was delivered on the 11th of November, 1912. The Armistice was signed on November 11, 1918. It was in 1912 that my hon. friend was speaking. After mentioning the great fight for responsible government, he says:

Around this issue the battle waged for years, Baldwin and Lafontaine leading the Liberal forces.

What further does my hon. friend say? He says:

The Conservative party in Great Britain clung just as tenaciously to government by Downing Street as did the Conservatives in this country.

Then he goes on:

The only party that believed in responsible government as being essential to the progress and prosperity of Canada, and that the granting of this right of self-government would not only not weaken but strengthen our loyalty to the Crown and the Mother Country, was the Liberal party in Canada.

My hon. friend makes the position clearer when he declares:

The result of the Conservative policy was the Family Compact, the Rebellion of 1837, and the long and bitter struggle which retarded the progress and development of Canada, and divided the people of Canada into two hostile camps. The result of the Liberal policy was the securing for Canada—

Listen to this:

—and ultimately not only for Canada but the other colonies of the Empire—of the right to manage their own affairs, and with that right the peace and progress of the country and a great increase in affection for and the desire to maintain British connections.

Then my hon. friend says:

This great discovery of colonial self-government, which, according to Sir Herbert Samuel, is one of the two great contributions in the sphere of Government which the British people have given to the world, was made, was wrought out and secured by the Liberal party in Canada.

My hon. friend goes on to say:

Their labour has made the Empire as it exists to-day possible.

I shall pass over what my hon. friend has had to say about the question of Confederation and the part played by the two parties in this country in that connection, and what he has said about the acquirement of the Northwest territory. He concluded, however, that part of his address by saying:

Here again it was the policy of the Liberal leader and the Liberal party which forced this great question to the front, and was so largely instrumental in securing these territories for Canada.

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Now, Mr. Speaker, lest it might appear that we were getting away from this all important question of the status of Canada, and Canada's status as a nation within the British Empire, I am pleased to see that my hon. friend has devoted a considerable part of his address to that one particular subject. "The changed status of Canada," he calls it. Now let me read what he says in that connection:

When Sir Wilfrid Laurier went to England to attend the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria—

That was in 1897, 23 years ago—

In one of his very first public utterances he took the position that Canada was no longer a colony but a nation. He said: "The authority of the Queen does not rest on military force, but from the Pacific to the Atlantic rests on the cheerful allegiance of five million people who feel themselves a nation. The feeling dominating Canada is one of pride in her local autonomy and legislative liberty connected with Imperial unity."

That is the end of the quotation from Sir Wilfrid Laurier's speech and my hon. friend goes on:

Throughout his stay in Great Britain Sir Wilfrid consistently maintained the position that Canada had reached the status of a nation. When he returned to the city of Montreal, and the citizens extended such a memorable welcome to him he again emphasized that position. He said: He had longed to live to see the day when Canada would no longer be a colony, but would be a free nation within the Empire, and he was glad to be able to say he had lived to see that day.

Mr. Speaker, whatever doubt there may be on the other side of the House, as to Canada's status, there can be no doubt as to the position which we of the Liberal party of Canada have had in regard thereto. My hon. friend has stated it accurately, he has stated it truly, and as he has stated it here every one of us is prepared to see that it is maintained along those lines. But what was the position—and here I should like to point out there are times and seasons for all things—of hon. gentlemen opposite? To-day they are saying a great deal about Canada being a nation. They are able to do so, why? Because the struggle which the Liberal party maintained for a quarter of a century in this country has at last, through the great service of our men overseas, come before the world in its true and bold form. Sir Wilfrid Laurier said: "Let us have the attributes of a nation and when the time of stress comes Canada will respond and do her duty by the Empire." Was not his prophesy fully fulfilled? Was it not because we had the status of a nation, because we believed we had the status of a nation, that Canada played the part which she played in this great war? I think one of the most significant things in the history not only of Canada but of the world is the fact that when this war came on, so far as I am aware, the British Government asked nothing of this Dominion; that everything that was done was done voluntarily and freely by the people of Canada through their Government. How did that come about? It came about as a consequence of Canada recognizing that she had the status of a nation, that she had said: "Recognize our status as a nation and we will do our part." Had she been held in a colonial position is it possible to believe that she would have responded as she did at that time?

But, as I have said, it is one thing to proclaim Canada a nation to-day; it was another thing to proclaim Canada a nation twenty-five years ago in the heart of the British Empire across the seas, and that is what Sir Wilfrid Laurier did. He did not wait, he spoke, he blazed the way. There at the Queen's Jubilee when all the nations were looking on he took that position and from that time he fought steadily to see that it was maintained in every particular. I might quote not only the address my hon. friend has referred to, but also a speech which Sir Wilfrid Laurier made at the constitutional club in London, England, on July 7, 1902. I have in my hand a report which appeared in the London Times on the day following and what is the expression used there? Every member of the House will recall the expression and the occasion of its use. Sir Wilfrid Laurier said:

You may search the annals of history so far as the human eye can pierce into them, and you shall not find a parallel to the spectacle of which you are to-day the witness. The Empire of Rome in the heyday of her splendid power never reached that level of moral attitude. And the reason is obvious. The Empire of Rome was composed of slave states; the British Empire is a galaxy of free nations.

That is where we get for the first time the expression of the British Empire as a group of free nations. Sir Wilfrid Laurier used the striking, the poetic phrase "a galaxy of free nations." Hon. gentlemen opposite to-day use the expression "A community of free nations," or "A cluster of free nations," or "A family of free nations." Call it by any name you like the essence of the whole relationship is in the phrase Sir Wilfrid Laurier used, "A galaxy of free nations," and from that moment up to the present time we have sought to maintain that position—that is, all of us who have fought for Liberal tradition and sought to maintain it.

Now, what was the attitude of the Conservative press towards Sir Wilfrid Laurier when he took that stand? What was the attitude of some of those who belong to the party opposite? My hon. friend the Secretary of State for External Affairs (Mr. Rowell) has told the country. He says in this address:

What was the attitude of the Conservative press in regard to this? They charged Sir Wilfrid with being a separatist.

He goes on to quote from the Mail and Empire and he mentions that other Conservative journals and leaders of the Conservative party took the same position and indulged in the same criticism. He adds:

They failed to perceive that which Sir Wilfrid Laurier and those who shared his views saw, that there can be no permanent basis of union and no permanent plan for co-operation between the peoples of the Empire with a dominant race living in one country to which those living in a self-governing Dominion would be more or less subject; that the future of the Empire as well as its strength, and stability depended upon a frank recognition of equality in the status of the people in the self-governing Dominions with those of the Mother Country.

Note those words. I imagine my hon. friend might be tempted to say that while we had sought to maintain a certain status, we had not equality of status as we have it to-day. But here are his own words: either he spoke what was true then, or he did not speak what was true then. I think my hon. friend will say that he believes he was speaking the truth then as he believes he is speaking the truth to-day and at that time (1912) he said: Sir Wilfrid Laurier took the position that the strength of the British Empire and its stability depended upon a frank recognition of equality in the status of the people in the self-governing Dominions with those of the Mother Country. My hon. friend says further:

This assertion of our national status was necessary for the people of Canada to develop our own national self-consciousness and our own self-respect. It was necessary for the people of Great Britain in order that they might realize that they were dealing not with subjects but with fellow citizens. That this is our position, and that we are now a nation, is not only recognized by the statesmen of Canada but by the statesmen of the Mother Country.

The other day my hon. friend asked permission of the House to place on record certain excerpts from speeches delivered by the Right Hon. Arthur Balfour, the Right Hon. Lord Milner and by General Smuts. He told the House that the reason he wished to place these particular extracts on Hansard was to make it perfectly plain that not only was the status of Canada recognized here among Canadians, but that it was also recognized by the great leaders of thought and opinion overseas. Well, my hon. friend adopted exactly the same method in 1912, and he placed on record then in the course of his address before the Montreal Reform Club quotations from British statesmen to precisely the same effect. I shall not take the time of the House to read them, but instead of quoting General Smuts he quoted Sir Frederick Pollock. He also quoted Mr. Balfour and Mr. Asquith. He quoted all these gentlemen, for what purpose? To show that our position as a nation was not only recognized by the statesmen of Canada, but was equally recognized by the statesmen of the Mother Country. He said:

Nowhere have I seen this changed relationship more clearly stated than in an article on the Imperial Conference written by the editor of the Round Table. Referring to the resolution passed by the Colonial Conference in 1907, establishing the Imperial Conference, this writer says:

"This resolution"—

—that is, a resolution passed in 1907, when, I think, my hon. friend for Shelburne and Queen's (Mr. Fielding) was present—

—"established the status of the Dominions as national entities, entirely distinct from that which inhabited the British Isles. It recognized that the basis of Imperial organization was the co-operation of five nations, not the centralization of power in the hands of the British Government as an Imperial Parliament. It finally destroyed the older conception of Imperial development, as a gradual re-union of the colonies with the Mother Country through representatives in either of the British Houses of Parliament."

But, Mr. Speaker, there are two or three more clauses that I wish to read. These are, I think, perhaps the most conclusive of any of the utterances of my hon. friend—and I again remind the House that these statements were made in the city of Montreal on November 11, 1912:

Some of the most important changes in our British constitutional system were not brought about by any Act of Parliament or legislature, but by the demand on the one hand for new or enlarged rights and powers, and the recognition of these rights and powers on the other. This momentous change from a colony of Great Britain to that of one of the free nations of the Empire did not require any Act of Parliament —British or Canadian—for its consummation It simply required a demand on our part for a new status and the acceptance and recognition of that new status on the part of Great Britain I venture to suggest—

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It gives me, Mr. Speaker, particular pleasure to read these words at this time and in this place—

I venture to suggest that when the history of our constitutional development is written among the great things that Sir Wilfrid Laurier has done none will appear greater than his perception of the fact that the status of Canada must be changed and that this change must be brought about, not by legislative enactment, but by the demand on our part for a new status, persisted in until the people of Canada were convinced of its necessity; persisted in until the statesmen of Great Britain were convinced that it was right. By this great achievement Sir Wilfrid has enlarged the liberties and improved the status of every Canadian citizen, and what he has done for Canada he has done for all the self-governing Dominions.

My hon. friend uttered those words while Sir Wilfrid Laurier was alive. I ask him: Will he not be the first to say that they are equally true now that Sir Wilfrid Laurier is no longer here?

Mr. ROWELL: Does my hon. friend want an answer?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I should be pleased to receive an answer.

Mr. ROWELL: I say undoubtedly they are true. And what is true of Sir Wilfrid Laurier is equally true of Sir Robert Borden in connection with the work of the Peace Conference and the League of Nations.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: My hon. friend's statement just made in such a straightforward and honourable way is interesting not only in regard to the meed of praise which he is prepared to concede to Sir Wilfrid Laurier, but also because of his reference to Sir Robert Borden.

Let me repeat here, Mr. Speaker, that my purpose in quoting my hon. friend is not in any way to belittle the work of Sir Robert Borden or of the hon. gentlemen who were associated with him. I would say frankly that Sir Robert Borden and his colleagues stood firm for the maintenance of Canada's status—they did their duty by Canada in that regard. If they had done less they would have been derelict in their duty and would have been liable to the censure of this Parliament. Having done their duty, and done it well, they are entitled to the thanks of this Parliament and of this country.

But, Sir, let me add this from the words of my hon. friend in regard to what Sir Robert Borden and his colleagues have been able to achieve. They are the very next words that appear in the speech from which I have been quoting:

The welcome which Mr. Borden and his colleagues received last June was only made possible because of the work Sir Wilfrid Laurier and his colleagues had done for Canada.

I will ask my hon. friend if those words are not equally true?

Mr. ROWELL: If my hon. friend wishes an answer I am quite prepared to give it. I believe those words are equally true. I am prepared to give credit to whom it is due, and I think the other side should be just as ready to give credit to Sir Robert Borden and his colleagues too.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I hope we are. I should like to make it perfectly clear that in this matter we are not seeking for honours; all we wish is to have the position made clear and plainly stated. As between us, if you will, honours may be evenly divided. What I wish to make perfectly plain is what my hon. friend himself has emphasized, namely that the welcome which Sir Robert Borden subsequently received was only made possible because of the work that Sir Wilfrid Laurier and his colleagues had done for Canada.

This is the next paragraph:

To-day—this was 1912—we stand in our relationships and in our negotiations, both in the mind of the people of the mother country and in the mind of the people of the other self-governing dominions, as one of the five free nations that go to make up the Empire. It is again the work of Liberal leaders and the triumph of the Liberal policy which has laid the broad foundation upon which alone the future strength and security of the Empire can rest.

Just one word in regard to the development of an Imperial organization. My hon. friend went on to say:

Some of our Conservative friends are very fond of talking about Imperial organization, they are fond of talking about representation in some Imperial body, they are talking about Canada having some voice in Imperial affairs.

I think this will interest particularly my hon. friend for Shelburne and Queen's (Mr. Fielding):

While they have been talking and dreaming the Liberal leaders of Canada and the Liberal leaders of Great Britain and of the other Dominions, have been creating a truly Imperial organization for dealing with Imperial affairs.

We have in the Imperial Conference a truly representative body which, up to the present time, has proved itself capable of dealing with all important matters of Imperial concern . . . .

It is important for us to bear in mind some of the characteristics of this Conference. It recognizes the national status of the Dominions, as distinct from the mother country; it is truly representative in its character, being composed of the Prime Ministers of the mother country

and self-governing Dominions; it is responsible in that each Prime Minister has back of him a parliamentary majority, and therefore has the power to implement the resolutions to which he gives assent; it recognizes the autonomy of all the governments and no resolution affecting any particular government can become effective unless assented to by it.

And this further word:

But Sir Wilfrid's contribution towards securing for us a safe and effective Imperial organization is not limited to a suggestion as to the form and work of the Imperial Conference. He has also done good work for Canada and the Empire in assisting to defeat proposals for Imperial organization which would have seriously impaired our rights of self-government. In so doing, he was not only fighting for Canada, but he was fighting for the whole British Empire.

That leads me to conclude by referring to the concluding remarks of my hon. friend the other day. After he had spoken at considerable length of the status of Canada, he said something to the effect that the choice to-day was between remaining part of the group of free nations comprising the British Empire and, on the one hand, either reverting to the old Colonial status, or, on the other, going in for complete independence. All of us will agree that it is unthinkable to speak about any return to the old colonial status; but my hon. friend did not put his hand on the real danger when he spoke about the alternative being complete independence. The thing about which we on this side of the House are alarmed is not independence or the maintenance of the status which we have as one of the nations comprising the British Empire. The thing we are concerned about and what we fear is the danger of swinging to the other extreme and developing a form of centralised Imperialism which we think would be thoroughly objectionable so far as the interests of this country are concerned. It is not to any status of Canada as one of the nations within the British Empire that we take exception. We wish to see that position maintained and strengthened; but we do not wish to see, through any insidious or other method, a condition of affairs brought about whereby the full autonomy of this country and of this Parliament will in any way be lessened or impaired by any scheme of Imperialism which will lead to a centralisation of the control of the British Empire in one centre, instead of the maintenance of the free self-governing position which we are privileged to enjoy at the present time.

We believe that position can be maintained by holding to the attitude of conference and consultation which was developed under the old Liberal administration; that it is possible for the British Empire to become, as regards the League of Nations, a league within a league, if you like, for the preservation of freedom amongst the different nations of the world. That position will be maintained by the attitude of conference and co-operation; it will not be maintained by a development which will lead to the loss of either of those features through any centralising tend-
5 p.m. ency one way or another. So, to make plain the position that we on this side take in regard to the question of status and what has happened in the last few years, we would say that the change that has taken place in Canada's status as a result of the war—and there has been in the last few years an emphasis which there had not been for many years previously—has not been any change in the nature of our status, but has been, as regards the British Empire and relations within the British Empire, a clearer defining of a status already existing. As regards the world, there has been an international recognition of that status such as never existed hitherto in the history of the British Empire, and for that international recognition we are first and last, and shall always be most indebted to the services of Canada's armies across the seas. That is where the credit belongs for the international recognition which has come; and as I have already said, as regards the clearer definition of the status, we are prepared and are glad to concede to the Prime Minister (Sir Robert Borden) and his colleagues that they have done their duty well in maintaining that status firmly.

So long as, in the last analysis, all matters pertaining to Canada in her external or inter-Imperial relations are made subject to the approval of this Parliament, so long as no action can be taken of which the Parliament of Canada does not have ample opportunity to approve, we shall feel that to all intents and purposes, we are a nation in the true sense of the word. But let the sovereignty of this Parliament be impaired as respects anything that concerns Canada in either her inter-Imperial or international relations, and we shall feel that the position of Canada as a nation has been menaced to that extent.

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25 March 1920 Houseof Commons

FRANCHISE BILL

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Franchise
Question
Second Resolution
Abstract D

Requirements in franchise:

D 4251

It should be above question.
It should be effective.
It should satisfy the public conscience.
It should secure that acquiescence in a verdict which should be the last word on all questions submitted to the people.
It should appeal to sense of right and justice, honesty and fair play.

The sanctity of the franchise is a fundamental principle of the institutions of a free people.

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use for assembly
Hansard
please return

The Bill before the House, the most important this session -

The most important before Parliament at any time.
Pertains to what is fundamental in citizenship.
At the foundation of all that pertains to self-government.

The questions, therefore, involved in a discussion on this subject, transcend all considerations of party; they are matters primarily of concern to the whole people.

In referring to War and its effects, pointed out -

Not merely material wealth destroyed;
Nor human life;
But faith in our political institutions.

The institution of government itself is on trial. Whether it is to survive the test of the times will depend on degree to which we are able to restore confidence in what has been lost of faith in the ability of a people to govern themselves, and particularly of a democracy to be true to its ideals of government.

Not faith in Government;
Nor faith in Opposition;
Nor faith in any party group or faction;
But faith in government and the machinery of government adequately to express the will of the people - the whole people - and not to frustrate that will by electoral or other devices.

Confidence has been shaken in the legislation Government has enacted - and doubt and uncertainty it has produced.

Mass of legislation re franchise -
not in mind of people only;
but in mind of Govt. itself - "Minister of Justice:
"somewhat of a conundrum".

Congratulations on repeal of all this legislation.

Begin with a clean slate - so far as possible, efface from records "this stain upon our national career".

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Symbolical of the intention of the Government, not only to wipe out its own iniquities, but to forget and to forgive as well.

If that is the spirit in which the Government is approaching Parliament with this legislation; if the desire is to reunite the people of Canada, in sentiments of good-will and good works as respects the future, we on this side are prepared to meet them in that spirit.

That brings me to the attitude we intend to adopt towards 2nd reading.

Only one principle involved in this measure - the desirability for a franchise Act the terms of which shall be known and definite, and the provisions of which shall be fair and just. Heaven knows we want an Act; that legislation has been too long delayed; that its provisions, if fair, cannot be too speedily adopted; and that, once enacted, advantage cannot be taken of them too soon to secure the return of a Parliament which will be representative of the will of the people.

To the principle of the Act, therefore, we have no objection to take. As to certain of its provisions, however, there are modifications which we should like to suggest, and which, in the public interest we believe to be imperative.

Perhaps I might add just a word in this connection as to outstanding features of the Bill - and in doing so follow the broad outlines as set forth by the Solicitor General at the time of its introduction.

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The purpose threefold. Perhaps I might take these up in the order presented.

1. Fix a uniform franchise throughout the Dominion.

The franchise is to be established upon broad principles. British citizenship one requirement.

Nothing could be fairer than that. If the Government adheres to this principle in spirit as well as in letter, they will have the hearty support of every hon. member of this side of the House. All we would ask - Should not profess one thing, and do another; should not give with one hand, and withhold with the other. Such a course, if adopted, could only make the last state worse than the first, so far as attaining the supreme national object of Canadian unity is concerned. Unity of heart and feeling, as well as uniformity of rights, that is needed; and the Government has a great opportunity to render a great national service, and I for one hope they may rise to it.

It was this thought which caused me to inquire of the Acting Prime Minister regarding any disfranchising Act. Reference in the Bill itself to such an Act - I take it that it is to a statute on the books, not to any Act that is contemplated.

The Solicitor General made mention of one exception - disqualification by reason of race.

I am sure there are many in this House who will feel that British citizenship is something which, in the matter of rights, is something which should admit of no exceptions. No doubt there are grounds of public policy for this exception, which the Minister will explain to the House.

As I read the sections of the Act, it appears to me that the exception is not so much an exception on the ground of race as it is a recognition of the peculiar problems with which one or more individual provinces may be faced; and that to this extent the Bill recognizes the spirit of the Canadian constitution, which is federal in its nature, and which seeks to preserve to the Provinces a voice in all matters of special concern.

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2. Provide a uniform method for the preparation of voters' lists.

A question whether Government, in its desire for uniformity, has not sacrificed considerations of even greater importance, viz: security - efficiency - economy.

On face of it, this looks like the use of provincial lists - which would be very satisfactory when such lists are based upon existing municipal lists, and not on a system of enumeration, which may or may not be far from satisfactory.

Let me illustrate what I mean:
Province of Ontario -
Provincial Election held last November.
If Federal Election held before November this year, these provincial lists would not be the basis.
What are the facts concerning these lists:
City of Ottawa - some 8,000 names left off;
City of Toronto - " 25,000 " " "
But for the referendum on the Temperance issue, the numbers left off would have been vastly greater.

Municipal lists are prepared by city assessors. Why should these not be made in all cases a basis, a basis for the Provincial as well as the Federal lists? They are prepared every year, and revised every year.

If Federal Election held after November, these provincial lists, as matters now stand, would be of no use. Mr. Drury indicates he intends to hold on till the last hour - till August 1923.

No lists whatever, everything, both in cities and rural districts, would have to be by enumeration.

In extending the system of enumeration in the preparation of lists, the Government is moving in the wrong direction. The effort should be to restrict it just as much as possible. It is certain to invite distrust, in however limited a measure it may be resorted to. The effort should be to confine it just as much as possible. Let the provincial lists be a basis where they are based on municipal lists and are adequate and uptodate; and let the municipal lists continue to be a basis wherever in any particular the provincial lists are inadequate or incomplete.

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Come to principle where no provincial lists exist:

(1) as to urban centres.
(2) as to rural centres.

(1) As to urban centres:

Stages of procedure:
(1) registration.
(2) revision.

This follows largely practice to which we have become accustomed in urban centres.

The first point to notice is time within which registration and revision is to be completed.

All this work has to be carried out after the writ for an election has been issued. Just at a time when excitement is at its highest pitch, and errors most likely to occur, the army of enumerators to begin their work - without any lists as a basis.

Municipal lists should be a basis. The lists, if possible, should be complete at least a month before the elections are held.

This to be noted about urban lists - there is the possibility of revision before a judicial authority, and there is an element of finality.

(2) As to rural municipalities:

If these features necessary in case of urban centres, they are equally necessary in rural municipalities.

Here the Government proposes a departure from its own principles. There is no revision - no judicial authority to whom to appeal, no finality in the lists themselves. Everything is left wide open in a manner which invites fraud and crime.

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Let me examine what is proposed:

Government appoints the returning officers - in district

Returning officers appoint the deputy returning officers.

~~Deputy~~ returning officers appoint the enumerators.

Enumerators prepare the lists and give them to

Deputy returning officers, who do what they please as to admitting voters on election day.

Here we find re-enacted all the worst features of the War-Time Elections Act - that blot upon our national career.

Recognized municipal lists should be a basis.

There should be time for a careful revision.

There should be revision before properly constituted authorities - judicial or quasi-judicial.

There should be finality in the lists.

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16 April 1920 House of Commons

"G.T.R. PENSIONS"

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April 16, 1920.

G. T. R. PENSIONS

An amendment necessary, if justice is to be done in a situation which involves the honour of the Government and Parliament, not less than the honour of the Corporation to which the Bill refers.

I bring it up now because it is absolutely the last chance in which it is possible for Parliament to right a great wrong which has been done a very large section of workers in this country, namely the conductors and trainmen involved in the strike of the G.T.R. in July, 1910.

Ever since the termination of that strike, there has been an effort upon the part of the Government to have the G. T. R. Company fulfill an honourable obligation ~~it's employees~~ entered into with its employees, and vouched for by Ministers of the Crown, and which it is the duty of this Parliament, as representing the people of Canada, to see is fulfilled if through any action on the part of Parliament that is possible at all. The question has become one entirely other than that merely of the rights and liabilities of two parties to a dispute. It is a question of whether, as between the Government of this country and a great corporation, in which in the eyes of the industrial classes of the country the honour of both is involved, the Government is to have the last word in upholding the cause of justice or the corporation the last word in defeating it.

Briefly review the situation:

When strike was settled, it was agreed:
-- in their <u>former positions</u>.

What was meaning of former positions?
It meant <u>status</u> and <u>all rights pertaining thereto</u>.

If the Company did not intend it to have that meaning, it was the Company's business to make that clear at time of settlement negotiations.

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My purpose in reading the lengthy communication to Sir Wilfrid was to disclose the negotiations in detail. Not once during the whole of them was the question of pensions mentioned as between the parties. In private, by the strike leaders, their point of view was given to me with respect to pensions. Moreover, it was publicly stated, but it was never raised in the negotiations, nor is it mentioned in the terms of settlement of the strike. It was not publicly referred to by the President of the Company till the strike was declared at an end and the men had returned to work, on the understanding that they were to be put back in their former positions. Then, for the first time, the then President of the G.T.R. intimated that the Company was going to penalize the men for having struck by depriving them, through a legal technicality, of their pension rights, and began a course of behaviour which was vindictive in the extreme. This course compelled the Government of Canada, under both administrations, to take a very firm stand with the Company. Both the Governments of Sir Wilfrid Laurier and the Government of Sir Robert Borden had to take a drastic course of action to compel the Company to fulfill even a part of its obligations. Laurier Government refused legislation till men reinstated. The Borden Government refused legislation. /[illegible]/ If both were justified in that course, they would have been equally justified in maintaining that attitude until the pension rights were also admitted.

Why at the time - legislation such as I am about to propose was not enacted. The strike took place in July, 1910. The question first was: reinstatement. Judge Barron appointed to inquire. Report long delayed. Enabling legislation was put through while Barron investigating. The vital legislation - the financial aid amounting to several millions - was refused. Then came the elections of 1911.

Other Government and its efforts.

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Why not last session? I was in the House only two or three weeks. G.T.R. Acquisition Bill far advanced. Efforts were wholly in this direction, first protesting against undue haste; but, secondly, amendment to Act by refusing to ratify till agreement was brought down and submitted to Parliament. Government refused. Drew up agreement after session was over. Put in a clause re pensions - this very pension fund. Had before them at time following representations from men involved in strike. No heed paid. In committee, I moved to amend agreement, that amendment defeated. Now Minister states Government will not allow any amendments to agreement. Therefore, no alternative but to propose the addition of another section to the Act, independent altogether of the agreement, but which has an important bearing on matters of public policy and social justice involved in the acquisition of the G. T. R. system.

In the interest of public honour and social justice, Parliament, with the information it has before it, cannot afford to leave in any doubt the rights of the employees of the G. T. R. system with respect to their pensions and for the sake of public honour and social justice, I propose moving the following amendment:

What is it the G. T. R. Company is seeking to do? Thus far, it has been said they are seeking to avoid meeting a financial liability, or to pass on that liability to the people of this country **oxes** the railroad becomes their property. This is bad enough; but what the Company is seeking in reality to do, and what Parliament will be assisting them to do if they leave this matter in doubt, is something much worse. They are seeking to take for the shareholders (most of whom are in England) a sum of money which belongs to workingmen and their families in this country, which was set apart under an Act of this Parliament as a pension fund and for no other purpose. This money **thus** set aside, if the G. T. R. is permitted to carry out its purpose, becomes

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House of Commons Debates

OFFICIAL REPORT

SPEECHES

OF

HON. W. L. MACKENZIE KING, M.P.,

LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION

ON

THE RESTORATION OF PENSIONS TO GRAND TRUNK RAILWAY EMPLOYEES

House of Commons Ottawa, Friday, April 16 and Thursday, April 22, 1920.

Speech on amendment moved in Committee, Friday, April 16, 1920.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: In introducing this Bill the minister mentioned that he had two purposes in view: first, the correcting of these errors—this the minister said was the really substantial purpose of the Bill—and, second, that of ratifying the entire agreement. In the amendment which has just been voted down we on this side expressed our willingness to meet the Government in the matter of correcting the errors and of giving what was necessary in the way of ratification in that connection. The fact that the Government is not satisfied with what it proposes as the main purpose of this Bill leaves but one impression, and that is that in asking for ratification of the agreement as a whole there is some ulterior object which thus far has not appeared. When we are asked to ratify the entire agreement it is only proper that we on this side, before expressing our views one way or another upon it, should express our opinions in regard to any features of the agreement which we think should be made the subject of review before the final vote is taken.

In this House a day or two ago we had an important discussion on the manner in which certain of the employees of the Grand Trunk Railway Company have been treated by the company in regard to pensions to which they believed themselves to be entitled. As hon. members will recall, in the strike of 1910, which involved all the employees of the Grand Trunk Railway system, a settlement was effected whereby the employees were to be reinstated in their former positions. After the agreement had been adopted and the employees had returned to their duties, they found, much to their amazement, that the Grand Trunk Railway Company was unwilling to give them their rights in the matter of pensions.

In the agreement which we are being called upon to ratify I find the following under the caption "Superannuation and Pension Funds," which is section 17 of the agreement:

> The Grand Trunk Superannuation Fund shall continue in existence and shall continue to be administered as at present, and in accordance with the rules and regulations governing the same. The rules and regulations of the Grand

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Trunk pension system shall continue to be applicable to employees of the Grand Trunk system until a general pension scheme applicable to all employees of Canadian Government owned or controlled railways shall be adopted and become effective. The rules and regulations of the Grand Trunk Insurance and Provident Society shall continue to be applicable unless and until the Government shall adopt and make effective a general insurance scheme applicable to all employees of Canadian Government owned or controlled railways. In no case shall any acquired rights or vested interests in either the pension system or the Insurance and Provident Society be affected.

It will be perfectly apparent from this section of the agreement that the pension scheme of the Grand Trunk Railway Company is an important feature of it. But the two sentences to which I wish to direct particular attention are the following:

The rules and regulations of the Grand Trunk pension system shall continue to be applicable to the employees of the Grand Trunk system until a general pension scheme applicable to all employees of Canadian Government owned or controlled railways shall be adopted and become effective. . . . In no case shall any acquired rights or vested interests in either the pension system or the Insurance and Provident Society be affected.

The employees of the Grand Trunk who were involved in that strike have been deprived of their rights in the matter of pensions. The company claim that that is in consequence of the employees having gone on strike. As was stated in the House the other day, there is no doubt from a reading of the agreement in settlement of the strike that the company was obliged to reinstate the employees in their former positions and that their status was to be what it formerly had been. Any one interpreting the language as the ordinary man would interpret it—certainly as the employees involved in the strike interpreted it—would be led to feel and would have good reason to believe that the employees should have all the rights which they would have had if they had not gone out on strike.

But, Sir, the discussion the other day brought forth a statement from the Minister of Justice which really has caused me to intervene at this stage of the discussion and to ask that before we ratify this agreement this Parliament take such action as will make it absolutely certain that employees of the Grand Trunk Railway Company receive what is their due from the company. When this matter came up the other day it was pointed out that some legal technicality might prevent the employees from receiving their rights, and the attention of the Government was directed to the distinction between what might be a legal right and what might be a moral obligation. I think I am correct in saying that the Minister of Justice said that the Government would impress upon the Board of Arbitrators just as strongly as they could the desirability of taking into account any claims which the employees of the Grand Trunk Railway Company might feel that they had in respect of their claims to pensions. I understood him to say that if the Board of Arbitrators found there were legal reasons which would make it impossible for the board to regard the liability of the Grand Trunk these claims in respect to pensions, then there would be a moral obligation upon the Government when it became sole owner of the road to make good these pensions. What does that amount to? It means that the Government is prepared to say to the Board of Arbitrators: If you cannot find that the employees are legally entitled to these pensions and that the Grand Trunk Railway Company should be held liable for them, we will shift that liability over to the people of Canada. I say that that is a course which should not be permitted. The Grand Trunk Railway Company of Canada owes the workingmen who were formerly in its employ every cent they should have received in accordance with the terms of the pension fund as it would have existed had there been no strike, and no technicality should be sanctioned by this Government or this Parliament which will permit the Grand Trunk Railway Company to escape their responsibility and the people of Canada to be mulcted in an additional payment of money which rightfully is a liability of the company. My hon. friend, as a distinguished member of his profession, knows very well that the moment the Board of Arbitrators are asked to consider the question they will say at once that this is a matter of contract which must be dealt with in accordance with principles of law; and that there are in the provinces statutes of limitation which make it impossible to take cognizance of matters of contract after a certain number of years have elapsed. It was ten years ago that the strike took place, and I think that, in Ontario at any rate, after six years have elapsed no court can take cognizance of any matter of this kind. Now, Sir, there is one court above all others in the land, and that is this court of Parliament, and I say that we at this time have it within our power to do justice to men who have had a great injustice done them for a period

of ten years. A great wrong has been done a large working class in this country, and I for one purpose to exert every bit of my power as a member of Parliament to see that the wrong is righted.

I have different reasons for feeling strongly on this matter. In the first place, my name has been introduced into the discussion in a manner which would lead the employees of the Grand Trunk Railway Company to believe that, because while a member of the Government of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, I intervened to help in bringing about a settlement of the strike, therefore in some way I was responsible, or at any rate the Government of Sir Wilfrid Laurier was responsible, for the employees not receiving their pensions under the Grand Trunk Railway scheme. In the House the other afternoon a communication was read, which I shall read again in a moment, and which carries with it its own implication. It is a copy of a letter which I sent to the leaders of the strike. The letter is dated, Ottawa, August 2, 1910, and reads:

Dear Sir:—Re dispute between Grand Trunk Railway Company and its employees in train and yard service.

I beg to confirm over my own signature the following wire sent you at a quarter past five this afternoon:—

"Confidential—Mr. Hays has given Sir Frederick Borden and myself an undertaking that the men will within three months from this date, be taken back into service and within that time be placed in their former positions. We understand by the men all the men referred to in the agreement signed by both parties. In accordance with our understanding I shall expect to hear by wire immediately that the strike has been declared at an end. I will confirm this wire by letter over my own signature."

Yours faithfully,

W. L. MACKENZIE KING,
Minister of Labour.

S. N. BERRY, Vice-Pres., O.R.C.

JAMES MURDOCK, Vice-Pres., B. of R. T.,
Representative of the General Committee,
Grand Trunk and Central Vermont,
Grand Union Hotel, Montreal.

Reference to the calendar of that time will show that the communication was sent on a Monday, and reference to the agreement as to the settlement of strike differences discloses that the agreement was dated 31st of July, 1910, which was a Saturday. Now, what was the agreement? I shall read it:

Agreement for settlement of differences dated 31st July, 1910.

Re dispute between the Grand Trunk Railway Company and its employees in train and yard service.

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By way of settlement of existing difficulties:

1. The company will put back as soon as possible the men other than those who have been or may be found guilty of acts of violence or disorderly conduct, the understanding being that there is to be no coercion or intimidation towards the new men.

2. The company will put into effect from May 1, 1910, the rates named in schedule of rates dated July 18, 1910, those rates to be embodied in the present schedule now in effect on this line, it being understood that those rates in no instance are a reduction in any existing rates.

3. The company will, on January 1, 1912, make effective in train and yard service on the Grand Trunk Railway, the rates of pay and the rules contained in the schedule or agreement on that date in effect on the lines of the Canadian Pacific Railway east of Fort William.

The three above propositions shall apply also to the Central Vermont Railroad Company, the said railroad to be substituted for the Grand Trunk Railway, and the Rutland Railroad to be substituted for the Canadian Pacific Railway wherever the same are used or understood in the above. (In the case of the Central Vermont by the "schedule of rates dated July 18, 1910" is meant the schedule issued by the management of that company since July 1.)

CHAS. M. HAYS,
President, Grand Trunk
Railway System.

For the O.R.C.:
ROBERT KELLY,
N. FOY,
ED. L. SINCLAIR,
J. E. MUNN.

For the B. of R.T.:
JOHN MALONEY,
J. A. CONNOR,
W. C. BERRY,
P. A. HEBERT.
A. B. GARRETSON,
President, O.R.C.
W. G. LEE,
President, B. of R.T.

Approved: S. N. BERRY, V.P.
Approved: JAMES MURDOCK, V.P.

Members of the committee will see that the agreement was drafted and signed on Saturday, the 31st of July; that my telegram stating that the men would be reinstated was sent on Monday, August 2nd; that the first clause of the agreement said that the men would be back "as soon as possible," while in my wire I stated that the undertaking was that they would be back "within three months" from that date.

As I explained to the House the other day when we were discussing this question in another connection, we had succeeded, in the course of the adjustment of the difference, in getting all questions in dispute settled except the question of the time at which the men were to be taken back. The President of the Grand Trunk Railway Company desired to use in the agreement the words which appear there, "as soon as possible." He was unwilling to give any definite period of time; and Sir Frederick Borden, who was at the time Minister of Militia, and myself were in Montreal together and intervened between the company and the employees, helping to bring about

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the agreement between the parties. But what we did in particular that was of significance in the matter was that we insisted on Mr. Hays fixing a definite period instead of the term "as soon as possible," and the reason why the strike could not be settled on the Saturday was our inability to get any definite assurance from him as to precisely what he meant by these words.

Let me recall the circumstances that existed at that time so that the Government and the country will see the significance of the request I am making at the present time. The Grand Trunk Railway system was tied up from Chicago to Portland. The whole of the system in Canada was in such condition that practically not a train was running. I think that some of the passenger trains were kept up, but so far as freight service was concerned traffic was absolutely tied up. There were towns throughout the province of Ontario in which the people were in circumstances almost equal to those that might exist in a state of siege. They could get no food or commodities from other parts, and the whole country was suffering from the effect of the strike. Every day, almost every hour, meant millions of dollars of loss in different directions, and it was all-important that the strike should be brought to a conclusion as quickly as possible. As I have said, everything was settled on the Saturday except the meaning to be attached to the words "as soon as possible," and it was not until Monday that we were able to secure a definition of them, fixing the limitation of three months. It so happened that at the time the strike was on Sir Wilfrid Laurier, then Prime Minister, was in the West. He had with him two or three of his colleagues, and at the moment the strike occurred I happened to be the only Minister of the Government in the city.

That being the case, and having had as Minister of Labour, some extra responsibility thrown on my shoulders in connection with industrial disputes, I took particular care to keep a record from day to day and, as I have mentioned, Sir Wilfrid Laurier being in the West, I took occasion to write him very fully that he might know exactly what had transpired in connection with the negotiations in so far as the Government was concerned. This evening I looked up some former files and I have here a copy of the letter which I sent to Sir Wilfrid Laurier at that time. It details the whole matter of the strike settlement, and I propose, with the permission of the committee, to place the contents of the letter on record, inasmuch as they disclose exactly what took place in the meetings between the employees and the company, exactly what was the attitude of both parties, and exactly what is or should be expected as a result of the settlement. It bears strictly on this question of pensions, because this is a vital feature of the settlement. In the interest of the men, I am desirous of having laid before the Board of Arbitrators the fullest information it can possibly have. I am still more desirous that Parliament shall deal with this matter firmly before it reaches the Board of Arbitrators, and that it shall deal with it so definitely in connection with this agreement that, so far as the Grand Trunk Railway Company is concerned, there shall be no escape from its doing what it is in duty bound to do.

There is the reason I have mentioned why we should take this position, there is also the shameful attitude which the Grand Trunk railway has assumed towards its employees ever since that dispute took place. In order that I may bring this particular matter to the attention of the public, let me read this one communication to illustrate how arbitrarily, how unfairly, that company has dealt with its employees. Here is a communication, which speaks for itself, from a conductor of the Grand Trunk railway:

Mr. C. FORRESTER,
Superintendent.

Dear Sir,—I was notified yesterday that I was to be taken out of service on account of not being able to pass eye examination before Inspector Kloyhill, and take the opportunity of making application for pension, as I notice by clause No. 8 and 10 in Book of Rules and Regulations of Pension Fund that I am entitled to it, that is if I understand the rules. I have been in continuous service for the company for nearly forty years, and during that time have been in charge of some of the heavy way freight trains, and have been very successful so far as I know in handling same; also think I should have a consideration for length of service, as I am getting well up in years and do not feel able to go out and battle the world over again. Am sixty years of age, and if you can possibly do anything for me along this line would look upon it as a favour.

Hoping to hear from you in respect to this matter, I am

Yours truly,
A. PENNINGTON.

This is the reply which he received:

STRATFORD, Ont., March 19, 1914

Mr. A. PENNINGTON,
Palmerston, Ont.

Dear Sir,—Referring to your letter of March 14 in regard to putting you on Pension Fund. Did you participate in the Trainmen's strike of 1910? If so, I regret to say that you cannot

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participate in the benefits of the pension. The fact that you voluntarily left the service at that time and was out of service for two weeks debars you from that privilege, from the fact that any one participating in the pension must claim continuous service, while those who left the service on account of that strike have a broken service.

Yours truly,
C. FORRESTER,
Superintendent.

I need not go any further to give the reply made by Mr. Pennington to Mr. Forrester, but what I wish to point out is that the company deliberately construed the circumstance that the men had taken part in the strike as a ground for not permitting them to have the benefits of the pension fund, even though, as in this case, some had suffered bodily injury while working on behalf of the company and had served for forty years. The whole understanding on which the men returned to work, and returned to work in the public interest, as members of this House will appreciate when they hear the correspondence, was that they should be put back in the positions which they had held before. I say that that sort of treatment is unjust and unfair, that it is affecting thousands of men and their families in this country, and that it is the duty of Parliament to act where it sees so great an injustice affecting not only this class of employees but also having a direct bearing upon all the relations between employers and employees as well as a bearing upon the attitude of the Government towards labour, and when it is of such wide and far-reaching significance in relation to the whole industrial problem of our times. to intervene and see that justice is done.

There is a further reason. Not only do the Grand Trunk Company take shelter behind the language of the statute governing the pension fund but they would have the employees of the Grand Trunk believe that because this Parliament gave them that charter they cannot do anything for the employees on the ground that it would be contrary to an Act of Parliament. I want to make it perfectly clear to the Grand Trunk Railway Company that this Parliament is prepared to give them every right and to see that the statute is construed in a broad and generous way and in accordance with the spirit of the settlement. If the Grand Trunk is taking refuge behind any subterfuge and, as hon. gentleman must know, from what I have just read here, they are, we must take care to see that before this matter is disposed of all doubt shall be removed. My hon. friend says that the Government would be ready to assume this obligation if the Arbitration Board were to pass it on to the Government and not make the Grand Trunk liable. How can my hon. friend say this Government will have anything to do with the Grand Trunk railway at any time from now on? The Government has not such a strong hold upon life that it can hope to live very much longer, and before the arbitration is concluded we may see the Government out of office. The Government has not the support of the people of the country.

Mr. DOHERTY: Surely they will be safe in the hands of my hon. friend?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I think they would be much safer than they are at the present time, but my hon. friend cannot speak even for his successors. He can only speak for himself. I want to put this matter beyond any peradventure, and to insist that this question shall be settled and settled satisfactorily. There is a time and a place for everything. We have come now to the last moment in which justice can be done to these men. It can be done by the action of this Parliament while we are dealing with this agreement. To put it off is to open the door to doubt to keep these men in a condition of uncertainty and to keep open this great grievance. Now is the time to close it up as speedily as we can.

Here is a communication which the Grand Trunk has sent to two or three members of the railroad brotherhood:

MONTREAL, April 8, 1914.

Mr. SAM'L PUGH,
Chairman O.R.C.,
Montreal, Que.

Mr. JOHN MALONEY,
Chairman B. of R.T.,
Ottawa, Canada.

Dears Sir:—Replying to your communication of February 2nd.

Under the Rules and Regulations for the establishment and administration of the Grand Trunk Pension Fund in accordance with the powers conferred upon the company by the Act of the Dominion Parliament passed in the year 1907, continuous service for a sufficient period is necessary to entitle an employee to ask that his application for pension be given favourable consideration.

The Rules and Regulations have been formally approved by the directors of this company in accordance with the requirements of the Act, and the committee is not at liberty to depart from or vary them.

Therefore the employees to whom you refer must again qualify by continuous service for a sufficient period from the date when they returned to the service of the company to again become eligible to participate in the privileges under the Pension Fund.

Yours truly,
HOWARD G. KELLEY,
Vice-President.

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There, Mr. Chairman, is a distinct statement—

Mr. McKENZIE: What is the date of the letter?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Montreal, April the 8th, 1914. There is a distinct statement to the effect that the Parliament of Canada has in some way bound the Grand Trunk Railway Company so that it cannot fulfil the obligations which it is morally—and, I believe, in any true meaning of the word legal, legally bound as well to carry out. I say there is a technicality which they have thus far taken advantage of; and we have no right, in the interest of the working people of this country, in the interest of industrial peace in this country, and in the interest of justice, fair play, and decent treatment, to let this agreement go through and have this thing remain unsettled.

Now, Sir, there is a further reason, and that is that the working men belonging to the different brotherhoods have themselves appealed to the Government to see that justice be done to them in this matter. I share the surprise of an hon. member of this House who, when we were discussing the matter the other day, said he wondered how the Government, when they were drafting this agreement with the Grand Trunk Railway Company, or when they were bringing forward a Bill to give them power to make the agreement, gave no consideration whatever to the representations which had been made by labour. In this connection let me read the representations which the Government had before them at the time the Bill was brought into Parliament at a previous session. There was a meeting of the railroad conductors of America and Canada, held in May, 1919, and a resolution of the Canadian delegates was adopted and forwarded to the Government. Let me read the resolution in full, because it gives the strongest reasons why, at this time, we should see that this matter is finally and equitably settled:

Moved by N. Roy, No. 75, seconded by P. Hill, No. 624.

That we, the accredited delegates, representing all railway points in the Dominion, to the 36th session of the Grand Division of the Order of Railway Conductors of America and Canada, resolve as follows, that:—

Whereas in 1907, the Canadian Parliament enacted 6-7 Edward VII, Chap. 89, An Act respecting the Grand Trunk Railway Company of Canada, empowering the Grand Trunk Railway Company to establish the Pension Fund from its earnings for the benefit of employees retired from the service on account of old age; and,

Whereas we believe Parliament, though it did not so provide in the Act, surely intended that the said Pension Fund would be administered by the Pension Department of the Railways fairly and without discrimination; and,

Whereas the said company, through its Pension Department has debarred its employees from the benefits of the said Pension Fund because they participated in a strike of the Conductors, Brakemen, and Yardmen, on the road in 1910, and,

Whereas, it is well known that the said strike was the result of the unreasonable attitude assumed by its then management, in refusing to grant the employees increased wages and improved working conditions based on the standard wage and conditions on other Canadian railways, and,

Whereas, it is well known that the transportation brotherhoods, including the Order of Railway Conductors, do not strike until all other means of settlement have been exhausted, and,

Whereas, the employees who participated in the strike of 1910 had the sympathy of the citizens generally and especially those citizens located along the said railway, and,

Whereas, the Government then in power affected a settlement, and it was agreed among other things that the employees would return to work and resume their standing in the service and their seniority rights held by them prior to the strike, as though they had been continuously in the service, and,

Whereas, the company has since the said agreement deprived the said employees who have retired from the service on account of the age limit from the benefits of the Pension Fund, alleging that their participation in the strike in 1910, broke their continuity of service with the company, and,

Whereas, many conductors and other train men that had served the company and the public faithfully and continuously up to fifty-three (53) years, and having reached the age limit have been retired from the service, and for the reason above stated debarred from the pension which they so sorely need on account of the low wages in effect on this road prior to the strike of 1910, and,

Whereas, the accredited representatives of the Order of Railway Conductors and Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen having appealed to the management of the Grand Trunk Railway, and also to its Board of Directors domiciled in England, and its Chairman, Mr. Smithers, for the restoration of the said pensions without success, and in pursuance of the policy of these organizations to exhaust all legitimate efforts to reach a peaceful adjustment of all matters affecting the interests of their membership, therefore be it

Resolved; that we respectfully petition the Government and Parliament of Canada—

Notice those words. I am reading at the moment a petition from a large body of the workingmen of this country, not only to the Government but to the Parliament of Canada, and I am asking Parliament to hear that peititon.

to use their good offices to the end that the Grand Trunk Railway Company's Pension Department shall recede from its unjust attitude, and that in future it shall administer the Pension Fund of that company fairly and without discrimination, and that it shall pay to its employees all arrears of pension due them, and,

Whereas, we are advised that our Government is desirous of acquiring the Grand Trunk railway and incorporating it as part of our National Railway system, and is negotiating to that end, therefore, be it further,

Resolved, that we respectfully petition our Government not to conclude said negotiations for the purchase of the said Grand Trunk railway without providing for the protection of the pension interests of the employees concerned, and be it further,

Resolved, that we furnish a copy of these resolutions to the Prime Minister, Sir Robert Borden, and to the following ministers of departments, and members of Parliament, namely:—The Honourable Minister of Railways, J. D. Reid; the Hon. Minister of Labour, G. D. Robertson, and J. E. Armstrong, Esq., M.P., Chairman of the Railway Committee of the House of Commons.

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Mr. Chairman, there is a request from the employees of the Grand Trunk Railway system to the Government and to this Parliament that before this matter is concluded, justice be done to them. I repeat again, this is the only time, as far as I can see, when there is still an opportunity to heed that request. The Government thus far have ignored it altogether; they have paid no attention whatever to the demands of the Grand Trunk Railway employees in regard to this pension fund. They have talked fair to them in one way; they have done nothing in the way of action. They have repeated again the other day in the House what they have said to different deputations: "We will urge this;" "we will urge that,"—knowing full well all the time that all their urging does not amount to a snap of the finger. I say, Mr. Chairman, that is no way for a government to deal with railway employees. That is the kind of treatment that these men have had to put up with from the Grand Trunk Railway Company, and if the Government themselves have ignored their express wishes in this regard, I, for one, demand that this Parliament hear them. Let me make my position as emphatic as it is possible to make it on this subject. We can now settle this question in a satisfactory way. All we have to do is to add to this agreement an amendment, which I shall propose as soon as I have concluded what I have to say, and the full rights of these employees will be finally determined and justice done.

Now, Sir, I must ask the committee to pardon me if the communication which I am about to read is a somewhat lengthy one but I think hon. gentlemen will find it extremely interesting. I am sure it will be a revelation, not only to the employees of the company—some of whom have been led to believe that others than those who were really blameable were responsible for their not receiving the pension—and I think it will prove a little enlightening to the people of this country. What I want to have the committee keep in mind as I read this communication is, that when these matters were under negotiation the whole of this country was tied up as a consequence of that strike, and that the attitude of the men and the attitude of the company was every hour affecting the interests of every citizen of this Dominion. The attitude of the Grand Trunk Railway Company was arbitrary and inconsiderate—I cannot use words too strong to express the feelings that I had toward the company in their behaviour at that time.

The action of the men was manly, considerate, with due regard for the interests of the people of this country. Had the action of the men been otherwise, with the action of the company what it was, Heaven alone knows what might have happened in Canada at that time. Our people as a whole are indebted to the working men on the Grand Trunk Railway system for the attitude which they then maintained, and they are indebted to an extent which they will never be able to repay. Now the chance comes to see that these thousands of men and their families who have been deprived of pensions shall have justice done to them. It is up to this Parliament to see that justice is done.

Well, Mr. Chairman, as I said Sir Wilfrid Laurier was in the West and I was part of the time alone in Ottawa—it was in the summer. Mr. Smithers, the president of the company, was, I think, about to go to the West, and as I was anxious that Sir Wilfrid should have full knowledge of the facts so that they could be placed before the president, I wrote very fully, well realizing that a strike of such great proportions would in all probability be of significance for some years to come, and knowing the men I had been dealing with, that out of it there might develop just what has since happened. My letter is dated August 4, 1910. I shall not read the first few pages, which deal with conditions that existed prior to and led up to the strike, but I shall read from the point at which I refer to the intervention of the Gov-

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There, Mr. Chairman, is a distinct statement—

Mr. McKENZIE: What is the date of the letter?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Montreal, April the 8th, 1914. There is a distinct statement to the effect that the Parliament of Canada has in some way bound the Grand Trunk Railway Company so that it cannot fulfil the obligations which it is morally—and, I believe, in any true meaning of the word legal, legally bound as well to carry out. I say there is a technicality which they have thus far taken advantage of; and we have no right, in the interest of the working people of this country, in the interest of industrial peace in this country, and in the interest of justice, fair play, and decent treatment, to let this agreement go through and have this thing remain unsettled.

Now, Sir, there is a further reason, and that is that the working men belonging to the different brotherhoods have themselves appealed to the Government to see that justice be done to them in this matter. I share the surprise of an hon. member of this House who, when we were discussing the matter the other day, said he wondered how the Government, when they were drafting this agreement with the Grand Trunk Railway Company, or when they were bringing forward a Bill to give them power to make the agreement, gave no consideration whatever to the representations which had been made by labour. In this connection let me read the representations which the Government had before them at the time the Bill was brought into Parliament at a previous session. There was a meeting of the railroad conductors of America and Canada, held in May, 1919, and a resolution of the Canadian delegates was adopted and forwarded to the Government. Let me read the resolution in full, because it gives the strongest reasons why, at this time, we should see that this matter is finally and equitably settled:

Moved by N. Roy, No. 75, seconded by P. Hill, No. 624.

That we, the accredited delegates, representing all railway points in the Dominion, to the 36th session of the Grand Division of the Order of Railway Conductors of America and Canada, resolve as follows, that:—

Whereas in 1907, the Canadian Parliament enacted 6-7 Edward VII, Chap. 89, An Act respecting the Grand Trunk Railway Company of Canada, empowering the Grand Trunk Railway Company to establish the Pension Fund from its earnings for the benefit of employees retired from the service on account of old age; and,

Whereas we believe Parliament, though it did not so provide in the Act, surely intended that the said Pension Fund would be administered by the Pension Department of the Railways fairly and without discrimination; and,

Whereas the said company, through its Pension Department has debarred its employees from the benefits of the said Pension Fund because they participated in a strike of the Conductors, Brakemen, and Yardmen, on the road in 1910, and,

Whereas, it is well known that the said strike was the result of the unreasonable attitude assumed by its then management, in refusing to grant the employees increased wages and improved working conditions based on the standard wage and conditions on other Canadian railways, and,

Whereas, it is well known that the transportation brotherhoods, including the Order of Railway Conductors, do not strike until all other means of settlement have been exhausted, and,

Whereas, the employees who participated in the strike of 1910 had the sympathy of the citizens generally and especially those citizens located along the said railway, and,

Whereas, the Government then in power affected a settlement, and it was agreed among other things that the employees would return to work and resume their standing in the service and their seniority rights held by them prior to the strike, as though they had been continuously in the service, and,

Whereas, the company has since the said agreement deprived the said employees who have retired from the service on account of the age limit from the benefits of the Pension Fund, alleging that their participation in the strike in 1910, broke their continuity of service with the company, and,

Whereas, many conductors and other train men that had served the company and the public faithfully and continuously up to fifty-three (53) years, and having reached the age limit have been retired from the service, and for the reason above stated debarred from the pension which they so sorely need on account of the low wages in effect on this road prior to the strike of 1910, and,

Whereas, the accredited representatives of the Order of Railway Conductors and Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen having appealed to the management of the Grand Trunk Railway, and also to its Board of Directors domiciled in England, and its Chairman, Mr. Smithers, for the restoration of the said pensions without success, and in pursuance of the policy of these organizations to exhaust all legitimate efforts to reach a peaceful adjustment of all matters affecting the interests of their membership, therefore be it

Resolved; that we respectfully petition the Government and Parliament of Canada—

Notice those words. I am reading at the moment a petition from a large body of the workingmen of this country, not only to the Government but to the Parliament of Canada, and I am asking Parliament to hear that peititon.

to use their good offices to the end that the Grand Trunk Railway Company's Pension Department shall recede from its unjust attitude, and that in future it shall administer the Pension Fund of that company fairly and without discrimination, and that it shall pay to its employees all arrears of pension due them, and,

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Well, Mr. Chairman, as I said Sir Wilfrid Laurier was in the West and I was part of the time alone in Ottawa—it was in the summer. Mr. Smithers, the president of the company, was, I think, about to go to the West, and as I was anxious that Sir Wilfrid should have full knowledge of the facts so that they could be placed before the president, I wrote very fully, well realizing that a strike of such great proportions would in all probability be of significance for some years to come, and knowing the men I had been dealing with, that out of it there might develop just what has since happened. My letter is dated August 4, 1910. I shall not read the first few pages, which deal with conditions that existed prior to and led up to the strike, but I shall read from the point at which I refer to the intervention of the Gov-

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erament in the matter of settlement of the strike, and that naturally begins with what I cannot avoid as a reference to myself in my duties as Minister of Labour at the time. I wrote:

I was the only minister in the city during one or two days after the strike commenced, and the Immigration Department referred its messages respecting procedure as to strike-breakers, etc., and the Justice Department a telegram as to troops, to me. I took the ground that the law and regulations as laid down should be carried out with strict impartiality, and that no exception to any provision should be made in favour of one side or the other, that neither as to train service or military protection was any department of the Government to take any course other than that which it could justify on the basis of existing legislation. If requests came for troops through civic authorities in accordance with the provisions of the Militia Act well and good, the provisions of the Act should then be followed, otherwise the Dominion was to give no military protection. As to immigration, no exceptions were to be made to meet an emergency one way or other. This course Mr. Blake Robertson, of the Immigration Department, in the absence of Mr. Scott, carried out to my mind in a most efficient manner, so much so, that with the possible exception of the company, the public and all others interested are, I think, prepared to commend his action. Had he wavered, it is difficult to say what serious trouble might not have resulted.

My course in the department was to carefully size up the situation on the first day, see the extent to which the public were being embarrassed and then to bring about arbitration through force of public opinion, if that were possible. To this end, as you know, I addressed an open communication to each of the parties, and received evasive answers from each. I addressed second communications, insisting on a direct reply, and received an answer no less evasive from the company and one partially evasive from the men. The last named communication indicated a restricted authority, so I communicated again, with a view of getting an answer from a final source. This answer came on Saturday, the 24th, accepting arbitration as offered by the Government, and was immediately communicated to Mr. Hays. Mr. Hays gave no reply until ten o'clock Sunday night, at which hour he answered that the time for arbitration was passed. On Monday I wrote him, expressing the hope that as the one side were agreeable to arbitration, he might come later to express a willingness to do the same, provided this should appear to be in the public interest. All of these communications you have. Their effect, as a consequence of the attitude of the parties which they helped to reveal, was to draw public sympathy away from the company, with which it was pretty strongly at the outset, and to swing it with the men; so much so, that in almost every city and town of the province the boards of trade and the mayors of the several municipalities began passing resolutions and deluging the company with demands to refer the differences to arbitration. The voice of practically the whole press, Liberal and Conservative alike, became one in the same demand, while business concerns whose interests were suffering, and such organizations as wholesale grocers, the retail grocers, Canners' Association and the like, addressed resolutions in unmistakable terms to the company. Not only was the demand the same, but the position also,—the Government of the country had called upon the two parties to arbitrate, the Government represented the people,—one of the parties had responded and it was the business of the other to do the same.

Had Mr. Hays really desired arbitration he had reason enough, if ever man had reason, to grant it at that time. The value of the company's securities were daily depreciating in England and abroad; the company's system was paralyzed; its losses occasioned through the crippling of its business was mounting up to the million dollar mark and over; whilst its additional expenses in seeking to man the trains with strike-breakers and re-commence operaions in the midst of a struggle were only adding to the burden. From the financial point of view it was to the company's interests to settle; the people of the country wanted the strike ended, and the Government wanted it ended, but to all this pressure, and to public opinion in general, Mr. Hays remained wholly indifferent. This was the situation on Monday and Tuesday, a condition which intensified during the whole week.

On Tuesday we had a meeting of Council, at which I outlined what had taken place, and suggested that Sir Richard, as Acting Premier, should send some communication to Mr. Hays from the Government as a whole, this communication to be confidential. As the company was issuing statements from time to time to the effect that it was rapidly resuming operations on its lines, Sir Richard thought it would be well before taking a further step to get definite information on this source. Accordingly, we arranged with McDougald, of the Customs Department, to send a wire to the Collector of Customs in each town and city in the province, requested a wired reply, stating briefly the extent to which the strike was affecting business. Practically without exception the answers came in on the following morning from all parts of the province to the effect that on the whole of the Grand Trunk system not a freight car had moved in or out of the several towns from the time the strike had commenced up to the time of wiring. But what was worse than that, factories and mills were closing down in many places because raw materials could not be brought in or finished products sent out. It was also mentioned that shippers were being advised that the Grand Trunk could do nothing for some time. The C.P.R. and the other railways, where they were paralleling the Grand Trunk, had their facilities overtaxed and were not proving equal to the extra work put upon them. Customs receipts had fallen off considerably.

With this information before Council, on the following morning it was decided that a letter should be sent to Mr. Hays, and as Sir Frederick Borden was leaving the same evening for Nova Scotia, it was agreed that Sir Frederick would take the communication with him and see Mr. Hays personally, impressing upon him the seriousness of the situation from the point of view of both the Government and the country. I attach a copy of the letter, signed by Sir Richard, which, with some 40 enclosures, was the one taken by Sir Frederick to Mr. Hays.

Whilst we did what we could to bring pressure to bear on Mr. Hays in this direction, I had a feeling that a first-hand contact with the situation would prove ultimately the only means of dealing with it effectively. I did not like,

on top of the communications I had been sending to the parties to rush in without a request, though I felt that if Mr. Hays did not yield to arbitration on the strength of the letter from the Cabinet, the public were strongly enough at my back to permit of my going down to Montreal and sizing up the situation with a view of giving the public a clear-cut statement as to who was in the right and who was in the wrong. To strengthen my position as much as possible I arranged by letting them know of my willingness to do so, to have a communication sent me by the men asking my personal intervention. Sir Frederick left on the six o'clock train on Wednesday. At midnight on the same day a message came from the leader of the men in the following words:

"May I be permitted on behalf of the men on strike to request that as a minister of the Crown and representative of the people you come to Montreal and by further effort try and arrange an honourable settlement either by arbitration or negotiation."

As Sir Frederick Borden had taken a communication to Mr. Hays I requested the men over the long distance telephone to keep their communication to me confidential. I was fearful lest knowing I had been requested to come by the men, it might embarrass Sir Frederick in his endeavours with Mr. Hays. I promised I would go down but asked that nothing should be said as to why I was going or at whose instance. I got into communication with Sir Frederick and asked him to wait over a day with me, hoping that Sir Frederick with Mr. Hays and I with the men, we might together assist negotiations to the extent of getting a settlement.

I left Ottawa on Thursday afternoon. Sir Frederick met me at the Windsor station, and we dined quietly together. Sir Frederick said he had found Mr. Hays very pleasant, and that we would have little difficulty in arranging a settlement. He had arranged for our meeting Mr. Hays together at his house later in the evening, and at ten o'clock we drove to Mr. Hay's residence and had a talk with him and Mr. Fitzhugh on his verandah from ten until after midnight. In the course of this conversation the whole situation was carefully reviewed, the respective positions of the parties fully gone into and explained, and we left on the understanding that Mr. Hays was quite ready for a settlement to be negotiated, if Sir Frederick Borden and I could succeed in bringing it about. I left Sir Frederick at the Windsor shortly after half past twelve and myself drove on to the Grand Union Hotel, the headquarters of the Canadian leaders. I had had my secretary inform them earlier in the evening that I was having a talk with Mr. Hays and would be along and see them when it was concluded. I found them waiting and we had a conversation of an hour or two. It was agreed that they were to come to my room at the hotel on the following morning and we would consider what propositions it would be possible to submit to Mr. Hays. In the meantime, as Mr. Hays had expressed the opinion that no final settlement could be made without the presidents of the two orders, who happened to be in Toronto, it was arranged that they should be sent for, so that they could be on hand for final negotiations. This was the point we had reached by three o'clock Friday morning.

Friday, July 29: At ten o'clock on Friday morning the full committee of the men assembled in my room at the hotel. The whole situation was carefully gone over, and I was given authority to say to Mr. Hays that in the event of his agreeing to reinstate all the men, excepting those who had been guilty of violations of law or destruction of the company's property, the men were prepared to accept any of the following alternatives:—

(a) To leave all matters in dispute to arbitration, or (b) to accept the award of the Board of Conciliation and Investigation in toto, and where there might be any doubt as to the meaning of a particular clause to leave it to the chairman of the board to say what the meaning was.

Since the board's award had not been fixed the date at which the standardization of rates was to become effective, the men were prepared to either:—

(a) leave the question of the fixing of the date open for future negotiation; or (b) leave this question to arbitration and abide by the result; or (c) to consider arranging some satisfactory basis of settlement of this date by negotiation.

I was authorized to say that on the acceptance of any of these alternatives, with the understanding that what was accepted in the case of the Grand Trunk would also be accepted in the case of the Central Vermont, which is considered a part of the company's system, the men were prepared to return to work immediately; or if Mr. Hays preferred to have the difficulties settled by negotiation in the first instance and before the strike was declared at an end they were ready to commence negotiations at once.

During the afternoon I called on Mr. Hays at his office and had a long talk with himself, Mr. Fitzhugh and Mr. Biggar. Mr. Hays did not express either approval or disapproval of any of the alternatives, but asked me if I would leave him a copy of them. I did so on the understanding that it was not to be considered an offer from the men to him, but rather a proposal from myself to each of the parties as being the basis on which I believed a settlement could be immediately effected. His unwillingness to give any immediate decision was put down to the circumstance that Mr. Garretson, the President of the Order of Railroad Conductors, and Mr. Lee, President of the Order of Railroad Trainmen, would have to pass on any decision which was ultimately come to, and he thought it would therefore be better that proposals should come with their sanction before he gave them final consideration. I told him that Messrs. Garretson and Lee had been sent for, and asked if I might arrange for a meeting between himself and them to consider the several propositions. He agreed to this, it being understood that I would meet with Mr. Garretson and Lee and the committee again on the following Saturday morning, see him later, let him know what they were prepared to do and that a joint conference would then take place in the Board Rooms of the Grand Trunk Railway on Saturday afternoon. This concluded the first day's negotiations, and Sir Frederick, at my request, very generously remained over to be present on Saturday along with myself during the course of negotiations.

Saturday, July 30: On Saturday morning Messrs. Garretson and Lee, who had come in the interval from Toronto, together with other members of the committee, called at my room at 9.30. They endorsed the stand taken by the

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Canadian members of the committee and authorized me to lay before Mr. Hays as from the men the several alternatives suggested on the day previous and to say that the acceptance of any one of them would be agreeable as a basis of settlement. After this interview, I asked Sir Frederick to come with me to Mr. Hays' office. We were met by Mr. Hays, Mr. Fitzhugh, Mr. Biggar and Mr. Wainwright. Mr. Hays began discussing with me the alternative proposals of the men, raising many objections. His endeavour during this interview was to have me commit myself on the different points but I was careful not to do so, though I did not hesitate to give him frankly my opinion as to the merits of any points he might raise.

As to the reinstatement of the men, he professed from the outset to be willing to take them all back, with the exception of a few who might have been disorderly. Sir Frederick and I both took the stand as we were working now for a settlement in the public interest, that it was just as well that bygones should be bygones, and no discrimination made, except in the cases mentioned, because of men having gone out on strike. We had not been discussing very long before it became quite apparent that it was not a way out, but objections, that the company was seeking to raise. I took the position that I was not there to argue for one side or the other, but to assist the two to come together, and failing that to let the public know the reason why they were unable to do so. Mr. Hays seemed anxious that I should return with a counter-proposition to the men, and keep on going back and forth between them. I felt instinctively that his motive in this was not genuine, but that it was, if possible, to draw me into a position where he would find some means of escape by claiming that I had failed in making clear some understanding, or had misrepresented some situation, and I therefore demurred a little to this request, pointing out that I had already told the men that in accordance with the arrangement reached the day previous that they would be asked to come to a joint conference in the afternoon, and had got them to make the offer of the alternatives which I was presenting on that understanding.

We got our first true light on the situation when the question of the Central Vermont was raised. I pointed out that as all was considered part of the one system and the men had gone out simultaneously on both roads, they were standing together for a settlement of both at the same time. Mr. Fitzhugh thereupon broke into the conversation and said that when the Grand Trunk dispute had been before the Board of Conciliation in Toronto, the Chairman, Mr. Atkinson, had refused to consider the Central Vermont in connection with it. I said if this were so I would take the position that we, as members of the Government, were not concerned with the Central Vermont. I then turned to Mr. Fitzhugh and asked if he would be willing to leave it to Mr. Atkinson to say just whether the Central Vermont had been included or not. Mr. Fitzhugh replied: "No, I would not." After this reply of Mr. Fitzhugh I appealed to Mr. Hays, Mr. Biggar, Mr. Wainwright and Sir Frederick as to whether they believed it was possible for any progress to be made with negotiations if we were to deal with each other in that fashion. I felt considerably annoyed, and could not help showing it, whereupon Mr. Biggar began to apologize for Mr. Fitzhugh, and say I could not have understood his meaning. Mr. Fitzhugh added that he had not intended to say anything offensive, that I must have misunderstood him. I replied that I hoped this was so, and to prevent any misunderstanding I would repeat the questions. I then asked him if I were right in understanding that he had said that at the time the Grand Trunk dispute was before the Board in Toronto, Mr. Atkinson, the Chairman, had refused to consider the Central Vermont in connection with it. To this he replied, yes, that I was quite right. I then said that in the event of that being so, Sir Frederick and I would take the position that the attitude taken by Mr. Atkinson should bind us also. (I did not know at the time of speaking what attitude Mr. Atkinson had taken). I then said: "Assuming that this point should be controverted, would you, Mr. Fitzhugh, after having said that Mr. Atkinson ruled out the Central Vermont, be willing to leave it to Mr. Atkinson to say what he had done provided that we agree to follow his course and abide by his decision?" To this Mr. Fitzhugh replied that he did not think he should be asked to answer this question. I mention this instance because it is only one of a very large number, of which both Sir Frederick and I could tell you, of a not disimilar kind. From this on through the whole negotiations it seemed absolutely impossible to hold either Mr. Fitzhugh or Mr. Hays to any statements that they made. After Mr. Fitzhugh had taken the position he did, I said to Mr. Hays that it did not seem to me any good purpose could be served by our attempting negotiations, and was about to withdraw when Mr. Hays suggested we should all go to lunch. He invited Sir Frederick and myself, but we explained that it would hardly do for us to accept his invitation, and we went to the Windsor together. Mr. Biggar followed us to the elevator trying to apologize for Mr. Fitzhugh. I told Mr. Biggar he might tell Mr. Fitzhugh that he should remember he was speaking to responsible ministers of the Crown, that he must be responsible for the words he used, that I had hardly expected to see him put his company in the position he had, and that if the Central Vermont were to be the stumbling block in the settlement negotiations because of the stand he had taken, I for my part, would take good care to see that the public were fully informed of the cause.

When Sir Frederick and I returned after lunch, Mr. Hays and the other gentlemen were in the Board Room. I had Sir Frederick see Mr. Hays before I went up an explained to him that there was no use to try any bluff on me one way or the other, that I was there to do a piece of work and meant to see that it was done to the satisfaction of the public, that I would go any length in assisting him to get a settlemen which would be satisfactory to him, and be as considerate of his position in the eyes of the public as possible, but that in this matter there was a big public duty to be discharged and it would have to be regarded in that light. When I came to the Board Room, Mr. Hays took the position that I should go and see the men and take counter-propositions from him, that we should carry the negotiations over Sunday and perhaps reach a settlement during the coming week. I took the position that this strike was seriously affecting the public and that every hour was important, that it was not my business or purpose to act as an intermediary except in a way that was likely to secure results, that as the two parties would have to come face to face at some time in the proceedings they might as well do so at once. Sir Frederick also intimated that he was desirous of leaving on the following morning, and that

it would be quite impossible for him to stay over longer. By holding firm to this position Mr. Hays finally agreed that we should send for the men. The committee was on hand within half an hour. Negotiations then commenced between Mr. Hays and Messrs. Garretson and Lee, and we were favoured with about as interesting an afternoon's discussion as I think either of us has ever been privileged to listen to. Sir Frederick had gone down to Montreal with feelings very strong against the men. He told me that he had seldom been more impressed by the closeness and fairness in reasoning than he had been in listening to Messrs. Garretson and Lee. In every argument, he said, the men had the better of the company.

At the joint conference Mr. Hays submitted amendments in reply to the proposals which the men had made. They were base, so far as the rates of pay were concerned, on the award of the board, but left out altogether the question of rules, and the men made it apparent that any settlement would have to include rules at some time, though they were prepared to consider what time this part of the award should go into effect. To make a long story short, we had, by half-past seven on Saturday night, reduced all the points at difference down to three simple propositions, the first relating to the putting back of the men "as soon as possible"; the second to the conditions to become effective at the present time and the third as to the date at which the standardization of rules as well as rates was to go into effect. In consideration of Mr. Hays moving the standardization of rates from January 1, 1913, the date he gave out at the time of the strike as that at which he would put into effect the standardization of rates, to January 1, 1912, the men agreed to forego the standardization of rules, (the main point in which was the payment on a mileage instead of on a per diem or monthly basis) from the present time, as awarded in the board's report, until the date at which the rates of pay were also to be standardized. Then, instead of accepting the rates of pay as set forth in the award of the board at present the men agreed to accept the rates as given out by Mr. Hays since the strike commenced, provided that in no case these rates were to be made lower than the rates existing prior to the strike. Everything, in other words, was settled, except the meaning of the words "as soon as possible." The men held out for an immediate reinstatement. Mr. Hays held out for reinstatement "as soon as possible" without giving any definitness to these words, though professing openly that he meant by them to take all men back, and practically all almost immediately. Mr. Hays refused to yield an inch on this ground, and told the men they might do as they pleased, that was as far as he would go. He then left the room with the other officers of the company. I asked the men to remain with Sir Frederick and myself. When we were alone I said to them that I would like to speak very plainly, that I thought they had made a mistake in not agreeing to arbitration at the very outset, that in this they had not been true to the principles which their brotherhoods had always professed, that I was willing to grant that there might have been grounds for doubt as to the bona fides of any offer, but it was their business to have accepted it and to have looked to the Government to see that it was made good; that as they had struck without arbitrating Mr. Hays had been forced to take on some men to fill their places, it was only reasonable that they should allow him some time to get rid of strike-breakers he had employed, and to maintain the position which the business community generally would expect him to maintain; that the words "as soon as possible" saved him in the eyes of the public, on the other hand, it was only reasonable that he should give these words some definiteness of meaning to all of us present. Having anticipated this very difficulty at the start, I had taken care when with the Canadian Committee at the first interview, to thresh out this point with them, and I got from one of the leaders in his own handwriting a statement which he thought would cover the ground, the men having met me at that time by agreeing to the use of the words "as soon as possible" provided it could be understood that they did not mean a time longer than thirty days.

Mr. CROTHERS: Was it not ninety days?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Thirty days in this case. This was the preliminary statement handed to me by one of the leaders. They were agreeable to thirty days; afterwards we had to change it to ninety days.

This statement I took out of my pocket and showed to Messrs. Garretson and Lee. I mentioned that in speaking to Mr. Hays I had felt justified in virtue of it, in saying that I thought thirty days should be allowed him to get rid of men who had been taken on as strike-breakers, that he knew I was committed to this extent and that under the circumstances I thought they could waive immediate reinstatement and allow thirty days. At once they said they would be wholly agreeable to this, that if Mr. Hays would give his word to Sir Frederick and myself that by "as soon as possible" he meant not longer than thirty days, the strike might be declared at an end on the basis of settlement which had been reached up to that time.

When we got back to the company's offices at nine o'clock I saw Mr. Hays personally and tried to persuade him in the interests of all concerned, to allow the first clause to go on the thirty days understanding, pointing out that as president of a company where such vast interests were concerned it would not do for him to let the wish of subordinate officials govern in a matter of this kind. It was perfectly clear in my own mind that a longer period was desired by some men only for the purpose of carrying out threats they had made that if the men once went out some of them would never get back again. He asked me to come in and talk over this phase with Mr. Fitzhugh, Mr. Biggar and Mr. Wainwright. This Sir Frederick and I did, each of us strongly taking the position that a settlement should be reached on this understanding. We left him for a short time and he then came up to the Board Room with his other officers. The different points were gone over pro and con. We were agreed on everything except the words "as soon as possible," Mr. Hays repeating this over again, that we had got down now to a point where only three words "soon as possible" were keeping us apart. The men conceded the thirty days to meet him on this. He went over each statement carefully, saying that he wanted to make sure that he had them quite correct, and then left the room, as we all supposed, to draft a final agreement. He came back with a let-

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ter addressed to Messrs. Garretson and Lee containing three propositions, at the end of which he had written, "We understand that the foregoing propositions are practically what you have accepted, with the exception of No. 1, which you think should be in the following form." He then set out the clause the men had suggested as to reinstatement and added that if they insisted upon their form of dealing with that portion of the difficulty he would agree to arbitrate as to which form of No. 1 should be adopted, his or theirs, the Board of Arbitration to consist of one arbitrator named by each of the parties and the third nominated by the Chief Justice of the Superior Court of Quebec.

When we examined the letter Mr. Hays had written it turned out that not a single one of the propositions was what we had all understood had been the position reached. Instead of May 1 being mentioned as the date at which new rates of wages were to come into effect, July 18 was fixed as the date. It had been agreed that C.P.R. rules as well as rates were to go into effect from January 1912, but his new draft did not mention C.P.R. rules, but made reference to rules in the award, with a clause that they might be subject to modifications to be mutually agreed on between the company and committees representing the men. These changes which completely altered the whole agreement as it had been come to tentatively were pointed out to Mr. Hays. He admitted one mistake after the other, saying that clearly there was an error. Notwithstanding that every one felt more or less shocked or exasperated, we got over this difficulty and back again to where we were before he took the proposals down-stairs. There was left then only the first clause and the three words.

Sir Frederick by this time had become pretty well tired of Mr. Hays' methods of negotiating and began himself to put one or two questions to Mr. Hays, asking him to name some time—any time—a year or more, as long as it was definite, within which he would agree to take back the men, but he could get no answer from him one way or the other. The men said as to arbitrating between the two propositions they were willing to leave them to either Sir Frederick or myself to say what was a reasonable time, that they would not bind us to thirty days, but leave us to name any period we thought suitable, but this Mr. Hays would not agree to. Finally, after some pretty sharp words between Mr. Hays and the men and some very pointed questions from Sir Frederick, Mr. Hays got up in a very excited condition and went away, telling us we could do what we liked. Before he left, the men turned to him and said, "Mr. Hays if you are unwilling to complete a settlement with us at the present time, here is out last proposition: It is to leave this whole matter to a board of Arbitration, the arbitrators to be named, not by ourselves or by you, but by either Sir Frederick Borden, Mackenzie King, Sir Thomas Shaughnessy or Sir Wilfrid Laurier. We will take any board named by any one of these gentlemen, and we will leave it to you to say which one you wish to name the board, or we will agree to a Board of Arbitrators chosen in any other way that is fair."

You may know what a pass matters had come to when both Mr. Biggar and Mr. Wainwright came to Sir Frederick and myself, and begged of us not to judge him too hastily. I then got hold of the men and asked them not to declare negotiations at an end; the following day was Sunday and to let us have one more try on the next day. Their reply was "Mr. King, we were through, but as you have asked us, we wish to close no door, we will wait just as long as you say." It was now after midnight, and Mr. Biggar, Sir Frederick, Mr. Wainwright and myself drove up to the Mount Royal Club where we talked the situation over for another hour and a half. Both Mr. Wainwright and Mr. Biggar offered to help us all they could. It was agreed before we left that they should see Mr. Hays in the morning and we should see him in the afternoon and see if we could not come a little closer together.

Sunday, July 31.—It was nearly three when Sir Frederick and I turned in Sunday morning. We breakfasted together after a sort of night's rest and after breakfast I drew up in the form of an agreement what he and I, listening to the negotiations, believed and knew to be the several propositions tenatively agreed to. We decided that we would lay this proposed agreement before each of the parties and give them each a chance to sign. In this way we could test the bona fides of each beyond question. Moreover, in order that Mr. Hays should be afforded no reasonable excuse for hesitating to make an immediate settlement, we decided that we would place as interpretation of the words "as soon as possible" a period not exceeding three months, instead of thirty days, as giving ample time to reinstate all the men, and also affording some measure of punishment to those who may have been offenders in mild ways. Mr. Wainwright and Mr. Biggar came to our rooms about noon, and we read over to them the terms of this proposed agreement. They agreed with us that the several propositions it contained were those tenatively agreed to by the parties on the night previous, and they thought they should prove acceptable to Mr. Hays. It was then arranged that they would see him before three and that we would meet him about half past three.

In accordance with this arrangement we arrived at Mr. Hay's house at half past three. He invited us into his billiard room with Mr. Biggar and Mr. Wainwright. They had arranged to keep Mr. Fitzhugh away, so as not to embarrass the situation. We opened out by mentioning that we had all been tired the night before and that in this state of mind things had become a little confused, and that to clear matters up we had written out what we thought had been the points reached by the two parties. I had had about ten of these statements prepared, it being my intention to have copies ready to hand around should there be several of us considering them at the same time. I went over each proposition and each was agreed to in turn by Mr. Hays. When we had concluded the document we were all agreed that it contained the tenative arrangement, and that if we could find a satisfactory solution of the words "as soon as possible" the strike would be ended. Sir Frederick and I then said that we thought instead of thirty days, if three months were named, that ought to meet the situation. It would give ample time to find places for men at present employed. Mr. Wainwright and even Mr. Hays also agreed that there would probably be only a very few that the company would wish to keep. When we thought Mr. Hays was about to sign he suddenly turned to us and said, "Well gentlemen, where do you come in on this? I give my note for three months, it falls due and the

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obligation is wholly upon me; where do you come in?" Sir Frederick replied that we became the endorsers. We had a little laugh over this and thought Mr. Hays was only joking, but he went on to speak of different things, what hard luck the road had had in different directions, of the need of reduction of coal duties, of increased allowance for carriage of mails, etc., etc. We told him that of course we could not speak for the Cabinet, that we were only two members, but that we would certainly be only too pleased to represent to our colleagues anything he might do to help out the present situation. We thought they would not be lacking in good-will toward him for anything he might do. He then said he thought if we wanted him to take back any of the men we should agree to take any men who had been taken on since the strike and whom he might not be able to find positions for or get rid of at the end of the three months. He said he supposed work could be found for them on the I.C.R. or if not on the I.C.R. provision might be made in some other way.

I happened to know that all of the men who have been taken on have been engaged by the month, and that he is under no real obligation to them, and I felt that he was only bluffing for some reason of his own, and when Sir Frederick asked me what I thought of it, I said that it seemed to me very reasonable that Mr. Hays should make such a request, that in fact it showed his good faith in the promise he was giving to reinstate all of the men. We were asking him to take back every one; he said he had obligations to some whom he had taken on since the strike commenced; we therefore, I thought, should be prepared to meet him at this point, provided the obligation were not likely to be serious, as he himself had stated. Sir Frederick said he held the same view, and then used words to this effect: "Now let us see what is the extent of the obligation we are assuming; we agree that if there are any men who have been taken on since the strike and whom Mr. Hays may have still in his employ at the end of three months and is unable to find positions for, the Government should relieve him to the extent of undertaking to find some suitable employment, either on some of the railways in the Dominion or in some other way." After Sir Frederick and I had each carefully stated our obligation and asked if this were right, and it was so admitted by Mr. Hays, he said, very well, that he would sign the agreement on that understanding. He then took the nine or ten copies of the agreement which I had drawn up, went to another room and returned with all of them duly signed.

He had said before leaving that I could, perhaps, when I got back to the hotel or later on, send him a little memo of the obligation on each side. I had felt instinctively that there was something to be watched in this, and therefore decided to write out the memo on the spot, and while Mr. Hays was away signing I drafted out what we had understood was the nature of the obligation. The draft which I then prepared and which I read over in an unfinished form to all present was as follows: (Of course it was understood that any arrangement made in this connection was to be entirely confidential, as was also the interpretation to be put on the words "as soon as possible" so far as the public was concerned. Sir Frederick and I were only to give our word to the men that Mr. Hays had given this assurance to us):

By the way, may I say here in parenthesis, lest it should appear that I am communicating any matter which it was decided at the time should be confidential, that I repeated over and over again to Mr. Hays, during the negotiations, that one of the reasons why I desired him to settle was that there would be no necessity for making public the extraordinary record which I am giving to this House at the present moment. I told him that if, when a settlement was made, he did not carry it out he might expect the whole transaction from beginning to end to be made public.

"Re settlement of dispute between G.T.R. Company and employees in train and yard service.
"Confidential.

"Dear Mr. Hays:

As hon. members will remember there were none of these men in the employ of the company at the end of three months because the strike breakers were employed only for a month, and we knew at the time we were negotiating that there would be no obligation towards any of them because the strike would be over. We were not taking on any liability for the Government but we simply included this in the draft.

"With regard to the agreement signed by yourself to-day as a means of settling existing differences and our conversation in reference thereto, we understand that you undertake to reinstate within three months in their former positions in the company's service, all of the men involved in the present strike. We have your statement that since the strike commenced you have taken on a number of new men, any of whom still in your employ three months hence you will be under obligation to provide for. It is apparent to us that the present strike cannot be terminated unless you give the above undertaking. We realise that its continuance even for a day, to say nothing of an indefinite period, will mean heavy financial, not to speak of other forms of loss to individuals in all parts of the Dominion, as well as serious injury to industrial and commercial conditions in Canada and without his knowledge we feel we would fail in our obligation to the people of Canada, whose trustees we are in this matter if we allowed the possibility of your being unable to provide for all such employees to prevent a settlement. We therefore undertake, in order to prevent such a contingency, that the Government of Canada at the end of three months will relieve you of such obligation as you may still have in this respect, by providing in a fair and equitable manner for any men who have joined the Company's service since the strike commenced and who may be still in your employ and for whom you are unable to make further provision, etc., etc."

When I had read over this draft Mr. Hays said he did not like the word "reinstate" and I asked him what he would suggest instead, and he said "take back." I said very well, it would read then, "undertake to take back in their former positions in the Company's service."

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Thereupon without a moment's notice, Mr. Hays said: "This is not my undertaking at all; you are to look after the men out on strike; I am to take back as many of them as I can, and any whom I do not take back you are to provide for." Sir Frederick and I were dumbfounded. We went carefully over the whole conversation that had taken place and pointed out wherein there had been no room for misunderstanding. Sir Frederick drew attention to the way in which he had stated the obligation of the Government. I pointed out that in virtue of his suggesting the words "take back" for "reinstate" it was clear that up to that moment there could be no doubt in his own mind as to the nature of his undertaking. There was no moving Mr. Hays. He seemed to get into a sort of rage and said that if that was the interpretation we had put upon his words he would like the agreements containing his signature back. I said to him: "No, Mr. Hays, we cannot give these documents back to you. We said we intended to submit the same document to both parties and to give each a chance of signing. We thought it was due to you to have the first opportunity, now we must give the men the same opportunity as we have given you. We must present the same document to them and ask them if they are prepared to sign on the same understanding as to the meaning of the words "as soon as possible," namely, three months, which was what Sir Frederick and I stated to you was the limit we thought should be placed upon them. The question of all of the men being taken back has been clear from the start, seeing that according to your own words it was only on the meaning of the three words "soon as possible" that there was any hitch at all."

Sir Frederick by this time had begun to see that Mr. Hays had made up his mind that he would not have a settlement. He went over to him as he was standing beside the table and drawing up squarely in front of him and looking him straight in the eye, said in a cold deliberate way: "Mr. Hays, a situation has arisen in this country which is very critical indeed. We have done all as members of the Government, that it is in our power to do to relieve this situation. We have gone down on our knees "or words to that effect" to you in our endeavour to make it easy for you in every particular to do what is in your own interest as well as what the public are demanding. You have blocked proceedings at every turn. For this strike and all that has grown out of it and may grow out of it, the responsibility must rest with you; yes, with you." This took Mr. Hays a little by surprise, and he said, "Sir Frederick, you should not speak that way." I said: "Mr. Hays, I happen to be another member of the Government, and as another member of the Government of this country, I repeat to you every word that Sir Frederick has uttered." Sir Frederick and I then withdrew.

On reaching the hotel we had the full committee of the men come to my rooms. We laid the agreement on the table before them and asked if they were prepared to sign this agreement on the understanding that the words "put back as soon as possible" meant taken back in their former positions within three months. They said they were, and we asked them to sign on this understanding which they did immediately. This was between five and six o'clock on Sunday afternoon. We then said, "It remains for us to say to you that Mr. Hays has given us his undertaking that this was the meaning which he attaches to these words. As soon as we are in a position to give you our word that this is his undertaking will we be in a position to say that the strike is at an end"? To this they replied yes. We then mentioned that we had not as yet secured this undertaking in a form that was entirely satisfactory, but hoped to be able to and that as soon as it was obtained we would communicate with them at once.

When we had thus arrived at this point—we had in our possession a document the meaning of which was absolutely clear and the contents of which covered all the points of difference between the parties, and it was signed by each in their own handwriting, but the strike was not at an end. An agreement but not the settlement had been effected. There were two alternatives left to Sir Frederick and myself, one to draw up a brief statement which would make clear to the public the point to which negotiations had brought us and the reason why they did not result in settlement. This meant disclosing everything, with all of possibility it carried with it to Mr. Hays and his company, to say nothing of other possible consequences. The other alternative was to make still another attempt to save Mr. Hays from himself. I prepared a brief statement in accordance with the first alternative, and which was as follows:—

"The attached is a copy of a document in our possession, bearing the signatures of the parties to the present dispute and arrived at after days of a close and careful negotiating. As soon as we are in a position to give to the men at present on strike an assurance that it will be carried out according to the context as understood by us at the time the signature of each of the parties was obtained, the strike will be declared at an end. Until such time the responsibility for the continuance of the strike and all that may grow out of its continuance, in our opinion, rests with Mr. Hays. The words "as soon as possible" are understood by us to mean within three months; and by "put back" we understand, taken back to their former positions. This was the meaning as we understood it at the time the document was signed by Mr. Hays. This understanding Mr. Hays has since repudiated. We have the assurance of the committee of the men that the instant it is made good the strike will be declared at an end."

As the second alternative, I drafted the following letter to Mr. Hays to be signed by Sir Frederick and myself:—

MONTREAL, July 31, 1910.

"Re dispute between Grand Trunk Railway Company and employees in train and yard service.

Dear Mr. Hays:—

"The enclosed document, bearing your own signature and the signatures of the other parties to the present dispute on the Grand Trunk railway, contains the terms of an agreement on the acceptance of which the present strike will be ended. We think that the meaning of all the clauses is sufficiently clear. As, however, some misunderstanding as to the meaning of the words "put back as soon as possible" in section one, we would say that by "put back" we think should be meant, taken back to their former positions; and by "as soon as possible" a period not longer than three

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months. If you will give us an undertaking that your company will carry out the terms of this agreement on this understanding we are in a position to give you and the public an assurance that the strike will be immediately terminated.

"It is apparent to us that the strike will continue unless you give this undertaking and realizing how all-important to the interests of the Dominion it is that a speedy settlement should be reached, we feel it is our duty to say and we are prepared to say, that if at the end of three months' time there should be still in your employ any men whom you may have engaged since the strike commenced and retained in virtue of the terms of an engagement at present existing, the Government of Canada will relieve you of such responsibility as you may be under in view of contractual relations by undertaking to find suitable employment for such men.

Yours faithfully,

F. W. BORDEN,

W. L. MACKENZIE KING.

CHAS. M. HAYS, Esq.,
President, Grand Trunk Railway,
Montreal, Que.

I had completed the first statement which Sir Frederick agreed accurately represented the situation, when Mr. Biggar and Mr. Wainwright arrived at our rooms. I read the statement over to them and they immediately became quite alarmed. Mr. Biggar said that the giving out of such a statement might produce civil war. He could not say that it did not represent accurately the position of affairs, and we pointed out that the people of the country had been looking to us for four days to know who was responsible for the continuance of the dispute, and it was now nigh time that they should know. Sir Frederick, while I had been out of the room, had spoken of our intention to write Mr. Hays an official letter, whereupon after hearing this statement read, Mr. Biggar and Mr. Wainwright asked if we did not intend to write Mr. Hays first. I told them we did, and it was then understood between the four of us that a final letter should be sent to Mr. Hays, that I should return to Ottawa and lay all the facts before such members of the Government as might be present, giving to our colleagues the above statement as the views of Sir Frederick Borden and myself, and our recommendation that failing a satisfactory answer from Mr. Hays the whole correspondence should be made public. Sir Frederick had cancelled his stateroom three times in succession, and felt that he could not longer delay his return to the East. I went with him to the station at 6.30 and saw him off. As we were so rushed during the end my secretary had not time to typewrite the draft of the proposed letter from Sir Frederick and myself to Mr. Hays. I had him read over to Sir Frederick what I had proposed we should say, and Sir Frederick agreed that would be satisfactory. He then signed a sheet in blank, with the understanding that I was to add my signature to the letter to be written on his sheet and send it as soon as typewritten. When I returned to the hotel from the station I saw that the letter was properly written, and then considered what steps should next be taken. I felt that to mail it to Mr. Hays would mean only further correspondence and that after all what the country needed at almost any cost was a settlement of the strike. The extreme danger of its continuance in the light of circumstances as they were it would be impossible to forecast. Accordingly I decided not to return to Ottawa that night, but to make another try with Mr. Hays. I rang up Wainwright and saw him at his house just as he was retiring for the night. I took over the letter we had prepared and explained to him our intended procedure. I asked if he thought it would help matters if I took the letter personally to Mr. Hays, and on his advice I did so. When I reached Mr. Hays' house it was a little after ten. Mr. Hays was retiring and sent down word that unless it was important he would be glad to leave matters over until the morning, but that if I really wished to see him and did not mind coming upstairs he would see me in his dressing gown. I sent back word that before coming over I had seen Mr. Wainwright and discussed with him the advisability of calling at so late an hour, but that as I was about to leave for Ottawa and had a communication which was to be left with Mr. Hays, Mr. Wainwright had thought it would be well were I to see him personally before going; that under the circumstances if it were agreeable to him I would certainly go to his room. Having received a favourable answer I went upstairs.

I got back to the hotel about eleven, and met Mr. Fitzhugh in the corridor. I asked him if he would come and have a little supper with me. He came in and we talked together until they turned out the lights in the dining room. Before we separated I told him what had transpired during the day as to the signing of the agreement by each of the parties and pointed out that the whole question had now shifted altogether from one of a dispute between the parties and terms of settlement to the personal honour of Mr. Hays in the eyes of the public and the country, and that I hoped he would co-operate with Mr. Biggar, Mr. Wainwright and myself in finding some way to avoid a disclosure of the unfortunate impasse reached.

I rang up Mr. Wainwright next morning at about seven o'clock, told him of my talk with Hays and Fitzhugh, and said I hoped he would with Mr. Biggar be able, on the opening we had left, to get matters successfully concluded, above all to seek to avoid a continuance of correspondence as it only meant a more serious situation for Mr. Hays later on. About 9.30 Mr. Wainwright rang me up and said that he and Biggar had seen Mr. Hays and that he thought we had now reached a point where I would be able to say "Amen" to the whole situation. Would I come then to his office and see him and Mr. Biggar before keeping the appointment with Mr. Hays which had been fixed for eleven. When I reached Mr. Wainwright's office he handed me the following letter from Mr. Hays:

"August 1st, 1910.

"Sir FREDERICK W. BORDEN,
"Minister of Militia and Defence,
"Ottawa, Ont.

"Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING,
"Minister of Labour,
"Ottawa, Ont.

"Gentlemen,—I have your favour of date July 31st in re dispute between the Grand Trunk Railway Company and employees in train and yard service, with memo of terms of proposed settlement of existing difficulties. I think we are all actuated by the same motives,

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viz- the restoration of full service on the Grand Trunk Railway with every consideration possible to the men who went out on strike, and while we are not entirely in accord with you in the meaning you attach to the clauses quoted, where room exists for a different opinion, there should be no difficulty in arriving at some mutually satisfactory settlement, should occasion make necessary, and with this understanding your proposition is accepted.

"Yours truly,

"CHAS. M. HAYS,
"President."

When shown this letter, I gave the one obvious reply, that it meant nothing, and if accepted by Sir Frederick Borden and myself as giving the assurance required would only lay us open to having taken as an assurance what was not such in fact. Thereupon Mr. Biggar and Mr. Wainwright explained that Mr. Hays had nothing of the kind in mind, that as a matter of fact he had arranged that if this letter were not satisfactory and left any room for doubt, Biggar, Wainwright and myself were to come to some understanding as to the interpretation to be put upon its words,—the understanding to be embodied in the memorandum to be attached to the letter, this memorandum to be signed by Mr, Hays and myself. I said immediately a satisfactory memorandum could be drawn up that would be wholly agreeable and we began to discuss its terms. Mr. Biggar presented me with a typewritten memorandum which he thought would meet the case. The memorandum as presented was anything but satisfactory. The first clause read as follows:

"The men shall within three months from this date, be taken back into service and within that time be placed in their former positions. This, however, is not to require the removal from any of such positions, of men who were in the company's service prior to the strike; the intention being that those formerly occupying such positions shall get them back from time to time as vacancies occur."

I pointed out that the second sentence of this paragraph nullified the first; that unless all of the positions spoken of in the second sentence became vacant before end of three months it would become impossible to carry out the undertaking in the first sentence, which was the essence of the whole situation. Mr. Biggar and Mr. Wainwright admitted this and struck out the second sentence. They then asked me whether I thought the Government would undertake to look after the men who had been taken on the company's lines west of Detroit, between Detroit and Chicago, and east of Montreal, between Montreal and Portland. I replied that we could hardly be expected to do that, that I thought that by undertaking to look after such men as might be left in the Company's employ in Canada, we were going about as far as it would be possible for the Government to go. They were also of that opinion, and having drafted a memorandum on these lines, they took what was acceptable to me, and what I think they believed to be fair and in accordance with Sir Frederick's undertaking and my own, to Mr. Hays. They were absent about an hour, and then came back with a memorandum, the first sentence of which, instead of reading—

"The men will, within three months from this date, be taken back into service and within that time be placed in their former positions—" read—

"The men formerly in the company's train and yard service in Canada will within three months from this date be taken back into service and within that time be placed in their former positions."

I saw at once that here again was a new device to enable Mr. Hays to carry out one of only two possible intentions in his mind, either to have no settlement at all, or to settle only on the basis of not taking back all the men, which he knew very well was the only basis on which a settlement could be reached, except by a strike which might last for several months. I pointed this out to Mr. Biggar and Mr. Wainwright. They replied that they did not think such was in Mr. Hays' mind, that he had said, if we were limiting our obligation to Canada, he should limit his obligation to Canada also, and that for this reason he felt the memorandum was absolutely fair. Besides he did not see why as Canadian Ministers, we were concerned with the Yankee end of the situation.

Knowing that Mr. Hays had been unwilling to negotiate a settlement until Messrs. Garretson and Lee as presidents of the organizations were on hand, in order that whatever was come to might be binding on all; knowing too, that the question of who were included in the word "men" or "all men" had never once been raised in the whole discussion, either with me privately or in negotiations with the men or in anything that occurred during the time that Sir Frederick was present; knowing that the one and only pretext up to that time had been the difficulty of finding an interpretation to the words "as soon as possible" which related to time and not to nationality; knowing further that by a deliberately false manœuvre this ground had been shifted by Mr. Hays away from the question of time to the class of men to be cared for by the Government (i.e. those of the strikers who might fail of reinstatement instead of those of the men engaged since the strike who might still be in the Company's employ at the end of three months); knowing that in the letter sent to Sir Frederick Borden and myself in reply, another evasion of the whole question had been sought, with the deliberate intention to have the Government shoulder responsibilities which might place it before the whole labour world as having intrigued with a corporation to gain a certain and,—I could not help feeling how fraught with truth were the words that "patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel."

I left Mr. Biggar and Mr. Wainwright and returned to the hotel. They thought I had gone to see how this proposition would appeal to the men, they had said Mr. Hays wished me to put it to the men, and if they would not accept it, that would be their own lookout. Sir Frederick and I as Ministers would have done our duty, and the Canadian public would be well satisfied at our having taken the stand which we had taken, and that public opinion would strongly back Mr. Hays in his patriotic endeavours.

When I reached my room I drafted two letters, one to Messrs. Murdock and Berry the Canadian leaders. It was a draft based on the assumption that I could get from Mr. Hays all that had been asked in reference to Canada, and concluded with the request that they would advise me whether or not this would be acceptable to the men whom they represented. The other letter was a letter to Mr. Hays in reply to his letter to Sir Frederick and myself, briefly mentioning that there should be little difficulty in our arriving at an understanding as to what was meant by the words on which he placed a different interpretation than our own and ending with a request that he inform me wherein his interpretation differed from ours. I called the committee to my room and read over to them the draft letter which I had addressed to Messrs. Berry and Murdock. I said that I was not submitting that letter to them, that I had not received from Mr. Hays the undertaking therein expressed, but that I would like to know whether if such an undertaking could be received and were such a letter sent by me to them, would the strike be ended. They replied that I knew as well as they did that it would not, that for them as Canadians to agree for themselves alone to what had been gained for them through their fellow workers all over the system would be to play the part of traitors to their fellowmen. My answer to them was that as Canadians I would be mistaken in them if I thought they would take any other stand, and that as men I would be ashamed of them. I asked them, however, if they saw into what position the whole strike would be brought if such a communication should be sent and an answer demanded from them. I pointed out that they could not blame Sir Frederick and myself if Mr. Hays put this proposition up to us, as I was afraid he might do, and demanded of us to pass it along; that we should then be obliged to write a communication such as I had written to them. They admitted this was so. I told them that was all I wanted; it was not my intention to allow them to be put in this position before the public of Canada. On the other hand, I was anxious that they should know just how far the Government of Canada was standing by them in an endeavour to see fair play and to get justice in the present situation. They replied to me: "Mr. King, whatever you do, whatever you ask, or whatever you say, we will approve of your course."

I then returned to Mr. Wainwright's office. When he got hold of Mr. Biggar they asked me how the men had taken the proposition. I replied to them that I had made no proposition to the men, that so far as the men were concerned I was through with them; I had their signatures to a document on a certain understanding which they were prepared to stand by; that I had no reason to doubt their faith in the obligation they had assumed, and that the only thing which was now preventing a settlement and which had prevented a settlement from Saturday night up to that time, was to my mind the mala fides of Mr. Hays; that I was prepared to be still undeceived as to this, but I hoped they remembered, and as advisers of Mr. Hays would see that he thoroughly understood, that every step in the endeavour to find the light in this situation might some day be publicly disclosed. I then asked if I was right in understanding the letter given me in the morning over Mr. Hays' signature as replying to Sir Frederick's and my own, and was informed, "yes." I then drew from my pocket the following letter, and said, "Give this to Mr. Hays as my further reply to him:

"MONTREAL, August 1, 1910.

"Dear Sir: —I have your letter of to-day acknowledging the receipt of the letter of July 31 from Sir Frederick Borden and myself, and note that you say that you are not entirely in accord with Sir Frederick and myself as to the meaning we attached to the clauses quoted. We have given you the meaning and the only meaning it has seemed possible for us to place upon the clause in question. However, if room exists for a different opinion, I agree that there should be no difficulty in arriving at some mutually satisfactory settlement. Perhaps you will kindly inform me wherein the meaning you attach to the clause quoted is not in accord with Sir Frederick's and mine, or what is the meaning you attach to this clause.

"Yours faithfully,

"W. L. MACKENZIE KING,
"Minister of Labour."

"Chas. M. Hays, Esq.,
"President, Grand Trunk Railway System,
"Montreal."

When Mr. Biggar and Mr. Wainwright received this letter they were in a state of consternation. They each admitted frankly to me that Mr. Hays was a man that nothing could be done with, and they saw no possibility of a termination of the strike. We spent an hour talking over the position, trying, the three of us together, to find some means that could end the difficulty. Before leaving I turned to Mr. Biggar and Mr. Wainwright, and said: "I see only one faint glimmer of hope which can save all. It means more in the way of responsibility than I can take on my own shoulders, but perhaps my colleagues, knowing the situation, will help to carry it with me, to save this country and to save Mr. Hays." They asked me what it was. I asked Mr. Biggar if the reason Mr. Hays had given for refusing to include all men in his undertaking was because I had limited the Government's obligation to the men in Canada. He replied: "Yes." I said: "Do you think that if the Government were to extend its obligation to include all, Mr. Hays would extend his also." Mr. Biggar replied that if he did not there would be no ground left for him to stand upon. Then I said: "Very well, Mr. Biggar, you can give this letter to Mr. Hays, and you can say to him at the same time that if that is his reason, if he is prepared to sign the understanding we have reached on the ground that 'the men' means exactly what it says in the one paragraph as well as the other, I will be prepared to ask my colleagues to give me authority to sign the memorandum on the basis of this understanding, but before I ask them to do this Mr. Hays must have expressed his readiness to sign without reservation, mental or otherwise. I will then know, as you will know, that that alone, knowing the man we are dealing with, can terminate this strike and save all the direful consequences which must follow from either its continuance or a disclosure of what has transpired is an effort to negotiate a settlement." Biggar and Wainwright looked more than relieved. They agreed that the obligation could mean little or nothing, and virtually admitted that it was simply a pretext; after it was understood that Mr. Biggar would spend the morning with Mr. Hays and secure, if possible, his signature, and that Mr. Wainwright would come to Ottawa and be present to sign there on behalf of Mr. Hays with his authority, after Mr. Hays had signed in Montreal himself, and take back the document with my signature if it could be obtained. I left them and returned by the 10.30 train to Ottawa, getting in at 1.30 a.m.

Tuesday, August 2—This was the position when I was again at my office on Tuesday morning. I inquired what ministers were in the city, and found that Mr. Brodeur and Dr.

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Pugsley were the only ones present. Mr. Wainwright arrived at noon. He had not yet heard from Mr. Biggar, but said he expected to do so any moment. We agreed that we should meet at the club. Mr. Brodeur joined me at luncheon, and when we came out of the dining room we met Mr. Wainwright, and I asked him if he had received word from Biggar. He said he had; that all was now satisfactorily arranged, if the Government could see its way to enlarge its part of the undertaking. Mr. Biggar had, while we were talking together, suggested the words "men on the Grand Trunk system," as the best words to include in the document, it being understood that the Central Vermont might have to be considered as part of the system if Mr. Hays so suggested. Mr. Biggar, however, did not intend to raise the point with him. Wainwright said: "In the phone message which I have received Biggar tells me that Fitzhugh has insisted with Mr. Hays on having the clause read 'The Grand Trunk Railway or Central Vermont.'" "The Central Vermont," he said, "is Fitzhugh." I then told Mr. Wainwright that Dr. Pugsley and Mr. Brodeur were the only other ministers in the city. I had expected from a wire Sir Richard had sent me from Kingston that we would be having a meeting of the Cabinet (but Sir Richard had been unable to come). On hearing this Wainwright said that Mr. Hays had signed the undertaking as submitted to him by Mr. Biggar, and that he (Wainwright) had been authorized to say that on my signing, either alone or with the consent of other ministers, that would be enough, and that he was authorized to sign at this end on Mr. Hays' behalf the similar document we had here. I then asked Mr. Wainwright if he would meet Dr. Pugsley, Mr. Brodeur and myself at three o'clock. Mr. Brodeur and I talked over the whole situation, and we all met in Dr. Pugsley's office at three o'clock. I then went over the whole story with Dr. Pugsley and Mr. Brodeur in Mr. Wainwright's presence, very much as I have narrated it in this letter, so that they were familiar with all that had taken place. I asked Mr. Wainwright in their presence if he were quite certain that they were agreed to sign this undertaking in the form in which we had finally drafted it; this would end the strike. He said: "Yes." I asked him if we did not, did he know of anything else that would save the situation. He was still more emphatic in saying that he did not; that he felt this was absolutely the only thing that could be done to, on the one hand, terminate the strike, and on the other avoid an open rupture between the Government and Mr. Hays and the disclosure of all that had taken place. Wainwright said that he doubted if all of the men that would be left on the system, including the Central Vermont, would amount to more than a few dozen at the outside, if, as a matter of fact, there were any at all. All the men who had been engaged had been hired only by the month, and there were few of them who were really any good. Besides, the company would be opening up new parts of lines, and would be needing extra men before the next three months were completed. He did not think the whole thing would really amount to anything. I asked him if he were quite positive there could be no further hitch. He said: "Quite." Also, he said to Dr. Pugsley and Mr. Brodeur: "I am ready to sign on the authorization of Mr. Hays, who has already signed, and if my authority to do so should be ever questioned by him, I am prepared to hand in my resignation as vice-president of the company."

It was perfectly evident to my mind that there could be no estimating the seriousness of the situation that might arise were the public on the morrow to be informed that despite all that had taken place in the way of negotiation there was only a prolonged dispute to be expected on the road. I had been given to understand by the men that the engineers and firemen were going to quit unless a settlement were reached,—not out of sympathy, but on the ground that the trains not being properly manned they felt it too hazardous to continue their runs. With this prospect before us, and knowing the man with whom we were dealing, I felt it was our duty to sign, and so expressed myself. Dr. Pugsley and Mr. Brodeur were of the same opinion, and we three then signed the memorandum, and Mr. Wainwright signed as follows: "Authority of President, by William Wainwright, second vice-president, Grand Trunk Railway system."

I then returned to my office and sent a confidential wire to Messrs. Murdock and Berry, the Canadian leaders, stating that Mr. Hays had given to Sir Frederick Borden and myself an undertaking that the men would within three months be taken back into the service and within that time placed in their former positions, and that in accordance with our understanding I would expect to hear from them by wire immediately that the strike had been declared at an end. Within half an hour I received this word. About this time Mr. Biggar phoned me from Montreal to know how negotiations were proceeding. I told him what had transpired and that the strike was off. I then wrote Mr. Hays, saying that having received from him the undertaking asked for in our letter of July 31, Sir Frederick and I were able to assure him, not only that the strike would be immediately terminated, but that it had been declared at an end. I then mailed to each of the parties under registered cover, copies of the agreement by which each were bound. I wired you, mentioning that the strike had been concluded through Government intervention, and after wiring Sir Frederick gave out to the press copies of the agreement without comment, other than that the agreement spoke for itself. Before the night was over, I am informed, every man from Chicago to Portland over the whole system had reported himself as ready for duty.

This letter, I fear, is already much too long, but it has seemed to me owing to yourself and the Government that all of the important circumstances should be fully narrated and carefully recorded before there is possibility of any future misunderstanding.

And then there is one paragraph—I am omitting some others here—which shows our position on this matter and which shows to what extent the interests of the men were really protected and safeguarded at that time.

There is one other thing:

This is still part of my letter to Sir Wilfrid.

I see by the press that Mr. Hays is proposing to consider as cancelled all obligation which his company may be under in the way of pensions, partially or all but fully earned by any of the men who may have gone out on strike. A pension has always been considered a reward

of service,—not a manacle to fetter personal liberty. Some of the men who have been out on this strike have, I understand given thirty-four years of their life to the company's service. They, according to Mr. Hays, are to lose every cent of their pensions, and start in as new men. Unless Mr. Hays or those who control his company, are prepared to recede from this position, my own individual view is that the Parliament of Canada would be justified in refusing to grant any company with which Mr. Hays is concerned any further consideration of any kind, and that the Government should lead Parliament in this view. If, as Mr. Hays will probably say, he cannot legally grant the pension, Parliament might help to rid him of this limitation by enacting legislation which will give him the legal power he requires. It is to be hoped for the sake of the interests of the company, to say nothing of the rights of others, that his directors will not allow him to persist in a stand of this kind.

Mr. BEST: Is there a postscript?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I know my hon. friends opposite are anxious to get through with this matter in a hurry; but this has been standing for ten years, and if it is going to take all night to-night and all day to-morrow to obtain justice for these men, I am prepared to stand here in order to obtain it. For ten years I have stood in this country under fire of hon. gentlemen opposite as one who betrayed the workingmen in this particular situation, When I was not in this Parliament where I could raise my voice, some hon. gentlemen opposite were out on platform after platform throughout this country pointing to me as the cause why these men had not received their pensions. I have waited until to-day to tell the whole story; I am going to tell it all, and I am not through yet.

Mr. McMASTER: It will be best to be patient.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: There is something eternal about justice, and if it is going to be possible to prove the truth in this case on behalf of the workingmen of this country, that is going to be done. In that letter to Sir Wilfrid Laurier I stated all the facts at the time and it will be apparent to any hon. member that such a letter could only have been written immediately after a situation of that kind. I went into the matter in great detail, because I was fully conscious of the tremendous responsibility I had to assume as a single individual at that time when the Prime Minister and other ministers were out in the West. The Minister of Railways was also away, and I was, therefore, careful promptly to put in every detail. Had the Grand Trunk Railway Company carried out its obligations, not a line of this would have been made public. Had the Grand Trunk Railway Company reinstated the men, not a line of this would have been made public. Had the Grand Trunk Railway Company, within the past ten years, been willing to do what was honest and fair and straight and just with these men as regards pensions, not a line of this would have been made public. But making this public ought to be the means of compelling this Parliament, before it proceeds further with this agreement, to see that this opportunity does not pass without full justice being done to the men in this matter. I think I have made it perfectly clear to the House that if it had not been for the patience and loyalty of these employees of the Grand Trunk Railway Company; if it had not been for their willingness to do all in their power to bring this situation to an end, no one can tell into what disastrous condition this country would have come, because the situation was a most critical one. The men having acted in that way, it is up to Parliament to see that no further jockeying is done with regard to their rights.

I concluded my letter to Sir Wilfrid Laurier by stating that until the Grand Trunk Railway Company came to their senses in the matter, until their president acted in an honourable way, no further assistance should be given by the Government to that company. There is seated beside me this evening the hon. member for Shelburne and Queen's (Mr. Fielding) who was Minister of Finance in Sir Wilfrid's Government at that time. He can bear out the truth of what I say, when I tell the committee, as I do, that at the time this matter was under negotiation, Mr. Hays had been coming to the Government for assistance in connection with some of his lines in the West; he had asked for a very liberal amount, as is the custom, and the Government was favourably disposed to help him. What was the answer that Sir Wilfrid Laurier gave him? Put back those men into their positions and carry out your agreement, and I will go before Parliament and get you your money. Mr. Hays said that he would, but he never did. Another week passed and then another, and we dissolved Parliament without Mr. Hays getting a five-cent piece, although it was millions of dollars that he was after at that time. What was our reason for taking that position? We took the position that until the company was honourable in regard to its obligations and carried them out, the company would not get another five-cent piece from Parliament if we could avoid giving it to them. That statement has

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never before been made public; but the former Minister of Finance will recall that that was the position taken by Sir Wilfrid Laurier in dealing with this company, and the reason that the Grand Trunk Railway Company did not receive any assistance from the Government of Canada, until another Government took office, was because the company did not carry out those obligations. The Minister of Labour knows well enough the trouble he had of bringing Mr. Hays later on into line in getting anything done. What I want to make clear is this. If we are to have a contest between any corporation and the Government of Canada, are we going to let the corporation have the last word, or are we going to insist upon the Government of Canada having the final say in a matter of justice? I want to say to the Government that that is the situation to-day. This has been a long battle; it has been a fight as between a great railway corporation and the Government of Canada as to who is to have the last word in a matter of justice and honour, and my hon. friends opposite cannot afford to allow this opportunity to pass without seeing that this matter is put once and for all where there will be no chance of escape on the part of the Grand Railway Company from meeting its liabilities to the fullest possible extent.

I have taken up a great deal of the time of the committee, but I feel that this is a matter than which there is nothing of greater importance to this country at the present time. What is the greatest question that we have before us? It is the question of industrial relations. What is the proper solution of it? It is straight and honest dealing and nothing more. If you have not confidence you get nowhere in the industrial world or in the improvement of industrial relations. Parliament is the custodian of public honour. The Minister of Railways, if he examines the reports of the debates which took place at the time this matter was under discussion, will see where he himself, pointing to me, said over and over again: The Government intervened in this matter; they should get justice for the men. Now my hon. friend has the chance. He can put in this little agreement an amendment which I am about to move, and that will adjust the matter for all time.

Mr. J. D. REID: You should have put that in the Bills that you passed that session.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: What Bills?

Mr. J. D. REID: The Grand Trunk Bills.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: We did not pass any. That is exactly what we refused to do. We had the Bills ready to bring down but we refused to introduce them, and it cost the Grand Trunk Railway Company several millions of dollars.

Mr. J. D. REID: The statutes show that you did.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Will you cite them?

Mr. J. D. REID: A little later.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I repeat that to the extent of millions of dollars the Grand Trunk was refused assistance which it asked for at that time. I recall very clearly that they came for this assistance within a couple of weeks of the dissolution of Parliament. Sir Wilfrid Laurier was in England attending the coronation. My hon. friend (Mr. Fielding) was Acting Prime Minister at the time, I think; I know that he had in hand the legislation that the Grand Trunk was asking for. It was held up during all the time that Sir Wilfrid was in England. It would have been introduced while he was abroad if the men had been put back to work. The Government notified Mr. Hays that as soon as the men were reinstated the legislation would be introduced. Sir Wilfrid returned, and I think he had been back only about two weeks when Parliament dissolved. I myself heard Sir Wilfrid say to Mr. Hays: "I will keep Parliament in session two weeks longer to give you a chance to put these men back and to have full justice done to them. I will then bring in the legislation that you want. But I will not ask Parliament to vote a cent to the Grand Trunk Railway Company until these men are reinstated." That course was never taken. Parliament dissolved, and the Grand Trunk Railway Company never got their money.

Mr. J. D. REID: If the hon. gentlman had taken the position that no further legislation would go through in the interests of the Grand Trunk until they had settled with these men, that would have been all right. But I make the statement that the then Minister of Labour at that session assisted in putting through legislation for the Grand Trunk Railway Company of Canada.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I take issue with my hon. friend; the record will speak for itself. The strike took place in July, 1910. The matter of the three months' reinstatement came to be a question at issue

while the session was on. I think it was the ex-Minister of Labour (Mr. Crothers) who pointed out the other day that the question whether any of the men had been guilty of the violation of law had been referred by mutual consent to Judge Barron. It was well on in 1910 or in the beginning of 1911 before it was known what men were to be reinstated, but once it became apparent that the Grand Trunk was refusing to reinstate, certain of the men, we refused to introduce a single bit of legislation on behalf of the company. Every hon. member on this side who was in the House at that time knows that very well. The records will bear out literally every word that I have said.

Now, Mr. Chairman, I move that section 2 of the Bill be amended by adding as subsection 2 thereof the following words:

> The said agreement is hereby amended by adding thereto under the caption "Superannuation and Pension Funds" the following:
>
> "Any right or interest of any employee of the Grand Trunk Railway Company existing in either the pension system or the Insurance or Provident Society prior to the strike of the company's employees which occurred in July, 1910, is hereby declared not to have been affected by the said strike or any circumstance or condition arising out of or in connection therewith."

Let me just say a word in conclusion. There is not a line in that amendment which is not in full accord with what was understood at that time by Sir Frederick Borden and myself, who represented the Government of Canada. Hon. gentlemen opposite have said that as members of the Government it was up to us to see that that obligation was fully discharged. I have pointed out to-night, in language which, I think, is unmistakeable, how difficult it was at the time the strike was on to get justice done. I have also shown wherein every effort was made while the Government of Sir Wilfrid Laurier was in office to have that wrong righted. The member for West Elgin (Mr. Crothers) who was my successor as Minister of Labour, worked hard—every one on his side knows how hard he worked—to get justice done in the matter of the reinstatement of the men. He tried also to effect adjustment in the matter of pensions, but was unsuccessful, and that matter has not yet been settled. If this chance goes by there may be no possibility of settlement for a long time to come. All that the Government have promised is that they will urge upon the board of arbitration the consideration of the moral or legal obligation. But the Government know that so far as the legal obligation is concerned the board will probably take issue with them upon the ground of the bearing of the statute of limitations upon matters of contract.

The Government have intimated that if the board makes a finding along another line the Government will be under a moral obligation to make good these pensions. That is shifting the liability from the Grand Trunk Railway Company to the Government, and that should not be permitted. This is a debt owing by the Grand Trunk Railway Company to certain of its employees. It is a liability, if there ever was a liability upon a company, which ought to be met by the Grand Trunk Railway Company itself and not transferred to the people of Canada . So I ask that we take advantage of this opportunity to put the matter beyond peradventure and to save the honour of the Grand Trunk Railway Company, the honour of the Government and the honour of this Parliament by seeing that justice is done where justice has been long overdue.

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SPEECH ON

AMENDMENT MOVED ON THIRD READING OF BILL

Thursday, April 22, 1920.

Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING: Before the Bill is read a third time, I should like to make one more appeal to the Government and to Parliament on behalf of those employees of the Grand Trunk Railway Company who have been deprived of their pensions in consequence of the strike which took place in July, 1910. My reason, Mr. Speaker, for doing this is that I believe a great wrong has been done a large section of the working people of this country and that this is the last opportunity to remove altogether any doubt as to the rights which many of us believe, and Parliament as a whole admits, they are legitimately entitled to. It is not my purpose to go over the ground which has already been covered in committee, but I wish to outline one or two salient facts, and I might mention that when I have concluded my remarks I intend to move an amendment, which I hope the members of the House will support in view of the reasons which may be urged on its behalf.

When the strike of July, 1910, took place, as the House is aware, the Grand Trunk Railway system was tied up from Chicago to Portland. The greater part of this Dominion was very seriously affected. The strike was settled as the result of an agreement entered into between the employees and the company. In connection with the negotiations that had to do with that settlement the late Sir Frederick Borden and myself, at that time ministers of the Crown, were present in Montreal, and heard and witnessed everything that took place between the parties. When the settlement was finally entered into we undertook as ministers of the Crown that should any dispute arise in the future as to the meaning of certain terms in the agreement we would be prepared to give our word as to the understanding of those terms as agreed upon at the time.

The men were reinstated on the understanding that they were to be put back in their former positions, or, to use the exact terms of the agreement:

> The company will put back as soon as possible the men, other than those who may have been or may be found guilty of acts of violence or disorderly conduct, the understanding being that there is to be no coercion or intimidation towards the new men.

Mr. MORPHY: If my hon. friend will allow me a question at this point it may save some discussion. I was under the impression that although the words "put back as soon as possible" are in the agreement, there was a private understanding that the expression meant ninety days. If so, I would like to ask another question after the hon. member has answered this.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I explained that position fully when we were in committee, but I will explain it again. The company agreed, as stated here, to put the men back as soon as possible. The men tried to get from the company an understanding of what the words "as soon as possible" meant. We spent nearly two days trying to get the Grand Trunk general manager and president to give a definite meaning to those words, and finally he gave to them the meaning of ninety days. It was understood that as soon as he attached to those words a definite period, if that period were acceptable to the men, the strike would be at an end. Ninety days was acceptable to the men. It was not a private understanding, beyond this—that the terms of the agreement were to go to the public as drawn.

Mr. MORPHY: That is where I want to ask my next question. Why was not the "ninety days" put in the agreement? You had the power to get those words inserted; why did you not put them in?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: My hon. friend uses the expression: You had the power to get those words inserted, why did you not put them in?

Mr. MORPHY: Well, you are assuming all the credit for the settlement, and the omission of those words caused all the trouble.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I am not assuming any credit whatever; I am merely endeavouring to state to the House the facts. The parties responsible for the agreement were the company and those who were acting on behalf of the employees. The agreement was entered into between the employees and the company, and the language used in the agreement was come to between them, and was not suggested either by Sir Frederick Borden or by myself. But we were present during the negotiations, and the company insisted on retaining the expression "as soon as possible." The men said, "We have no objection to your using that expression, but we would like to have some definite meaning attached to it. Do you interpret "as soon as possible"to mean one month, two months, three months, or a longer period?" If my hon. friend will take the trouble to peruse the somewhat lengthy communication I read to the House a few nights ago he will find the whole course of the negotiations described explicitly and in detail, and he will discover there that after very considerable difficulty Sir Frederick Borden and I succeeded in getting Mr. Hays to agree that "as soon as possible" would mean three months. We had previously ascertained from the men that if Mr. Hays would give that interpretation it would be satisfactory to them, and that it would also be satisfactory to them to accept the agreement as drawn. We had not any say in the wording one way or the other; the agreement was drawn between the parties, and it was perfectly agreeable to both sides that the words "as soon as possible" should remain in the agreement so long as Sir Frederick Borden and myself, as ministers of the Crown, were prepared publicly to state, should the question ever be raised, that those words meant a period of ninety days. And that is what I am stating now.

As I say, it was with the greatest difficulty that we succeeded in getting the company to declare that definite limitation of time. It was made finally by the vice-president of the company, Mr. Wainwright, coming to Ottawa and stating that he had the authority of the president to give the words that definite meaning. As soon as Mr. Wainwright gave other ministers of the Government and myself that assurance, I sent a confirmatory wire to the men, in accordance with an understanding that we had prior to Mr. Wainwright's coming to Ottawa. But before I read that telegram, let me explain further to my hon. friend (Mr. Morphy), so that he will not be in any doubt as to what actually transpired. The strike was on, and every hour counted. I had told Mr. Hays before I left Montreal that unless he gave to those words "as soon as possible" a definite meaning, and was prepared to settle the strike on the basis of the agreement, I would return to Ottawa, lay the matter before my colleagues and get their permission to make a public statement to the effect, that the parties had arrived at an agreement, all the terms of which were satisfactory to them, but that the strike was not ended for the sole reason that he was unwilling to give to the phrase "as soon as possible" any definite meaning; and that therefore responsibility for continuance of the strike must rest entirely on him. When the company knew that was the position, that the responsibility for the continuance of the strike was about to be put on the president and general manager for his arbitrary action, Mr. Hays sent his vice-president, Mr. Wainwright, to Ottawa with authority to give those words the meaning of ninety days. As soon as that was done I sent to the men the following telegram:

Mr. MORPHY: Before you read the telegram, will you please let me put another question: Was the authority given in writing or by word of mouth?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: The authority was given as set forth in the communication which I read to the House, and which is on Hansard.

Mr. MORPHY: The hon. gentleman might answer me. I was away when he delivered his speech.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Mr. Wainwright came to a meeting at which Mr. Brodeur, Mr. Pugsley and myself, then ministers of the Crown, were present, and at that meeting he stated that he had the authority of the president of the company to give the words "as soon as possible" the meaning of ninety days; that he had been given that authority before he left Montreal; and that if that interpretation was ever questioned, he would resign his position as vice-president.

Mr. MORPHY: So it was purely verbal?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: As far as I remember at the moment, it was. At any rate, it was whatever is contained in the document. At the time, I wrote out all the details of the strike, believing that possibly

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something might arise in regard thereto. But the matter is not in any way pertinent to the strike issue as no one has ever raised a question as to whether the understanding was or was not put in writing.

Mr. MORPHY: I beg my hon. friend's pardon. Considerable dispute arose because the term of ninety days was not inserted in the agreement.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: At any rate the telegram I sent to the leaders of the men was as follows:

> Mr. Hays has given Sir Frederick Borden and myself an undertaking that the men will within three months from this date be taken back into the service and within that time be placed in their former positions. We understand by the men all the men referred to in the agreement signed by both parties. In accordance with our understanding I shall expect to hear by wire immediately that the strike has been declared at an end. I will confirm this wire by letter over my own signature.
>
> Yours faithfully,
> W. L. MACKENZIE KING,
> Minister of Labour.

As soon as that wire was received by the leaders the strike was declared at an end. Now, the important point in that connection is that the strike was declared at an end in virtue of the circumstance that the president of the company had agreed to reinstate these men within a period of ninety days in the positions which they formerly held, and that ministers of the Crown were prepared to vouch for that being the undertaking. That being the case, the only point that is of importance at the present time is: Were those men put back in the positions which they formerly held, and what was meant by putting them back in their positions? Two difficulties arose. One was whether certain men had been guilty of acts of violence. If they had been guilty of acts of violence they were not entitled to be reinstated, but if they had not been guilty of acts of violence they were to be put back in their former positions. When a number of men were not reinstated it was asserted that they were not being put back in their positions because they had been guilty of acts of violence. To settle that question Mr. Justice Barron was appointed to investigate the cases of all the men who were alleged to have been guilty of acts of violence, and the president of the company agreed to reinstate every man whom Mr. Justice Barron said should be reinstated Mr. Justice Barron's inquiry lasted several months, and I believe that even when it was concluded the president of the company still hesitated to put back some men whom Mr. Justice Barron recommended should be put back.

However, the question of reinstatement was only a part, as it subsequently turned out, of what affected the real position of the men. Those who were taken back found a little later on to their utter amazement, that the president of the company was taking the position that because the men had been out on strike they should lose all rights to a pension fund to which they were entitled. Now, the point I wish to make clear to members of the House is that in the whole of the negotiations between the parties, the question of pensions was never discussed one way or the other. The right hon. Minister of Justice (Mr. Doherty) mentioned the other evening that I had said that the strike leaders themselves had said that they did not care anything about pensions. I wish to repeat that statement now. The strike leaders did say to me that they cared nothing one way or the other about pensions. But they did not make that statement in connection with the settlement; they were describing to me the position that organized labour generally takes in that regard. If pensions are to be used as a means of shackling freedom; if they are to be used as a means of keeping men in employment and preventing them from going on strike no matter what conditions may arise, then they do not afford to men the real service they ought to render. It was in that connection that the strike leaders said to me, and stated publicly in the press, as can be found by reference to the papers of that time, that the matter of pensions was a secondary feaure. But when it comes to the terms of the agreement, under which the men were to be put back in their former positions, or to be returned to the service in full standing—if the Grand Trunk Railway Company intended not to allow the men their pensions, they should have said so. But they did not bring that question forward, nor was it discussed from the beginning to the end of the negotiations. When the settlement was made I was under the impression—I know the strike leaders were under the impression, and I am positive that all the men on the Grand Trunk Railway system were under the impression —that when the men were put back in their positions they would be reinstated in full standing and would be entitled to the pensions which they would ordinarily have received. But the company has never given

them the pensions, and what I ask Parliament to do now is to express the view that these pensions should be regarded as owing to the men and that the rights of the men in that respect shall in no way be affected by the strike.

The reason why I bring this matter up in connection with this Bill is that the primary object of the Bill, as stated by the Minister of Railways (Hon. J. D. Reid) is to correct certain errors and to remove certain doubts. Well, I think there has ben an error in this particular. The Government have had before them the representations of employees as to this matter of pensions never having been properly settled. The agreement between the Grand Trunk Railway Company and the Government refers to the subject of pensions. Therefore, there should have been inserted in the agreement something which would remove all possible doubt as to the rights of the employees in the matter of their pensions. If this Parliament has reason to believe that it was the intention of that settlement that the men should be entitled to their pensions, they should express themselves accordingly at this time, and see to it that the pensions if possible are secured.

Some question was raised the other night as to why this matter had not been brought up before. One minister asked why, if the facts are as I have stated, I did not introduce a measure along this line at the time I was a member of the Government of Sir Wilfrid Laurier. As I explained the other evening, the strike took place in July, 1910. It was well on in the spring of 1911 before Mr. Justice Barron reported the results of his investigation into the cases of the men who, it was alleged, had been guilty of acts of violence. As long as Mr. Justice Barron had those cases under review the Government assumed, and Parliament assumed, that it was the intention of the Grand Trunk Railway Company to carry out it word and see that the men were put back in their positions and that they received the pensions to which they were entitled.

Mr. BURNHAM: May I ask the hon. gentleman how he assumes that that was the intention when he himself thought it must be by implication and had made no note of it whatever?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I did not say I thought it was by implication. I said specifically to-night that if the Grand Trunk Railway Company had not intended to give the men the pensions they ought to have said so when the matter was the subject of negotiation. They said that the men were to be put back in their former positions; the whole discussion in the matter of settlement related to conditions after the strike being exactly what they were before the strike. That was the basis of settlement, and if the terms meant anything they meant that the men who had been serving the company for a number of years and were entitled to pensions should not be prejudiced in their positions when the strike was over. The understanding was that bygones were to be bygones and that a settlement should be made as though nothing whatever had happened. That was the nature of the agreement; that was the distinct understanding. The only men who were to be penalized were those who had been guilty of acts of violence; all others were to be reinstated, they were to be put back in their former positions.

When I was interrupted I was referring to the reason why this step had not been taken sooner. As long as the cases of the men were being investigated the company professed that they intended to carry out the agreement. No one thought at that time that there was going to be any dispute over the matter of pensions one way or the other. The moment it became apparent that the company were not going to reinstate the men; the moment it became apparent that certain men were not being reinstated notwithstanding Judge Barron's recommendation to that effect, that moment the Government refused to have any further dealings with Mr. Hays and his company. As I have said, the Government thereupon refused to bring down a Bill recommending financial assistance to the company to the extent of several million dollars in connection with some Western lines. The Grand Trunk Railway Company was refused that aid, for the simple reason that they were not living up to the agreement arrived at in the presence of Sir Frederick Borden and myself. Then, when the Government which succeeded Sir Wilfrid Laurier's Government came into power, the ex-Minister of Labour, the member for West Elgin (Mr. Crothers) took up further with the Grand Trunk Company the question of the reinstatement of the men. He had the same difficulties with the company that we had. He intimated the other evening that he was more successful; that he got the men back into their positions. I am very glad to give my hon. friend every credit for getting them back; I congratulate him upon doing so. But I say this: if he

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got them back into their former positions, according to his own understanding of the agreement did that not carry with it their right to restoration to pension benefits? Did he understand that the men were simply being reinstated in positions which they had forfeited, but that they were to be deprived of pensions? I ask my hon. friend that question now.

Mr. CROTHERS: When the matter came before me, that question was not raised at all by the men. If they had said anything about the question of pensions, I could have had that fixed for them at the same time as I got the other matter adjusted, because we took the position that we would not let any legislation favourable to the Grand Trunk pass until they would carry out that agreement. The men made no claim respecting pensions, and I am corroborated in that by a speech delivered by my hon. friend (Mr. Mackenzie King) himself, and read from Hansard by the Minister of Justice (Mr. Doherty) last Friday, in which speech the hon. member stated that the men did not regard the question of pensions as being of any importance.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Not the men, but the leaders.

Mr. CROTHERS: The leaders represented the men.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: What my hon. friend has said bears out my position. The hon. member says that he could have had the matter of pensions adjusted if it had been raised at all. That is the position we are in at the moment, the only difference being this, that the question has come to the fore now while is was not to the fore then, for the reason my hon. friend mentioned. The question of pensions was not likely to rise in any extensive way until the company began to deprive their employees of their pensions. When the men found that they were being deprived of their pensions, the question of pensions came very much to the fore. Let me make very clear the fact that while the strike leaders have said, in public and in private, that the question of pensions was a secondary matter as regards this particular strike, they have never said to me, and I am sure they have never said to my hon. friend, nor in public, that according to the terms of the settlement of the strike, the matter of pensions does not enter into the question one way or another. They said that the question of pensions was not discussed in the negotiations; but I am sure not one of them would intimate that when the agreement was reached, they had assumed anything other than that all the men would be reinstated in their formed positions and that they would also be entitled to their pensions.

Let me point this out in further reference to the question why this point was not raised last session. One minister mentioned that I was in the House last year and should have brought forward the question at that time. As hon. members will recall, I was a member of this House only two or three weeks last session. At that time the Grand Trunk Railway legislation had already been very far advanced; it was near completion. The minute I came into the House, I urged that the undue haste with which that legislation was being put through was unwarranted, and I asked the Government to go more slowly in order that all matters that were pertinent should be carefully considered. But we were told that there could be no delay; that the Bill must go through that session. Then, I asked that the agreement should be submitted to Parliament so that we might have an opportunity to examine it, and that Parliament should be called upon to ratify it. But that right was denied. Had the agreement been submitted to Parliament, we could have dealt with this question under the heading in the agreement relating to pensions and superannuation. There is in the agreement, clause 17, "Superannuation and Pension Fund," and that shows that the Government had the subject under consideration at the time the agreement was being drawn up. What representations did the Government have before them from the men at that time? The other evening I read a resolution that the Canadian delegates of the Railway Conductors of America and Canada adopted and signed in May 1919. I will read only two or three clauses of that resolution, but they are pertinent to this matter:

> Whereas, the Government then in power effected a settlement, and it was agreed among other things that the employees would return to work and resume their standing in the service and their seniority rights held by them prior to the strike, as though they had been continuously in the service, and,
>
> Whereas, the company has since the said agreement deprived the said employees who have retired from the service on account of the age limit from the benefits of the Pension Fund, alleging that their participation in the strike in 1910 broke their continuity of service with the company, and,
>
> Whereas, many conductors and other train men that had served the company and the public faithfully and continuously up to fifty-three (53) years, and having reached the age limit, have been retired from the service, and for the reason above stated debarred from the pension which they so sorely need on account of the low wages in effect on this road prior to the strike of 1910, ...
>
> Whereas, we are advised that our Government is desirous of acquiring the Grand Trunk railway and incorporating it as part of our National Railway system, and is negotiating to that end, therefore, be it further,
>
> Resolved, that we respectfully petition our Government not to conclude said negotiations for the purchase of the said Grand Trunk railway without providing for the protection of the pension interests of the employees concerned, and be it further,
>
> Resolved, that we furnish a copy of these resolutions to the Prime Minister, Sir Robert Borden, and to the following ministers of departments, and members of Parliament, namely:—The Honourable Minister of Railways, J. D. Reid; the Hon. Minister of Labour, G. D. Robertson, and J. E. Armstrong, Esq., M.P., chairman of the Railway Committee of the House of Commons.

This is signed by the representatives of the different organizations. Before this Grand Trunk agreement was drafted, the employees affected made a request to the Government drawing the Government's attention specifically to the fact that they had not received their pensions. My Hon. friend (Mr. Crothers), who succeeded me in the office of Minister of Labour, said that had the matter been drawn to his attention he could have had the question of pensions adjusted at that time.

Mr. J. D. REID: According to the discussion the other evening, the question of pensions was brought to the attention of the leader of the Opposition when the negotiations were going on.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: The question of pensions was never brought up in the negotiations between the parties, and I cannot make that statement any more positive than I have made it. I said that, speaking to me privately, the strike leaders had talked about pensions, pointing out, as all leaders of labour organizations do, that pensions are a mistake from the point of view of organized labour, because the companies that use them take advantage of the pensions to compel a form of continuous service, and if that is to be the use of the pension of course they think it would be better to have the question of pensions out of the way altogether.

Mr. DOHERTY: Did not the hon. gentleman, in the letter which he read to us the other evening, as having been written by him to Sir Wilfrid at the time, point out that Mr. Hays was taking refuge behind a provision of the charter or by-laws of the Provident Association—which provision required continuous employment in order to entitle a man to a pension—and because of that refusing the pension to the men who had struck, on the ground that their employment was not continuous? And did not the hon. gentleman, in that same letter and at that same time, point out to Sir Wilfrid Laurier, his chief, that the proper remedy was legislation to amend the charter of the Provident Association and to confer on that association power to grant the pensions notwithstanding the non-continuous employment, the interruption by the strike?

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I am glad my right hon. friend has asked that question, because I think the letter which I wrote to Sir Wilfrid Laurier will, perhaps, show, in words clearer than any that I can now use, what the position was. There is on Hansard a copy of the letter which I wrote to Sir Wilfrid Laurier. After that letter had been completed—and it was written after the strike was over altogether—a postscript was added, the postscript being written a day or two afterwards. The hon. member for Dufferin (Mr. Best) asked the other night if there was a postscript, and I think I said that he was somewhat in a hurry to get through. Let me read what the postscript says:

> I see by the press that Mr. Hays is proposing to consider as cancelled all obligation which his company may be under in the way of pensions, partially or all but fully earned by any of the men who may have gone out on strike.

If the question of pensions had been mentioned during the negotiations which I have outlined in the letter to Sir Wilfrid Laurier, would I in a postscript have directed Sir Wilfrid's attention to the fact that I saw by the press that Mr. Hays was proposing to consider as cancelled the obligations which his company was under in respect of pensions to the men who had gone out on strike? The reason for my postscript was that the first I saw of the intention of the company not to live up to its obligations was in the press, and the minute I saw it, I took the position that I take now, namely, that Parliament should see to it that such an attitude on the part of the Grand Trunk towards its employees was made impossible. Let me read the rest of the postscript:

> A pension has always been considered a reward of service—not a manacle to fetter personal liberty. Some of the men who have been out on this strike have, I understand, given thirty-four years of their life to the

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company's service. They, according to Mr. Hays, are to lose every cent of their pensions and start in as new men.

Mark those words, "according to Mr. Hays." Not according to the terms of any agreement or understanding made at the time, but according to what Mr. Hays said after the strike was over.

Unless Mr. Hays, or those who control his company, are prepared to recede from this position, my own individual view is that the Parliament of Canada would be justified in refusing to grant any company with which Mr. Hays is concerned any further consideration of any kind, and that the Government should lead Parliament in this view.

It was exactly that which Sir Wilfrid Laurier's Government did. It refused to give Mr. Hays several millions of dollars because he had not reinstated the men.

If, as Mr. Hays will probably say, he cannot legally grant the pension, Parliament might help to rid him of this limitation by enacting legislation which will give him the legal power he requires. It is to be hoped for the sake of the interests of the company, to say nothing of the rights of others, that his directors will not allow him to persist in a stand of this kind.

That is the position I took then; that is the position I have taken all along; that is the position I take now. The only difference is this: that whereas, as my hon. friend from West Elgin (Mr. Crothers) has said, we did not know at that time, and he did not know at the time he was in office, that the question of pensions was going to be raised in this important way, we all know to-day that these men, every one of them, have been deprived of their pensions for a period of ten years, and we know further that this is the last opportunity which Parliament will have to state definitely that the men are entitled to their pensions, and to remove all doubts as to their rights in that matter. That is why I bring this matter up on the third reading of this Bill, which relates to the Grand Trunk Railway company and its acquisition by the Government. Before the railway passes into the hands of the Government I want its just debts to be paid. I do not wish to see these men defrauded of their pensions or the country saddled with a liability which belongs to the Grand Trunk. I want the Grand Trunk to carry out its obligations, and in my opinion it is up to every member of Parliament to see to it that the Grand Trunk Railway Company is compelled to do so, if any voice of this Parliament can help to bring that about.

Let me read the terms of the Grand Trunk Railway Company Act which gives the Grand Trunk the right to establish this pension fund. "An Act respecting the Grand Trunk Railway Company of Canada," assented to 12th April, 1907; Chapter 89, 6-7 Edward VII, has certain sections regarding the pension fund. Secion 5 is as follow:

The company may, for the purpose of making provision for the payment of allowances to employees after leaving the service, establish a fund to be known as "Grand Trunk Pension Fund," and may from time to time contribute thereto out of the gross earnings of the company such amounts as the directors determine.

Section 6 provides:

Any sum contributed to the said fund by the company shall be considered as, and form part of, the working expenses of the company as defined by the agreement set out in the schedule to the Grand Trunk Act, 1893.

There is the law on the question of this pension fund. It gave to the Grand Trunk Railway Company power to set aside certain funds for a specific purpose, namely, that pensions might be given to the men when they retired from the service. That money was to be regarded as part of the working expenses of the railway. What does the Grand Trunk Railway Company propose? It proposes to take that money, which ought to be charged up to the working expenses of the road and ought to be given to the employees who are entitled to it, and, instead of carrying out its obligations in that regard, to distribute that money among its shareholders. I say that is a step we should not permit. I say that the Grand Trunk Railway Company should be compelled to regard as part of its working expenses all the money which was set aside in that pension fund up to that date, and to see it applied as it was intended to be applied, to pensions for the men when they retired from the service. I have here a copy of the Rules and Regulations as to the Pension Fund of the Grand Trunk Railway Company of Canada, Pensions Department, and I notice in these Rules and Regulations this clause:

It is intended that in future all officers and employees shall be compulsorily retired on reaching the age of 65 years.

In other words, the Grand Trunk Railway Company adopted that pension fund so that they could retire their employees at the age of 65. They were to retire them after they had served a number of years, but were to give them the benefit of a pension. That was the only justifiable purpose of the pension fund, but that purpose is altogether defeated unless we make it perfectly plain that

so far as the pension fund is concerned the terms of the settlement must be lived up to. All advantages that should accrue to the men through long and continued faithful service, they are being deprived of on a mere pretext.

What is said in the Rules and Regulations concerning service?

"Service" means up to and immediately preceding date of retirement.

I say that the only interpretation that can properly be placed upon the rules and regulations of that pension fund is that men who were in the service of the company become entitled to pensions at the time of their retirement unless there is some specific statement or specific term in some agreement to the effect that they are to lose their pensions. There was no such clause in the agreement that was reached. In a letter I placed on record the other evening I made that clear from a communication sent by Mr. Hays to me during the course of negotiations. This letter contains a somewhat significant statement, and I shall read it to the committee in order that hon. members may see that even Mr. Hays himself at that time did not contemplate pensions as in question. The letter was addressed to Sir Frederick Borden and myself, and is dated August 1, 1910:

Gentlemen: I have your favour of date July 31st in re dispute between the Grand Trunk Railway Company and employees in train and yard service, with memo of terms of proposed settlement of existing difficulties. I think we are all actuated by the same motives, viz, the restoration of full service on the Grand Trunk railway with every possible consideration to the men who went out on strike.

Then follows something which is irrelevant to this discussion The letter is signed, "Yours truly, Chas. M. Hays, President." Note those words:

I think we are all animated by the same motives, namely, the restoration of full service on the Grand Trunk railway, with every consideration possible to the men who went out on strike.

Can any one in this House for a moment say that depriving the men of their pensions is "restoration of full service?" Can any one say that depriving the men of their pensions is showing "every possible consideration to the men who went out on strike?" The whole action of the Grand Trunk Railway president in this matter is as dishonourable as any act can possibly be, and being dishonourable, it is placing this Parliament and the Government of this country in a false position before all the working classes of this country, for the simple reason that the Government of the country undertook to vouch for the terms of that agreement. If it comes to a question between an endeavour on the part of the Government to carry out justice, and an endeavour on the part of a private corporation to defeat justice, there can in such case be only one decision to reach in the interest of social justice and public honour, and that is to see that right and the supremacy of the Government in the matter of carrying out justice are maintained at all costs. That is the real question at issue at the present moment.

Just a word as to the consequences of any failure on the part of Parliament to take the step which I am proposing Parliament should take to-night. In the first place, if Parliament should refrain from stating in specific language that nothing so far as that strike of 1910 is concerned shall effect the pension rights of these workingmen, a large number of workingmen throughout the whole of this Dominion and their families as well, may be deprived of pension benefits. Is that a course which this Parliament wishes to take? Do hon. gentlemen opposite desire to be a party to any omission which may have the effect of depriving thousands of working men and their families of pensions to which they are justly entitled? I say that unless Parliament goes on record in this matter we have no guarantee that the men will get those pensions. The question of the Grand Trunk's liabilities and assets is about to be referred to arbitration. This is a matter upon which Parliament should express itself independently of arbitration altogether, and it should not be for the arbitrators to decide whether there is a just case here or not, when the honour of ministers of the Crown and of Parliament is at stake. It is for Parliament to protect the rights of the workers in this matter, and we should leave no door open by which those rights can by any possible chance be ignored.

Now let us assume that this matter goes before the Board of Arbitration through any failure on the part of this Parliament to express its opinion, and that the board has nothing to guide it other than such rep esentations as may be made to it. And let us suppose that the board finds there is some legal technicality that prevents it from regarding as a liability this whole matter of pensions. Then what happens? Why, of course, this money which was put into a pension fund for the good of the employees becomes at once an asset of the company, to be counted as part of the property of the shareholders. That, I think,

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was never intended in the law which was framed for the purpose of establishing the pension fund. There is no justice in such a situation. Then there is the other alternative that possibly the board may find that there is no legal obligation, but that there is one from a moral standpoint. What happens in that event? One of two things may occur: Either the whole matter may drop there, or else the Government, coming into possession of the railways, may be called upon to assume this moral obligation; and then we shall have the question as to who should pay the pensions put up to the Government as the sole owner of the road. Should the Government, as the owner of the road, undertake to make good the pensions, it could only do so at the expense of the taxpayers, and I say emphatically that such a step would under existing circumstances be unfair to the people of the country. These pensions are a liability that belongs to the Grand Trunk Railway Company, and that liability should be met by the company.

My right hon. friend (Mr. Doherty) the other evening was somewhat annoyed, I think—at any rate, his manner seemed to me to imply that he was—because I intimated to the House that I had gathered from his words that what I have said was the course the Government would pursue. I said I had gathered that my right hon. friend had said, when the subject was up for discussion in connection with the resolution urging that the Government should do all in its power to have the board of arbitration consider the merits of the case, that he would have them consider the matter from the legal and the moral standpoints, and that if the legal point of view were found to be such that the men could not get the pensions, then of course the Government, being sole owners of the railroad, would have to consider the moral obligation. And I gathered from his words that by that he meant and intended to convey this meaning to the mover of the resolution, that there was no necessity to press the resolution because sooner or later the men would get their pensions anyway. My right hon. friend took exception to that statement, and said that I had misinterpreted him or was wilfully trying to do so. Let me read his words and ask the House to judge whether or not I was right in the inference I drew.

Mr. DOHERTY: Does the hon. gentleman say that I referred to the observation which he has just made as a ground of annoyance? If he will be good enough to look at what I did say he will see that I did resent most strongly the statement he made, that when members of this Government made statements, either to the men or in this House, in reference to the subject, they knew that those statetments did not and could not amount to anything. That allegation I did resent, but I do not think the hon. gentleman will find in my speech that I resented in any way the interpretation which he says he put upon my statements.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: If my hon. friend construes my words as intending to imply that the Government itself was wilfully deceiving the men, I at once retract any statement that may be open to such a construction. I should be most unhappy to have the minister think that I imputed any motives to the Government. I am not imputing any motives one way or the other. All I ask is that my hon. friend be indulgent enough to listen to his own words and gather from them what the workingmen, who are interested in the question of pensions, would be inclined to consider them to mean. I shall read the hon. gentleman's words, and ask him to say whether they would not mean, to those who are interested in the matter, just what I have suggested, namely, that unless the pensions were granted by the board of arbitration, in all probability the Government itself would assume the responsibility for them. The minister's remarks will be found in Hansard of April 12, at page 1179 of the unrevised edition. He said:

> I am quite prepared to say on behalf of the Government that before that board of arbitrators we shall see to it that the claim that this is an existing liability is put forward with every facility for establishing it, assuming it to be susceptible of establishment, and that every opportunity will be given to establish it and to press it on the consideration of the board.
>
> I would be willing to go further and to say that I think it will be quite justifiable that it should be pressed not only in so far as it can be sustained as being an absolutely legal claim, but that it should be pressed upon the consideration of the arbitrators from the point of view even of a moral or equitable claim, and that they should be asked—of course we cannot give that instruction—that it be given every possible weight in order to assure justice being done to these men. What would be the situation if that procedure proved ineffective to obtain the recognition of the claim, it is perhaps unnecessary that we should go into it now? What the position will be when the stock has passed absolutely to this Government, and this Government is in the position of being the sole stockholder, and what will perhaps be the position in view of the provisions of section 17 of the agreement, I think we need not stop now to consider. For the present, the proceeding now to take place affords an opportunity of having this matter gone into and having the justice of the claim that is put forward established. That is the one effective method that is open to us and on behalf of the Government I am quite prepared to undertake that it shall be adopted.

The foregoing were his words in one place. Here are his words, even more emphatic, in another, and I ask hon. gentlemen to draw their own inference as to their meaning. At page 1180 of the same issue of Hansard:

> Now in reference to what I said with regard to urging this matter as a moral claim, I am not prepared to lay this down as an absolutely legal position; but I myself would feel justified in urging upon the Board of Arbitration that they should consider if, in their opinion, this was a claim so strong in equity that the Government, coming into control of the railway, could not do otherwise than do what it would be a perfectly fair thing to do—estimate and determine the value of the claim. I am not laying that down as an absolute legal position to be followed, but I would feel like urging that upon the board. In that situation, if the Board of Arbitration find that they cannot take into consideration anything but an absolutely legal claim I do not want to undertake to say now what will be done. What I am at present pointing out is, that the Government is in the position of being the sole shareholder of the company with regard to which company it has been found that there did not exist this strong moral claim. I fancy that the Government in that situation would find itself in the position where it would not necessarily have to consider a claim of that kind.

Any one reading that language can see how involved it is. I confess that rereading it at the moment I gather only one impression from it—that if the board of arbitration do not find that the men are legally entitled to pension and do find that there is a moral obligation somewhere, then in all probability the Government that has to do with the question will find that that moral obligation should be met by paying the men the pensions. Now to come down to the concrete thing, assume that this means anything at all, what happens? This matter is referred to the board. The board finds there is neither a legal obligation nor a moral obligation. Then the men lose their pensions altogether, and the Grand Trunk is exempted from that liability. Or, assume that the board finds that there is a moral obligation but not a legal one, and that the Government, becoming the sole owner of the road, assumes that moral obligations. In that case you have this situation: The men will be paid their pensions but paid out of the public treasury and at the expense of the taxpayers of this country, not at the expense of the Grand Trunk Railway Company. I say that either of these positions is unjust. One is unjust to the workingmen, the other is unjust to the taxpayers. There is only one just position, that is that the company which promised to take back these men without prejudice after the strike should make good that undertaking; and that Parliament, here and now, should take the action that will remove this particular obligation altogether from the arena of doubt. It is unfair and unnecessary that the board of arbitrators should be called upon to consider it. The facts are known, there is no doubt about them, there is no question in dispute one way or the other; it is a matter of simple and honest justice.

Now let me say just this one word in conclusion. My right hon. friend may argue, perhaps, that in suggesting a step of this kind I am taking a somewhat radical position, that I am trying to interfere in some way or other with the sanctity of contract. It is the sanctity of contract that I am seeking to preserve. I saw that contract drafted, I was present at all the negotiations, I know what was said between the parties; and the whole intention and meaning of that contract was that the men were to be put back into their former positions which meant they remained entitled to their pensions.

I wish to say this further: This question, after a period of ten years, has now come into a very different position in the public mind from that which it occupied at the time of that particular strike. Then it was a matter between the Grand Trunk Railway Company and its employees, as to which was going to prove more powerful. Now, thte question is whether, as between the Grand Trunk Railway Company and the Government of Canada, the company is to have the last word in helping to defeat justice or the Government is to have the last word in helping to maintain it. If there is one thing above another which is responsible for movements in the present day such as those described as direct action or Bolshevist it is attributable to the lack of faith which some people are coming to have in parliamentary institutions as standing for the rights of the people as a whole. Nothing will held to lend color to such an impression more than for the government or for a parliament—with all the facts and all the knowledge before them in regard to a concrete case such as this—to stand back with complete indifference. I say this

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amendment is necessary on grounds of public honour and social justice. There is only one course for this Parliament to take. We have had this question before us for ten years. This is the last moment at which we can settle it in a way that is honourable to the men, honourable to the company, and honourable to the country and its representatives in Parliament, and we should take the necessary step. I hope that hon. gentlemen opposite will support us in this attitude. I beg to move the following resolution:

That this Bill be not now read a third time but that it be recommitted to the Committee of the Whole House with instructions to amend the same by adding the following section:

"Any right or interest of any employee of the Grand Trunk Railway Company existing in the pensions fund prior to the strike of the company's employees which occurred in July, 1910, is hereby declared not to have been affected by such strike or any circumstance or condition arising out of or in connection therewith."

Let me point this out. This amendment does not involve the re-opening of the agreement. We have been told by the Minister of Railways (Mr. Reid) that the agreement is signed, sealed, and delivered, and that nothing that this Parliament says, one way or the other, will cause the Government to re-open it. That being the case it is impossible to insert in the agreement itself any provision which will convey what is the unanimous view of this Parliament as to the rights of the parties concerned. For that reason I have framed the amendment so that it may be added, just as was the amendment of the Minister of Justice a few moments ago, as an extra clause to this particular Bill. It expresses the view which, I think, was unanimously expressed by Parliament when a resolution on this subject was discussed a day or two since; it is necessary to maintain justice in this particular situation and to give effect to what is essential to public honour and a sense of public obligation.

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20 April 1920

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House of Commons

REPLY TO MISREPRESENTATIONS
CONCERNING WAR SERVICE

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[20] April, 1926

At a public gathering in the city of Montreal on the 5th instant, certain statements and representations were made, and subsequently reported in the press of that city, which not only reflect upon me in my representative capacity as a member of this House, but are also calculated greatly to prejudice the position of honourable members of the political party to which I have the honour to belong, who have entrusted me with its leadership. The statements in question are wholly false and shamefully misleading in the inferences they are intended to convey. As uttered, they constitute a slander, and their publication constitutes a criminal libel. If I have not already instituted proceedings against the parties responsible, it is because I am prepared to believe that their words were spoken in complete ignorance of the facts, and would not have been uttered had they known the truth.

The statements and representations to which I refer were made at a luncheon of a so-called Progressive Club in Montreal on the date mentioned. Their publication appears in the Montreal GAZETTE of April 6, under the heading: "SCORED LIBERAL PARTY ON POLICY - Progressive Club speaker claimed Opposition not in harmony on question - Criticized Party Leader - Said indications pointed to continuing relationship between Hon. Mackenzie King and Rockefeller."

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The speakers on the occasion were Mr. John MacNaughton and Dr. F. W. Gilday, the former, I am informed, a member of the legal profession, and the latter, a member of the medical profession, of Montreal. The circumstance that the addresses were delivered on Monday, April 5, and published on April 6, the day before the polling in the then pending federal by-election in the St. James Division of Montreal, when it was too late to permit of any denial or retraction, gives grounds for believing that the statements and representations they contain were made deliberately with the purpose of influencing the result of that election. This inference is further borne out by the fact that one of the speakers, after alleging that the Liberal Party had done nothing for Labour, is reported also to have said: "To-day it was opposing a Labor candidate in the constituency of St. James."

The particular statements and representations to which I desire to call the attention of the House are, first, those contained in the utterance of Mr. MacNaughton, reported as follows:

> "So far as the returned man was concerned, he declared, how could he expect to receive any concessions from a Liberal Leader who had deserted Canada in her hour of crisis in search of Standard Oil millions. Indications pointed to a still continuing relationship between Mr. King and the Rockefeller interests, which at no distant date might prove a menace to Canada";

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and those contained in the utterances of Dr. Gilday, reported as follows:

> "In moving a vote of thanks to the speakers of the day, Dr. F. W. Gilday referred to the first Liberal leader as one whose connections with American capitalists might soon prove inimical to Canada's best interests. He saw in Mr. King the representative of certain American commercial men charged with the mission of making Canada a free trade country, and commercially subservient to the United States. Mr. King had left Canada at the time of war crisis, although a bachelor capable of bearing arms, and only a young man. He preferred, however, to work for Rockefeller, and indications pointed to the fact that he had returned to Canada not for the purpose of the country's best welfare and advancement, but still apparently entangled in the octopus of Standard Oil interests and Rockefeller millions. The future, he said, would bear out the truth of his remarks."

It is apparent that these and all like utterances are calculated to arouse the bitterest kind of prejudice, not only against me personally in my position as a member of this House, but, because of my present position, also against honourable members and others giving me their political support. Not only are they designed to arouse prejudice in one direction; they seek to create a prejudice in every direction, prejudice on the part of Labour, prejudice on the part of returned soldiers, prejudice on the part of industrial and commercial communities, and prejudice on the part of patriotic citizens of all classes.

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Had the statements been made by irresponsible persons, or been given publicity by an irresponsible or discredited journal, I should have been glad wholly to ignore them, and to treat them with that indifference which I have thus far endeavoured to shew toward this kind of contemptible utterance. The circumstance that Mr. MacNaughton and Dr. Gilday are known to be members of learned and honourable professions, which affords their utterances a credence they otherwise would lack, and that the newspaper from which I have quoted prides itself upon its position in Canadian journalism, makes it difficult for me to allow these slanders to pass unnoticed without my silence being thereby misconstrued. Moreover, the circumstance that representations of like character are reported to have been made in the recent by-election in the electoral district of Temiskaming affords grounds for believing that they are a part of a false propaganda deliberately organized for the purpose of working a political injury.

When, in September of last year, I was nominated a candidate to contest the constituency of Prince, Prince Edward Island, in the federal by-election then pending, rumors and allegations very similar to those I have just read were speedily and busily circulated. I realized they owed their origin to a desire and effort to prejudice my

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candidature in the election, and that if permitted to pass unchallenged, some credence might be given to them not only in the constituency of Prince, but in other parts of the Dominion as well. I then and there took the course which, as a candidate seeking an expression of public confidence, it seemed, in the circumstances, prudent and proper to take. I asked that my record of service during the period of the War be made the issue of the by-election. I gave to the electors, at largely attended public meetings, an outline of certain material facts, and on each occasion publicly challenged opposition from any source. The answer of the electorate was my return to Parliament by acclamation. I thought at the time, and have since thought, that this course would have sufficed once and for all to silence representations which are as untrue as they are reprehensible; but apparently such is not the case, and it would now appear that from one source or another attempts will be made to repeat and revive like slanders wherever it seems probable that a party political end may be served by so doing.

Such being the case, honourable members of this House, who are not less interested than I am in safeguarding its privileges, and the rights of members of Parliament in the matter of their personal reputations, will perhaps permit

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me to place on record a few relevant material facts, not by way of any defence of my record during the period of the War - I seek no defence of that in which I have reason to cherish a justifiable pride - but in order that hereafter, current rumour, or ignorance of the truth, may no longer be claimed as a defence by others, should it become necessary to commence criminal proceedings against journals or individuals who persist in this kind of political warfare.

First, let me make an explicit denial of the statements and representations taken collectively, and of the natural inferences to be drawn therefrom. In fact, or in the implication it carries, each significant utterance is wholly false and wilfully misleading; each, as spoken, constitutes a slander, and as published, a libel. The truth is just the reverse of what would be gathered from a reading of them.

I never, at any time during the period of the War, or since, left Canada to reside, even temporarily, in the United States. I was never, at any time during the period of the War, in the employ of any of the Standard Oil companies or interests. My association with the Rockefeller Foundation, which was formed prior to the commencement of

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the War, and which continued throughout the greater part of it, was an association altogether apart from any Rockefeller or Standard Oil interest, and involved no obligation of residence outside of Canada, and occasioned none. It had solely to do with a study of industrial problems, the results of which have since been published in book form. Such service as I was privileged to render certain large industries in the United States during the period of the War was solely and wholly in the nature of advising as to methods of improving the conditions of Labour, preserving industrial peace, and promoting a maximum of efficiency and production in materials and supplies essential to the successful prosecution of the War. It was a service, if anything, more in the interest of Labour and of the Public than of Capital, and was, in fact, in the nature of a direct contribution to the armies and navies of the allied and associated powers during the War, and to consumers in the period of reconstruction which has followed.

I have not at the present time any business or professional connection with any American or Canadian financial, commercial, industrial, or other interest, nor have I had any such, directly or indirectly, from the time

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at which, in August of last year, I was honoured with the Leadership of the Liberal Party. At that time, I declined further to consider two business offers, previously made to me, the acceptance of either of which would have involved an annual salary more than three times the allowance provided by statute for the Leader of the Opposition. I have since refused to accept retainers or fees from any source, in order that my time and energies might be given wholly, and in a manner above shadow of suspicion, to public duties.

Let me now deal a little more in detail with the several statements. I do this, not only that my exposure of their falsity may be the more explicit, but because I believe that in Canada there are many persons who do not wish to lend themselves to any kind of injustice, either personal or political, but who have been grossly deceived by rumours and representations of the kind, and are unable to understand how they could have gained the currency they have wholly without foundation. Moreover, so far as the men who served overseas are concerned, in the absence of explicit statement, there is nothing to guide them in arriving at a just opinion. What I have to say, if it accomplishes naught else, may help to illustrate the injustice

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sometimes done the services and reputation of men in public life, where, through perversion of the truth, use is made of appearances to work a personal injury and a public wrong.

First, let me deal with the representations that relate to the period of the War, and which are contained in the statements that I "deserted Canada in the hour of crisis"; that I "had left Canada at the time of war crisis, although a bachelor capable of bearing arms, and only a young man"; that I "preferred to work for Rockefeller".

I have only to refer honourable members to The Imperial Realty Company of this city, the owners of The Roxborough apartments, where I have resided for more than ten years past, to establish the fact that I have been continuously one of their tenants, and never at any time, during the War or since, cancelled or even temporarily sub-let the apartment of which I hold the lease. The records of the City Hall will shew that, during that period there never was a year in which I was not assessed as a citizen of Ottawa and did not pay my taxes accordingly. As already mentioned, my association during part of the time with the Rockefeller Foundation neither contemplated nor involved residence anywhere other than in Ottawa, except

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to the extent that I myself found it necessary and desirable to travel in connection with the studies upon which I was engaged.

Let me explain the precise nature of that association, and of the work on which I was engaged. Once its significance is appreciated, it will be perfectly apparent that in no way is it capable of being construed as, in any sense, "work for Rockefeller", for for any Standard Oil interest.

The Rockefeller Foundation is a philanthropic organization, chartered under the laws of the State of New York on May 14, 1913. As described in the Act of incorporation, it is a body corporate "for the purpose of receiving and maintaining a fund or funds and applying the income and principal thereof to promote the well-being of mankind throughout the world." As a means to that end, the corporation is entitled to aid research, to establish and maintain benevolent, religious, missionary, and public educational activities, agencies, and institutions. No officer, member, or employee of the Foundation is entitled to receive any pecuniary profit from the operations thereof, except reasonable compensation for services in effecting

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one or more of its purposes. The Foundation is in no way connected with any commercial or industrial organization. Its affairs are administered by a Board of Trustees. Dr. George E. Vincent, formerly President of the University of Minnesota, is its present President. The fact that it is called the Rockefeller Foundation, after the name of its founder, is no more ground for regarding as being employed, by the Standard Oil or any so-called Rockefeller interests, those who are privileged to assist in carrying out its noble and beneficent purposes, than the acceptance of a librarianship in a Carnegie Library, or a teacher's pension under the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, is reason for regarding the holder of such a position, or the recipient of such a pension, as an employee of the late Andrew Carnegie, or of any existing steel trust or corporation.

As a matter of fact, throughout the period of the War, the activities of the Rockefeller Foundation were more largely in the nature of war-work co-operation than aught else. The Foundation was the first organization in the United States to come to the relief of the Belgians when the War commenced. Its funds, to the extent of millions of dollars, were utilized to bring relief to the starving populations in portions of France as well as Belgium, and

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to the peoples of Poland, Serbia, and Armenia. It contributed over eight millions to the American Red Cross, over ten millions to the Y.M.C.A. and kindred organizations, for use in their work in army and navy camps and communities, and over half a million to provide for the welfare of prisoners of war. It equipped and maintained a war demonstration hospital which gave invaluable aid in the application of advanced methods of war surgery and in the training of hundreds of officers and nurses for special medical war service. It provided the services of Dr. Alexis Carrel and his staff, hospital, and surgical laboratory at Compiegne, in France. This agency of itself, through Dr. Carrel's discovery of a method of sterilizing wounds through their irrigation and the continued application of an antiseptic which has become known as the Carrel-Dakin solution, was the means not only of preventing a very large percentage of amputations, but of saving the lives of thousands of French and British soldiers, including the lives of many of our own Canadian soldiers. The total expenditures of the Foundation on war service work during the period of the War, all of which were of immediate practical value to the allied and associated powers, approximated twenty-five millions of dollars.

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In other directions, the Foundation's activities have been concerned mainly with medical education and public health demonstration, not in the United States alone, but in almost every country throughout the world. In all parts of the world, it is engaged in fighting the hook-worm disease, yellow fever, and malaria. In France, it has conducted a survey of the tuberculosis situation, and instituted a nation-wide campaign against tuberculosis. In China, it is expending many millions upon the construction of hospitals, and the teaching of sanitation. It is promoting in different countries studies in mental and social hygiene, public health nursing, and is aiding in the prevention of a variety of the most baffling diseases.

It is to me a source of pride, and not in any way a matter of regret, that I was thought worthy to be selected by the officers and trustees of this organization for co-operation in any part of its world-wide humanitarian activities, and, more particularly, to have been chosen, at a time like the present, for service in the all-important field of industrial relations.

Within the last few months, as an expression of international good-will, and to aid in the work of medical research and education in Canada, the Rockefeller Foundation

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made to the medical faculties of our Canadian universities a gift of five millions of dollars. The Prime Minister thought well ~~to make public acknowledgment of this gift~~ on behalf of the people of Canada to make public acknowledgment of this gift. It is some satisfaction to me to know, as I have reason to know, that my association with the Rockefeller Foundation, which has been the occasion of the false representations with which I am now dealing, was not without its influence in securing this aid to the work of medical research in Canada. The income from this source will be available to Canadian students and professors. It may be used to send them abroad, for purposes of study, to foreign countries, or to afford them the necessary freedom to pursue scientific investigation in our own laboratories and hospitals. Persons enjoying opportunities of study under this gift, in so far as employment or relationship to any of the so-called Rockefeller interests is concerned, will be in precisely the same position as I was while associated with the Rockefeller Foundation in the study of industrial relations. The parallel, indeed, is much closer than might at first appear. In the statement issued by the Foundation at the time the investigation of industrial relations was announced, it was indicated

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that the work in spirit and method would be akin to that of the Rockefeller Institute of Medical Research, and that in so far as my inquiries had to do with industrial controversies, my attitude would be that of a physician who investigated the nature and causes of the pathological conditions with which he has to deal, with a view, if possible, to the discovery of effective remedies. It was with this aim and understanding that I accepted the opportunity accorded me by the Foundation "to conduct an investigation of the great problem of industrial relations with a special view to the discovery of some mutual relationship of labor and capital which would afford to labor the protection it needs against oppression and exploitation, while at the same time promoting its efficiency as an instrument of economic production."

My agreement with the Rockefeller Foundation to conduct this investigation was made in the spring of 1914, before the War was thought of. It was made with the condition expressly set forth that it would not involve a change, so far as I was personally concerned, either of citizenship or of residence, or a discontinuance of active participation in Canadian public affairs. Some time before the agreement with the Foundation was entered into, I had been nominated

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as a candidate for this Parliament by the Liberals of North York, and, in the circumstances, I was careful to explain to the officers of the Foundation that it would be impossible for me to undertake the study should it involve any change in my place of residence, or absence from Canada other than such as I ~~might~~ myself might deem necessary for purposes of conference and investigation. I was told by the officers of the Foundation that I could pursue the studies anywhere I wished, and might go anywhere in the world I desired to gain information; that all the Foundation asked was that I should make the scope of the study as broad and comprehensive as possible, for only as the result of such an investigation could helpful suggestions, looking toward the improvement of industrial relations, be expected.

This was the situation when the War came on. I had then to decide whether I should give up completely the study I had undertaken for the Foundation, or pursue it with special reference to problems arising in connection with the War. I shall mention, before I conclude, certain personal considerations of which I was obliged to take account in coming to a decision. I desire at the moment to refer only to those considerations of a public nature which governed my actions at the time.

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Almost from the moment the War commenced, it was apparent that the winning of the War would depend as much upon the successful co-operation of Labour and Capital in industry as upon the heroic efforts of those enlisted in the Army and the Navy. It was not less apparent that the post-war problems would be, in the main, industrial. I had been selected by the Rockefeller Foundation to make the study of industrial relations to which I have referred, amongst other reasons, because, for the period of eight years during which I had held the position of Deputy Minister of Labour, and the years subsequently during which I held the position of Minister of Labour in the Government of this country, I was supposed to have gained some special knowledge of the relations of Labour and Capital in industry, and problems incidental thereto, and was known to have had a fairly wide experience in matters pertaining to the prevention and settlement of industrial disputes. Here was a certain special knowledge and training, combined with a quite exceptional opportunity of public service, in regard to an all-important phase of war service of which, not less on public than on personal grounds, I was obliged to take account. Like every patriotic citizen, I asked myself the question wherein, with the experience and opportunity that

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was mine, my service to my country and to the cause of the Allies in the War could count for most. I concluded that it lay along the path of exceptional opportunity I have indicated, and I have never had reason to feel that I was other than right in the judgment I then exercised.

Let me just here point out that during the War the Government of Great Britain, as a part of the war administration, appointed a Reconstruction Committee, which subsequently became the Ministry of Reconstruction, of which there was a special sub-committee on Relations between Employers and Employed. The Government of the United States appointed a National War Labor Board, specially charged with the duty of dealing with possible or existing controversies arising between employers and employed in fields of production necessary for the effective conduct of the War. The Government of Canada, the present Government, appointed a Reconstruction and Development Committee of the Cabinet, of which there was a Labor Sub-committee whose duties, amongst other things, were to study in advance "the probable course of readjustment which necessarily will be incident to the latter stages of the War and to the conditions arising upon the conclusion of peace and the effect of such readjustment upon labour and upon the industrial activities of the country." The Order-

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in-Council, dated October 23, 1917, constituting the Committee, contains the following further clause: "The conditions of labour, the relations between employer and employed, the effect of the War thereon and all questions incidental thereto, should be attentively studied and considered."

All these national ministries and boards were regarded as performing an essential war service, and all of them were supposed to have upon them persons of special training and experience in labour and kindred problems. The time of members of these boards, when it was given to the objects for which they were created, was devoted to precisely the same kind of study and practical effort as my time and thought were given to in the work I had undertaken for the Rockefeller Foundation and subsequently performed for certain of the large war industries. Indeed, apart from this latter service, it is only necessary to compare some of the recommendations on Joint Standing Industrial Councils contained in the reports of the Whitley Committee of the British Ministry of Reconstruction with what was actually accomplished in a practical way a year or two earlier in Colorado, to see how closely the work that I was engaged upon paralleled the most important of the recommendations of the British Committee.

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It was through no lack of willingness on my part that I had not the privilege of serving on the Committee named by the Government of Canada, though I did have the opportunity, from time to time, of supplying certain of its members with data which I have reason to know they found of service. Early in the War, in personal conversation with the Prime Minister, I mentioned the nature of the work on which I was engaged and intimated my readiness to render any like service within my power either in Canada or in Great Britain, should he find occasion therefor. From its inception, I served as a member of the National Executive of the Canadian Patriotic Fund, and I think the records will shew that during practically the whole period of the War, I was as faithful in attendance upon the meetings of that Committee as any of its members.

Honourable members will recognize the extremely embarrassing position in which I am placed through being obliged to make any reference to work of my own. If, however, the facts are to be known, some mention has to be made of them. To omit specific reference, or reference from sources to which appeal can be made, is to lay oneself open to the charge of having met general statements by a denial only less general, and of expressing one's own opinion,

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instead of that of other and disinterested parties. I may perhaps be pardoned if, under the circumstances, instead of asking honourable gentlemen to accept any statement of mine, I make mention of one or two publications and place on record one or two communications which speak for themselves. I shall refer only to sources from which I am at liberty to quote, and which may readily be appealed to, should any reference I may make be called in question in any particular.

The results of my study for the Rockefeller Foundation will be found in a book entitled INDUSTRY AND HUMANITY : A Study in the Principles Underlying Industrial Reconstruction, published in Canada by Thomas Allen, Toronto; in the United States by the Houghton Mifflin Company, of Boston and New York; and in Great Britain by Constable & Company, of London, England. It is a volume of over 550 pages, exclusive of index, diagrams, and charts. Every line of that book was written at my place of residence in this city of Ottawa, every page of the proof was read here, practically all of the work of research was carried on in my own library. This work was completed, and the book published, before the signing of the Armistice. It has already passed through several editions.

It is not for me to express an opinion on the merits of this book as a contribution towards an appreciation of the

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industrial problems of our day. Perhaps the following editorial comment from the May, 1919, number of THE KHAKI CALL, the official organ of the Army and Navy Veterans Association of Canada, may not be out of place as an expression, from a source which will commend itself to those who have served at the front, of the bearing of its contents upon problems in industry as affected by the War:

> "One of the most timely and thoughtful books ever produced by a Canadian is the volume entitled 'Industry and Humanity', by Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, in which the inter-relation of war and industrial unrest are set forth in terms which cannot but bring conviction to all who read its pages. . . . . .
> . . . . . .
> . . "Mr. King's book is much more than a treatise - rather it is a very positive contribution towards the solution of international problems. It is already being used in various universities throughout the English-speaking world as sound doctrine for our present economic ills. THE KHAKI CALL does not often urge the reading of certain books, but in this case the way we should go during the critical years which lie before us is so clearly pointed out that we welcome the volume entitled 'Industry and Humanity' as a helpful influence in a time of much strife and confusion."

The impression that I had left Canada to reside in the United States, and in some way or another was connected with certain of the Rockefeller interests, while doubtless due to my association with the Rockefeller Foundation, may also have arisen from or been emphasized by the circumstance

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that, shortly after I entered upon these studies for the Foundation, I visited the State of Colorado to investigate the causes and circumstances surrounding one of the most serious industrial conflicts which has ever arisen on this continent, and subsequently accompanied Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., through the coal mining camps of that State when, at a later period, Mr. Rockefeller, Jr., visited Colorado with the sole purpose of lending his powerful influence towards bringing about a change in industrial conditions more or less along lines which, while in Colorado, I had ventured to recommend to officers and employees of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company. I was no more in the employ of any Rockefeller interest when, of my own free will and without suggestion or instruction from any source, I undertook and carried out that service, than I was in the employ of any of the coal companies of British Columbia or the Steel Company at Sydney, Nova Scotia, when, many years ago, I intervened as a Government conciliator to aid in the settlement of strikes in those coal and steel areas. I was simply voluntarily undertaking to carry out the vast opportunity I saw in the chance afforded through my connection with the Rockefeller Foundation to assist in relieving from starvation and suffering thousands of miners and their

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families, to aid in the restoration of relations between Capital and Labour in an essential war industry, and the substitution of industrial peace and good-will for industrial strife and will under conditions that had not been very far from those of civil war; and, above all, to demonstrate, for industry generally, in a far-reaching and constructive way, and at a time when it was very greatly needed, the wisdom of the application to industrial relations of certain fundamental principles regard for which can never fail to be fruitful of good results to all concerned. For this service, I received no payment of any kind from any of the interests, or from any persons directly or indirectly concerned. I regarded the service rendered as solely and wholly in accord with the spirit of my relationship to the Foundation, and a part of my work in that connection.

Perhaps I may be permitted to refer honourable members to an article entitled "Solving Colorado's Civil War", which appeared in the Toronto "Globe" of October 13, 1915. It is dated Denver, Colorado, Oct. 9, and bears the initials "J.A.M." This article is from the pen of Dr.J.A.Macdonald,who at the time of its writing was Editor-in-Chief of the Toronto "Globe". It should help to clear up any misconception there may be arising out of the nature of my relations with Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., in our joint endeavour to better conditions for Labour and permanently to improve relations between employers and employees in the State of Colorado.

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In this article, Dr. Macdonald says:

"I had spent the whole day interviewing all sorts and conditions of men, and gathering all sorts of views about the one question of universal interest these days in all these mountain mining regions - Mr. Rockefeller's plan for the complete reorganization of the mining industry in the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, in which he holds 40 per cent of the stock, and to whose conditions he has been giving a direct and personal interest during the past fortnight wholly without precedent in the history of capital and labor.

"Last week in Toronto we had Associated Press despatches to The Globe describing this unusual trip by Mr. Rockefeller, his meeting with men of all grades in all the camps and in the pits, his conference with them face to face, and his proposals to them for a fresh pack and a new deal. The despatches mentioned Mr. W. L. Mackenzie King as being the magnate's guide, philosopher, and friend.

"Almost the first man I met after reaching Denver, two days ago, in the rotunda of The Brown, was Mackenzie King. He has been in Colorado a great deal of his time since joining the Rockefeller Foundation. At the very beginning of his work as Chief Executive for the study at firsthand of industrial relations, Mr. King stipulated that the mining camps of Colorado, where long industrial strife issued in actual civil war, and where the Foundation itself is a large holder of corporate securities, provided an immense laboratory for a comprehensive study of the essential facts, the root causes of industrial disturbances and the lines of policy to be adopted if industrial war is to make way for co-operation, prosperity and peace.

"The root idea of the old policy on both sides, both capital and labor, was competition. In the new policy the root idea is co-operation. If the seed of co-operation is nourished and comes to full fruitage it may yield co-partnership. I did not find that Mr. Rockefeller balked at the idea of capital and labor coming to be partners in the industrial world."

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"It was both interesting and significant to observe the effect of the young man's personal touch on men whose hostility was deep-seated and fierce. The great body of the miners voting by secret ballot, after hearing him expound the plan and studying it in its fully-printed form for several days, voted almost unanimously for its approval. A newspaper man who went the rounds of the camps, and whose sympathies were socialistic and anti-capitalist, confessed to me that Rockefeller is absolutely sincere, resolved to meet the men far ~~fffff~~ more than half-way, and has accepted the principles of industrial co-operation with an honest mind and a serious purpose. This view I found to prevail among the Denver newspaper men. A Chicago journalist who came to Colorado to curse returned to Chicago to bless.

"This indeed was the impression made on my own mind by frank conversation and close observations. I did not find this young capitalist other than very straightforward and humanely sympathetic. He accepted the obligations of great wealth and stupendous industrial responsibility as a man "who must give an account."

"It was not difficult to observe the reflex influence of Mackenzie King's personality and teaching on the life and program of John D. Rockefeller, jun. I confess that I had real misgivings about King's decision last year to undertake work with the Rockefeller Foundation. I feared its reaction on his own outlook and life work. After observing the situation in Colorado, the change of front, not by King, but by Rockefeller, and studying the testimony of newspapermen and others, who assured me that all this that Rockefeller has done is in reality the result of King's careful study of industrial problems in the mines, and of his competent exposition of it to Mr. Rockefeller and his associates, I am entirely reassured. Nor was Mr. Rockefeller at all reluctant to give Mr. King full credit.

"The terms of the new policy have already been sent to The Globe by the Associated Press, but Canadians who have watched Mr. King's steady progress as a student of industrial problems and a leader in industrial reform will be gratified to know that, in dealing with this most gigantic problem of capital and labor at the time and place when strikes, murders,

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civil war and two hundred indictments were the chief features, he has made abundantly good, justified his own decision of last year, brought honor to Canada's Department of Labor, which he established on sound economic foundations, and gives promise of even larger services in industry and politics, in which Canada will share just as beneficially as the United States.

"Mackenzie King will always be a Canadian, makes his headquarters in Ottawa, gives only a part of his time to the Foundation's work outside of Canada, and holds his added study and wider experience for the loyal service of his native country. Certain if this new experiment in Colorado achieves what its initial prospect promises, not Canada alone but the whole industrial world will have cause for gratitude that the misfortunes of politics in 1911 left Mackenzie King's hand free for a while to tackle a big man's job."

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That was the view of the then Editor-in-Chief of The Toronto "Globe" of the situation as he saw it at the time. I have a letter from the President of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, dated as recently as December 20, 1919, which brings the situation up to date, and helps to reveal, in its direct bearing upon the War, the significance of what was accomplished. It should perhaps be mentioned that the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company operates coal mines in twenty or more Colorado communities, iron mines in the State of Wyoming, and an extensive steel plant at Pueblo, Colorado. It employs between ten and twelve thousand men, pretty evenly divided between the mines and the steel mills. The mining camps being largely in districts unorganized municipally, not only the workers themselves, but their families, are dependent in large measure for their opportunities in many directions upon the Company's policies. It is estimated that at least 50,000 persons are more or less immediately dependent upon the Company for their means of livelihood and their working and living conditions.

The following is the letter from the President of the Company to which I have just referred:

Exhibit A

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The Colorado situation having been what it was at the time of the strike of 1913-14, the significance of the changed relations soon became apparent. Many, though not all, of the important and essential features of the Plan of Representation and the agreement between the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company and its employees were copied, practically literatim et verbatim, by other large industrial concerns, including the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey in the United States and, later on, the Imperial Oil Company here in Canada. I began to receive from the heads of one large industry after another engaged in the manufacture of war munitions and other essential supplies and materials, communications soliciting my advice on methods of improving the relations between Capital, Management, and Labor, in a manner which, during the War and the ensuing period of reconstruction, would serve to end and help to avoid industrial controversies. Overtures of the kind afforded very special opportunities for the very highest kind of public service, and I sought to make the most of the opportunities thus afforded, not only to improve industrial conditions for the war period, but, wherever possible, to gain for Labor an improved status and permanently improved conditions of employment. This work was undertaken wholly apart from any relationship with the

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Rockefeller Foundation. How far-reaching the possible war service rendered in this way may have been, I shall leave the House to judge from communications since received from some of the companies concerned.

I might explain that when, in September last, it became apparent to me that efforts were being made to misrepresent the nature of my work in the United States at intervals during the period of the War, I wrote to the several companies by whom I had been consulted and by whom my services had been retained, inquiring if I might feel at liberty to make reference in public to the services rendered. For obvious reasons, regarding the work performed as in the nature of services professionally rendered, I had theretofore refrained from making any public reference to them. The communications which I am about to quote are from among the number received in reply.

The following communication is from the Bethlehem Shipbuilding Corporation, which at the time referred to had over ~~100,000~~ about 70,000 workers in its employ:

Exhibit B

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The following is from the Bethlehem Steel Company, which at the time referred to was employing ~~about 45,000~~ over 50,000 workers:

Exhibit C

The following is from the General Electric Company, which at the particular works referred to was employing at the time botween twelve and thirteen thousand workers:

Exhibit D

This communication from Mr. Richard H. Rice, Acting Manager of the Lynn Works, was accompanied by one from Mr. E. W. Rice, Jr., the President of the General Electric Company, in which the President states that he has read the letter from the Acting Manager and that it meets with his "hearty approval". The President adds:

> "Mr. R. H. Rice confined his statements very largely to the benefits which resulted at our Lynn Works upon the adoption of the plan of representation that is based, to a great extent, upon your inspiration and advice.
>
> "I take pleasure in adding that we have adopted a similar plan at a number of our works which has met with equal success wherever it has been intelligently and sympathetically administered by both parties.
>
> "I think you have no reason to regret the time and effort which you have spent with us, at a critical period, in the effort that we were making to give the best possible support to our country and to our Allies, in the great struggle for civilization and human rights."

The total number of workers of the General Electric Company was, at the time, over 50,000.

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The following communication is from the Great Western Sugar Company. The factories of this Company are in the States of Colorado, Nebraska, Montana, and Wyoming. At the time to which the letter refers, these factories employed in the vicinity of 7000 workers.

Exhibit E

The following communication is from the President of the International Harvester Company, an industrial corporation employing, at its different plants in the United States and Canada, in the vicinity of 35,000 workers:

Exhibit F

As to sources of further information, I might refer honourable members to the Consolidation Coal Company, which operates mines in the States of Pennsylvania, Maryland, West Virginia, and Kentucky, and which employs between eight and nine thousand workers; to the Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company, of Youngstown, Ohio, which employs in the vicinity of ten thousand workers; and to industrial concerns of lesser size and significance; but the foregoing will be sufficient to indicate something of the scope, as well as of the nature, of the services rendered in the period mentioned.

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Perhaps I should add that on more than one occasion my services bore a direct relation to the work of the National War Labor Board and of the United States Fuel Administration, and, where such was the case, were wholly in the nature of co-operative effort in the adjustment of threatened or actual controversies, in the public interest, as well as in the interest of the parties concerned.

I have gone to the trouble of preparing a tabulated statement of my absences from Canada on business in the United States during the period of the War. Including the time spent in Colorado, and in connection with the several industries to which I have referred, these absences amount in all to 308 days in the four years and three months of the War, or, by actual count, an average per year during the period of the War, of less than two months.

I trust this will suffice to make clear, not only the nature and extent of my relations with the Rockefeller Foundation, and services rendered to certain of the essential war industries in the United States during the period of the War, but also the nature and extent of any absences from Canada during that period.

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There remains to consider the further insinuations and allegations in the libellous statements published, which relate to the period subsequent to the War, and which bear directly upon the present. They are, to quote the utterances of Mr. MacNaughton, to the effect that indications point to "a still continuing relationship between Mr. King and the Rockefeller interests, which at no distant date might prove a menace to Canada"; or, to quote the words of Dr. Gilday, that I "had returned to Canada, not for the purpose of the country's best welfare and advancement, but still apparently entangled in the octopus of Standard Oil interests and Rockefeller millions;" that I am "one whose connection with American capitalists might soon prove inimical to Canada's best interests"; that I am "the representative of certain American commercial men, charged with the mission of making Canada a free trade country and commercially subservient to the United States."

I should be utterly at a loss to discover any grounds for such base misrepresentation and vicious attempts to distort the truth, were it not for the fact that despatches which have recently appeared in the Canadian Press contain references to certain changes in wages and hours of employees of the Standard Oil Company of Indiana, reported in the American Press, in

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which I am credited with having had to do with the drafting of the Plan of joint relations between that Company and its employees, under which these changes were brought about. Let me point out that, in the statements to which I have referred, care has been taken to make no reference to the time or nature of my services in the connection indicated, but simply to have it appear that in some way they point to "a still continuing relationship between Mr. King and the Rockefeller interests."

Perhaps I should read to the House the despatch which appeared in the American Press, and from which there were exserpts in our own press. I quote from the Chicago Tribune of February 19 of the present year. The article is headed: "11,000 STANDARD OIL AIDS FIX OWN PAY RAISE - GET 11.11 % BOOST AND SIX DAY WEEK". The article reads:

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This is the indication that points to "a still continuing relationship between Mr. King and the Rockefeller interests which at no distant day might prove a menace to Canada". These are the grounds for asserting that I am "still apparently entangled in the octopus of Standard Oil interests and Rockefeller millions"!

May I point out that there is nothing in this despatch, nor is there, in fact, anything, to indicate any "continuing relationship", nor, indeed, any relationship, existing at any time, between the Company referred to and myself, other than that of my having been retained on one occasion, since the War, in the capacity of adviser or industrial counseller on methods of improving relations between a Company's management and its employees, to render services similar to those which during the War I rendered in some of the essential war industries. All that this despatch indicates, and all that can be said of any work done by me in this connection, is that, in this period of reconstruction, I sought, as opportunity offered, to continue to render to industry on this continent precisely the same kind of service, by way of improvement of human relations within industry, as the Governments of Great Britain, the United States, and Canada have intimated to be the most necessary of all possible service at this time. The fact that, by assisting in the adoption of a

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plan of self-government in industry, I have been privileged to demonstrate, through one of the largest industries in the world, that, by the adoption of industrial councils in industry in which the workers are given a voice in all matters pertaining to their employment, it is possible for 11,000 employees not only to have their wages increased by 11.11 %, but their hours of labour so adjusted as to permit, for one and all, one day of rest in seven where formerly service was continuous, and this with direct advantage not only to Labor, but to Management, Capital, and the Public, through the avoidance of industrial controversy in the nature of lockouts or strikes, constitutes, I should say, not a menace, but an object lesson of highest value and of importance to industry everywhere.

That there may be no possible ground for further misrepresentation on this score, may I read to the House a letter I received from the Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Standard Oil Company of Chicago, in reply to the communication sent by me in September last asking, as in the case of the other concerns already mentioned, for permission, should the occasion demand, to refer in public to the services rendered as an adviser to the Company and its employees. This communication states the nature and extent of any work I have ever undertaken for any of the Standard Oil Companies. As

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with the services rendered to American industry during the period of the War, I am only too happy to leave my fellow-countrymen to judge whether, the opportunity being what it was, the need being what it is to further in every possible way improvement in the relations of Capital and Labour, the service is one I should be other than proud of having had the privilege to render.

Exhibit G

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Ottawa Journal
April 21/20

D 4333-1000

KING DEFENDS WAR RECORD IN HOUSE COMMONS

Liberal Leader Denies He "Deserted Canada in Her Hour of Need."

Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, Leader of the Opposition, today answered critics of his war record.

Mr. King's statement came in the House on a motion to go into supply. He spoke to a full House and to crowded galleries, dealing primarily with the criticism that he had "deserted Canada in her hour of crisis and served Standard Oil Millions."

Such statements, Mr. King declared to be absolutely false in fact and misleading in inference. "My purpose" Mr. King added, "is solely that of placing on record a few relative facts so that ignorance of the truth or any pleading of current rumor will not hereafter be any defence should I find it necessary and desirable to proceed criminally against parties, individuals or publications that persist in this kind of political warfare."

Always Ottawa Resident.

His connection with the Rockefeller Foundation had not required his absence from Canada, and, for the last twenty years, he had resided in Ottawa. The Rockefeller Foundation was a philanthropic organization which has co-operated in war work.

His duty had been merely to make a study of industrial relations. He read a series of letters from such corporations as the Bethlehem Shipbuilding Corporation and the Bethlehem Steel Company acknowledging his assistance in settling labor disputes which were interfering with the execution of war contracts.

Personal Responsibilities.

In concluding, Mr. King told the House of some of his personal responsibilities. Shortly before the war his father was stricken with blindness and obliged to give up his practice of law and lecturing at the law school in Toronto. His brother was stricken with tuberculosis and "there was no one left to share the responsibilities of our home under these sad and trying circumstances but my married sister and myself," and the married sister had her own family to consider. In August, 1916, the father died, and in December, 1917, the mother too died. "I have only to add," said Mr. King, "as I look back upon those years of the war, so full of poignant suffering for the whole of mankind I cannot but experience a sense of gratitude, that in that world ordeal it was given me to share in so intimate a way the sufferings of others and, with it all, so large a measure of opportunity to do my duty as God gave it to me to see my duty, at that time."

Objects to Statements.

He referred first to statements made at a meeting of the Progressive Club, Montreal, on April 5, as reported in the Montreal Gazette of the day following. One statement cited by Mr. King was reported as having been made before the club by Mr. McNaughton, another by Dr. F. W. Gilday. Mr. McNaughton was reported as having said that Mr. King deserted Canada in her hour of crisis and served Standard Oil millions. Mr. McNaughton, according to the report, also spoke of relationship between Mr. King and Rockefeller interests which "at no distant date might prove a menace to Canada." Dr. Gilday was cited as having made similar statements.

It would be perfectly apparent, Mr. King proceeded, that such statements were intended to arouse prejudice of the most bitter and cruel kind, prejudicing the minds of labor, of returned soldiers, and of all patriotic citizens.

Statements False.

The statements were absolutely false in fact and misleading in inference. They constituted an utter slander and amounted to a criminal libel. If he had taken steps to proceed against the parties guilty of them, it was because he felt the ignorance of facts. But ignorance statements were made in complete would not in future be any defence should he desire to proceed criminally against any parties making similar statements.

Dealing in the first place with the statement made that he had resided in the United States, Mr King said this was not a fact. His relation with the Rockefeller Foundation had not required his absence from Canada, nor did it cause him to be away from this country, but to a slight extent. He had never had commercial relations, nor accepted a retainer or fee since becoming leader of the Liberal party, preferring to devote all his time to the work for which he had been chosen.

The Rockefeller Foundation, said Mr. King, was a philanthropic organization. During the war it had co-operated to a great extent in war work. It came to the relief of the Belgian, French, Poles, and Armenians, who were in want. It gave millions to Red Cross work, and to the maintenance of the hospitals. Its work extended to all parts of the world.

Studied Labor.

His duty in connection with the foundation, said Mr. King, was to make a study of industrial relations. He was not in the employ of the Standard Oil or Rockefeller interests any more than the librarian of a Carnegie public library could be in the employ of the Carnegie interests. He was told that he could pursue his investigations in any part of the world.

Mr. King stated that the offer of this work was made to him in the spring before the opening of the war. When the war began, it became necessary for him to decide whether to go on with this work or abandon it.

The decision yes he had made at that time, was, he thought a wise and right decision, and he had never changed his mind with regard to it. It had been recognized early in the war that the success of the Allies depended largely upon the relations prevailing between capital and Labor. Production of munitions and supplies was as important as were the efforts of the soldiers at the front. This was borne out by the fact that a number of the allied countries had formed committees for the express purpose of studying Labor problems and finding solutions to them. The work he had been doing for the Rockefeller Foundation, was directly along these lines.

His Colorado Visit.

He was chosen by the Rockefeller Foundation for his experience with Labor problems, and the results of his work, said Mr. King, were open to any who cared to read. He had written in Ottawa a book embodying the researches he had made and this was published in Canada during the war. The only possible reason for the erroneous idea which had been conceived of his connection with the Rockefeller or any other industrial interests, lay in his visit to Colorado in the early part of the war when he inspected the mines there during the Labor troubles, in the company of J. D. Rockefeller, Jr.

He received no remuneration then or at any other time for this work from any individual or firm connected with the interests involved in the Colorado disputes.

Mr. King said that he had taken part in the conciliation work at that time simply as a part of his general work with the Foundation. The results of the work of the committee of which he was a member had been published.

Mr. King apologised for the necessity he was under to refer to his accomplishments at that time, but he believed that it was necessary to show the nature and extent of his work in Colorado.

He read to the House letters from officials of the mines stating that as a result of the agreement arrived at with the striking miners more work per man per day was being performed at the mines after the settlement of the dispute than was being performed in any other mines on the continent.

Mr. King also read letters from representative corporations acknowledging the value of advice and assistance which Mr. King had given them in their industrial troubles. The Bethlehem Shipbuilding Corporation, the Bethlehem Steel Company, The General Electric Company and other firms acknowledged assistance in settling disputes which interfered with war contracts in the last few years. This work was all a part of his labors as a member of the Rockefeller Foundation, Mr. King pointed out.

After reference to his work in establishing industrial councils to maintain peaceful relations between the Standard Oil Company of Indiana and its employes and reading letters of appreciation for his efforts along this line, Hon. Mr. King concluded by a personal reference. It had been said that he was still young and a bachelor when the war broke out. He was then 40 years of age and within a few months his father was stricken with blindness, while a brother had to go to Colorado suffering from tubercular trouble. The support of the home fell practically in its entirety upon him. But apart from that he felt his conscience was indeed clear, that he had performed a service for his country for which he was best fitted and of much more value to his country than he could have done in other directions.

"I feel that in such a world ordeal it was given to me to share in the suffering of others and to help the cause of humanity. I am grateful that I was spared in so large a measure to do my duty as God gave me to see my duty at that time," he concluded amid applause from all sides of the House.

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D 4334

Quebec Telegraph
June 30, 1920

WORKERS AND EMPLOYERS IN WAR INDUSTRIES

Speech of Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, M.P., Leader of the Opposition in Reply to Misrepresentations Concerning His Services in Adjustment of Relations Between Two Factors During Period of the War

Speaking in the House of Commons in reply to misrepresentations concerning his services in the adjustment of relations between workers and employers in war industries during the period of the war, Hon. W. L. MacKenzie King, M.P., Leader of the Opposition, fully explained his attitude in a very eloquent and comprehensive speech, of which the first portion is here published verbatim. As the speech is a long one it will appear in these columns in three instalments.

Following is the text of the discourse:

(Instalment No. 1.)

Mr. Speaker, I must thank my right hon. friend for his courtesy in moving the House into supply in order to give me an opportunity to make a statement which I have desired for some time past to make, but which, owing to the rules of the House, I have found it impossible to make at an earlier date. The subject I desire to discuss is one which I would have raised as a question of privilege had it not been that the rules of the House limit a speaker in such case to a simple denial of statements complained of, and the matters to which I wish to refer are of such a nature that the House, I think, will permit from me something more than a formal denial.

I desire to bring to the attention of hon. members a report of a meeting which was held in the city of Montreal on the 5th day of this month, which appears in the Montreal Gazette of the day following. It is the account of a meeting of the regular weekly luncheon of the so-called "Progressive Club" in that city. The report contains addresses by Mr. John MacNaughton, an advocate, of Montreal, and by a Dr. Gilday, a medical practitioner, also of that city. The report will be found on page 5 of the Montreal Gazette, under the following heading: "Scored Liberal Party on Policy." "Progressive Club Speaker claims Opposition not in harmony on question." "Criticised Party Leader." "Said indications pointed to continuing relationship between Hon. Mackenzie King and Rockefeller." The particular statements to which I wish to draw the attention of the House, and which I regard as being defamatory, appear in the addresses of both Mr. MacNaughton and Dr. Gilday. First, under the sub-heading, "Menace to Canada" is the following as a part of the address delivered by Mr. MacNaughton. Referring to myself, Mr. MacNaughton is thus reported:

"So far as the returned man was concerned, he declared, who could he expect to receive any concessions from a Liberal leader hwo had deserted Canada in her hour of crisis in search of Standard Oil millions. Indications pointed to a still continuing relationship between Mr. King and the Rockefeller interests, which at no distant date might prove a menace to Canada."

Then appears the following reference to utterances by Dr. Gilday:

"In moving a vote of thanks to the speakers of the day, Dr. F. W. Gilday referred to the first Liberal leader as one whose connections with American capitalists might soon prove inimical to Canada's best interests.

"He saw in Mr. King the representative of certain American commercial men charged with the mission of making Canada a free trade country, and commercially subservient to the United States. Mr. King had left Canada at the time of war crisis, although a bachelor and capable of bearing arms, and only a young man. He preferred, however, to work for Rockefeller, and indications pointed to the fact that he had returned to Canada not for the purpose of the country's best welfare and advancement, but still apparently entangled in the octopus of Standard Oil interests and Rockefeller millions. The future, he said, would bear out the truth of his remarks."

Mr. Speaker, it will be perfectly apparent to hon. members of this House that statements of this kind are intended to arouse prejudice not in one direction only, but in many directions, and prejudice of the most bitter and cruel kind—prejudice in the minds of labour, prejudice in the minds of returned soldiers, prejudice in the minds of the business community, prejudice in the minds of patriotic citizens. The statements are absolutely false in fact and misleading in inference. They constitute as utter a slander, and as undoubted a criminal libel as any statement could possibly be. If I have not taken steps to proceed against the guilty parties, it is because I am willing to believe that they were made in complete ignorance of the facts, and that they would not have been uttered had the truth been known to those who made them, or to the journal which has given them publicity.

I do not at this moment rise to make any defence in regard to any statement which is contained in these utterances. My purpose is solely to place on record a few relevant facts, so that ignorance of the truth, or any pleading of current rumor, will not hereafter be any defence should I find it necessary and desirable to take criminal proceedings against individuals, or publications that persist in this kind of political warfare.

Were the gentlemen who have made these statements not members of learned and honorable professions, and were the paper that has given publicity to them not one which prides itself on its high place in journalism in this country, I could well afford to treat them with that contempt and indifference with which I have treated like slanderous statements in the past. I feel, however, that if I continue to allow statements of this kind to go unchallenged, in view of the publicity that has been given them, I shall be laying myself open to being misunderstood throughout the country in a manner which will not only prejudice me personally as a member of this House, but also prejudice hon. gentlemen who have honored me with the position I hold and those who accord to us political support. I have a further reason for desiring to give to the House a few relevant facts, and that is my belief that there are many persons in this country who have no desire for further either a personal injury or a public wrong, but who, owing to the currency which has been given to certain false statements and rumours, find it difficult to understand how so much publicity could be given to anything that is so absolutely without foundation.

And I have yet another reason for desiring to make this statement at this time. I see no other way in which many of my fellow countrymen who have served this country overseas can find it possible to become acquainted with the truth, in view of statements that have been made to them concerning matters which were supposed to have taken place during the time they were absent from this country.

Sir, as I have said, these statements are utterly false and completely misleading.

First of all, there is the statement that I have resided in the United States. Permit me to say that I have lived for the last twenty years in the city of Ottawa, and have never during that time had my place of residence anywhere else. During the last ten years I have resided in the Roxborough Apartments in this city, and any member of this House who inquires of the Imperial Realty Company, the proprietors of the Roxborough, will find that at no time during the war or since have I cancelled my lease or even temporarily sublet the apartment which I occupy. The relationship which I had with the Rockefeller Foundation, and to which I shall allude in a moment, did not require or necessitate in any way my absence from Canada; nor did it as a matter of fact occasion any absence except in the most transient way. More than that, at present I have not, and for some considerable time past have not had any business connection with any commercial, financial or business interest either in the United States or in Canada. I have had none such since I was honored with the position of the leadership of my party in August last. I have refused consistently since that time even to entertain the acceptance of a retainer or fee for any work and I have done so in order that I might devote to the public duties which devolve upon me, my entire time and attention.

Now sir, let me explain the nautre of my relationship to the Rockefeller Foundation. First of all, the Foundation is not in any sense of the word a business or commercial enterprise. It is a philanthropic organization chartered under the laws of the State of New York in the year 1913. As described in the Act of Incorporation, it is a body corporate "for the purpose of receiving and maintaining a fund or funds and applying the interest and principal thereof to promote the well-being of mankind throughout the world." During the war its activities were for the most part in the nature of war work co-operation. It was the first organization in the United States to come to the relief of the Belgians in the matter of food and clothing. It not only assisted the Belgians, but its funds were utilized to bring relief to the starving populaitons in portions of France as well as Belgium and to the peoples of Poland, Serbia and Armenia at the hour of their greatest need. It gave millions of dollars in assistance to Red Cross and Y.M.C.A. work in army and navy camps and communities. It equipped and maintained war demonstration hospitals, provided the services of Dr. Alexis Carrel and his staff, hospital and surgical laboratory at Compiegne, France. It carried out many other forms of war work thorughout the whole of that terrible period. Apart from the war, its activities relate mainly to medical education and public health demonstration in different parts of the world. It is carrying on its beneficent operations in China, in France, in India, in Egypt, and indeed in all parts of the world, and all its work is, as I have indicated, exclusively that of promoting the well-being of mankind.

(To be Continued)

NUXATED IRON



HELPS MAKE STRONG, STURDY MEN and HEALTHY BEAUTIFUL WOMEN

"Iron is red blood food and in my experience I have found no better means of building up the red blood corpuscles and helping to give increased power to the blood than organic iron-like Nuxated Iron." Dr. H. B. Vali, formerly physician in the Baltimore Hospital and a Medical Examiner.

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W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Volume D 8

PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

D 4335

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WORKERS AND EMPLOYERS IN WAR INDUSTRIES

Speech of Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, M.P., Leader of the Opposition in Reply to Misrepresentations Concerning His Services in Adjustment of Relations Between Two Factors During Period of the War

(INSTALLMENT NO. 2)

My duties in connection with the Rockefeller Foundation were to make a study of the problem of industrial relations with a view to ascertaining if it were possible to contribute in any way toward the solution of that intricate and world-wide problem.

I was no more in the employ of the Rockefeller interests, or of any Standard Oil interest, in my association with the Rockefeller Foundation than any librarian of a Carnegie library can be said to have been in the employ of the late Andrew Carnegie, or than teachers and professors who are the recipients of pensions from the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching can be said to be related to any steel or trust corporation.

Within the last few months, as an expression of internaitional good will, the Rockefeller Foundation made to the universities of the Dominion a gift of $5,000,000, to be used for research work in connection with their medical departments. The young men or professors who study under the benefits of this particular gift will occupy a position precisely similar in its relation to any Rockefeller interest to that which I did when I was appointed by the Foundation to make a study of this question of industrial relations.

May I point out that my connection with the Rockefeller Foundation was formed before the war commenced. My acceptance was given in the spring of the year before the war was thought of. At the time it was made, I had been nominated and was in the position of candidate of the Liberal party in the constituency of North York. When I was asked if I would undertake that study for the Foundation, I pointed out that if it meant any change of residence from Canada, it would be impossible for me to consider it. It was told that I could pursue my researches anywhere I wished. that there was no obligation to live at one place rather than another, that I could go to any part of the world, and have a staff of men to assist me if I so desired, in carrying out the researches which I had been asked to undertake, the sole object being to conduct a study that might be helpful as a contribution towards the solution of industrial problems.

That was the situation when the war came on. I had then to decide just as every other man in this country had, what, under existing circumstances, it was best to do. I had to decide in relation to the Rockefeller Foundation and the work which I had undertaken, whether I should abandon those studies altogether, or wnether I should undertake them in relation to the problems which were growing out of the war. I shall mention in a moment or two certain private considerations of which I was obliged to take account in reaching a decision but for the present I wish to confine what I have to say to the public reasons which I felt were strong enough to cause me to make the decision I did, a decision which I believed at the time and have ever since believed, was entirely in the right direction.

As hon. gentlemen know, the war had not proceeded very far before it became perfectly apparent that the winning of the war depended upon the successful co-operation of capital and labour in the industries that were engaged in the production of munitions, and the furnishing of war supplies and materials, as well as upon the heroic efforts of the men who were fighting at the front. The Governments of the different countries recognized that to be the situation. The Government of Great Britain established shortly after the beginning of the war, a reconstruction committee which subsequently became the ministry of Reconstruction in England with a sub-committee on relations between employers and employee, to deal with the problems of industry as they arose during the war, and were likely to arise during the period of reconstruction. The Government of the United States appointed a National War Labour Board, and the Government of Canada—the present Government—appointed the Reconstruction and Development Committee of the Cabinet, with a labor subcommittee. The work of all these bodies was to study the problems arising out of the relations between capital and labour with a view, if possible, to avoiding industrial controversy in essential industries during the war and finding means for the rapid development of peaceful and helpful relations in the period after the war.

The work I was doing for the Rockefeller Foundation, both in its purpose, as research, and in its practical effort was identical with the kind of work which was being done by persons associated with these bodies. Every man associated with any of these organizations was regarded by his fellow countrymen as rendering a much needed war service, a service for which he was specially qualified, and for which he had been chosen because of special qualifications.

My selection by the Rockefeller Foundation had been made, amongst other reasons, because of the circumstances that during a number of years I had held a position in the Department of Labour of this country as deputy minister of the department, and subsequently as minister, and during that time had had considerable to do, at first hand, and in a practical way, with industrial problems. It was believed that with that experience, and with the opportunity the Foundation afforded, a useful service might be rendered.

The results of my work for the Rockefeller Foundation are published in book form. I think some hon. gentlemen may have heard of the book; and here let me say that I am sure the House will realize how extremely embarrassing it is to any one to be obliged to make a reference to his own work. But, hon. gentlemen will also realize, I am sure, that if I simply make a general statement such may not prove sufficient under the circumstances. I am, therefore, obliged to make specific reference to some portion of the work accomplished in this connection. That is my apology and my reason of necessity for referring to one or two things which I wish to place before the House for consideration. Whether the results of my study bear at all helpfully upon the problem of reconstruction or not, hon. members will be able to see for themselves by referring to the book. It is entitled "Industry and Humanity: A Study in the Problems Underlying Industrial Reconstruction." The book consists of some 550 pages, exclusive of charts and diagrams. Every line of it was written in the city of Ottawa; every page of proof was read in this city; all of the research work was done in Canada. It was done during the war, and the book itself was published before the Armistice had been concluded. The Canadian editions have been published by Thomas Allen, of Toronto, the American by Houghton Mifflin, of Boston and New York, and the English by Constable and Co.

I presume the impression that in some way or another I was connected with the so-called Rockefeller interests grew first of all out of this association with the Foundation to which I have referred. It may also have grown out of the fact that in the early years of the war I spent quite a little time in the state of Colorado, and later, accompanied Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., through the mines of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company. May I say to hon. members that the reason I went to Colorado at the time I did was because there had been a situation there very much in the nature of an industrial situation on this continent. I went of my own volition, under direction or suggestion from no one. I had been given a perfectly free hand by the Rockefeller Foundation to do what I thought best in the way of carrying out the work which the trustees of the Foundation had given me the opportunity to perform. I felt that if it were possible to demonstrate in the state of Colorado, under conditions such as existed there, that the application of certain principles to the relations of employers and employees could not do other than operate in a manner that would be helpful alike to labour, capital and the public, it would be rendering a service to industry in a place where, and at a time when it was very greatly needed. The Colorado Fuel and Iron Company was one of the companies which had been affected by the strike. It is the largest concern in that state. It employs somewhere in the neighbourhood of 12,000 workers in coal mines, iron mines and steel works. Like other steel and coal companies, its help was required to provide essential war supplies, and it had orders from the Allies to be carried out. Because of the Rockefeller interest in that company I believed that my association with the Foundation might gain for me an exceptional opportunity, which it did. I am not going to refer to my work done in that connection. It was work done in public, and hon. members can find out its scope and significance for themselves if they are sufficiently interested in so doing. All I wish to state at the moment is that for that service—or whatever measure of service it may have been possible to render in the State of Colorado—I received no payment from any individual directly or indirectly concerned with any of the companies with which I had to deal. I undertook the work as a part of the opportunity afforded me by the Rockefeller Foundation, and I carried it out wholly in that spirit.

(To be Continued)

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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Quebec Telegraph
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INSTALMENT NO. 3

If the House will permit it, I should feel deeply obliged if, at the conclusion of my remarks, I might be allowed by general consent to place on Hansard one statement which I think will accurately reveal the nature of the work done in Colorado. It is from an authority which no one in this House will question, and is an article which appeared in the Toronto Globe of October 13, 1915, entitled "Solving Colorado's Civil War, by J. A. M." The article is by Dr. J. A. Macdonald, who at the time was editor-in-Chief of the Globe, and who visited Colorado while I was there engaged upon the work to which I have just been referring. It was written by Dr. Macdonald at the time, was published in the Globe, and is of record there. If the House denies me the privilege of placing the article on Hansard, hon. gentlemen who may be interested at all in discovering the significance of that work or the truth concerning it will be able to do so by a reference to the files of that paper.

Solving Colorado's Civil War
By J.A.M.

I had spent the whole day interviewing all sorts and conditions of men, and gathering all sorts of views about the one question of universal interests these days in all these mountain mining regions—Mr. Rockefeller's plan for the complete reorganization of the mining industry in the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company, in which he holds 40 per cent. of the stock, and to whose conditions he has been giving a direct and personal interest during the past fortnight wholly without precedent in the history of capital and labour.

"Last week in Toronto we had Associated Press despatches to the globe describing this unusual trip by Mr. Rockefeller, his meeting with men of all grades in all the camps and in the pits, his conference with them face to face, and his proposals to them for a fresh pack and a new deal. The despatches mentioned Mr. W. L. Mackenzie King as being the magnate's guide, philosopher and friend.

Mackenzie King's Work

"Almost the first man I met after reaching Denver, two days ago, in the rotunda of the Brown, was Mackenzie King. He has been in colorado a great deal of his time since joining the Rockefeller Foundation. At the very beginning of his work as Chief Executive for the study at first hand of industrial relations, Mr. King stipulated that the mining camps of Colorado where long industrial strife issued in actual civil war, and where the Foundation itself is a large holder of corporate securities, provided an immense laboratory for a comprehensive study of the essential facts, the root causes of industrial disturbances and the lines of policy to be adopted if industrial war is to make way for co-operation, prosperity and peace.

"The root idea of the old policy on both sides, both capital and labor, was competition. In the new policy the root idea is co-operation. If the seed of co-operation is nourished and comes to full fruitage it may yield co-partnership. I did not find that Mr. Rockefeller baulked at the idea of capital and labor coming to be partners in the industrial world.

"It was both interesting and significant to observe the effect of the young man's personal touch on men whose hostility was deep-seated and fierce. The great body of the miners voting by secret ballot, after hearing him expound the plan and studying it in its fully-printed form for several days, voted almost unanimously for its approval. A newspaperman who went the rounds of the camps, and whose sympathies were socialistic and anti-capitalistic, confessed to me that what he saw at close range convinced him that Rockefeller is absolutely sincere, resolved to meet the men far more than half way, and has accepted the principles of industrial co-operation with an honest mind and a serious purpose. This view I found to prevail among the Denver newspapermen. A chicago journalist who came to Colorado to curse returned to Chicago to bless.

A Straightforward Man

"This, indeed, was the impression made on my own mind by frank conversation and close observations. I did not find this young capitalist other than very straightforward and humanely sympathetic. He accepted the obligations of great wealth and stupendous industrial responsibility as a man "who must give an account."

"It was not difficult to observe the reflex influence of Mackenzie King's personality and teaching on the life and programme of John D. Rockefeller, jr., I confess that I had real misgivings about King's decision last year to undertake work with the Rockefeller Foundation. I feared its reaction on his own outlook and life work. After observing the situation in Colorado the change of front not by King, but by Rockefeller, and studying the testimony of newspapermen and others, who assured me that all this that Rockefeller had done is in reality the result of King's careful study of industrial problems in the mines. and of his competent exposition of it to Mr. Rockefeller and his associates. I am entirely reassured. Nor was Mr. Rockefeller at all reluctant to give Mr. King full credit.

King Has Made Good

"The terms of the new policy have already been sent to the Globe by the Associated Press, but Canadians who have watched Mr. King's steady progress as a student of industrial problems and a leader in industrial reform will be gratified to know that, in dealing with this most gigantic problem of capital and labor at the time and place when strikes, murders, civil war and two hundred indictments were the chief features, he has made abundantly good, justified his own decision of last year, brought honour to Canada's Department of Labour, which he established on sound economic foundations, and gives promise of even larger services in industry and politics in which Canada will share just as beneficially as the United Srates.

"Mackenzie King will always be a Canadian, makes his headquarters in Ottawa, gives only a part of his time to the Foundation's work outside of Canada, and holds his added study and wider experience for the loyal service of his native country. Certain if this new experiment in Colorado achieves what its initial prospect promises, not Canada alone but the whole industrial world will have cause for gratitude that the misfortune of politics in 1911 left Mackenzie King's hand free for a while to tackle a big man's job."

I have here, also, a letter from Mr. J. F. Welborn, President of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company, of Denver, Colorado, which gives a statement from the company's point of view; and presents the significance of the work as it has grown with time. I do not wish to read this letter to the House, though if it were not taking up time unduly I should feel it a privilege to do so. I should be pleased if it might be permitted to appear on Hansard along with the other communication. There is one point in this letter to which I should like to direct attention. Mr. Welborn shows that as a result of the Industrial Councils formed that when the United States came into the war, the coal production in the mines of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company exceeded per man per day that of any of the other coal mines in the United States; and he attributes that success to the joint relations of capital and labour under the plan of industrial representation as drawn up.

There remains the statement that I was young, and a bachelor. I am now in my forty-sixth year. When the war commenced, I was in my fortieth year. Shortly before that time, my father, a barrister and solicitor, and one of the lecturers at the Law School in Toronto, was stricken with blindness, and obliged to give up the practice of law and lecturing at the Law School. He and my mother and unmarried sister lived together at our home in Toronto. My brother, who for a number of years was a practising physician in this city, some little time prior to the war, after an attack of influeza complicated by double pheumonia, developed tuberculosis, and was obliged to give up the practice of his profession and for the greater part of two years to spend his time in a sanatorium. Later, he and his wife and little children took up permanent residence in Colorado. There was no one left to share the responsibilities of our home under these sad and trying circumstances, but my married sister and myself. My married sister had, as well, her own family to consider.

On April, 4, 1915, within the first few months of the war, my unmarried sister died. That left my father and mother alone. On August 30, 1916, my father died. After spending a few weeks with my invalid brother in Denver, and two or three months with my married sister, my mother came to reside with me at the Roxborough, here, in Ottawa. My mother was critically ill most of the year she was with me, and on December 18, 1917, she, too died. My brother, I rejoice to say, though still an invalid,, has fought his disease so successfully as to be able to publish a book, entitled "The Battle With Tuberculosis and How to Win It," which has found a place in our military hospitals. The inscription of this volume, "Gratefully and affectionately dedicated to my wife and to my brother, speaks for itself.

As I look back upon those years of the war, so full of poignant suffering for the whole of mankind, I cannot but experience a sense of gratitude, that in that world ordeal it was given to me to share in so intimate a way the sufferings of others, and with it all, so large a measure of opportunity to do my duty, as God gave it to me to see my duty, at that time.

(Concluded.)

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There remains the statement that I was young, and a bachelor. I am now in my forty-sixth year. When the war commenced, I was in my fortieth year. Shortly before that time, my father, a barrister and solicitor, and one of the lecturers at the Law School in Toronto, was stricken with blindness, and obliged to give up the practice of law and lecturing at the Law School. He and my mother and unmarried sister lived together at our home in Toronto. My brother, who for a number of years was a practising physician in this city, some little time prior to the war, after an attack of influeza complicated by double pheumonia, developed tuberculosis, and was obliged to give up the practice of his profession and for the greater part of two years to spend his time in a sanatorium. Later, he and his wife and little children took up permanent residence in Colorado. There was no one left to share the responsibilities of our home under these sad and trying circumstances, but my married sister and myself. My married sister had, as well, her own family to consider.

On April, 4, 1915, within the first few months of the war, my unmarried sister died. That left my father and mother alone. On August 30, 1916, my father died. After spending a few weeks with my invalid brother in Denver, and two or three months with my married sister, my mother came to reside with me at the Roxborough, here, in Ottawa. My mother was critically ill most of the year she was with me, and on December 18, 1917, she, too died. My brother, I rejoice to say, though still an invalid,, has fought his disease so successfully as to be able to publish a book, entitled "The Battle With Tuberculosis and How to Win It," which has found a place in our military hospitals. The inscription of this volume, "Gratefully and affectionately dedicated to my wife and to my brother, speaks for itself.

As I look back upon those years of the war, so full of poignant suffering for the whole of mankind, I cannot but experience a sense of gratitude, that in that world ordeal it was given to me to share in so intimate a way the sufferings of others, and with it all, so large a measure of opportunity to do my duty, as God gave it to me to see my duty, at that time.

(Concluded.)

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House of Commons Debates

OFFICIAL REPORT

SPEECH

OF

HON. W. L. MACKENZIE KING, M.P.
LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION

IN REPLY TO MISREPRESENTATIONS CONCERNING HIS SERVICES IN

THE ADJUSTMENT OF RELATIONS

BETWEEN

WORKERS AND EMPLOYERS IN WAR INDUSTRIES

During the Period of the War.

(House of Commons, Ottawa, Tuesday, April 20, 1920.)

Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (Leader of the Opposition): Mr. Speaker, I must thank my right hon. friend for his courtesy in moving the House into supply in order to give me an opportunity to make a statement which I have desired for some time past to make, but which, owing to the rules of the House, I have found it impossible to make at an earlier date. The subject I desire to discuss is one which I would have raised as a question of privilege had it not been that the rules of the House limit a speaker in such case to a simple denial of statements complained of, and the matters to which I wish to refer are of such a nature that the House I think will permit from me something more than a formal denial.

I desire to bring to the attention of hon. members a report of a meeting which was held in the city of Montreal on the 5th day of this month, which appears in the Montreal Gazette of the day following. It is the account of a meeting of the regular weekly luncheon of the so-called "Progressive Club" in that city. The report contains addresses by Mr. John MacNaughton, an advocate of Montreal, and by a Dr. Gilday, a medical practitioner, also of that city. The report will be found on page 5 of the Montreal Gazette, under the following heading: "Scored Liberal Party on Policy." "Progressive Club speaker claims Opposition not in harmony on question." "Criticised Party Leader." "Said indications pointed to continuing relationship between Hon. Mackenzie King and Rockefeller." The particular statements to which I wish to draw the attention of the House, and which I regard as being defamatory, appear in the addresses of both Mr. MacNaughton and Dr. Gilday. First, under the sub-heading, "Menace to Canada" is the following as a part of the address delivered by Mr. MacNaughton. Referring to myself Mr. MacNaughton is thus reported:

> So far as the returned man was concerned, he declared, how could he expect to receive any concessions from a Liberal leader who had de-

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serted Canada in her hour of crisis in search of Standard Oil millions. Indications pointed to a still continuing relationship between Mr. King and the Rockefeller interests, which at no distant date might prove a menace to Canada.

Then appears the following reference to utterances by Dr. Gilday:

In moving a vote of thanks to the speakers of the day, Dr. F. W. Gilday referred to the first Liberal leader as one whose connections with American capitalists might soon prove inimical to Canada's best interests.

He saw in Mr. King the representative of certain American commercial men charged with the mission of making Canada a free trade country, and commercially subservient to the United States. Mr. King had left Canada at the time of war crisis, although a bachelor and capable of bearing arms, and only a young man. He preferred, however, to work for Rockefeller, and indications pointed to the fact that he had returned to Canada not for the purpose of the country's best welfare and advancement, but still apparently entangled in the octopus of Standard Oil interests and Rockefeller millions. The future, he said, would bear out the truth of his remarks.

Mr. Speaker, it will be perfectly apparent to hon. members of this House that statements of this kind are intended to arouse prejudice not in one direction only, but in many directions, and prejudice of the most bitter and cruel kind—prejudice in the minds of labour, prejudice in the minds of the returned soldiers, prejudice in the minds of the business community, prejudice in the minds of all patriotic citizens. The statements are absolutely false in fact and misleading in inference. They constitute as utter a slander, and as undoubted a criminal libel as any statement could possibly be. If I have not taken steps to proceed against the guilty parties, it is because I am willing to believe that they were made in complete ignorance of the facts, and that they would not have been uttered had the truth been known to those who made them, or to the journal which has given them publicity.

I do not at this moment rise to make any defence in regard to any statement which is contained in these utterances. My purpose is solely to place on record a few relevant facts, so that ignorance of the truth, or any pleading of current rumour, will not hereafter be any defence should I find it necessary and desirable to take criminal proceedings against individuals, or publications that persist in this kind of political warfare.

Were the gentlemen who have made these statements not members of learned and honourable professions, and were the paper that has given publicity to them not one which prides itself on its high place in journalism in this country, I could well afford to treat them with that contempt and indifference with which I have treated like slanderous statements in the past. I feel, however, that if I continue to allow statements of this kind to go unchallenged, in view of the publicity that has been given them, I shall be laying myself open to being misunderstood throughout the country in a manner which will not only prejudice me personally as a member of this House but also prejudice hon. gentlemen who have honoured me with the position I hold and those who accord to us political support. I have a further reason for desiring to give to the House a few relevant facts, and that is my belief that there are many persons in this country who have no desire to further either a personal injury or a public wrong, but who, owing to the currency which has been given to certain false statements and rumours, find it difficult to understand how so much publicity could be given to anything that is so absolutely without foundation.

And I have yet another reason for desiring to make this statement at this time. I see no other way in which many of my fellow-countrymen who have served this country overseas can find it possible to become acquainted with the truth, in view of statements that have been made to them concerning matters which were supposed to have taken place during the time they were absent from this country.

Sir, as I have said, these statements are utterly false and completely misleading.

First of all, there is the statement that I have resided in the United States. Permit me to say that I have lived for the last twenty years in this city of Ottawa, and have never during that time had my place of residence anywhere else. During the last ten years I have resided in the Roxborough Apartments in this city, and any member of this House who inquires of the Imperial Realty Company, the proprietors of the Roxborough, will find that at no time during the war or since have I cancelled my lease or even temporarily sublet the apartment which I occupy. The relationship which I had with the Rockefeller Foundation, and to which I shall allude in a moment, did not require or necessitate in any way my absence from Canada; nor did it as a matter of fact occasion any absence except in the most transient way. More than that, at present I have not, and for some considerable time past have not had any business connection with any commercial, financial or business interest either in the United States or in Canada. I have had none such since I was honoured with the position of the leadership of my party in August last. I have refused consistently since that time even to entertain the acceptance of a retainer or fee for any work and I have done so in order that I might devote to the public duties which devolve upon me, my entire time and attention.

Now, Sir, let me explain the nature of my relationship to the Rockefeller Foundation. First of all, the Foundation is not in any sense of the word a business or commercial enterprise. It is a philanthropic organization chartered under the laws of the State of New York in the year 1913. As described in the Act of Incorporation, it is a body corporate "for the purpose of receiving and maintaining a fund or funds and applying the interest and principal thereof to promote the well-being of mankind throughout the world." During the war its activities were for the most part in the nature of war work co-operation. It was the first organization in the United States to come to the relief of the Belgians in the matter of food and clothing. It not only assisted the Belgians but its funds were utilized to bring relief to the starving populations in portions of France as well as Belgium and to the peoples of Poland, Serbia and Armenia at the hour of their greatest need. It gave millions of dollars in assistance to Red Cross and Y.M.C.A. work in army and navy camps and communities. It equipped and maintained war demonstration hospitals, provided the services of Dr. Alexis Carrel and his staff, hospital and surgical laboratory at Compiegne, France. It carried out many other forms of war work throughout the whole of that terrible period. Apart from the war, its activities relate mainly to medical education and public health demonstration in different parts of the world. It is carrying on its beneficent operations in China, in France, in India, in Egypt and indeed in all parts of the world, and all its work is, as I have indicated, exclusively that of promoting the well-being of mankind.

My duties in connection with the Rockefeller Foundation were to make a study of the problem of industrial relations with a view to ascertaining if it were possible to contribute in any way toward the solution of that intricate and world wide problem.

I was no more in the employ of the Rockefeller interests, or of any Standard Oil interest, in my association with the Rockefeller Foundation than any librarian of a Carnegie library can be said to have been in the employ of the late Andrew Carnegie, or than teachers and professors who are the recipients of pensions from the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching can be said to be related to any steel trust or corporation.

Within the last few months, as an expression of international good-will, the Rockefeller Foundation made to the universities of this Dominion a gift of $5,000,000 to be used for research work in connection with their medical departments. The young men or professors who study under the benefits of this particular gift will occupy a position precisely similar in its relation to any Rockefeller interest to that which I did when I was appointed by the Foundation to make a study of this question of industrial relations.

May I point out that my connection with the Rockefeller Foundation was formed before the war commenced. My acceptance was given in the spring of the year before the war was thought of. At the time it was made, I had been nominated and was in the position of candidate of the Liberal party in the constituency of North York. When I was asked if I would undertake that study for the Foundation, I pointed out that if it meant any change of residence from Canada, it would be impossible for me to consider it. I was told that I could pursue my researches anywhere I wished, that there was no obligation to live at one place rather than another, that I could go to any part of the world, and have a staff of men to assist me if I so desired, in carrying out the researches which I had been asked to undertake, the sole object being to conduct a study that might be helpful as a contribution towards the solution of industrial problems.

That was the situation when the war came on. I had then to decide, just as every other man in this country had, what, under existing circumstances, it was best to do. I had to decide in relation to the Rockefeller Foundation, and the work which I had undertaken, whether I should abandon those studies altogether, or whether I should undertake them in relation to the problems which were growing out of the war. I shall mention in a moment or two certain private considerations of which I was obliged to take account in reaching a decision; but for the present I wish to confine what I have to say to the public reasons which I felt were strong enough to

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cause me to make the decision I did, a decision which I believed at the time and have ever since believed, was entirely in the right direction.

As hon. gentlemen know, the war had not proceeded very far before it became perfectly apparent that the winning of the war depended upon the successful co-operation of capital and labour in the industries that were engaged in the production of munitions, and the furnishing of war supplies and materials, as well as upon the heroic efforts of the men who were fighting at the front. The governments of the different countries recognized that to be the situation. The Government of Great Britain established, shortly after the beginning of the war, a reconstruction committee, which subsequently became the Ministry of Reconstruction in England, with a subcommittee on relations between employers and employed, to deal with the problems of industry as they arose during the war, and were likely to arise during the period of reconstruction. The Government of the United States appointed a National War Labour Board, and the Government of Canada—the present Government—appointed the Reconstruction and Development Committee of the Cabinet, with a labour subcommittee. The work of all these bodies was to study the problems arising out of the relations between capital and labour with a view, if possible, to avoiding industrial controversy in essential industries during the war and finding means for the rapid development of peaceful and helpful relations in the period after the war.

The work I was doing for the Rockefeller Foundation, both in its purpose, as research, and in its practical effort, was identical with the kind of work which was being done by persons associated with these bodies. Every man associated with any of these organizations was regarded by his fellow countrymen as rendering a much needed war service, a service for which he was specially qualified, and for which he had been chosen because of special qualifications.

My selection by the Rockefeller Foundation had been made, amongst other reasons, because of the circumstances that during a number of years I had held a position in the Department of Labour of this country as deputy minister of the department, and subsequently as minister, and during that time had had considerable to do, at first hand, and in a practical way with industrial problems. It was believed that with that experience, and with the opportunity the Foundation afforded, a useful service might be rendered.

The results of my work for the Rockefeller Foundation are published in book form. I think some hon. gentlemen may have heard of the book; and here let me say that I am sure the House will realize how extremely embarrassing it is to any one to be obliged to make a reference to his own work. But hon. gentlemen will also realize, I am sure, that if I simply make a general statement such may not prove sufficient under the circumstances. I am therefore obliged to make specific reference to some portion of the work accomplished in this connection. That is my apology and my reason of necessity for referring to one or two things which I wish to place before the House for consideration. Whether the results of my study bear at all helpfully upon the problem of reconstruction or not, hon. members will be able to see for themselves by referring to the book. It is entitled "Industry and Humanity: A Study in the Problems Underlying Industrial Reconstruction." The book consists of some 550 pages, exclusive of charts and diagrams. Every line of it was written in the city of Ottawa; every page of proof was read in this city; all of the research work was done in Canada. It was done during the war, and the book itself was published before the Armistice had been concluded. The Canadian editions have been published by Thomas Allen, of Toronto, the American by Houghton Mifflin, of Boston and New York, and the English by Constable and Co.

I presume the impression that in some way or another I was connected with the so-called Rockefeller interests grew first of all out of this association with the Foundation to which I have referred. It may also have grown out of the fact that in the early years of the war I spent quite a little time in the state of Colorado, and later, accompanied Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., through the mines of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company. May I say to hon. members that the reason I went to Colorado at the time I did was because there had been a situation there very much in the nature of an industrial civil war—it was the most serious industrial situation on this continent. I went of my own volition, under direction or suggestion from no one. I had been given a perfectly free hand by the Rockefeller Foundation to do what I thought best in the way of carrying out the work which the trustees of the Foundation

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had given me the opportunity to perform. I felt that if it were possible to demonstrate in the state of Colorado, under conditions such as existed there, that the application of certain principles to the relations of employers and employees could not do other than operate in a manner that would be helpful alike to labour, capital and the public, it would be rendering a service to industry in a place where, and at a time when it was very greatly needed. The Colorado Fuel and Iron Company was one of the companies which had been affected by the strike. It is the largest concern in that state. It employs somewhere in the neighbourhood of 12,000 workers in coal mines, iron mines, and steel works. Like other steel and coal companies, its help was required to provide essential war supplies, and it had orders from the Allies to be carried out. Because of the Rockefeller interest in that company I believed that my association with the Foundation might gain for me an exceptional opportunity, which it did. I am not going to refer to my work done in that connection. It was work done in public, and hon. members can find out its scope and significance for themselves if they are sufficiently interested in so doing. All I wish to state at the moment is that for that service—or whatever measure of service it may have been possible to render in the State of Colorado—I received no payment from any interest or from any individual directly or indirectly concerned with any of the companies with which I had to deal. I undertook the work as a part of the opportunity afforded me by the Rockefeller Foundation, and I carried it out wholly in that spirit.

If the House will permit it, I should feel deeply obliged if, at the conclusion of my remarks, I might be allowed by general consent to place on Hansard one statement which I think will accurately reveal the nature of the work done in Colorado. It is from an authority which no one in this House will question, and is an article which appeared in the Toronto Globe of October 13, 1915, entitled "Solving Colorado's Civil War by J.A.M." The article is by Dr. J. A. Macdonald, who at the time was editor-in-chief of the Globe, and who visited Colorado while I was there engaged upon the work to which I have just been referring. It was written by Dr. Macdonald at the time, was published in the Globe, and is of record there. If the House denies me the privilege of placing the article on Hansard, hon. gentlemen who may be interested at all in discovering the significance of that work or the truth concerning it will be able to do so by a reference to the files of that paper.

Solving Colorado's Civil War.
by J. A. M.

I had spent the whole day interviewing all sorts and conditions of men, and gathering all sorts of views about the one question of universal interests these days in all these mountain mining regions—Mr. Rockefeller's plan for the complete reorganization of the mining industry in the Colorado Fuel & Iron Company, in which he holds 40 per cent of the stock, and to whose conditions he has been giving a direct and personal interest during the past fortnight wholly without precedent in the history of capital and labour.

"Last week in Toronto we had Associated Press despatches to the Globe describing this unusual trip by Mr. Rockefeller, his meeting with men of all grades in all the camps and in the pits, his conference with them face to face, and his proposals to them for a fresh pack and a new deal. The despatches mentioned Mr. W. L. Mackenzie King as being the magnate's guide, philosopher and friend.

Mackenzie King's Work.

"Almost the first man I met after reaching Denver, two days ago, in the rotunda of the Brown, was Mackenzie King. He has been in Colorado a great deal of his time since joining the Rockefeller Foundation. At the very beginning of his work as Chief Executive for the study at first hand of industrial relations, Mr. King stipulated that the mining camps of Colorado where long industrial strife issued in actual civil war, and where the Foundation itself is a large holder of corporate securities, provided an immense laboratory for a comprehensive study of the essential facts, the root causes of industrial disturbances and the lines of policy to be adopted if industrial war is to make way for co-operation, prosperity and peace.

"The root idea of the old policy on both sides, both capital and labour, was competition. In the new policy the root idea is co-operation. If the seed of co-operation is nourished and comes to full fruitage it may yield co-partnership. I did not find that Mr. Rockefeller baulked at the idea of capital and labour coming to be partners in the industrial world.

"It was both interesting and significant to observe the effect of the young man's personal touch on men whose hostility was deep-seated and fierce. The great body of the miners voting by secret ballot, after hearing him expound the plan and studying it in its fully-printed form for several days, voted almost unanimously for its approval. A newspaperman who went the rounds of the camps, and whose sympathies were socialistic and anti-capitalistic, confessed to me that what he saw at close range convinced him that Rockefeller is absolutely sincere, resolved to meet the men far more than half-way, and has accepted the principles of industrial co-operation with an honest mind and a serious purpose. This view I found to prevail among the Denver newspapermen. A Chicago journalist who came to Colorado to curse returned to Chicago to bless.

A Straightforward Man.

"This indeed was the impression made on my own mind by frank conversation and close observations. I did not find this young capital-

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ist other than very straightforward and humanely sympathetic. He accepted the obligations of great wealth and stupendous industrial responsibility as a man "who must give an account."

"It was not difficult to observe the reflex influence of Mackenzie King's personality and teaching on the life and programme of John D. Rockefeller, jr. I confess that I had real misgivings about King's decision last year to undertake work with the Rockefeller Foundation. I feared its reaction on his own outlook and life work. After observing the situation in Colorado, the change of front not by King, but by Rockefeller, and studying the testimony of newspapermen and others, who assured me that all this that Rockefeller has done is in reality the result of King's careful study of industrial problems in the mines, and of his competent exposition of it to Mr. Rockefeller and his associates, I am entirely reassured. Nor was Mr. Rockefeller at all reluctant to give Mr. King full credit.

King Has Made Good.

"The terms of the new policy have already been sent to the Globe by the Associated Press, but Canadians who have watched Mr. King's steady progress as a student of industrial problems and a leader in industrial reform will be gratified to know that, in dealing with this most gigantic problem of capital and labour at the time and place when strikes, murders, civil war and two hundred indictments were the chief features, he has made abundantly good, justified his own decision of last year, brought honour to Canada's Department of Labour, which he established on sound economic foundations, and gives promise of even larger services in industry and politics in which Canada will share just as beneficially as the United States.

"Mackenzie King will always be a Canadian, makes his headquarters in Ottawa, gives only a part of his time to the Foundation's work outside of Canada, and holds his added study and wider experience for the loyal service of his native country. Certain if this new experiment in Colorado achieves what its initial prospect promises, not Canada alone but the whole industrial world will have cause for gratitude that the misfortune of politics in 1911 left Mackenzie King's hand free for a while to tackle a big man's job."

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LETTER FROM MR. J. F. WELBORN.

The Colorado Fuel and Iron Company,
Denver, Colorado.

J. F. WELBORN,
President.

December 20, 1919.

My dear Mr. KING—

In the hope that it will be of interest to you and possibly to your friends, I will set forth briefly the work done by our company under new policies inaugurated at your suggestion and operated in accordance with your advice. In doing so I have thought it proper to review the method of adoption of those policies.

You will recall that the coal strike of 1913-14 in Colorado was called off in December, 1914. Immediately thereafter, following out your suggestion, we asked employees at each of the coal mines to select one or more of their number to represent them at joint meetings with company officials for the purpose of discussing matters of mutual concern and of considering means of more effective co-operation in maintaining fair and friendly relations. In response representatives were chosen by secret ballot, the initial meeting between them and company officials being held early in January, 1915.

Frequent conferences between the different company officials and the employees' representatives, both individually and collectively, followed, and at a joint meeting of these representatives and company officials held in October, 1915, the plan of representation of employees and memorandum of agreement between them and the company (of which you made the first draft and rendered valuable assistance in perfecting) were approved, subject to adoption by the coal mine employees and the board of directors of the company. Both of these actions were taken soon thereafter, the vote of the employees being by secret ballot and showing a majority of over 84 per cent in favour of the adoption of the plan. The total number voting approximated 75 per cent of the regular working force.

It is, perhaps, only fair to say that some of the officials of the company, as well as some of the mine workmen, entertained the feeling that it would be impossible or impracticable to make the principles laid down in the industrial plan effective. However, almost without exception, both wage earners and management officials accepted the new régime established with the determination to do their utmost to make it a success. That we have succeeded there is no doubt in the minds of either the wage earners, company officials or the public which our industry serves.

Under the provisions of the plan, employees have not only actively participated in the work of preventing and adjusting differences, but have taken a very active part in establishing a community spirit in the several camps and in improving working and living conditions, including a consideration of character of dwelling houses to be built, the management of club houses, improvement in educational facilities, the adoption of means of recreation suitable to the entire population of the camp and the introduction of ideas tending to reduce accidents

and make the work of coal mining more safe.

Hardly a month passes without the adoption by the management of recommendations made by the Safety and Accidents Committees, which are composed of an equal number of miners and company officials.

No differences with the employees have arisen that were not readily and satisfactorily adjusted through the machinery provided in the industrial plan. The nation-wide strike of November 1 was opposed by a large majority of our employees, as was evidenced by their expressions through secret ballot and the fact that it did not materially affect our production.

The improved living conditions at our mines and the assurance of fair treatment under the operation of the industrial plan are responsible, we believe, for a lack of shortage of miners at our properties, when a general shortage exists in other mining districts. It may be of interest to you to know that when a committee representing the National Fuel Association, in a survey of coal mining conditions in the country, visited our properties it expressed surprise that we were working with a full force of men and employed no labour agents to secure mine workmen from other sections.

A recent report of the Committee of Recreation and Education in Huerfano county, where we operate seven mines, contained a statement, significant of the influence of that committee on school questions, which read as follows:

"Mrs. Martha M. Thorne, County Superintendent of Schools of Huerfano county, called at Ideal, relative to school there. During the course of our interview she said that the school problem in Huerfano county, from the standpoint of her office, was no difficult problem, as the schools located in the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company camps were kept in an up-to-date condition in every respect, and that other schools in the country tried, as far as possible, to imitate them."

The various changes in wage rates that have taken place during the last four years have been made by unanimous action of employees' representatives and company officials in conference.

During the winter of 1916-17, prior to the time the United States entered the world war, the employees' representatives and company officials entered on a campaign for increased coal production at our mines to help meet the abnormal calls on this country's mines from our own factories and for export to the allies. In January, 1917, our average output per day per miner was 5.83 tons. This was gradually increased until 6.33 tons per day average was reached in May, 1917. Interest in this movement was kept alive and further stimulated by a campaign for increased production inaugurated by the National Fuel Administration in the summer of 1918, with the result that monthly increases in daily production per man were made, the high mark of 7.26 tons being recorded in October, 1918, which latter figure represented an increase of approximately 25% over the average daily production at the beginning of 1917. During this campaign for greater efficiency the employees at each mine selected Production Committees of their own, in whose hands the management placed the power to grant leaves of absence to workmen, and as a result unnecessary lost time was reduced from 10% in June, 1918, to slightly over 4% in October of that year.

The increased efficiency shown by greater production and less idle time made a record that, so far as we are able to learn, was not equalled elsewhere. The best figures obtainable indicate that in other important coal fields the workmen "lay off" from 15% to 20% of the time that the mines work.

The plan of representation of employees was adopted at the steel works, in the same manner as at the coal mines, early in 1916, and, without going into detail, its operation there has been along the same lines and with the same success as at the mining properties.

In a series of conferences between employees' representatives and company officials an actual eight-hour working day was adopted at the steel works in 1918 in the place of the former twelve-hour day, which had always prevailed in the steel industry, and which, generally speaking, is still in effect in other steel manufacturing plants in this country.

In the purchase of Liberty Bonds and contributions to the various war funds our employees at the steel plant and mining properties participated to the extent of practically 100%. Campaigns for these funds were conducted by committees composed principally, and in many instances entirely, of wage earners, and developed a friendly rivalry between the various properties in the mining department, as well as between that department and the steel department.

We are confident that the spirit and effectiveness with which our employees responded to the Government's call for increased efficiency and financial help in the war are at least equal to what was done along similar lines in any other industry in this country, and we are very sure that too much credit for this accomplishment cannot be given to the machinery, controlling the relationships between the company management and its wage earners, which was proposed by you, and in the operation of which, since its installation, we have had the benefit of your frequent advice. Indeed, I feel that the part you have had in the establishment of the new and better relationships in our industry represents a contribution to the late war of inestimable value. I can consistently so express myself, because I had some misgivings as to the wisdom of the course you laid out for us, and am now convinced it has exceeded the most sanguine expectations expressed at its beginning.

With kind regards,
Yours sincerely,
(signed) J. F. WELBORN.

Mr. W. L. Mackenzie King,
The Roxborough,
Ottawa, Canada.

After the Colorado work had received some public attention, I began to receive from the heads of several of the large industries in the United States communications asking if I would come and make a study of their industrial conditions with a view to advising them as to methods of forming joint boards of employers and employees and aiding in the prevention and settlement of industrial differences. I have a number of such letters—I do not intend to read them, nor shall I ask that they be placed on Hansard—but I shall be very pleased to show the communications to any hon. gentleman who may be interested in seeing

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them. I shall give to the House the names of some of the industrial concerns by which I was asked to come and lend assistance in matters of industrial controversy. It will then be open to any member of this House, or to any individual in the country, to write to the heads of these concerns or to the employees connected with them, and ascertain for himself exactly the nature of the service rendered.

When in September of last year, at the time I was about to contest the riding of Prince, I saw that statements of the kind I have been dealing with this afternoon were being busily circulated, I wrote to several of the different industrial concerns by whom my services had been retained and asked if there were any objection to making reference in public to the nature of the work which I had been asked to perform. I had felt that having been retained as an industrial adviser there was a certain obligation upon me to regard any service that I might have been able to render as confidential, and for that reason, as well as having no desire to traffic in patriotism for political ends, I had sought up to that time carefully to avoid any reference at all to work done during the period of the war.

I should like to place on Hansard two or three of the letters which were sent in reply, and which will speak for themselves. Hon. gentlemen will see in a moment that they are from some of the largest and most important industries in the United States, industrial concerns that had very much to do with the production of war materials and the furnishing of war supplies. These communications have been received by me in answer, as I have said, to my inquiry of these companies as to whether I might feel at liberty to make public reference to certain services rendered during the war.

The letter I have in my hand is from the Bethlehem Shipbuilding Corporation, Limited, of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, and is written by Mr. J. W. Powell, Vice-President of the company. At the time my services were requested by this particular industry, in the connection I have mentioned, it was employing 70,000 men. Mr. Powell writes:

Bethlehem Shipbuilding Corporation Limited.
Bethlehem, Pa., September 22, 1919.

Mr. W. L. Mackenzie King,
The Roxborough,
Ottawa, Ontario.

Dear Sir:—I am very glad to take this opportunity to tell you in a form that you may use as you may see fit, that we found your advice and counsel at the time we called on you in the spring of 1918, in connection with the labour situation in our shipyards, of very great benefit in assisting us to arrive at a plan of action that would help us to preserve industrial peace and to improve relations between the company and its employees.

At the time we asked for assistance, there was a great deal of unrest among our labour and we believe that the advice you gave us was of material assistance in reducing this unrest and in correspondingly increasing the efficiency in the production of ships.

As this company is far and away the largest shipbuilding concern in the world and as it produced a very large percentage of all the ships actually completed in this country during the period of its participation in the war, i.e., something like 60 per cent of the destroyers and over 20 per cent of the merchant craft, your assistance was evidently of real value from the standpoint of helping to win the war.

Yours very truly,
Bethlehem Shipbuilding Corporation, Ltd.
By (signed) J. W. POWELL,
Vice-President.

The next communication is from the Bethlehem Steel Company of South Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, and is written by Mr. E. G. Grace, the President of that company. At the time I visited Bethlehem, this concern was employing about 50,000 workers. Mr. Grace writes:

Bethlehem Steel Company.
South Bethlehem, Pennsylvania,
September 26, 1919.

Dear Mr. King:—My attention has just been called to an article which appeared recently in the London Telegraph relating to the accomplishment of the Ministry of Munitions of the British Government in the late war.

Naturally I was interested in reading a statement, referred to therein, made by the Deputy Minister of Munitions and in which he said:

"Reference was made by Mr. Asquith to the fact that large orders for shells were placed in the United States of America and Canada before the Ministry of Munitions was started. Such orders were placed. They were orders for complete rounds, but when the time came for delivery the components were not forthcoming, and the shell bodies had to be brought over and completed in this country with components produced by the Ministry of Munitions. An exception to this statement must be made in regard to the Bethlehem supplies, which were well delivered and proved of immense service to the armies."

I think it is now well recognized that if it had not been for the assistance our plants were privileged to give to the Allies previous to the entry of this government in this war the result might have been different.

In reflecting the credit for the achievements of this country, which is shared by every one of our employees who contributed to the result of the outcome, I cannot in this connection refrain from calling to mind with much appreciation the great work to which you gave your time and talent during the world's crisis.

At a crucial time when we were contending with an unprecedented industrial unrest, your counsel and advice in the construction and development of a plan which when installed proved most conducive to promoting cordial relations with our employees during the emergency, resulting in the obtaining of the maximum efficiency in the production of war munitions, constituted I feel a real service not only to this country but to the Allies during the war.

Yours very truly,
(Signed) E. G. GRACE,
President.

Mr. W. L. Mackenzie King,
The Roxborough,
Ottawa, Canada.

I have here a letter from the General Electric Company, which is another of the largest and most important industrial concerns on this continent. During the war it was employing over 50,000 workers, 12,000 or 13,000 of whom were engaged in the particular branch of which Mr. Richard H. Rice, the acting manager and writer of this letter, was then in charge. His letter is as follows:

General Electric Company.
WEST LYNN, MASS, September 29, 1919.

Mr. W. L. MACKENZIE KING,
The Roxborough,
Ottawa, Ontario.

DEAR SIR,—During the great war it was the privilege of the General Electric Company to do effective work in the creation and production of devices of direct assistance in the winning of that war.

Of these devices perhaps the most directly useful ones were those which enabled the submarine warfare to be effectively combatted.

These devices were in the nature of detectors and they are so effective that they enabled submarines in motion to be located 30 miles away; their course of motion plotted and intercepted; and even submarines quiescent on the bottom of the ocean were located and destroyed. These devices were largely used by the British and American navies both in the waters directly about the United Kingdom and also in Italian waters and off the American coast.

Other apparatus produced by our company is too numerous to mention; shells, shell cases, fuses, airplane compasses, portable army searchlights, wireless telephone apparatus, and a thousand and one other devices were actively produced in large quantities for the use of the United States Government and for the Allied forces.

I mention these matters not for the purpose of glorifying the work of the General Electric Company in the war, but to indicate that our industry was considered as an absolutely essential one. This is perhaps also shown by the fact that the United States Government sent a large body of troops to our Lynn works without any knowledge of the management, for the purpose of protecting it against destruction by bombs or otherwise.

If it is admitted that our industry was an essential one, it must also be admitted that contentment of the labouring forces, continuity of operations and freedom from labour disturbances was an essential feature. In connection with this matter, and particularly at the time of greatest stress, when the production of the works was temporarily interrupted by a general strike, and for the period since that time, we have been greatly indebted to your sound, intelligent, progressive and humanitarian advice; and profiting by this advice we have established at our Lynn works a system of industrial relations which gives our employees a large voice in the determination of working conditions and conditions of employment. This, in my opinion, puts us in the forefront among organizations of industry in dealing with the human problem.

I was intimately associated with you for some time in the discussions which preceded the adoption of this method of dealing and have had direct charge of the workings of it since that time, and I know the value of your advice and the inspiration which it has given me in carrying out the work.

Yours very truly,
(Signed) RICHARD H. RICE,
Acting Manager.

I may say that the letter from Mr. Rice was accompanied by one from Mr. E. W. Rice, junior, the president of the company, mentioning the extension of the plan adopted by the Lynn works to the other factories of the company, and endorsing what Mr. Richard Rice had written.

One other communication to which I would ask hon. gentlemen kindly to listen is from the Great Western Sugar Company which has its factories in Colorado, Wyoming, Nebraska, and Montana—some fourteen in all—and which during the war was employing some 7,000 workers. This letter from the president of that company reads:

The Great Western Sugar Company.
General Offices,
Sugar Building.
DENVER, COLORADO, U.S.A.,
November 4, 1919.

Mr. W. L. MACKENZIE KING,
The Roxborough,
Ottawa, Canada.

My dear Mr. King:—Upon my return to this city after an absence of about three months, I find your valued communication of September 17, and hasten to acknowledge it.

Let me say at the outset that in my opinion the service which you rendered American industry during the war was not only a distinct contribution to the Allied cause during that period, but has been of great value during the trying times since the signing of the Armistice.

I am able to speak more specifically concerning our own industry. The matter of furnishing an adequate supply of sugar for the military forces as well as for the civilian population was generally recognized as one of the serious problems of the war. The beet sugar industry is one composed not alone of manufacturing plants which can be speeded up at will; it comprises, in addition to the factories, thousands of farms and farmers, and thousands of field and factory workers. To function most effectively there must be the utmost co-operation and understanding between these various groups. Realizing this, and realizing also that

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an unbiased outsider would probably be able to analyze and view the problems of the industry more clearly than any one within it, we invited you to make a general survey of our operations, with the particular purpose in view of obtaining suggestions and plans which would insure a harmonious relationship between two various groups in the business.

All of us who were in contact with you during your vigorous and thorough examination of our situation appreciate the value of your contribution. It was a contribution the effects of which did not cease with the ending of the war. During the present troublous period it is very gratifying, and must be particularly so to you, to know that our operations are proceeding so smoothly. In our own case, our production this season will be from 20 to 25 per cent greater than for the previous season. The production of an extra 40,000 or 50,000 tons of such a concentrated foodstuff as sugar at a time like this is, in my humble opinion, of considerable value to everybody.

I assure you that it is a privilege to be able to express myself to you in this sense. With assurances of my high respect and regard,

Believe me,

Sincerely yours,

(signed) W. L. PETRIKIN,
President.

I might quote also from other equally important concerns. I have here a letter from Mr. Harold F. McCormick, the President of the International Harvester Company, which has some 35,000 employees in the United States and Canada, one from Mr. J. H. Wheelwright, the late President of the Consolidation Coal Company, which operates mines in Pennsylvania, Maryland, West Virginia and Kentucky, and employs from 8,000 to 9,000 workers; one from Mr. C. S. Robinson, Vice-president of the Youngstown Sheet and Tube Company of Youngstown, Ohio, which has about 10,000 employees; and letters from the officers or directors of other less important concerns. All go to show that these gentlemen at least regarded that I had been able to render a substantial service to the industries with which they are connected and which were essential in time of war, and are essential industries at the present time.

I have referred to these matters to illustrate why, recognizing the opportunity which was mine when the war came on, having had to take into account, as I had, certain personal obligations as well as previous training and equipment, I took then what I believed to be the course that would enable me to take the most useful part that I could possibly take in the service of my country and the cause of the allies at that time; and why I continue to believe I was not wrong in the judgment I then formed.

Mr. Speaker, I should be at a loss to understand how it is conceivable that two such gentlemen as those I have mentioned, members of honourable and learned professions could stoop to the deliverances they have and go on then to imply that there was some kind of continuing relationship on my part with industries in the United States calculated to prove inimical to Canada, were it not that recently there has appeared in the Canadian press a despatch which refers to a survey made for the Standard Oil Company of Indiana in January of last year. Let me point this out to my hon. friends, so that there will be no misunderstanding: I have said that during the period of the war I had no connection of any kind with any industry that was associated with Standard Oil interests. That is true. Since the war, and after all the work to which I have to-day alluded had been completed, I received from the chairman of the board of directors of the Standard Oil Company of Indiana a communication asking if I would make a survey of the company's plants and assist the company in drawing up some plan of joint councils between the company and its employees which would be of service in helping to maintain good relations. I accepted that opportunity and spent a few weeks making a study of the working conditions of the men employed in that industry, with results that are apparent in the despatch to which I have made reference.

Let me say, so that there can be no misunderstanding as to the nature of any of the work done, at any time, that all of it was in the nature of assisting in the formation of joint industrial councils much along the line recommended in the report of the Whitley Committee, and which at a conference held in the city of Ottawa last summer between employers and employees, was endorsed as a method of procedure highly in the interests of both capital and labour. It consisted in setting out known and orderly methods of procedure for the adjustment of industrial differences, in the providing of machinery for conciliation and arbitration for the prevention and settlement of industrial controversies; in giving to labour a voice in the determination of its own working and living conditions, and in the framing of joint agreements as to terms of employment, working and living conditions by which rights were specifically defined and to which reference could be made in case of dispute between employer and employees. In every instance there was a provision that nothing in the arrangements come to, or in the agreements made should deprive any man of the right to belong to any legitimate union. I mention

that lest by any chance there might be an endeavour from any quarter to misconstrue anything in that connection.

I have taken the trouble to find the despatch which appeared in the Chicago papers and to which reference was made in our own papers, and which I take to be the ground upon which the gentlemen in Montreal had based their reference to a continuing relationship on my part with some American companies. The following is the despatch as it appears in the Chicago Tribune of February 19, 1920. It is headed "11,000 Standard Oil Aids Fix Own Pay Rate—Get 11.11 per cent Boost and Six-Day Week," and is as follows:

11,000 Standard Oil Aids Fix Own Pay Raise.

Get 11.11 % Boost and Six-Day Week.

A wage increase of 11.11 per cent for 11,000 refinery workers was announced yesterday by the Standard Oil Company of Indiana. Coincidentally, all shift men go from a seven-day week to a six-day week, a radical change in the company's manufacturing policy. The new schedule becomes effective on March 1, and it applies in refineries at Whiting, Ind., Wood River, Ill., Sugar Creek, Mo., and Caspar and Greybull, Wyo.

What is most significant is the fact that the new wage and hour schedule was worked out by the employees themselves, through the agency of their industrial councils.

Last June, as a step in "democracy in industry," the Standard Oil Company established an employees' council system, drawn up by W. L. Mackenzie King, leader of the Liberal party in Canada. Through joint committees, on which the men and management have equal representation, the workers were given a direct voice in the adjustment of wages and hours.

Work Out Six-Day System.

The process of gasoline manufacture is such that refineries must be operated every hour of the day, every day of the week. Up to 1915, shift workers worked twelve-hour shifts seven days a week. The company in that year put in an eight-hour shift with an increase, giving the men as much pay for eight hours' work as they had been getting for twelve. But the seven-day week was continued.

After the industrial council system was adopted, Col. R. W. Stewart, head of the board of directors, asked the employees' councils to work out a scheme that would make a six-day week practicable.

The result is a new schedule, which gives all shift workers thirty-two consecutive hours off each week. Under the old plan the men worked fifty-six hours a week; under the new they work 50.4, or a net reduction of 5.6 hours a week. The 11.11 per cent increase in wages makes the pay for six days equal to that received under the old seven-day week.

Others also Boosted.

A similar increase of 11.11 per cent in hourly wages is also declared for refinery workers other than shift men. Hours are not to be changed, except that men working forty-four hours a week may increase it to forty-eight hours, if they wish. This affects common labourers, machinists, blacksmiths, boiler makers and others.

I have here a letter from Mr. R. W. Stewart, the chairman of the board of directors of that company, and from which I shall read only one paragraph. It was received in reply to the circular communication I sent out last fall. The paragraph I am about to read explains the nature and circumstances of the request made of me by the company. The letter is dated Chicago, October 7, 1919, in it Mr. Stewart says:

When I was selected as chief executive of this company, I became convinced that there was lack of contact between the employees and the management of the company, and that the situation was one which, if not cared for, would possibly result in great harm by reason of misunderstandings, suspicion and ignorance of the conditions. I looked over the field of advisers on questions of this kind very carefully, and, after the most painstaking search, selected you as the best equipped, ablest and most conscientious adviser in the field. The board of directors of this company agreed with me, and you were invited to examine our plants and look into the conditions under which our twenty-two thousand employees were working, and to formulate a plan which would insure the fullest contact, and, once established, would be maintained to the satisfaction and betterment of all of us. You undertook the work, spent many weeks in personally examining our plants and workmen, and finally reported to the management a plan which has met the approval of the employees and the management of this company, and is actually working out to the satisfaction of the entire organization. We all consider it the best plan of industrial relations in existence, and believe that it comprehends and includes the strength of all plans of this kind ever suggested and the weakness of none of them. It is daily strengthening the bonds of good-will, confidence and understanding in our entire organization.

Let me point out a feature mentioned in the paragraph just quoted as true also of the other concerns of which I have spoken that as regards all of these joint councils, they were worked out and adopted only after approval by the employees as well as by the management.

I have nothing further to say in regard to the public reasons which actuated me in taking the course I did during the period of the war and which I believe enabled me to perform a kind and measure of service greater than any I could have performed in any other way, had there been like opportunity to take any other course. I would ask the House to permit me to refrain from the spoken word, and to read in conclusion just a few words in reference to the personal reasons which were also a controlling factor in guiding me in my actions during the period of the war.

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There remains the statement that I was young, and a bachelor. I am now in my forty-sixth year. When the war commenced, I was in my fortieth year. Shortly before that time, my father, a barrister and solicitor, and one of the lecturers at the Law School in Toronto, was stricken with blindness, and obliged to give up the practice of law and lecturing at the Law School. He and my mother and unmarried sister lived together at our home in Toronto. My brother, who for a number of years was a practising physician in this city, some little time prior to the war, after an attack of influenza complicated by double pneumonia, developed tuberculosis, and was obliged to give up the practice of his profession and for the greater part of two years to spend his time in a sanatorium. Later, he and his wife and little children took up permanent residence in Colorado. There was no one left to share the responsibilities of our home under these sad and trying circumstances, but my married sister and myself. My married sister had, as well, her own family to consider.

On April 4, 1915, within the first few months of the war, my unmarried sister died. That left my father and mother alone. On August 30, 1916, my father died. After spending a few weeks with my invalid brother in Denver, and two or three months with my married sister, my mother came to reside with me at the Roxborough, here in Ottawa. My mother was critically ill most of the year she was with me, and on December 18, 1917, she, too, died. My brother, I rejoice to say, though still an invalid, has fought his disease so successfully as to be able to publish a book, entitled "The Battle With Tuberculosis and How to Win It," which has found a place in our military hospitals. The inscription of this volume, "Gratefully and affectionately dedicated to my wife and to my brother," speaks for itself.

As I look back upon those years of the war, so full of poignant suffering for the whole of mankind, I cannot but experience a sense of gratitude, that in that world ordeal it was given to me to share in so intimate a way the sufferings of others, and, with it all, so large a measure of opportunity to do my duty, as God gave it to me to see my duty, at that time.

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1 June 1920 House of Commons

THE LIBERAL TARIFF PLATFORM
AND MR. FIELDING'S AMENDMENT

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File Tariffs

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TARIFF COMMISSION

Urged it would lend stability to business.

It is wrong in principle - impracticable in operation.

Only people's representatives should have power to impose taxes.

And proposal to vest the control of the tariff in an independent commission is equivalent to delegating the taxing power to a body not directly responsible to the people.

Tariff Commission in United States acts only in an advisory capacity.

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Honourable gentlemen have found satisfaction in the circumstances that, in the views to which expression has been given on this side of the House on the subject of the Tariff, there has been a variety of opinion as to what, in special circumstances and under exceptional conditions, or as to what, regardless altogether of circumstances or conditions, should be the attitude of government towards certain or all of the industries of the country. They, and the press which is supporting them, seem to regard it as a sign of weakness that an honourable member should speak his whole mind in regard to a great question which necessarily admits of an almost infinite variety of opinion, because perchance it may reveal a narrower or broader outlook than that of his neighbour.

Let me assure my honourable friends that weakness lies, not in a free and untrammelled expression of opinion on any subject, but in the surrender of opinion against conviction, or its advocacy, in matters of public concern, because of private rather than of public interest. Strong men will always have strong convictions, and will never hesitate to give them full expression in public. The weak, the narrow man, is the one whose horizon is so restricted that he is unable to admit into the regions of his thought

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bodies of opinion differing from his own, or who, frankly recognizing and admitting differences in many particulars, is unwilling, in an endeavour to reach some good that is in the public interest, to give way in extremes or non-essentials to join hands with those of his neighbours who think and feel as he thinks and feels on fundamentals and essentials.

Let me assure my honourable friends, and the press that is so interested in seeking to have it appear that men of liberal thought and feeling in this House are at sixes and sevens, that if it is an exhibition of united action they desire to see, they will not have long to wait. The amendment of my honourable friend, the member for Queens and Shelburne, may not express all that every honourable member on this side of the House might like it to express; it may not express all that every Liberal or every farmer or workingman throughout the country might like it to express; but it does express, I believe, what every person of limited means in Canada to-day, every man and woman baffled and distraught by the problems to which the high cost of living is giving rise, believes to be right and necessary at this time. As such, it will receive in this House the united support of those who are more concerned with the promotion

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of human well-being than with the safeguarding of material wealth in the hands of a privileged few who seek to reap where they sow not, and gather where they have not strawed.

Let us look at the amendment moved by my honourable friend, which I have had the privilege to second. What is it that it seeks to express? As I interpret its meaning, as I read its purpose, it is to voice in this Parliament the demand of the people of all classes and of all shades of opinion for a relief from burdens and restrictions which had become heavy before the commencement of the War, and which have become intolerable when coupled with the added burdens the War has imposed. The people had a right to expect this relief at the present session of Parliament. They had that right on two grounds to both of which expression has is given in the amendment. The first was that it had been promised, if not directly, at least indirectly by the Government over a year ago.

How has that promise been met. Let me read the words of the amendment:

> "The Minister of Finance, in the Budget Speech, in the session of 1919, gave assurance to the House that during the ensuing parliamentary recess there would be a public inquiry by the minister and one or more of his colleagues into the operation of the customs tariff, with a view to a general revision of the tariff at the following session."

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There was the promissory note of one Minister of Finance. How has it been met? By another promissory note of another Finance Minister. Different ministers, it is true, but the same government and the same method of proceeding. As I said, if the undertaking of ministers has any meaning at all, the people had a right to expect a general revision of the tariff at this session, in view of the pledge given over a year ago. But of what value are the pledges of this Ministry?

The other ground on which the people had a right to expect relief from existing burdens of customs taxation is that given in the substantive portion of the resolution. It is independent altogether of any promise, conditional or absolute, by this or any other government. It expresses an imperative need; it is based on grounds of the wisest and most obvious public policy, whether considered in relation to the demands of consumers, the requirements of producers, or the unrest existing throughout the Dominion. Let me read this part of the amendment:

> "That in view of the continued increase in the high cost of living, of the greatly increased burden of taxation, of the hardship which many of the people suffer from these causes, and the unrest naturally arising therefrom; and in view of the desirability of adopting measures to increase production and effect such relief to consumers and producers as may be within the power of Parliament,

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the House is of opinion that, pending a wider revision of the tariff, substantial reductions of the burdens of customs taxation should 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."

Note, Mr. Speaker, the threefold purpose aimed at in what is proposed by the amendment:

1. Relief to consumers - by the diminishing of the very high cost of living which presses so severely on the masses of the people.

2. Increase of production - by the reducing of the cost of the instruments of production in the industries based on the natural resources of the Dominion.

3. Allaying of unrest - as a natural consequence of affording relief in the directions indicated.

Could anything be more apparent than the need for such course of action at the present time? That need, as I said, was great before the War. It has become infinitely greater with the burdens and obligations the War has imposed. May I add that if it has become greater since the War, it has become greater still since the introduction of his budget by

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my honourable friend, with the added burdens and restrictions on living and trade which it has imposed.

Let me examine the need a little in detail.

The need, first, of some reduction, where that is possible, in the very high cost of living, as it bears upon the masses of the people. And here, Mr. Speaker, let us forget if we can the circumstances and associations which circumscribe our individual lives, and seek for a moment to get a mental picture of the home life and home struggles of the great majority of people in this Dominion. Begin, if you will, with the young - not the infants or the children, I shall speak of them later on when I come to the home and its obligations - but the young man and woman seeking to make his or her own way in the world, and hoping for the day when it may be possible to have that most sacred and blessed of human association, a home of one's own. Is it not, from the economic point of view, in the national interest, as well as in the interest of social and moral well-being, that this opportunity, this joy, this right, should not be denied or postponed because of burdens and restrictions which are wholly artificial, and which, by an act of this Parliament might in large measure be entirely removed.

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Let us advance a step farther. Let us look at the homes that are already established, the homes that are crowded, one beside the other, one on top of the other, in the congested areas of our cities; or scattered in solitary and lonely isolation, in mountainous recesses or over the wide stretches of the plains; or the more fortunate homes in our urban and rural communities which know nothing of overcrowding on the one hand or isolation on the other. Take them where you will, go into any you please: and there, in nine cases out of ten, whether there be no family at all or a family small or large, or three generations beneath the same roof, you will find in that home joys somewhat diminished, the home anxieties and trials somewhat increased, by the problem of what to-day it is costing for the simple necessities of life, for food in sufficiency to eat, clothing in sufficiency to wear, and shelter in sufficiency comfortably to house.

Nor is this condition confined to any one class or to any one calling in our human society. If we exempt only those individuals who are fortunate in their large incomes or large savings, it is a condition which affects every home in the land, and affects it in a manner which is prejudicial to much that is best in family life.

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It is the high cost of living which is the real problem in Canada to-day, as it is in other countries throughout the world. It is not that the Government has failed to solve the problem that we criticize and condemn it, but that in the budget just brought down it has failed to keep its pledge to revise the tariff at this session and, instead of taking some of the burdens off consumers, and some of the restrictions off producers, it has added further burdens and restrictions by some of the taxes it has imposed, and the method of their imposition.

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I have spoken of the satisfaction which honourable gentlemen opposite, and the press which have been giving them support, have found in the free expression of opinion which has given from this side of the House to views entertained by individual members on the subject of the Tariff. In seeking to emphasize differences, they have discovered in the extremes of opinion, they have overlooked altogether the ground that is held in common, the unanimity with which all are prepared to support the amendment, demanding as it does an immediate reduction of customs duties on articles of food, clothing, and shelter, with a view to a reduction in the high cost of living, and on instruments of production, in industries based on the natural resources of the country, with a view to an increase in production.

What is true as respects their attitude on this amendment is equally true as respects their attitude towards the platform of the Liberal Party on the subject of the tariff as laid down at the National Liberal Convention in August last. It has been said that there were differences of opinion among the delegates who attended that Convention, that some were free trade in their sympathies and others protectionist in their sympathies. The press reports of

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the Convention have been scanned to prove that such was the case, and where the reports were inadequate, reference has been made to current rumours of what transpired, so to speak, behind the scenes. Well, Sir., what did transpire; what was actually said, and what did actually happen? The Convention, to begin with, was the largest representative political gathering ever held in this country. It was attended by delegates from every constituency from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The delegates were not selected from above, the choice of any one individual or of any class; they were chosen in a democratic way by men and women of liberal thought and feeling in the several constituencies; they came from all parts and were representative of all classes and interests. They were there in numbers from the prairie provinces of Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba. They were there from the towns and cities and rural districts of Ontario and Quebec. They were there from the Maritime Provinces by the Atlantic, and from British Columbia by the Pacific. The call for the Convention had gone out months before it was held, and for months before that it was known that the Convention would meet in the summer of 1919, and that its main duty would be that of laying down a policy for the party on the vital issues of the day, and in particular upon the all-important question of the tariff. For three

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dggs, the Convention was in session, morning, afternoon, and night. Were there differences of opinion expressed during that time? Certainly there were. Differences of opinion on the tariff? Certainly there were differences expressed then just as they have been in the course of this debate. The assemblage was not one of Egyptian mummies; ~~if~~ nèither was it a gathering of men cast in a common mould, or men whose identities or individualities were shrivelled or lost under the glance of a Prime Minister or the edict of an autocratic government. It was a gathering of free men, expressing freely the will of a free people. In that vast throng, there were many and wide divergences of view. For days together there was argument and debate. Then came the conclusion of the whole matter. Did the men of extreme view win the day? Did the Free Traders gain acceptance in entirety of their views? Did those of protection sympathy gain a like acceptance of theirs? Or was it the great body of solid opinion which seeks to avoid extremes and looks for the ground that can be held in common, that ultimately won? Let the resolutions speak for themselves.

The fact which for the moment I desire to make clear is not ~~that~~ the one my honourable friends opposite are seeking to emphasize, namely: that differences of opinion were expressed

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at the Convention - they are welcome to all the comfort they can get out of that circumstance - but the fact, which is the really vital one and which was the outstanding feature of the Convention, that men of extreme views were ready, in the interest of the masses of the people of this country, to forego insistence upon an acceptance of them, and to unite with their fellow Liberals of all shades of opinion in the unanimous acceptance of a resolution which embodied the common ground for which all were prepared to contend.

Let me read the resolution on the tariff adopted at the National Liberal Convention, which, as I have stated, was adopted unanimously. It will be apparent the moment it is read that, in drafting his amendment my honourable friend for Queens and Shelburne has had ~~this~~ this resolution before him. His amendment not only embodies what is fundamental in the resolution of the Liberal Convention; but it follows the very wording. True, the resolution of the Convention goes farther than the amendment of my honourable friend, it is more in detail; but the resolution of the Convention is a part of a political platform in its entirety, and is related to a course to be pursued by a party once it is in office. The amendment of my honourable friend refers to what should be done here and now, pending the wider revision which, as he states, must necessarily be made later on.

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Let me read the resolution of the National Liberal Convention:

Where, Mr. Speaker, is there departure from that resolution in spirit or, for that matter, in letter, in the amendment of my honourable friend? As I have already said, the amendment relates to a course of action to be taken here and now, in the light of circumstances as they exist at the moment. The resolution of the Liberal Convention goes farther and indicates in detail the course to be followed by the Liberal Party, and for the following of which it will be accountable to the people should it in the near future be entrusted by the people of Canada with the government of this country.

Sir, there is nothing in the platform of the Liberal Party, as laid down at the National Liberal Convention, which has not been contended for by Liberals and the Liberal Party as a whole for many years, both in this House and throughout the country. Of the resolution I have read, there is, one

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might say, not a line which had not been moved in this House and voted upon in the name of the Liberal Party before the Convention was held; there is not a sentence of the whole which had not, before his death, both the pronounced approval and the powerful advocacy of Sir Wilfrid Laurier. Indeed, the very last speech made by Sir Wilfrid was devoted in most part to the great need for the Convention's resolution. He was taken, just at the moment he was about to give battle to honourable gentlemen opposite on this very issue; but the standard he carried was not allowed to drop, nor shall it ever be furled till it crown the day of ultimate victory.

Repeated revisions of the tariff downward, and the adoption and increase of the British Preference - these were features of a policy which helped to make the fifteen years of Sir Wilfrid's administration the golden era of peace and plenty for Canada by which it will ever be recalled. Free food and freer trade - these were the features of the policy for which he fought and suffered political defeat in the Reciprocity campaign of 1911. These principles are not alone a part of present Liberal policy; they are inseparable from Liberal tradition. If their application in the past, where effected, helped to bring prosperity to our country, if their

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defeat, where accomplished, served only to make heavier the burdens and restrictions of the present, there is surely not less of wisdom than of necessity in their extended application through the years to come.

My honourable friend, the Minister of Marine and Fisheries, in the course of the present debate, read to the House from an Eastern paper an account of a political meeting which I addressed while in the city of St. John. He seemed impatient to have the House and the country believe that I had one policy for the East, and another for Ontario, and might possibly have another for the West. It was natural, perhaps, that such a thought should enter the mind of my honourable friend. He and some of his associates in the present Government, in seeking to have the public believe that they can be Liberals, and at the same time members of a Tory administration, just because it bears the name of Unionist, may think it is possible to be all.things to all men. But let me assure my honourable friend that it was a very different sort of thing that St. Paul had in mind, and that it would require a greater than Paul to play that role in the present Cabinet. They are deceiving none but themselves.

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I have no desire to imitate that kind of performance. The policy I outlined in the East was, as my honourable friend from Quebec East who accompanied me knows, and as other honourable members of this House who were present at the several meetings addressed also know, the policy that I have outlined in the course of my remarks this afternoon. It is the policy entrusted to me by the Liberals of Canada, which I accepted and pledged myself to advocate, when honoured by the Convention with the position which at the moment I am privileged to fill. It is the policy which I am looking forward to presenting to the electors of the West at the first favourable opportunity; it is the policy upon which we on thise side of the House are prepared to give battle to honourable gentlemen opposite at any moment, and upon which the people of Canada are entitled to have an opportunity to pronounce without further usurpation of their right, to a parliament that is truly representative and to a Government whose policies accord with the people's will.

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And this leads me, Mr. Speaker, to say just a word to those men and women of Liberal thought and feeling, by whatever name they care to call themselves, be it Liberal, or Reformer, or Grit, or Liberal Unionist; be it Grain Grower, or United Farmer; be it Labor or Progressive; be it anything you will like - if what you are really concerned about is the building up of a new political order in which, in matters of government, considerations of human well-being shall outweigh all considerations of material wealth, in which thought shall be first for human lives and human needs, not forgetting all that may be legitimately owing to trade and industry in their many ramifications, and to all classes in our organized society: Is it not time that you pause and observe for the moment the tactics of your common enemy? Already the plan of campaign is as plain as day. The method of it, I have already disclosed, in referring to the zeal with which, in both the spoken and the written word, he seeks to emphasize differences in extremes and non-essentials, and with those barbed-wire entanglements to spread confusion over ground that is held in common by all who really feel and think alike. Keep the hosts opposite divided - that is the word that has issued from the headquarters command. Behind a barrage of propaganda, which conceals your manoeuvres, keep

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the war chest filled with gold - that is the other order.

I have in my hand copies of three political platforms. The platform of the Liberal Party, the platform of the Canadian Council of Agriculture, and the platform of the Labour Party. They present differences and contrasts in a number of particulars, enlarged upon by honourable gentlemen opposite, in this House and by their press throughout the country. The extreme views, where there are such, have been over-emphasized. Little or nothing has been said about what they have in common. And yet their common utterances are the voice of our Canadian democracy. All are as one in the demand for the elimination of customs duties on the necessaries of life, and freeing from customs taxation the instruments of production in the industries based on the natural resources of the country. These are the very things asked for in the amendment of my honourable friend.

The House is aware of the terms of the tariff resolution adopted by the National Liberal Convention, and of their relation to the amendment under consideration. Here is what appears in the Farmers' platform on the same subject:

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"An immediate and substantial all-round reduction of the customs tariff."

The securing in five years of free trade between Great Britain and Canada.

"Placing all foodstuffs on the free list".

"That agricultural implements, farm and household machinery, vehicles, fertilizers, coal, lumber, cement, gasoline, illuminating, fuel and lubrication oils be placed on the firee list, and that all raw materials and machinery used in their manufacture also be placed on the free list."

~~There is this to be observed~~

Then, taking the voice of Labour as expressed at its recent Convention. Here is what it has to say of the necessaries of life and the instruments of production:

"The gradual elimination of import duties on all necessaries of life, such as food, clothing (including boots and shoes), and the tools and machinery used in production, the revenue derived from these sources to be raised by a taxation of land values and luxuries."

There is this to be observed about each of these three platforms: The Liberal platform, the Farmers' platform, and the Labour platform - not one of them is what you would call a free trade platform. Much less can any one of them be called a protectionist platform. Those who have had to do with the framing of these platforms have recognized,

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and their exponents have frankly admitted, that in a country like Canada, which has had a tariff for nearly half a century, which is driven at the moment and is likely to be driven for some years to come to resort to almost every expedient for the purpose of raising revenue, a free trade policy is not for the time being a practical consideration. But because we cannot have free trade, that is no reason why we should be denied freer trade where the need and the demand for freer trade comes from consumers and producers alike. Because we cannot have free trade is no reason why we cannot have cheaper food, cheaper clothes, cheaper shelter, cheaper instruments of production, if such be possible, as it is, without loss and with positive gain to the nation as a whole. A policy of downward tariff revision plus a free list, a tariff in the interests primarily of consumers and producers, is quite a different thing than free trade. It is also quite different from a tariff primarily in the interests of privilege and profiteers. It is the former which men of Liberal thought and feeling are demanding in Canada to-day, irrespective of the political party to which they belong. It is that which is being denied them by honourable gentlemen opposite, and which will be permanently denied if the tactics of the enemy are not taken into account, and common ground held and common objectives ~~taken~~ fought for by those who on these matters think and feel alike.

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Prince Edward Island Patriot
June 9 20

D 4371

Able And Convincing Speech on the Budget by Hon W. L. McKenzie King the Liberal Leader

Mr. King Clearly and Eloquently Reviews the Various Phases of the Financial Situation, and His Statesmanlike Speech Makes a Splendid Impression. He Criticizes the Fiscal Policy of the Government and the New Taxation Scheme Which Has Been Formulated

(From Hansard, Tuesday, June 1st.)

The House resumed, from Monday, May 31, the debate on the motion of Sir Henry Drayton (Minister of Finance) that Mr. Speaker do now leave the Chair for the House to go into Committee of Ways and Means, and the proposed amendment thereto of Hon. W. S. Fielding.

HON. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (leader of the Opposition): Mr. Speaker, at this late stage of the debate it will hardly be expected that much can be added by way of argument either for or against the proposals which my hon. friend the Minister of Finance (Sir Henry Drayton) has given to the House in the resolution, which accompanied his speech, or indeed either for or against the amendment which has been moved by my hon. friend from Shelburne and Queen's, (Mr. Fielding.)

In the remarks I am about to address to the House I shall endeavor, therefore, not to go into particulars to any great extent in regard to the resolutions which are before the House, but rather to seek to emphasize in a little bolder outline than has been possible in the course of the discussion which has taken place, the differences in attitude and point of view which seem to separate hon. gentlemen opposite who are supporting the Budget from hon. gentlemen on this side of the House who are supporting the amendment of my hon. friend (Mr. Fielding.)

But, before directing attention to the differences which exist between us and which have been so manifest in this debate, may I say just one word, with many others who have spoken, in regard to an opinion which we all hold in common and that is a word of congratulation to my hon. friend the Minister of Finance (Sir Henry Drayton) on the manner in which he has presented the Budget to this Parliament, on the arrangement of the Budget itself, the information it contains, and the purposes which he has at heart in presenting it to the House. I think we all realize that upon the shoulders of the Minister of Finance at this session of Parliament there has fallen a burden heavier indeed than that which has fallen on the shoulders of any previous Minister of Finance. He has not only had to take account of the vast expenditures which have been incurred in the ordinary course of the increasing obligations of this country, but he has also had to take into account all the extraordinary expenditures which have to be met in consequence of the war. As my hon. friend from Shelburne and Queen's mentioned, in presenting previous Budgets during the period of the war, the Minister of Finance of the day has been able to count upon the sentiment of patriotism and enthusiasm throughout the nation to back up any suggestions he might propose to this Parliament. But now the war is past, and instead of the urge of patriotic endeavor the present Minister of Finance has the aftermath of the war to contend with and he has to present to the House in their stern reality conditions consequent upon the enormous expenditures which have taken place in the last few years the liabilities which they have involved, and the herculean efforts in the matter of sacrifice which will be necessary before these obligations can be met. I think that in presenting the Budget in the manner in which he did, going fearlessly and fully into the liabilities of the country, not seeking to conceal in any particular our obligations or to make them appear lighter than they are, but presenting to us the facts in their true light and significance he has enabled us to comprehend the situation with which we are now confronted. For that reason, as well as for the splendid manner in which he presented the Budget itself, we owe him our hearty congratulations.

I think, too, that that the hon. Minister of Finance is to be congratulated on having at least professed a desire to accomplish certain things. He has said that he hopes that it will be possible in future to raise the revenue that is required without resorting to any further loans. Every hon. member, and every citizen of this country, will believe that that is a right, a proper, a necessary and a good policy. We may have little consciousness of the full extent of our liabilities, but we all do know that with these liabilities what they are, unless it is going to be possible to meet obligations out of current revenue we are heading toward an abyss of bankruptcy in this country from which it will be impossible to recede. So it is wholly to the public interest, it is wholly to the good of the nation, that the Government have determined—and indeed they would be culpably negligent if they did not so determine—not to have further public loans for the purpose of meeting our obligations.

The Minister of Finance, I think, has also been wise in intimating that he hopes to raise the necessary revenue by taxation upon luxuries rather than upon the necessaries of life. Whether or not his proposals will accomplish that end I shall deal with in a moment, but in so far as he is endeavoring to place the burden of taxation upon the shoulders of those who are best able to bear it, he is following the sound and proper line of Finance.

I think he has been wise also in urging that so far as possible taxation should be in a direct rather than an indirect form. Though it is not so pleasant a form of taxation, in the long run it is going to result in greater good to the country. It is right that we should know exactly what we are paying out so that we may take the course that is wisest both from a personal and from a public point of view.

So that in these particulars—in giving us a true statement of the facts, in promising that there should be no further loans, in seeking to make taxation direct rather than indirect, in promising to place a tax upon luxuries, and also in recognizing that taxation upon incomes is a form of taxation that is preferable to that of indirect taxation—the Finance Minister's professions have been in the right direction, and I believe his purpose has been in accord with his professions.

But, Sir, if he has failed to accomplish his purpose, and if he has failed to carry out his intentions it is because he has found himself a member of a government which has a particular policy of its own for the raising of taxation, and he has been prevented from going as far as he would have liked in the direction he has professed. The fault and the criticism which we on this side have to find is not with the good professions and the good intentions of my hon. friend, but, rather, that at this time in the history of Canada, at this time in the history of the world, the Government has as respects the Budget, done some things it ought not to have done, and have left undone other things which it ought to have done. Sir, let me speak for a moment about the things which it has left undone and which it ought to have done.

(TO BE CONTINUED)

D 4372

10? June 1920 House of Commons

THE LIBERAL TARIFF POLICY

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The Newmarket Era
Jan 11 20

D 4373

Speech of Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King On The New Tariff

Hon. William Lyon Mackenzie King, new leader of the Liberal party, brought his followers to their feet cheering in the House of Commons when he announced his absolute and complete adherence to the policies laid down by the national convention which elected him leader in August, and stated that the plaform made up by these policies was wide enough to accommodate all the various progressive groups in the country.

The leader of the Opposition devoted almost three hours to a comprehensive digest of the existing conditions in the country; to an effective criticism of the Government's fiscal policy, which burdened the poor and let the rich go free; to an exposition of Liberal principles, and to an appeal to all men and women bent upon reform not to permit themselves to be divided into warring groups by the traditional tactics of the Government and of the big interests.

There was nothing equivocal in the speech of the new leader of the Opposition. He preached straight Liberalism—such Liberalism as he had learned at the feet of his late leader, Sir Wilfrid Laurier. His peroration was a remarkable piece of work.

There is Common Ground.

After a brief introduction he said:

"Well, sir, there are differences to which the gentlemen can point, but I can tell my honorable friends opposite this, which is a fact of far greater significance, that there is a common ground of unity upon which the members of those parties can stand. You will find in the Farmers' platform, in the Labor platform and in the Liberal platform the common demand for a reduction of the duties on the necessities of life. You will find in all three platforms a demand that the duties should be taken off the instruments of production, so that greater production may be possible. And these two demands, Mr. Speaker, represent the outstanding needs of the country to-day, and on these great fundamental needs we are united.

"Let me address a word to my honorable friends of the Farmers' party and my honorable friends of the working men's party, and let me address the same word to the people throughout this country:

A Word to People.

"Take note of the things that you have in common, and observe the tactics of the enemy, which are apparent. We have seen privilege protected in every speech that has been uttered from the other side in the course of this debate. We have seen honorable gentlemen opposite seek to point to the differences that exist between men of common thought and common feeling in other respects. What do these tactics signify? They are just an endeavor to keep the host in opposition divided. Honorable gentlemen opposite argue among themselves: 'We keep the privileged interests protected so long as men of thought and feeling who are united on certain common ground can be kept apart from one another and prevented from uniting in a common effort to gain a common end.'"

Barbed Wire Entanglements.

"These are the barbed wire entanglements by which the party of privilege would seek to keep separated men of liberal thought and feeling in this country, and to keep them from uniting on the ground which they have in common. The honorable minister of the Interior (Mr. Meighen) said that the purpose of the Liberal resolution was to unite these different groups. Let me tell my honorable friend that if that was its purpose there could not have been a worthier one than to seek to give expression, in one voice, to what are the sentiments of three great elements. What is the object of the honorable gentlemen opposite? It is to keep the progressive hosts who oppose them disunited.

"Word has gone out from their headquarters urging the necessity for this action, and also the need for filling the war chest with gold. There are announcements already of a fund for propaganda purposes that is to be run up into millions of dollars. Mention has been made in the press of such a fund for such purposes, and the government in power purposes to hold on for a couple of years in order to give this insidious propaganda ample opportunity to do its work.

Think and Feel Alike.

"I say, therefore, to all men who think and feel alike on the great questions which affect the well-being of the Canadian people, and who reprobate the conditions for which the Government are responsible, to take note of the tactics of honorable gentlemen opposite. No matter what the honorable gentlemen may call themselves, whether it be Liberal, Grit, Reformer, Liberal-Unionist, Farmer or Labor representatives, if they think and feel alike as men who are interested in the welfare of the great mass of men and women in this country they should stand together where it is possible for them to do so and fight the great issue that faces them to a conclusive victory.

There is no Deception.

"My honorable friend (Mr. Meighen)—I refer to him again because he was the chief exponent of the views of the Government in the debate—gives his interpretation of the attitude of gentlemen on this side of the House as one of deception.

"May I say to my honorable friend that there is no deception in the attitude of honorable gentlemen on this side. We or the Liberal party have our program, we have it right with us and we are prepared to work with the men and women who feel and think as we do. But we are prepared to carry on the work and we will carry it on regardless of the attitude of any others, because this is a party which has a tradition of 100 years behind it—a tradition of 100 years of advance and progress to greater liberty and freedom. We will strive and seek to make that policy prevail. But I say to my honorable friend in all kindness: Be careful, judge not that ye be not judged. Let me repeat my honorable friend's reference to the Government of which he is a member with regard to the action of that Government prior to the last election, when he and his party came together with their two flags.

Unwilling to Listen.

"All I shall say," said Mr. King, "is this. There is another view in this country, and that is that if the people intrusted these two different wings with power, which they did for the purpose of winning the war, they to-day find them united into one solid body, which is unwilling to listen to the voice of the people as expressed at the poll. They will not listen to the verdict of the people as expressed in Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick, Quebec, Ontario, Saskatchewan or the different centres in which there have been elections, and we have a ministry which is unwilling to have a representative of labor or of the returned soldiers in this House and a ministry which has taken from the start a most autocratic stand in dealing with the matters which are before the country at the present time.

"We have come to the moment when in the great work of reconstruction a ministry that ignores the people and has no policy to propose other than safeguarding and protecting privileges should at least give the people an opportunity to say whether or not they wish to have the affairs of this country any longer conducted by men who have lost the public confidence, and to say whether or not they should be conducted by those who seek to express in legislation the wishes of the public in regard to the needs of the hour and the problems of the day."

"So, Mr. Speaker," said Mr. King "while we can compliment the minister on his fair professions and good intentions, we cannot do other than condemn the Government on its record in the matter of economy and retrenchment as having moved entirely in the wrong direction. Just to summarize what I have said, the Government has vastly increased the ordinary expenditure—increased it by over a million dollars a day, according to the last statement brought down. It has vastly increased the appointments, both temporary and permanent, to the civil service—increased them at the rate of 50 civil servants a day. It has left $121,000,000 or more unaccounted for of public moneys which have been paid out. It has spent money for purposes for which it was not appropriated. It has spent public money on contracts without calling for tenders in accordance with the law of the country. It has given money in loans and credits, to foreign countries on very doubtful security, and in a manner which will help its own friends rather than further the best interests of this country. And instead of decreasing the public expenditure for the current year it has shown in many particulars a tendency to increase the expenditure and to be indifferent to the necessity for retrenchment. That is one count which we have against the honorable gentlemen opposite.

Protects Profiteers.

"But, sir, looking further at the budget; looking at the resolutions which my hon. friend had brought down, may I say, perfectly frankly to him that what we most object to in his budget is that it protects privilege and profiteers instead of protecting the consumers of this country? We had expected at this time of all times a people's budget; we have instead a profiteer's budget; that is apparent when we come to analyze it. I say that for this reason—when we study this taxation we find that in practically everything that the minister has proposed there is increased burden upon the consumers, not of the higher or upper classes but of the middle or poorer classes; and there is on the other hand a careful protection and safeguarding of those who are in a position of privilege in this country. We had a right to expect, having regard to the professed desire of hon. gentlemen opposite for economy, some statement from the minister of finance to the effect that the Government had devised machinery, whereby the people throughout the country who have failed to pay the income tax in the last year or two would be obliged to make good their failures of the past. We all know that the income tax has not been collected as fully and as carefully as it should have been. Last summer at the convention which the Liberal party held in this city, a resolution was passed which was brought to the attention of the Government—a resolution condemning the Government for the non-enforcement of the income tax law."

Proposes to Hang On.

The Government proposed to hang on, but in the opinion of Mr. King they should be prevented from doing so if it was possible to stop them. One reason why this Government should resign and go to the country was that it had acquired the "war habit of mind." What did he mean by the war habit of mind? asked Mr. King. He meant the habit of mind which encouraged autocratic rule and lavish expenditures. So long as the present administration was in power, just so long would the war habit of mind persist.

To prove that the Government was extravagant, Mr. King quoted the expenditures of the last financial year, which, he said, had added $395,000,000 to the debt of Canada. This meant an addition of over a million dollars a day on the ordinary expenditure of the country. It might have been thought that the Government, in an effort to economize, would cut down on appointments, but this was not the case. During the peace period, which had elapsed since the signing of the armistice there had been 4,176 permanent appointments to the civil service, and 22,954 tem-

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porary appointments, or a total number of appointments of 27,130.

Still Unaccounted For.

Mr. King declared that an expenditure of $121,000,000 made by the Government during the war was at present unaccounted for, and the auditor-general himself had been unable to find out where the money went. He charged also that the Government had used money voted for certain specific purposes for other purposes, and stated in this connection that money voted for military expenditures had been used to establish a press bureau. The Government itself had admitted that it did not call for tenders for large contracts as indicated by the information given to the House by the minister of marine that on an expenditure of nearly $70,000,000 for Canada's merchant marine, not a single tender had been called for. The indifference of the Government to the jurisdiction of parliament in matters of expenditures was further indicated by its action in creating Canadian representation at Washington. Parliament had not been consulted in this matter, even though it would necessarily entail a large expenditure. He would refer, said Mr. King, to the estimates for further evidence of government extravagance, but that would take too long.

Militia Estimates.

However it was only necessary to mention that militia estimates had been increased by $4,000,000. The people of Canada would have been better satisfied with a decrease of $4,000,000. What the Opposition chiefly objected to in the budget, however, was that it protected privilege and profiteers rather than the consumer. Parliament had expected a people's budget, and it got a profiteers'. Regarding the income tax, surely the House was justified in expecting that the Government would do something by way of compelling those who had evaded the tax in past years to pay up their arrears.

Omitted War Wealth.

There had been no reference in the budget to war wealth. The country had a right to some statement in this regard, but as far as Sir Henry Drayton's speech went the Government might not have known there was such a thing as war wealth.

Every day's delay made it increasingly difficult to tax any of these profits. Everyone knew that vast fortunes were being amassed during the war, while men were sacrificing their lives. These were fortunes built on the blood and sacrifice of others, and they should pay their share of the war debt.

Read Memorandum.

Mr. King read from a memorandum prepared by the board of inland revenue of Great Britain to show that if the British Government made a levy of 25 per cent. on war wealth, the sum of one thousand million pounds would be realized. And, in Canada, people who had amassed great wealth out of the war should be required to pay at least a percentage of their war fortune into the public treasury.

The Government had been ready to conscript human life. He did not ask that it should be equally ready to conscript wealth, but he did ask that where fortunes had been made out of the war, something should be contributed out of this source.

"The budget," Mr. King declared, "is a budget to protect the profiteer. It is not a budget to protect the people of Canada." Wealth was primarily derived from the community It was not therefore unreasonable to ask that part of the wealth created by the community should be returned to the community.

Government Has No Policy.

The budget revealed the Government as having no policy for dealing with the high cost of living. "We do not expect the Government to solve the problem of the high cost of living," continued Mr. King. "Certainly not, but we have a right to expect that the Government will make some contribution towards its solution. Instead of reducing the cost of living the Government has added to it and made it more difficult for the people to live."

Proposals made in the budget would encourage in large part the manufacture of shoddy goods. Quality was quite as important as quantity, and no way probably could the poor man be hit worse than by giving him poor value for his money.

Why were goods sent out of the country, Mr. King asked, not equally taxed ? It was because the Government wished to help the manufacturer. There was no consideration for the consumer.

The Government had shown an absolute incapacity to bring down any policy to show how there was to be an increase in production.

Was Needed To-day.

What was needed to-day was the taking of some of the duties off the necessaries of life which would lower the cost of living, and to take the duties off the implements of production which would also bring down the cost of living through increased production.

Mr. King went at length into the present-day trend of rural folk turning to the city. He would like to see an energetic policy of rural development and the building of thousands of small cottages on the farms, where men and women could take their families and secure work along agricultural lines.

Little Export Business.

When the national policy was introduced in 1878-79 Canada, said Mr. King, had little export business. Protection had been introduced by Sir John A. Macdonald to develop the home market and to nurture infant industries, but the industries had grown and developed until we found ourselves with a $500,000,000 merger in the country. There had been references to differences of opinion expressed on the Opposition side with reference to the fiscal question. It was an old trick to emphasize differences of view on certain point, but to pay no credit to the unanimity of opinion on the main question of policy.

In submitting the Fielding amendment the Opposition was anxious to have the Government realize it was placing something which had been done here and now.

Free Food and Freer Trade.

From the Atlantic to the Pacific, Mr. Fielding said, there was but one Liberal platform, which he had outlined. It was based on the tariff resolution passed at the national Liberal convention in August last. The Liberals stood for free food and freer trade.

Mr. King was roundly applauded by the Opposition members as he took his seat a few minutes after 6 o'clock. His speech had taken just about three hours.

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Hamilton: Ontario
Women's Liberal
Assoc.

LIBERALISM

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D 4376

The Hamilton Times

SATURDAY, JUN[illegible]

GREAT SPEECH

The people of Hamilton had the opportunity last evening to hear the Hon. William Lyon Mackenzie King, the leader of the Liberal party in the Dominion and in Parliament, discuss the public questions of the day at the banquet in the Connaught held under the auspices of the Ontario Women's Liberal Association. The affair was well patronized and was in every way a great success. Mr. Mackenzie is a new star in the political firmament as the leader of a great party, and there was not a little curiosity to see and hear the man. It is not too much to say that those who heard him last evening went away with the conviction that in him the Liberal party had found a leader who was in every way a fitting successor to the Grand Old Man who so successfully for so many years led the Liberal party of this country. Mr. King is no novice in the science of national government. To the duties of his high office he brought a well-trained mind, schooled in the study of political economy with a varied experience in departmental and other work which eminently qualifies him to speak with authority on the many problems that face the country at such a time as this.

His address last evening was a scholarly and incisive presentation of some of the political truths as enunciated by the Liberal party, and his exposure of the actions of the present Government in defying the representatives of the people in Parliament and in hanging on to office without the people's mandate must have convinced his hearers, if they had any doubts before, that the Union Government was a usurper in the State. The present Government, Mr. King said, had been elected to win the war and not to carry on for the full term of Parliament. Nobody thought when they voted for Union Government that it would endeavor to stay in power after the war was won. But it had expressed its intention to stay until the last minute. Its followers were told that if they did not vote for its measures, it would be defeated, and they would be sent home and would never come back again.

Mr. King, no doubt, startled some of his hearers when he told them that the Government during the past year had been running in debt to the tune of a million dollars a day for the carrying on the ordinary affairs of the country, and not taking into account the war expenditures. The present Government had the war-habit mind and was accustomed to the spending of huge sums of money without any particular regard as to the need. The time had come when the country should get back to a peace basis and when responsible government should again come into force. At present, Parliament was looked upon as a rubber stamp by the Government. The Grand Trunk deal was forced through Parliament without the members having anything to say about it. The appointment of an Ambassador to Washington was put through without the knowledge even of the people's representatives.

On the question of the tariff, Mr. King asserted that the heavy end of the new taxes had been put upon the shoulders of the people instead upon those of the war millionaires. Mr. King devoted considerable attention to the war and to its effects upon the progress of the world, saying that it had been destructive of what was best in the life of the nations. Instead of a world whose aims were to acquire material wealth and material power, he foresaw a world where the liberty and well-being of mankind would be the ruling motive. He made a plea for the union of all men of liberal and progressive thought to get together whether they were known as Farmers or Labor men. He declared there was a danger that the enemy might succeed in dividing them. But let them forget their differences and remember the things for which they were all contending for the welfare of the people. In closing, Mr. King's peroration was fine, inspiring and impressive, in which he sought to extol the part which women would yet play in the great drama of the government of the people, and paying a tribute to womanhood, whose better and refining impulses and higher thoughts would be a determining factor in the coming uplift that was to emancipate the world from all that was gross and impure in public life.

Mr. King was laboring under considerable stress last evening, having just come from a strenuous time in Parliament. He has been assiduous in his attention to his duties in the House, and last night was the first time he has taken any relaxation, and those who were present know what sort of relaxation he had. It may be trite to say that Mr. King is an eloquent speaker, that goes without saying. But he is more. He is a convincing speaker. His earnestness of speech and honesty of purpose force themselves upon his hearers. He is also a speaker who has the facts and who can marshal them as needed. We imagine that Mr. King's greatest ambition is to have some share in the work of giving Canada better Government, and the people a fuller share of the good things of this life.

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Globe Jan 12/20

D 4377

TO HELP HEAL AND RESTORE IS WOMEN'S WORK

Hon. Mackenzie King Urges Ontario Liberal Women to Promote Unity

CRITICIZES THE BUDGET

Mrs. Carpenter Advocates Publicity as Political Purifier

(Staff Correspondence of The Globe.)

Hamilton, June 11.—"Out of the ill-will of the past may we breed the good-will of the future," said Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, urging upon the Ontario Women's Liberal Association to-night at the banquet in the Royal Connaught Hotel with which its fifth annual meeting concluded, an after-war policy of Liberal unity and co-operation.

"And in this great work of seeking to reconcile differences and to promote the greatest good of the greatest number," he went on, "women's work will be, as it has been through all time, that of healing and restoring. We as Liberals appeal to the women of Canada to spread the gospel of a greater freedom and a larger spirit of good-will, that out of the ruins of the world lying shattered at our feet may come a resurrected life in matters political, industrial and social, to meet the sacrifice of our noble men, who laid down their lives for mankind."

Temporary Decline of Liberalism.

Speaking of the destructive powers of war and the wreckage following in its wake, as in the wake of every storm, Mr. King said there came also a certain temporary lessening of the power of Liberalism. He pointed to the Union Government, formed for the purpose of winning the war, but not for holding on to power till the last possible moment. Several Liberal members have withdrawn, but some professed Liberals are willing to stay with a Government which is prepared to usurp power for some years to come, and which wholly ignores the wishes of the people. This the speaker attributed to the war-time attitude of mind, an attitude revealing itself in a number of instances of autocratic action which he quoted, and in matters of lavish expenditure for which he gave figures, such as the increase of the country's debt since the end of the war at the rate of a million dollars a day.

Tax Put on Wrong Shoulders.

The question of the Budget took up a good deal of Mr. King's attention. It placed, he said, the tax on the wrong shoulders. They had done those things they ought not to have done, and left undone those things they ought to have done. The tax should have been placed upon war-time wealth.

Great applause greeted this declaration, and the speaker went on to say that he did not believe in a policy of confiscation, but that any man might feel, if he came out of the war with his fortunes what they were at the beginning, that Providence had been kind to him.

Mr. Dewart Encourages Women.

Mr. H. Hartley Dewart, K.C., wishing to leave a greater amount of time for Mr. King's speech, spoke very briefly, congratulating the women of Ontario on their splendid organization and the work it had done. He was glad to have been in the Legislature, he said, when the franchise was given to women, a measure into which the Conservative party was forced by Liberal example, precept and action. It was a matter of principle with the Liberals, and he told how the act had been introduced by a private member when the Government would not take the responsibility of enacting it by itself. It was done because of the strong and persistent pressure of the Liberals of Toronto and of Ontario and the gathering at this meeting showed the fruits of the work the women were doing.

Mrs. Harry Carpenter presided at the banquet, and with her at the guest table, besides Mr. King and Mr. Dewart, were Mrs. Dewart and Mrs. J. A. Macdonald of Toronto, Miss Anna M. Edgar, Hamilton; Mrs. Adam Ballantyne, Mrs. Ross Stewart, Mrs. H. A. Robertson, Mrs. Newton MacTavish and Mrs. Harris MacPhedran of Toronto.

Luncheon by Hamilton Women.

The Women's Liberal Association of Hamilton entertained the visiting ladies at noon at a delightful luncheon, when the five rooms of the Y.W.C.A., where the meetings were held, were massed with spring flowers.

Publicity as Purifier.

Publicity as a political purifier formed an important part of the theme of Mrs. Harry Carpenter of Hamilton in her Presidential address, delivered at the afternoon session in the Y. W. C. A. She urged the publication of all details of expenditure of party funds, and the putting down of patronage.

Miss Edgar, Past President of the Hamilton Women's Liberal Association, welcomed the delegates, who came from all over the Province, and Miss Starr of Newmarket responded. Greetings from Lady Laurier were read.

"Some women were born Liberals, some have married Liberals, while others must needs be born again to achieve Liberalism," said Mrs. Percival Foster of Woodstock, leading the discussion on "Why a Liberal?"

"Why vote?" was dealt with by Mrs. Harris MacPhedran of Toronto, who summed up all her arguments with the question, "Could there be any possible reason why women shouldn't vote?"

"Why study?" led by Mrs. Newton MacTavish of Toronto, considered the matter of the Liberal women's course of reading for the coming season.

The discussion on "Citizenship" was opened by Mrs. J. C. Payne of Dunnville, who emphasized the ideal of service. The reports of the various associations comprising the Ontario Women's Liberal Association included one from St. Mary's by Mrs. Doolittle; Toronto, Mrs. J. W. Bundy; Brampton, Mrs. Hall; Newmarket, Miss Starr; Stouffville, Mrs. Bruce; St. Catharines, Mrs. Kilroy; Hamilton, Miss Philp; Dunnville, Mrs. Payne, and Stratford, Mrs. Howie.

Mr. Dewart Tells of Legislation.

Mr. H. H. Dewart gave also, at the afternoon session, a resume of legislation enacted during the session, telling of the hand the Liberal members had had in such matters as the timber probe and the superannuation of civil service employees. He declared that the Liberal party was the driving power in legislation in the Provincial House during the past session, and urged Liberals to keep their eyes on conditions and to adapt the principles of Liberalism to those conditions.

To Give Scholarship.

A resolution favoring instruction in the schools in both English and French, and the establishment of exchange courses between English and French-Canadian Universities and secondary schools led to the decision of the association to offer a scholarship in the University of Toronto for conversational French, the award to be made only to an English-speaking Canadian student and the scholarship to perpetuate the memory of Sir Wilfrid Laurier. Details concerning the wording of the resolution were left to a committee appointed for that purpose.

Mrs. Grant Needham of Toronto introduced this resolution, and among those who took part in its discussion were Mrs. Sutherland, St. Mary's; Miss Pearl Millard, Newmarket; Mrs. Webster, Hamilton; Mrs. Ross Stewart, Toronto; Mrs. W. H. Ferguson, North Huron; Mrs. Kilroy and Mrs. Mackay, St. Catharines; Mrs. Walter Buchanan, Ravenna; Mrs. W. J. Stevens and Mrs. J. A. Macdonald, Toronto, and Mrs. Percival Foster, Woodstock.

Refrain From Luxury Buying.

A further resolution urged the expansion of the educational system along industrial, commercial and educational lines. A good deal of discussion was aroused by another resolution advocating dress reform, and to this discussion contribution was made by Mrs. Newton MacTavish, Mrs. Harris MacPhedran, Mrs. Sutherland of St. Mary's, Mrs. A. H. Beaton of Toronto and many others. Of kindred interest was Mrs. Ross Stewart's resolution, seconded by Mrs. Johnston of Toronto, calling upon the Liberal women to refrain from buying luxuries made either in Canada or in the United States. Still other resolutions called for the establishment of a bureau of information on citizenship, and for the calling of conferences on Canadianization.

Officers Elected.

The following officers were elected: Honorary President, Lady Laurier, Ottawa; Honorary Vice-President, Mrs. Hartley Dewart, Toronto; President, Mrs. Harry Carpenter, Hamilton; Vice-Presidents, Mrs. John Lewis and Mrs. J. A. Macdonald, Toronto; Recording Secretary, Mrs. Newton MacTavish, Toronto; Treasurer, Mrs. A. J. Young, Toronto; Press Secretary, Mrs. Harris MacPhedran, Toronto; Members at large, Miss J. F. Currie, St. Catharines; Mrs. Herbert Horsey, Picton; Mrs. Wellington Hay, Listowel; Mrs. John Jennings, Toronto, and Mrs. A. C. Hardy, Brockville, and Presidents of local associations.

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D 4378

7 August 1920 Newmarket

"AUTOCRACY VS. GOVERNMENT
BY THE PEOPLE"

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Newmarket, Aug 7

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D 4380

Newmarket,
August 7, 1920

1. Difference between Liberals and Tories:
   Illustrated by Liberal Convention and
   Meighen Government.

2. Union Government no right to exist:
   Mandate exhausted -
   By-elections
   Press
   Majority in Parliament.

3. Work of Liberals in Parliament:

   (a) Restore representative & responsible govt
   e.g., Amendment to Speech from Throne

   (b) Get rid of Govt. by Order-in Council
   G. T. R. Acquisition
   Merchant Marine
   Representation at Washington - $30,000

   (c) Just and equitable Franchise Act.
   Rural polls
   Municipal and provincial lists, vs.
   Registrars (Armstrong with Govt.)
   Advance polls
   Fix polling subdivisions
   Police powers.

   (d) Revision of the Tariff.
   Cost of living - increase production.
   (Armstrong vote)

   (e) Economy in Expenditure.
   Session 1919 (2nd) - Army, Navy, Polic
   More navy - more barracks.
   Peace policies.

   (f) Good-will among Classes.
   U.F.O. and Liberals.

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S P E E C H

on

"Autocracy versus Government by the People"

NEWMARKET ONTARIO

August 7th, 1920.

In the series of meetings which I am about to address in this Province, it is my purpose to discuss the existing political situation in Canada from the point of view of liberal policy, which is without fear or favour toward any class or interests in the country and has regard only for the common well-being of the people as a whole.

It is not possible in a single address to deal intelligently with so vast a subject, nor, indeed, even to attempt to disclose its magnitude. I purpose, therefore, to review in a series of addresses, some of the most important phases which seem particularly to merit thoughtful consideration on the part of the Canadian electorate.

A situation such as exists in Canada to-day has not come into being over night. It is the result of forces which have been operating within the body politic for some years past and to which the War and the exigencies of War have afforded favourable and exceptional opportunities. Were I to express the situation in a word, it would be that the political, industrial and, to a considerable extent, the social-life of our country to-day lies

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enthralled under the subtle and malignant influence of combined autocratic and plutocratic control, which seeks the aggrandizement of a few individuals at the expense of the State and is regardless wholly of the well-being of the people at large.

There is to-day scarcely a branch of public administration but serves to reveal the evil workings of this powerful and baneful combination. Its effects are particularly apparent when we stop to consider the reactionary proceedings of Parliament, the condition of the country's finances, the present position of the tariff and the railway situation.

Obviously it would be unwise and impossible to attempt in a single address to deal in any comprehensive manner with these all important aspects of the present political situation. Instead, therefore, of attempting anything of the kind, I purpose to make my address to-day in the nature of an introduction to the series of addresses into which I intend to divide a consideration of the national situation. I shall speak to-day of the reactionary note which has characterized the proceedings of Parliament ever since the termination of the War. At Brampton tomorrow, I shall deal more particularly with the problem of the country's finances. At Tilsonburg, in the county of Oxford, I shall speak, on Friday, more especially of the tariff, and in Hamilton, on Saturday evening, D.V., as the persons say, I shall deal with the railway situation. At Picton, Prince Edward County, on Monday, of the following week, I shall attempt a brief review of the situation as a whole. In this manner, should the essential

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features of these several addresses find their way into the Press of our Province, the people will have before them a sort of bird's eye view of the political situation as seen from of the point of view of liberal outlook, purpose and policy.

It is a characteristic of our political opponents, and particularly of those who would conceal and profit by the real factors of the situation to tell us that the War is responsible for existing conditions and, in particular, for the condition of our finances, the position of the tariff and the railway situation. The War, is, indeed, responsible in a large part for the existing situation, but not altogether in the manner in which our opponents would lead the public to believe. It is certainly not the spirit of sacrifice which the War served so splendidly to reveal, nor the spirit of disinterested patriotism, which was not less manifest, that is responsible for conditions as they are. Rather is it to the reactionary spirit which, in official circles, War inevitably begets, and the selfishness of a class of individuals to whose desire for wealth and self-aggrandizement the exigencies of war afford exceptional opportunities, that it is possible to trace the regrettable features of the political situation as it exists to-day.

There is a remarkable and, at the same time, most illuminating parallel between the political conditions of Great Britain in the period of, and immediately succeeding the napoleonic Wars and the political conditions as we have experienced and now find them in our country as a consequence of the World War through

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which in common with others our nation has just passed.

The people of the British Isles, at the beginning of the 19th century, were like ourselves liberty-loving. Their political institutions, though not comparable in freedom to what in the course of time they became, were nevertheless regarded as the most enlightened of Europe. Then came the Wars with France, and, for a time, the might of Napoleon, which filled Europe with terror and threatened the peace and security of Britain. The stern necessities of war made themselves felt. The hand of authority became increasingly assertive. Little by little, Englishmen, through their representatives in Parliament, yielded to the few men comprising the nation's Executive, rights and powers the exercise of which only by the immediate sanction of the Commons had been amongst the most dearly bought and highly cherished of popular liberties. Little by little, the country was obliged, at the increasing dictation of the Executive, to submit to measures more and more restrictive and oppressive, until the England which succeeded the Napoleonic Wars, though having come triumphant through the great conflict, was an England shorn of much of the freedom which her people hitherto had enjoyed.

The dangers and necessities of war, during the years of the Napoleonic struggle, served not less to obscure than in considerable measure to destroy the foundations of popular freedom. The horrors of the reign of Terror in Paris, the dread of Napoleonic power in its attempts to subdue the world, the equipment, vicissitudes

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and fortunes of the military expeditions sent across the channel to fight with the allied forces on the battlefields of Europe, the naval exploits of the still more powerful fleets upon the high seas, the military and naval victories, the glories of the Nile, Trafalgar, of Torres Vedras and Waterloo; all these, accompanied, as they were, by colossal expenditures and bestowals of patronage, and combined, as they were, with restrictive and oppressive measures, served for the time being to place Toryism in the ascendant, to bring into and, for the time being, to keep, the majority of Englishmen in the tory ranks. As a political party, the Whigs, the liberals of that period, found themselves at the close of the war at a low period of their power.

With Liberalism crushed and Toryism in control, there necessarily followed, notwithstanding the triumphant close of the war, a period of reactionary government. Political might and industrial power, having combined during the period of the War to accomplish the defeat of the enemy, retained the alliance then formed for the furtherance of their own private ends rather than for the public service of the state. Though there was some relaxing of the restrictive and oppressive measures, which had become general during the period of the war, the Executive remained autocratic, it maintained an attitude of indifference to the customary usages and practices of parliament, and to the rights of the people; and in this was supported by the nobles and great landowners, the plutocrats of their day, who had come irrespective of their former political

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allegiance to control the House of Commons. Instead of seeking to devise wise and progressive legislation looking to a prompt and complete restoration of the people's rights and liberties, the energies of the Executive appear to have been directed to discovering ways and means of keeping themselves in office through a retention of the support of the powerful interests with whom during the period of the war they had become so intimately associated. Reaction, not reconstruction, became the dominating characteristic of the Ministry of the day.

How striking the parallel is with conditions as they have developed in our own country, will be apparent upon a moment's reflection. The people of this country have witnessed a sequence of developments parallel in almost every particular. They have witnessed the hand of authority become increasingly assertive under the stern necessities of war. They have seen the people's representatives yield to the few men comprising the nation's Executive, rights and powers the exercise of which only by the immediate sanction of the Commons had been among the most dearly prized of all popular rights and liberties. Little by little, they have seen themselves obliged, at the increasing dictation of the Executive, to submit to measures more and more restrictive and oppressive, until the Canada which has succeeded the great war, though having come triumphant through the conflict, finds itself a Canada shorn of much of the political

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freedom which its people hitherto enjoyed.

As during the Napoleonic Wars, so with the war against the Central powers, the necessities and dangers of the period have served to obscure and, in considerable measure, also to destroy, the foundations of our popular liberties. The dread of Prussian might, in its attempt to conquer the World, the vicissitudes and fortunes of the expeditionary forces, equipped and sent across the seas to fight with the allied forces on the battlefields of Europe, the naval achievements upon the high seas, the ultimate victories of the allied armies; all these, accompanied as they have been, by colossal expenditures and bestowals of patronage, and combined as they have been with restrictive and oppressive measures, have served to obscure the change in the spirit of our political institutions and to place Toryism, for the time being, in the ascendant in the administration of the affairs of our country. It was inevitable that, under such arbitrary and outrageous enactments as the War-Time Elections Act and the Military Voters' Act and the manner in which they were administered Liberalism and the spirit of Liberalism should appear to have been crushed during the period of the war and that its close found the fortunes of the Liberal party, to appearances, considerably impaired.

With Toryism in the ascendant, there has followed, for the time being, the inevitable period of political reaction,

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a reactionary spirit traceable in Canada to-day, as in Great Britain a century ago, to the combination of powerful political and industrial interests which, during the period of the war, were brought through patriotic reasons into intimate association, but which now continue, in large measure, to exercise this relationship for the furtherance of private ends rather than public. It was inevitable that during the period of the War, there should be the closest kind of association between certain of the financial, manufacturing, transportation and distributing interests and between these several interests and the Government and its members. That association between members of both groups was uninterrupted and, indeed, necessarily intimate over the greater part of the entire period. They were linked the one to the other by the most powerful of bonds. There was the bond of disinterested public service at the moment of the greatest crisis in the world's affairs, and there was the bond wholly different in character, it is true, but to some individuals even more powerful, of personal and private self-interest at a moment of opportunity such as has presented itself but once in the history of this world.

During those four years, a sum amounting to something like two billions of dollars was loaned by the country to the Government, and under Government direction was disbursed

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among these financial, manufacturing, transportaion and distributing interests. The Government was permitted a free hand; in the loans thus subscribed, the sacrifices present or future were never questioned; in the spending of these vast sums, little or no check was exercised by Parliament; Orders-in-Council, at the caprice of the Ministry, were permitted to replace legislative enactments of both Houses of Parliament. It was an era of unparalleled opportunity both for the exercise of autocratic power and for the bestowal of favours. Strange, indeed, it would be, had not the closest kind of relationship been formed between the controlling factors on both sides. That they were so formed, every Canadian citizen is well aware.

With the termination of the war and the demoblization of the military forces, this era of unlimited expenditures and unparalleled contracting came to an end. Not, however, the association between certain of the financial, manufacturing, transportation and distributing interests, among themselves or with the Government. In considerable measure, it is true, the compelling force of the bonds which had united these interests with the Government was lessened. Hon. members of the Government who read their obligation to the country in terms of disinterested public service, recalling the pledges on which the Government was returned to power, one by one retired from the Ministry.

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Others of their colleagues, for reasons best known to themselves, continued in office. Similarly, it is to be presumed, among the financial, manufacturing, transportation and distributing interests, were numbers of influential and prominent men, who were quick to sever the intimacy of the relations formed with members of the Government during the period of stress and strain, and to give their thought to their particular business interests regardless altogether of Government favours or action.

Unfortunately for our Dominion, all the men of great wealth and power have not been of this class. The same self-interest which caused members of the Government to cling to office despite honourable obligation and constitutional right, has operated in like manner to cause certain members of the financial, manufacturing, transportation and distributing interests to continue to look to the Government for special favours and special privileges, and in return to support the administration by direct methods, as well as indirect, in its retention of office against the will of the people as a whole. Thus, we have come to have in Canada, one the one hand, a Prime Minister and a Ministry to whom

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usurpation of office and the exercise of autocratic methods in Government belong as a sort of natural right, and on the other, a small circle, a sort of little oligarchy of interwoven financial, manufacturing, transportation and distributing interests, prepared, in return for a continuation of favour and special privilege, to use their wealth and influence to keep the Administration in power, thereby constituting in a very true sense the real, though invisible, Government of this country.

We have, in other words, political power united with the power of wealth in a bond of self-interest, the former the visible symbol of authority, the latter the governing and directing force in the State. We have a Government democratic in form, but autocratic in behaviour, and back of that Government, and vastly superior to it in many respects, we have the privileged coterie of a few wealthy and influential men, connected with certain of the financial, manufacturing, transportation and distributing interests who are not satisfied with sharing in the control of industry and the State, but wish to dominate both. For the time being, they are able to exercise this domination at their own free will, for the Administration owes its existence to their influence, and its continuance in office, to the control

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which, in a multitude of directions, they are able to exert. There is the real situation with which this country is faced at the present time. That is the danger to Canada at the moment, that her Government carried on in the interest of the people as a whole, and that we have on the one side the selfish groups united together working for their joint ambitions,and on the other, the great body of the people left to look after themselves.

I shall not attempt to disclose the workings of this combination of political autocracy and industrial plutocracy during the last years of the Administration of Sir Robert Borden. It is now a little over a year since the Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen was called upon by His Excellency the Governor-General to form a new Administration. The session of Parliament, which opened during the month of February and concluded in the early part of the month of June, was the first under Mr. Meighen's leadership. The present, therefore, would seem a particularly appropriate moment in which to form an estimate of the characteristics and tendencies of the new Prime Minister in the discharge

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of public duties and of what the country may expect in matters of Government, so long as Mr. Meighen continues to occupy the office of Prime Minister.

During the period of the war, we heard much of the reconstruction of our political, industrial and social order which was to follow at its close and which was to be expressive of the new freedom achieved for our fellowmen through the sacrifices of the War. Instead, however, of reconstruction, we have met only with reaction at every turn. Reconstruction would have demanded a new Parliament and a new ministry at the termination of the war. It certainly demanded recognition of these fundamental rights of the people upon the retirement of Sir Robert Borden and the resignation of his entire ministry. Instead of reconstruction, we have had the most glaring example of usurpation of the rights of the people in matters of government which it would have been possible for the combined forces of reaction to afford.

Let me recall the circumstances of Mr. Meighen's accession to office. Shortly before the general elections

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of 1917, there was formed what was known as a Unionist Administration under the leadership of Sir Robert Borden. Certain members of both of the then existing political parties united to form a coalition for the purpose, as they termed it, of "winning the war". It was a War Administration pure and simple, with no other excuse and no other purpose. Its appeal to the country was made on that pretext and that pretext alone. At the instance of Sir Robert Borden, Mr. Meighen was made a member of that Administration, just as Sir Thomas White was just as the Hon. Mr. Crerar was, just as the Hon. Frank Carvell, the Hon. Sydney Mewburn, the Hon. A. K. McLean, the Hon. N. W. Rowell were. The grounds on which Mr. Meighen appealed to the Canadian people for support of the Unionist Administration were the same as those on which these other ministers appealed, namely, that it was a Unionist Government, a Coalition of Liberals and Conservatives, a "fifty fifty" sort of Administration for the purpose solely of helping to win the war. Advantage taken of patriotic appeal in time of war. On this appeal, with the aid of the War-Time Elections Act and the Military Voter's Act, both war measures, neither ever justified, but both excused by the

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Address. North York
New Toronto. Aug 7. 1920.
Federation vs. Empire
Representation Parliament - Responsible Government

My first words, on this occasion, must be of thanks to the many friends in North York to whose thoughtfulness and generosity I owe the privilege of speaking to the electors, not of this riding only, but of the Province in the first of a series of meetings which I hope to address in the course of the present month. If all goes well, I shall have the opportunity of meeting with the electors of British Columbia and the Prairie Provinces in the early fall.

Recalling as I do the series of splendid meetings held in the Maritime Provinces at the beginning of the year, and other meetings addressed in the Province of Quebec, I cannot but feel that the wider acquaintance thus gained with the people of all parts of our Dominion, and the first-hand knowledge acquired of existing problems, will be of the utmost service not only in making better known throughout the Dominion the principles, policies, and platform of the Liberal Party, but in bringing these principles and policies to bear in a direct and vital manner upon the needs of all classes and sections of our country.

Breadth of Government

It is my firm belief that any principle which is not sufficiently wide in its application to serve the interest of all classes, or any policy that is not sufficiently broad to meet the common, as opposed to any special, interest, possesses but little of enduring value to a nation as a whole, and is not likely to make for that unity and stability in matters pertaining to government without which there can be neither progress nor contentment. It is for this reason that I especially welcome the opportunity of addressing my fellow citizens in all parts of the Dominion, at pretty much one and the same time, and of bringing to one and all the same message, on behalf of my fellow Liberals and myself.

The Liberal Party has not one message for the East and another for the West; it has not one gospel for Ontario and another for Saskatchewan and Alberta. Neither has it one appeal to make to Labor and another to Capital, nor one policy for the farming interests and another for the manufacturing. To all alike

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it says, with extreme views, with purely sectional opinions, we are not concerned; what we are concerned about is the common good, and with all who seek the common good we are anxious and ready to co-operate in that spirit of moderation and toleration whereby in non-essentials differences are reconciled, and in essentials the good of all is made to prevail.

Anniversary

It is a pleasing and deeply gratifying thought that this initial meeting comes on the anniversary of the day which concluded the proceedings of the great National Liberal Convention which took place in the city of Ottawa just a year ago. That was the largest and most representative political gathering ever held in the history of Canada. Its deliberations extended over three consecutive days, and were marked by a cordiality and a unanimity of thought and feeling which it would be difficult to surpass. Perhaps I could not do better on this occasion than to dwell a little upon the significance of that Convention, in its relation to the present position of the political parties in this country, and its bearing upon the present and future of Liberalism in Canada.

Significance of Convention

It marks a place of new beginning in the history of Canadian Liberalism, and suggests, by contrast with the methods under which the present so-called National Liberal and Conservative Administration has come into being, the fundamental differences between what we as Liberals believe to be of the essence of Liberal policy and what, in the same connection, may be described as the essence of Toryism. As opportunity is afforded, in subsequent meetings, I shall seek, by ampler reference to the Liberal platform and policy, and to the work of the Liberal Opposition in Parliament, still further to illustrate the differences between Liberal thought and method and the thought and method of those reactionary forces by which Liberalism is ever assailed and opposed. To-day, I should like to deal more particularly with what lies at the root of all freedom and justice in matters of government, namely: the right of the people to govern themselves, through the agency of a representative Parliament and a responsible Ministry. If this right is denied the people as a whole, it matters little what parties or policies we have, whether they be Liberal, or Farmer, or Labor, or parties of any other kind or description, their aims and purposes, failing altogether of legitimate expression, can be of little avail.

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To appreciate aright the significance of the Liberal Convention of a year ago, and the purposes it was intended to serve, it is necessary to have regard for what was in the mind of the great Leader to whose judgment and forethought it owed its origin

LAURIER'S THOUGHT OF A CONVENTION

Many months before his death, which occurred on February 18, 1919, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, had intimated to his friends and to the public that in his opinion the time had come when, with the conclusion of the War and the beginning of a new era of readjustment of world conditions and reconstruction in human society, the Liberal Party of Canada should review its policies, restate the practical application of its principles in the light of changed conditions and new needs, and select from among its followers one who might relieve him, at his advanced years, of the burdens of leadership, which with such farseeing vision and consummate skill he had carried ~~for~~ over a period of thirty-two years.

LAURIER'S HOPES FOR THE CONVENTION

On more than one occasion when this convention was in contemplation, Sir Wilfrid expressed to his more intimate friends some of the hopes he cherished with respect to its outcome. His life had been given, above all else, to the Liberal Party and to the cause of national unity as the noblest expression of its policies of conciliation. No man ever saw Liberal principles more triumphantly vindicated, nor the supreme task of national unity more splendidly achieved, than did Sir Wilfrid during the fifteen years of his premiership of this Dominion. Those years were, and will ever continue to constitute, the golden era of Canadian peace, progress, and prosperity. And yet Sir Wilfrid lived on to see all that for which he had most laboured, seemingly shattered before his very eyes. Fanned into flame by the fierce passions of war, racial and religious hatreds and prejudices were sown like dragons' teeth throughout our Dominion, from coast to coast; and from coast to coast the Party which he loved so dearly, and for whose unity he had striven so assiduously, became dismembered and divided, as was possible only through one of those vast upheavals which shatter systems and institutions, as well as men.

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LAURIER'S HOPE FOR LIBERALISM

It was all part of the inevitable consequences of war, a part of the world tragedy reflected in the political mirror. Sir Wilfrid Laurier was too much of a philosopher, as well as statesman, not to recognize it as such. He once said to me that he thought he had lived too long. It was but a passing reflection, for a moment later his thought was of the convention which was to give to Liberalism its revivified and wider expression, and to the people of Canada the evidence of a reunited and vigorous party. His spirit might have found expression in Browning's words:

"Grow old along with me,
The best is yet to be,
The last of life for which the first was made."

LAURIER'S SPIRIT AT THE CONVENTION

Sir Wilfrid had looked forward to presiding at the convention, and to witnessing the coming together of the Liberals of all schools of thought, and their reunion in a common effort to make Liberal ideas and principles prevail in post-war policies. He was denied this privilege; but long before the end came, the counsels of moderation and toleration, which had been his watch-words through life, had begun to make themselves heard again in all parts of the Dominion, and friends whose political allegiance had been temporarily severed were making known to him their oneness of feeling in the promotion alike of Liberal principles and of national unity. Though Sir Wilfrid did not live to witness the great gathering which was to be a symbol of a reunited and re-inspired Liberalism, the vision he had entertained was realized in very full measure.

LIBERAL UNITY SYMBOLIZED

True, it was left to no one man to fill the chair in which it was expected Sir Wilfrid would have presided; but the presence, side by side as joint presiding officers, of the Prime Minister of Quebec and the Prime Minister of Nova Scotia, and the presence on the platform, beside them, of the Prime Ministers of British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island, as well as the Leader of the Opposition

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in the Province of Ontario, was expression sufficient of a party that was again one, not only in aim and purpose, but also in personnel. It is true that in person Sir Wilfrid Laurier did not preside; but the spirit which ruled his life, that spirit of charity toward all and malice toward none, animated the Convention and lent its guiding genius to the principles enunciated in the platform which was the outcome of its deliberations.

May I at this point be permitted to say that, if in any part or place in our Dominion there be men and women calling themselves Liberals who still harbor towards their neighbors feelings of ill-will or of distrust because of differences of opinion honestly maintained during past political contests, such men and women are true neither to the memory of Laurier nor to the spirit of Liberalism. I care not whether it be a Liberal who opposed the Unionist Government, in his attitude towards those Liberals who supported it, or vice versa, there is neither respect for differences of opinion, nor charitable outlook, in such an attitude. It is not for us to remember differences, either of the past or the present; it is ours to forget the estrangements of the past, to reconcile differences of the present, and to stand, as respects the future, united and ready to co-operate with all those forces that are one with us in liberal aim and purpose.

Standing, to-day, at a distance of a year from that great political gathering - the National Liberal Convention - we are perhaps in a better position now than then to judge of its significance, not only as an outstanding incident in the history of Canadian Liberalism, but also as one of those graphic and realistic happenings which serve to reveal the democracy of aim and method inherent in Liberalism, as contrasted with the autocracy of its opposing force, whether designated Toryism, as of old, or disguised under the name of Unionism, or that of its latest hybrid variety, the so-called National Liberal and Conservative Party.

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I was on the point of saying that, since the Liberal Convention of a year ago, we had witnessed another convention, which had given to the opposing party a new leader, a new platform, and, I should add, a new name. It is true a new leader has been selected, a new platform announced, a new name assumed; but in none of this has the voice of the people or their representatives assembled in convention been anywhere heard. Everything has been by special appointment, under divine or some other assumed inherent right. Here, my friends, is the real difference between Liberalism and Toryism, call them by whatever names you please. Liberalism trusts the people, and manifests itself by giving expression to the popular will. Toryism ignores the people, and manifests itself by the assertion of self-appointed and self-constituted authority.

In addressing the Imperial Press Conference at a dinner given by the Government on Thursday night, Mr. Meighen, the new Prime Minister, took as his text the familiar scriptural injunction, "The truth shall set you free". He said the Press should "tell the truth, and the whole truth, and nothing but the truth". Well, this is the truth I should like to bring home to every individual in this country who is at all concerned in the affairs of government, and who is at all desirous of taking an intelligent interest and part in the control of its political destinies. To my mind, at this time, it is vastly more important that the people should understand that, in the last analysis it is the force of Liberalism or the force of Toryism which is going to control, than that they should know to the minutest detail all the differences in platforms and professions which any party, or any number of parties, called by whatever name you like, may put forth. Throughout the centuries of the past, down to this very moment, there have alternated in the control of the political affairs of men, these two mighty opposing forces: the force of Liberalism, seeking, on the one hand, expression of the will of the many as against the privileges of the few; and, on the other, the force of Toryism, seeking a monopoly of control for the privileged few, indifferent to the needs and demands of the many.

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A force is something larger and vastly more real than any name by which it may be described. The unfortunate and really dangerous aspect of the political situation in Canada to-day is that the force which in reality is Tory is keeping itself united, though hidden, under the disguise of an ever-changing name; whereas the forces that are the real Liberal forces, instead of being united in one broad forward movement which could sweep Toryism off its feet for another generation, are being weakened through the maintenance of futile divisions, some of them old, some of them new, but each seeking special emphasis for itself at the expense of the good which all have in common.

Let me place concretely before you, by way of illustration, actually what has taken place. When the Liberal Convention was called, invitations were sent, months in advance, to every constituency in the Dominion of Canada, calling upon the men and women of Liberal aims and sympathies to send from among their number delegates to represent them in the reconstruction of the Liberal platform, and the selection of a new leader for the Liberal Party. In the call that was sent out no discrimination was made between those Liberals who were Liberal Unionists in the last general election, and those who had opposed the Unionist Government, any more than, in the selection of delegates to the Convention there was any discrimination as between men and women. All were represented there. Of the Premiers of the several provinces who were present, and who took an outstanding part in the proceedings, with but one or two exceptions all had been Liberal Unionists. In the vast gathering of delegates, it was difficult, if not impossible, to say what proportion had supported, and what proportion had opposed, the Union Government at the last general elections. Those present were not thinking of the past; their minds were intent upon the future of Liberalism.

For three days this assembly, counting its numbers not in the hundreds but in the thousands, discussed the questions of the day and the attitude which the Liberal Party, as a party, should assume toward the several issues presented. By a show of hands, in

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open meeting, plank after plank in the Liberal platform was adopted unanimously, or by an overwhelming majority. In no direction were extremes of view permitted sway, though all shades of opinion were freely expressed and carefully weighed. The interests of the West were balanced against the interests of the East; the interests of consumers were balanced against the interests of producers; the interests of the town and city dwellers were balanced against the interests of those in rural parts; the interests of Labour were balanced against the interests of Capital; the interests of the farmer were balanced against those of the manufacturer. And wherever, in this weighing of opinion by popular judgment, an even balance was struck, there the endeavour was made to give practical application and expression to principles upon which all were united.

Leader

Similarly, in the choice of leader, no single man or group of men had a controlling voice. To each and every individual was accorded, under the secrecy of the ballot, the freest expression of choice, and no sooner was the voice of the majority made known than, by the generous and chivalrous proposal of others who had shared in the race, it was made the unanimous expression of the entire gathering. It may well be that, under this method of selection, the difficult and delicate role of a political leader fell upon the shoulders of one less qualified than many another, by years or experience or in other ways, to cope with its exacting demands; but this, at least, cannot be denied, that to members of the Party as a whole the method of selection was as democratic as it was possible to make it.

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without rebuke
Leader of Govern

Contrast now, if you will, the method by which the new leader of the so-called National Liberal and Conservative Party was chosen, and the party's platform devised. ~~The public, for a year or~~ more past, have assumed that Sir Robert Borden's purpose in continuing to hold the office of Prime Minister, was that of keeping together the diverse elements of which has war-time cabinet was composed. As long ago as December last, his own party press announced his resignation, and pronounced their eulogies upon his political past. It was to save the Union Government, not to save the country, that Sir Robert was given a sojourn of many months during which to seek a restoration of his health. That was wholly apparent at the time to any but the most obtuse of political observers. It is apparent now to everyone. The Government continued to exist, not for the sake or good of the country; but the country has been made to serve the convenience and personal ambitions of members of the Government.

For more than a year

manoeuvring among personal interests

Had Sir Robert dropped out, as was his intention and desire, six months ago, the Unionist cabinet and the Unionist party would have fallen to pieces like a house of cards. It required six months of silent manoeuvring among the special interests that held in their hands the fate of the Unionist party, and the placating of its following in the House of Commons by divers methods, some of which have been only too apparent, to bring things to the pass where a leader could be chosen from above, in secret councils, by a sort of divine right, and a party platform formulated without conference, save in caucus of a chosen few. What sympathy can any man professing ~~himself a Liberal, or~~ having a drop of ~~Liberal or~~ democratic blood in his veins, have with a system of party government where control in the matter of name, leadership, and platform alike is decided in secret councils and under the dictatorship of a single individual.

But, it will be said, expressions of opinion were invited, and were carefully considered before any choice and pronouncement was made. Yes, but invited by whom, and from whom? By one individual, from the members of his chosen circle, from that

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unknown coterie of the representatives of privileged and special interests that constitute the invisible government by which in reality the destinies of Canada are at the present time being shaped. Procedure of this kind is the very antithesis of democratic proceedure; it is, in fact, the essence of autocracy.

Here, then, is a distinction in method so fundamental that too much thought cannot be given to its significance by men and women of all shades of liberal thought and opinion, and particularly by those who now for the first time are about to exercise the rights of the franchise. It is a distinction which goes to the very root of all matters pertaining to government; the making of their laws by the people themselves, through those who believe in the people; as contrasted with the making of laws by a privileged few and those who do not hesitate to ignore the people, whenever opportunity so to do is afforded.

Following up this distinction between autocracy and democracy in matters of government, let us now look at the present administration and see whether or not it can be said that in any sense of the word our present Parliament is a representative Parliament or the present ministry a responsible ministry. If they are not, the rights of the Canadian people in matters pertaining to government are being usurped, and the ministry responsible for the usurpation should not be given countenance in any quarter for a single hour.

I shall not dwell at any length upon the circumstances which brought Union Government into existence in 1917. There is one episode, however, which must never be overlooked, for it discloses wherein the Government had its origin in as arbitrary, autocratic, and infamous an act as any government could be capable of. When, in 1916, Sir Wilfrid Laurier and his Liberal following in the House of

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Commons and the Senate consented to the extension of Parliament for a year beyond the time provided by the British North America Act for the duration of Parliament, he did so from the highest of patriotic motives, but upon the distinct understanding that in no particular were the people thereby to be robbed of any control which it was their right to exercise over Parliament. The extension of the life of Parliament for another year was to be for the purpose solely of avoiding political controversy in time of war, and to enable the Government of the day to devote its energies to the winning of the War. By a betrayal of all that honour demanded under such conditions, the then administration, of which it must be remembered the present Prime Minister was a member, took advantage of the new lease of power granted solely for the purpose mentioned, to frame an electoral law which would make impossible any full, honest, and free expression of the will of the people, but which would assure the return to office of the Government controlling its machinery.

May I suggest a simile which will serve to illustrate the nature and consequences of this betrayal of the people, by those exercising authority in their name in Parliament? It was as if the owner of some historic mansion, who had left his ancestral home to participate in the wars of freedom abroad, had found upon his return that the occupants to whom he had granted possession during his absence, presuming upon the unexpected prolongation of the war, had taken advantage of the opportunity thus afforded to rob the home of those possessions which spoke of the struggles of his ancestors and the traditions he hoped to maintain, and had then so strewn with entanglements the customary approaches, and so barred the wonted entrances, as to make impossible the owner's return into free and complete possession.

This is actually what occurred. Instead, however, of its being the home of an individual,,it was the people's House of Commons that was thus robbed of its rights and traditions, and that had its approaches so strewn with entanglements, and its doors so barred, that, from that day to the present, the representatives of the Canadian people, its only lawful owner, have never found it

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possible to regain a full and free possession. Whilst, if honestly carried out, the principle of Unionism in time of war may have had much to commend it, the method by which Union Government was brought about and under which its lease of office was obtained - the infamous War-time Elections Act - was such as to deprive it from the very outset of any truly representative character, and to make it, in the eyes of the public, the living embodiment of arbitrary and autocratic enactment.

It may appear to some that, by dwelling at this late date upon this outrageous encroachment upon the rights of a people in the matter of their franchise, one is harking back unnecessarily into the past, and seeking to revive memories and incidents that, for the sake of national honour and good-will, cannot be too soon forgotten. This indeed would be true were it not that it is only in virtue of this very betrayal that the present administration, with its new name, its new leader, and its new platform, find it possible to occupy the treasury benches to-day. They have received no mandate from the people of Canada. They occupy a position that was usurped at the outset, and which is doubly usurped when it is remembered that the only ground ever urged as a defence and excuse for Union Government and its support, has, with the conclusion of war, long since passed away.

Leaving aside altogether the manner in which Union Government was brought into being and was returned to office in the elections of 1917, and assuming for the moment that the whole transaction was bona fide and altogether in the interests of the people of Canada and of the British Empire at the time, is there anything in the circumstance of the formation of Union Government under Sir Robert Borden which justifies the assumption of office and proposed retention of power by the present Meighen administration. As respects the new administration, it can conceivably be only one of two possible things: either it is, as it purports to be, an entirely new administration, with a new name, a new leader, and a new platform; or it is simply the old Unionist administration, disguised under a new name, led by a new leader, and holding out to the public the pretence of a new platform.

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Take whichever alternative one will, is there aught to justify the continuance in office of this administration? If it is a wholly new administration, and I notice ~~Hon. Mr. Guthrie, speaking at Essex a day or two ago,~~ says we have a very young government in power, it must be perfectly clear that it has received no mandate whatever from the Canadian people. It has submitted no policy for their approval. It has received no endorsation of any kind. It has afforded the electors no opportunity of pronouncing any judgment upon its fitness for office, and no opportunity of expressing their willingness to have it manage the affairs of this country. If it is a new administration, then by every canon of constitutional procedure and practice, it has usurped in their entirety all that pertains to popular self-government upon which we have been led to believe, and which we have a right to believe, all our political liberties are founded.

If, on the other hand, the Meighen administration is not, as its new name, its new leadership, and its new platform would lead the country to suppose, a new administration, but is simply the reincarnation in many coloured garb of that portion of the old Unionist administration that clings to office for the sake of power and patronage - then it is not less a usurper, because the Unionist administration, both for the purposes for which it was formed, and in the personnel of its original membership, has long since ceased to exist, or to retain any of the confidence which at any period of its existence it ever enjoyed.

I shall not ask you to accept, in support of these statements, any representations of mine, nor, indeed, any representations other than those of members of the Unionist administration.

Take, first of all, the Cabinet as originally formed, the personnel of which helped to give to it, at the time, the semblance at least of a Unionist administration. Barely half of the original government now remains. Those who have resigned are: Sir Robert Borden, Sir Thomas White, Mr. Crerar, Mr. Carvell, Mr.

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Maclean, General Mewburn, Mr. Rowell, Mr. Sevigny, Mr. Crothers, and Mr. Burrill. Mr. Cochrane has died. Thus, the Union Government as returned to power in 1917 has lost its Prime Minister, its President of the Privy Council, its Minister of Finance, its Minister of Agriculture, its Minister of Public Works, its Minister of Militia and Defence, its Minister of Labour; and new men have been appointed to fill these positions. Through the resignations of Mr. Crerar, Mr. Rowell, General Mewburn, Mr. Carvell, and Mr. Maclean, it has lost altogether its character of a union government, or its semblance of such.

It is to remembered, as respects what remains of the original cabinet, that three of its members - Sir James Lougheed, Minister of Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment; Hon. Gideon Robertson, Minister of Labour; and Hon. P. E. Blondin, Postmaster General - occupy seats in the Senate, and have never received the endorsation of any portion of the electorate in a single constituency. As a matter of fact, the Honourable P. E. Blondin, the Postmaster General, the only one of the three to contest a constituency in 1917, and who, in order to ensure his election ran in two,different constituencies, was defeated in both: in one by a majority of 1,247, and in the other by a majority of 6,623 or a vote of 7,095 to 472. By the wildest stretch of the imagination, these gentlemen cannot be regarded as in any sense of the word members of a ministry that is representative of the popular will, nor can any of the original members clinging on to office under circumstances of such dismember-ment be regarded as representative of any will but their own.

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Apart from the changes in personnel, let us judge by their own words, and the words of their colleagues, the right to a continuance in office of those ministers who profess to regard themselves as still members of a unionist administration.

On November 2, 1917, a convention of Liberals of Ontario who supported conscription was held in Hamilton. In the report published in the Toronto Globe of November 3, 1917, the following resolution appears, as adopted at that meeting:

Clearly, it was understood by those Liberals who joined with members of the previously existing Conservative government to form the so-called Union Government, that it was to be for war purposes only, and that there was to be a temporary alliance, not a fusion, of Liberals and Conservatives. The Union Government was formed, as expressed in this resolution, for the duration of the War. This was expressly stated on every platform during the election of 1917 by speakers of both political parties.

Among the speakers at the meeting in Hamilton was the Hon. Mr. Ballantyne, the Minister of Marine and Fisheries in Sir Robert Borden's Unionist cabinet and the first minister to be sworn in as a member of Mr. Meighen's administration. Referring to the report in the Toronto "Globe" already quoted, Mr. Ballantyne is reported to have said:

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> "I prefer to take my Liberalism and my patriotism at this juncture from men like Hon. W. S. Fielding in Nova Scotia, or men like Mr. Fred Pardee in Ontario, together with every Liberal Provincial Prime Minister, save one, in Canada."

All the persons mentioned by Mr. Ballantyne as sources of his inspiration have long since asserted that the purposes for which the Union Government was created are at an end, and have been openly opposed to the Unionist Administration. Hon. Mr. Fielding, the person first mentioned, did me the honour of sharing my desk in the House of Commons throughout the past session. On the front benches of the Liberal Party, a little further along, sat Mr. Fred Pardee, equally loyal in his support, and equally strong in his opposition to the Government. Present at the Liberal Convention in August of last year, and generously sharing in the unanimous endorsation of myself as Leader of the Liberal Party, was every one of the Provincial Prime Ministers referred to by Mr. Ballantyne. In what company does Mr. Ballantyne find himself to-day? He is without the association of a single individual upon the weight of whose name he sought to gain prominence and prestige for himself.

Mr. Calder

But Mr. Ballantyne is not the only member of the present Meighen administration who has endeavoured to support his own position by the names of others who to-day stand in open opposition to him. No one could have spoken more strongly against any fusion of political parties through the formation of Union Government than Mr. Calder did. In the month of October, 1917, a meeting was held at Winnipeg which was addressed, among others, by Mr. Meighen, the present Prime Minister, and Mr. Calder, now President of the Privy Council and Minister of Immigration. Reference to the Toronto Globe of October 23, 1917, will show that on that occasion the present Prime Minister is reported to have said:

> "No man or woman is asked to reverse or abnegate convictions on fiscal or other subjects. The accepted basis of union was the only basis on which union was possible under present conditions, and our appeal is that the people of Canada unite on the same basis on which the members of the Government have united and get behind this union and stay behind it until it achieves its end."

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have to appeal to the country or advise the Governor General to call upon the Leader of the Opposition to form a government. Now, observe that every minister mentioned by Mr. Calder, excepting himself, has resigned. Mr. Carvell, Mr. Maclean, and Mr. Rowell have resigned. Not only so, but the Prime Minister himself has resigned. Sir Thomas White, who was Minister of Finance, and for a time Acting Prime Minister, has resigned. According to Mr. Calder's own declaration, therefore, there is now a crisis, and there ought to be an appeal to the country or the Government should call upon the Leader of the Opposition to form an administration.

I need not point out that Mr. Crerar, Mr. Carvell, and General Mewburn have seen their obligation of retirement from the so-called Union Government in the same light as Mr. Maclean and Mr. Rowell. Perhaps I should point out that Mr. Crerar, who was the first to retire, has ceased to give the Government any support whatever, and has been openly opposed to the administration, and voted in favour of its immediate resignation, in support of a motion moved by myself as an amendment to the Address on the Reply to the Speech from the Throne. Mr. Meighen and the members of his government, in the position which they hold to-day, have no more right to regard themselves as having a mandate from the people for that purpose, than Mr. Crerar has in his attitude of opposition to the Government. Indeed, all the ministers who have resigned have just as much right to assert that they have a mandate from the people to carry on the government of the country as the ministers who have remained in office. Neither the one nor the other have received any endorsation from the people as respects post-war policies, or the right to carry on government, now that the purposes for which Union Government was formed have passed into history.

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Loss of Confidence in 1917 elections

But the voice of the people, though afforded no opportunity to express itself at a general election, has found some expression in the several by-elections that have taken place since the spring of 1918. Save in the single instance of the return of the present Minister of Finance, in Kingston, the evidences of the loss of public confidence in the Government has been made only too apparent.

In Victoria, B. C., upon the accession of Hon. Mr. Tolmie to the cabinet, his majority was reduced, from 8,764 obtained at the time of his return as a private member at the general elections to 2,134 in the by-election of October 27, 1919.

Taking as indicative of public opinion the other by-elections, from the East to the West, the results have been as follows:

In Prince County, P.E.I., on October 20, 1919, the present Leader of the Opposition was returned by acclamation.

In Carleton, N.B., the constituency which returned a Minister, Hon. Frank Carvell, by acclamation at the general elections, returned, on October 27, 1919, Mr. Caldwell in opposition to the Government, by a majority of 3,544 over the Government candidate.

In Quebec East, on October 27, 1919, Mr. Ernest Lapointe, the Liberal candidate, was returned by a majority of 3,939, with two opposition candidates in the field. He was not so much as opposed by a Government candidate.

In Kamouraska, Que., on March 30, 1920, Mr. Stein, the Liberal candidate, was returned by acclamation.

In St. James Division, in the City of Montreal, on April 7, 1920, Mr. Fernand Rinfret, the Liberal candidate, was returned by a majority of 1,557 over the Labor candidate, there being no Government candidate in the field.

In Glengarry and Stormont, Ont., where at the general elections of 1917, the Unionist candidate was returned by acclamation, Mr. J. W. Kennedy defeated the Government candidate by 2,376.

In North Ontario, Ont., on December 9, 1919, where the Government candidate had a majority of 1,575 in the elections of 1917, Mr. R. H. Halbert defeated the Government candidate by 185.

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In Temiskaming, Ont., where a minister of the Crown received a majority of 2,157 at the general elections, Mr. Angus McDonald, the Labor candidate, came first in the by-election of April 7, 1920, and the Liberal candidate second, both defeating the Government candidate, after a contest participated in by several ministers of the Crown, including the present Prime Minister.

In Assiniboia, Saskatchewan, represented by a supporter of the Unionist administration at the general election of 1917, no Government candidate entered the field in the by-election of October 27, 1919, and Mr. Gould, the present member, was returned.

What verdict at the polls could be more pronounced than this? From the Atlantic to the Pacific, virtually from the time the present administration was formed up to the present, omitting the ministers, whose position is always exceptional, not a single Government supporter returned for a single constituency in any of the Provinces of the Dominion! A government that had not lost all regard for self-respect would not dare to continue in office in the face of such a declaration of want of confidence on the part of the people. What becomes of any theory of representative government in such open defiance of the popular will?

Voice of Press

One might cite, as a further expression of the voice of the people, most of the leading journals which at the time of its formation supported the Union Government. In their present denunciation of the pretence of unionism, and in their demand for a general election, they reveal how completely Mr. Meighen and his cabinet are prepared to defy public opinion in continuing to hold on to office. The Montreal Star and the Montreal Gazette, during the fall session of 1919, were stating that the Government at that time was no longer representative, and demanded an appeal to the people. The same is true of the Ottawa Citizen, of the Toronto Globe, the Toronto Star, the Winnipeg Free Press, and any number of leading journals which might be named. To public opinion the Government would appear to be as indifferent as it is to public morality.

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Notes in hall.

But not only is the Government indifferent to the voice of the people as expressed at the polls in the several by-elections, and in the daily press, it is equally indifferent to its waning support in the House of Commons itself. There, it must be remembered, any expression of want of confidence would mean, not only the resignation of the ministry, but an immediate dissolution of Parliament as well. This is well known to members of Parliament, as well known by many, as the circumstance that once a dissolution comes they will never again be returned as members. It has been, as a consequence, an easy matter for the Government at all times and occasions to feel assured of majorities sufficient to enable it to survive. It is interesting, however, to observe how the Government's majority has steadily dwindled, and how on occasions it has come well nigh to the vanishing point.

According to the Parliamentary Guide, the Government's majority as determined by the elections of 1917, was 71. In the sessions that immediately followed there were few divisions, and as a consequence it was difficult to test its strength. In the last session or two, however, there have been important divisions, all of which have revealed by what an uncertain and precarious following the Government maintains its hold upon power. In the first division of the session, on an amendment I moved to the Address, on March 1st, demanding the immediate resignation of the Government, as no longer possessing the confidence of the people, the Government's majority was only 34.

In the amendment to the Budget, calling for an immediate tariff reduction which was moved by Hon. Mr. Fielding on May 18th, and which in many respects was the most important division of the session, the Government's majority was only 26.

It was only 21 on the division with respect to ~~the inser-tion of a clause in the Government's contract with the~~ an amendment I moved on April 22 to the Government's Bill to amend the Act respecting the acquisition of the Grand Trunk Railway Company, and demanding the insertion of a clause in the Government's contract with the Company which would ensure to employees of the Company involved in the strike of some years ago the pensions to which they are justly entitled.

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On a motion in the nature of a vote of want of confidence in the Government for refusing to give to Parliament any information respecting the appointment of a Minister Plenipotentiary to Washington, which was moved by Mr. Fielding on May 17, the Government escaped defeat by the slender majority of 5.

Upon the third reading of the Franchise Act, on June 28, the Government's majorities were respectively 31, 26, and 19, on three of the amendments moved by the Opposition. In committee of supply, they hovered about from 24, and 22 to 17 and 15, and again to 11 and 10 on motions to reduce the amounts being voted for military, naval, and police purposes. In the last division of the session, one respecting the reduction by nearly half a million of dollars of the amount asked by the Government for the erection of mounted police barracks, the Government escaped defeat in Committee by the narrow margin of 3.

What does all this go to show? Not only that the administration has lost the confidence of the public, as expressed at the polls and by the press, but that it has been rapidly losing the confidence of its own followers in Parliament. In addition to the large number of resignations from the ministry, there has been this steadily dwindling support in the House of Commons, which, since the close of the session, has been made even less than it was by the further resignation of ministers and one or two members, on the score that the ministry has no longer any mandate to carry on. The Government has lost not only confidence, but it has lost all title to respect, in clinging on to office in open defiance of these many clear and outspoken expressions of public opinion and the popular will.

Were more needed, one has only to look to the several provincial arenas to see how completely exasperated with Toryism, wherever it raises its head, the people of this country have become, mainly through the arbitrary and reactionary methods of the Ottawa administration. Since the War, in Prince Edward Island, a Tory Government has been succeeded by a Liberal. In Ontario,

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where the Hearst Government regarded itself and was generally regarded as the right bower of the Ottawa administration, once the appeal was made to the electorate, on lists prepared under a new electoral law framed by the Government to further its own pruposes, the administration was swept from office and hardly a remnant of Tory members was left in the field. In Manitoba, where another provincial election has been recently held, the Liberal Government remains, whilst the Opposition has been greatly reduced. In the Province of Quebec, the returns show that pnly five Conservatives were elected in an Assembly of 81; and now, last of all, comes the provincial election in the Province of Nova Scotia. There, the Liberal Government has again been returned to power, whilst the Conservative Party has been all but completely routed, there being but two Conservative members elected out of a total of 43.

What could be clearer than the voice of the people thus expressed as indicating the impatience with which the general public views Tory control and the present demand for the control of government under Liberal sentiment and forces? What clearer, the right of the people of Canada to a general election at this time, with a return to a representative Parliament and a Responsible Ministry?

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Toronto Star
Aug 9 20

D 4417

OPPOSITION LEADER DEMANDS AN ELECTION

Hon. Mackenzie King Delivers a Momentous Address at North York Meeting.

WHERE IS MANDATE?

Meighen Government Clinging to Office in Defiance of Will of People.

Special to The Star by a Staff Reporter.

Newmarket, Aug. 9.—Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, Leader of the Dominion Liberal party, received a tremendous ovation at a Liberal picnic here on Saturday, when he opened his political campaign and simultaneously appealed to the electors of North York to return him at the next general election. The audience of 5,000 included members of all parties, and whenever the names of William Lyon Mackenzie and Sir Wilfrid Laurier were mentioned by the speakers, as they were scores of times, loud outbursts of cheering broke from the huge crowd.

Sir Allen Aylesworth and Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux addressed the gathering, in addition to the Liberal leader, and met with cordial receptions. W. H. S. Cane presided.

A resolution expressing unqualified confidence in Hon. Mr. King, and demanding an immediate general election as the only means for restoring responsible Government, was unanimously adopted. Among the signatories to this were two prominent members of the U.F.O. Letters, telegrams and resolutions congratulating Mr. King on the anniversary of his election to the leadership were received from party Liberal Associations, and greetings came from Hon. Frank Oliver, Hon. Sidney Fisher, and several Members of Parliament. Music was provided by the Parkdale G.W.V.A. band and the Highland Pipers of Toronto.

Appeal to the U.F.O.

Sir Allen Aylesworth made a strong appeal to the U.F.O to join hands with the Liberal party to defeat the reactionary methods of Toryism. The speaker of the day also held out the olive branch to the farmers in urging unity of the progressive forces.

"I am proud beyond words that it is my privilege to stand where my grandfather stood almost a century ago, fighting the same battle for responsible government and a representative Parliament, and to receive this expression of confidence from my fellow men in all parts of the Dominion," said Mr. King. "If the spirit of my grandfather, who was in exile when my mother was born, could look down on this demonstration to-day, I cannot help but think he would feel that his struggles for freedom had been indeed rewarded.

"The Liberal party has not one message for the east and another for the west. Neither has it one appeal to make to Labor and another to capital, nor one policy for the farming interests and another for the manufacturer. To all alike it says, with extreme views, with purely sectional opinions, we are not concerned; what we are concerned about is the common good, and with all who seek the common good we are anxious and ready to co-operate in that spirit of moderation and toleration whereby in non-essentials differences are reconciled, and in essentials the good of all is made to prevail.

"Standing, to-day, at a distance of a year from that great political gathering—the National Liberal Convention—we are perhaps in a better position now than then to judge of its significance, not only as an outstanding incident in the history of Canadian Liberalism, but also as one of those graphic and realistic happenings which serve to reveal the democracy of aim and method inherent in Liberalism, as contrasted with the autocracy of its opposing force, whether designated Toryism, as of old, or disguised under the name of Unionism, or that of its latest hybrid variety, the so-called National Liberal and Conservative Party.

Toryism Ignores the People.

"I was on the point of saying that, since the Liberal Convention of a year ago, we had witnessed another convention, which had given to the opposing party a new leader, a new platform, and, I should add, a new name. It is true a new leader has been selected, a new platform announced, a new name assumed; but in none of this has the voice of the people or their representatives assembled in convention been anywhere heard. Everything has been by special appointment, under divine or some other assumed inherent right. Here, my friends, is the real difference between Liberalism and Toryism, call them by whatever names you please. Liberalism trusts the people, and manifests itself by giving expression to the popular will. Toryism ignores the people, and manifests itself by the assertion of self-appointed and self-constituted authority.

"The unfortunate and really dangerous aspect of the political situation in Canada to-day is that the force which in reality is Tory is keeping itself united, though hidden, under the disguise of an ever-changing name; whereas the forces that are the real Liberal forces, instead of being united in one broad forward movement, which could sweep Toryism off its feet for another generation, are being weakened through the maintenance of futile divisions, some of them old, some of them new, but each seeking special emphasis for itself at the expense of the good which all have in common.

How Liberals Did It.

"Similarly, in the choice of leader, no single man or group of men had a controlling voice. To each and every individual was accorded, under the secrecy of the ballot, the freest expression of choice, and no sooner was the voice of the majority made known, than, by the generous and chivalrous proposal of others who had shared in the race, it was made the unanimous expression of the entire gathering. It may well be that, under this method of selection, the difficult and delicate role of a political leader fell upon the shoulders of one less qualified than many another, by years or experience or in other ways, to cope with its exacting demands; but this, at least, cannot be denied, that to members of the party as a whole the method of selection was as democratic as it was possible to make it.

"Contrast now, if you will, the method by which the new leader of the so-called National Liberal and Conservative party was chosen, and the party's platform devised. The public, for a year or more past, have assumed that Sir Robert Borden's purpose in continuing to hold the office of Prime Minister, was that of keeping together the diverse elements of which his war-time Cabinet was composed. As long ago as December last, his own party press announced his resignation, and pronounced their eulogies upon his political past. It was to save the Union Government, not to save the country, that Sir Robert was given a sojourn of many months during which to seek a restoration of his health. That was wholly apparent at the time to any but the most obtuse of political observers. It is apparent now to everyone. The Government continued to exist not for the sake or good of the country; but the country has been made to serve the convenience and personal ambitions of members of the Government.

"Had Sir Robert dropped out, as was his intention and desire, six months ago, the Unionist Cabinet and the Unionist party would have fallen to pieces like a house of cards. It required six months of silent manoeuvring among the special interests that held in their hands the fate of the Unionist party, and the placating of its following in the House of Commons by divers methods, some of which have been only too apparent, to bring things to the pass where a leader could be chosen from above, in secret councils, by a sort of divine right, and a party platform formulated without conference, save in caucus of a chosen few. What sympathy can any man professing himself a Liberal, or having a drop of Liberal or democratic blood in his veins, have with a system of party Government where control in the matter of name, leadership, and platform alike is decided in secret councils and under the dictatorship of a single individual.

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"I shall not dwell at any length upon the circumstances which brought Union Government into existence in 1917. There is one episode, however, which must never be overlooked, for it discloses wherein the Government had its origin in as arbitrary, autocratic, and infamous an act as any Government could be capable of. When, in 1916, Sir Wilfrid Laurier and his Liberal following in the House of Commons and the Senate consented to the extension of Parliament for a year beyond the time provided by the British North America Act for the duration of Parliament, he did so from the highest of patriotic motives, but upon the distinct understanding that in no particular were the people thereby to be robbed of any control which it was their right to exercise over Parliament. The extension of the life of Parliament for another year was to be for the purpose solely of avoiding political controversy in time of war, and to enable the Government of the day to devote its energies to the winning of the war. By a betrayal of all that honor demanded under such conditions, the then Administration, of which it must be remembered the present Prime Minister was a member, took advantage of the new lease of power granted solely for the purpose mentioned, to frame an electoral law which would make impossible any full, honest, and free expression of the will of the people, but which would assure the return to office of the Government controlling its machinery.

Betrayal of the People.

"May I suggest a simile which will serve to illustrate the nature and consequences of this betrayal of the people, by those exercising authority in their name in Parliament? It was as if the owner of some historic mansion, who had left his ancestral home to participate in the wars of freedom abroad, had found upon his return that of occupants to whom he had granted possession during his absence, presuming upon the unexpected prolongation of the war, had taken advantage of the opportunity thus afforded to rob the home of those possessions which spoke of the struggles of his ancestors, and the traditions he hoped to maintain, and had then so strewn with entanglements the customary approaches, and so barred the wonted entrances, as to make impossible the owner's return into free and complete possession.

"This is actually what occurred. Instead, however, of its being the home of an individual, it was the people's House of Commons that was thus robbed of its rights and traditions, and that had its approaches so strewn with entanglements, and its doors so barred, that, from that day to the present, the representatives of the Canadian people, its only lawful owner, have never found it possible to regain a full and free possession. Whilst, honestly carried out, the principle of unionism in time of war may have had much to commend it, the method by which Union Government was brought about and under which its lease of office was obtained—the infamous War-time Elections Act—was such as to deprive it from the very outset of any truly representative character, and to make it, in the eyes of the public, the living embodiment of arbitrary and autocratic enactment.

"It may appear to some that, by dwelling at this late date upon this outrageous encroachment upon the rights of a people in the matter of their franchise, one is harking back unnecessarily into the past, and seeking to revive memories and incidents that, for the sake of national honor and goodwill, cannot be too soon forgotten. This indeed would be true were it not that it is only in virtue of this very betrayal that the present Administration, with its new name, its new leader, and its new platform, find it possible to occupy the treasury benches to-day. They have received no mandate from the people of Canada. They occupy a position that was usurped at the outset, and which is doubly usurped when it is remembered that the only ground ever urged as a defence and excuse for Union Government and its support, has, with the conclusion of war, long since passed away.

In Office Without Mandate.

"Leaving aside altogether the manner in which Union Government was brought into being and was returned to office in the elections of 1917, and assuming for the moment that the whole transaction was bona fide and altogether in the interests of the people of Canada and of the British Empire at the time, is there anything in the circumstance of the formation of Union Government under Sir Robert Borden which justifies the assumption of office, and proposed retention of power by the present Meighen Administration? As respects the new Administration, it can conceivably be only one of two possible things: either it is, as it purports to be, an entirely new Administration, with a new name, a new leader, and a new platform, or it is simply the old Unionist Administration, disguised under a new name, led by a new leader, and holding out to the public the pretence of a new platform.

Take whichever alternative one will, is there aught to justify the contration? If it is a wholly new Administration? If it is wholly new Administraton, and I notice Hon. Mr. Guthrie speaking at Essex a day or two ago says we have a very young Government in power, it must be perfectly clear that it has submitted no policy for their approval. It has received no endorsation of any kind. It has afforded the electors no opportunity of pronouncing any judgment upon its fitness for office, and no opportunity of expressing a willingness to have it manage the affairs of this country. If it is a new Administration, then by every canon of constitutional procedure and practice it has usurped in their entirety all that pertains to popular self-Government upon which we have been led to believe, and which we have a right to believe, all our political liberties are founded.

"If, on the other hand, the Meighen Administration is not, as its new name, its new leadership, and its new platform, would lead the country to suppose, a new Administration, but is simply the reincarnation in many-colored garb of that portion of the old Unionist Administration that clings to office for the sake of power and patronage—then it is not less a usurper, because the Unionist Administration, both for the purposes for which it was formed, and in the personnel of its original membership, has long since ceased to exist, or to retain any of the confidence which at any period of its existence it ever enjoyed.

Cabinet Shot to Pieces.

"I shall not ask you to accept, in support of these statements, any representations of mine nor, indeed, any representations other than those of members of the Unionist Administration.

"Take, first of all, the Cabinet as originally formed, the personnel of which helped to give to it, at the time, the semblance at least of a Unionist Administration. Barely half of the original Government now remains. Those who have resigned are: Sir Robert Borden, Sir Thomas White, Mr. Crerar, Mr. Carvell, Mr. Maclean, General Mewburn, Mr. Rowell, Mr. Sevigny, Mr. Crothers, and Mr. Burrell. Mr. Cochrane has died. Thus, the Union Government, as returned to power in 1917, has lost its Prime Minister, its President of the Privy Council, its Minister of Finance, it Minister of Agriculture, its Minister of Public Works, its Minister of Militia and Defence, its Minister of Labor, and new men have been appointed to fill these positions. Through the resignations of Mr. Crerar, Mr. Rowell, General Mewburn, Mr. Carvell, and Mr. Maclean, it has lost altogether its character of a Union Government, or its semblance of such.

"It is to be remembered, as respects what remains of the original Cabinet, that three of its members: Sir James Lougheed, Minister of Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment; Hon. Gideon Robertson, Minister of Labor, and Hon. P. E. Blondin, Postmaster-General, occupy seats in the Senate, and have never received the endorsation of any portion of the electorate in a single constituency. As a matter of fact, Mr. Blondin, the Postmaster-General, the only one of the three to contest a constituency in 1917, and who, in order to ensure his election, ran in two different constituencies, was defeated in both; in one by a majority of 1,247, and in the other by a majority of 6,623 or a vote of 7,095 to 472. By the wildest stretch of the imagination, these gentlemen cannot be regarded as in any sense of the word members of a Ministry that is representative of the popular will, nor can any of the original members clinging on to office under circumstances of such dismemberment be regarded as representative of any will but their own.

It was understood by those Liberals who joined with members of the previously existing Conservative Government to form the so-called Union Government, that it was to be for war purposes only, and that there was to be a temporary alliance, not a fusion of Liberals and Conservatives. The Union Government was formed for the duration of the war. This was expressly stated on every platform during the election of 1917 by speakers of both political parties.

"Among the speakers at a meeting in Hamilton on November 2, 1917, was the Hon. Mr. Ballantyne, the Minister of Marine and Fisheries in Sir Robert Borden's Unionist Cabinet and the first Minister to be sworn in as a member of Mr. Meighen's administration. Referring to the report in the Toronto Globe, already quoted, Mr. Ballantyne is reported to have said:

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"I prefer to take my Liberalism and my patriotism at this juncture from men like Hon. W. S. Fielding in Nova Scotia or men like Mr. Fred Pardee in Ontario, together with every Liberal Provincial Prime Minister, save one, in Canada."

Hasn't a Leg to Stand On.

"All the persons mentioned by Mr. Ballantyne as sources of his inspiration have long since asserted that the purposes for which the Union Government was created are at an end, and have been openly opposed to the Unionist Administration. Hon. Mr. Fielding, the person first mentioned, did me the honor of sharing my desk in the House of Commons throughout the past session. On the front benches of the Liberal party a little further along sat Mr. Fred Pardee, equally loyal in his support and equally strong in his opposition to the Government. Present at the Liberal convention in August of last year, and generously sharing in the unanimous endorsation of myself as leader of the Liberal party, was every one of the Provincial Prime Ministers referred to by Mr. Ballantyne. In what company does Mr. Ballantyne find himself to-day? He is without the association of a single individual, upon the weight of whose name he sought to gain prominence and prestige for himself.

"But Mr. Ballantyne is not the only member of the present Meighen Administration, who has endeavored to support his own position by the names of others who to-day stand in open opposition to him. No one could have spoken more strongly against any fusion of political parties through the formation of Union Government than Mr. Calder did. In the month of October, 1917, a meeting was held at Winnipeg which was addressed, among others, by Mr. Meighen, the present Prime Minister, and Mr. Calder, now president of the Privy Council and Minister of Immigration. Reference to the Toronto Globe of October 23, 1917, will show that on that occasion the present Prime Minister is reported to have said:

"No man or woman is asked to reverse or abnegate convictions on fiscal or other subjects. The accepted basis of union was the only basis on which union was possible under present conditions, and our appeal is that the people of Canada unite on the same basis on which the members of the Government have united, and get behind this union and stay behind it until it achieves its end.

"No one could have spoken more strongly against any fusion of political parties than Mr. Calder did at that time. He said, referring to what Mr. Meighen had previously said, that

"it was on that understanding they had come in. He was not deserting Liberalism nor the principles for which Liberalism stands. They were not absorbed nor submerged by the Conservative party. They had simply consented to union for the purpose of this war and reserved their views and opinions outside of the war. Union had been achieved only by each side agreeing to sink for the time being purely domestic problems."

"Let us follow Mr. Calder's pronouncements a little further, with special reference to being absorbed or submerged by the Conservatives. On November 11, 1919, in the House of Commons, endeavoring to justify his course in remaining in the Government after Hon. Mr. Crerar had resigned, Mr. Calder said:

"Let me ask honorable members of this House, what would be the consequences if we all followed the course taken by the honorable member for Marquette (Mr. Crerar). Suppose the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Carvell) resigned, and the President of the Privy Council (Mr. Rowell), and the Acting Minister of Trade and Commerce (Mr. Maclean) and myself and others should resign."

at which point there was some interruption, when Mr. Calder continued:

"Do not be too sure, my friends, the task of carrying on Government in this country and the responsibilities that are thrown upon public men are not so all[illegible] as some honorable gentlemen [illegible]m to think. I say, that if these resignations did take place there would immediately be a political crisis in this country, and one thing, and one thing only, could happen; either the Prime Minister would have to appeal to the country, or he would have to advise the Governor General to call upon my friends who leads the Opposition to form a new Government."

"Examine this declaration carefully. Mr. Calder said, and his words are of record in the Hansard debates, that if Mr. Carvell, Mr. Rowell, Mr. Maclean, himself, and others resigned, there would be a political crisis and the Prime Minister would either have to appeal to the country or advise the Governor General to call upon the Leader of the Opposition to form a Government. Now, observe that every minister mentioned by Mr. Calder, excepting himself, has resigned. Mr. Carvell, Mr. Maclean and Mr. Rowell have resigned. Not only so, but the Prime Minister himself has resigned. Sir Thomas White, who was Minister of Finance, and for a time Acting Prime Minister, has resigned. According to Mr. Calder's own declaration, therefore, there is now a crisis, and there ought to be an appeal to the country or the Governor General should call upon the Leader of the Opposition to form an administration.

Lost Many By-Elections.

"I need not point out that Mr. Crerar, Mr. Carvell, and General Mewburn, have seen their obligation of retirement from the so-called Union Government in the same light as Mr. Maclean and Mr. Rowell. Perhaps I should point out that Mr. Crerar, who was the first to retire, has ceased to give the Government any support whatever, and has been openly opposed to the Administration, and voted in favor of its immediate resignation.

"But the voice of the people, though afforded no opportunity to express itself at a general election, has found some expression in the several by elections that have taken place since the spring of 1918. Save in the single instance of the return of the present Minister of Finance, in Kingston, the evidence of the loss of public confidence in the Government has been made only too apparent.

"In Victoria, B.C., upon the accession of Hon. Mr. Tolmie to the Cabinet, his majority was reduced from 8,764, obtained at the time of his return as a private member at the general elections, to 2,134 in the by-election of October 27, 1919.

"Taking as indicative of public opinion the other bye-elections, from the east to the west, the result have been as follows:

"In Prince County, P.E.I., on October 20, 1919, the present Leader of the Opposition was returned by acclamation.

"In Carleton, N.B., the constituency which returned a Minister, Hon. Frank Carvell, by acclamation at the general elections, returned, on October 27, 1919, Mr. Caldwell in opposition to the Government by a majority of 3,544 over the Government candidate.

"In Quebec East, on October 27, 1919, Mr. Ernest Lapointe, the Liberal candidate, was returned by a majority of 3,939, with two opposition candidates in the field. He was not so much as opposed by a Government candidate.

"In Kamouraska, Que., on March 30, 1920, Mr. Stein, the Liberal candidate, was returned by acclamation.

"In St. James Division, in the City of Montreal, in April 7, 1920, Mr. Fernand Rinfret, the Liberal candidate, was returned by a majority of 1,557 over the Labor candidate, there being no Government candidate in the field.

In Glengarry and Stormont, Ont., where at the general elections of 1917, the Unionist candidate was returned by acclamation, Mr. J. W. Kennedy defeated the Government candidate by 2,375.

"In North Ontario, Ont., on December 9, 1919, where the Government candidate had a majority of 1,575 in the elections of 1917, Mr. R. H. Halbert defeated the Government candidate by 185.

"In Temiskaming, Ont., where a Minister of the Crown received a majority of 2,157 at the general elections, Mr. Angus McDonald, the Labor candidate, came first in the by-election of April 7, 1920, and the Liberal candidate second, both defeating the Government candidate, after a contest participated in by several Ministers of the Crown, including the present Prime Minister.

"In Assiniboia, Saskatchewan, represented by a supporter of the Unionist administration at the general election of 1917, no Government candidate entered the field in the by-election of October 27, 1919, and Mr. Gould, the present member, was returned.

"What verdict at the polls could be more pronounced than this? From the Atlantic to the Pacific virtually from the time the present Administration was formed up to the present, omitting the Ministers, whose position is always exceptional, not a single Government supporter returned for a single constituency in any of the Provinces of the Dominion! A Government that had not lost all regard for self respect would not dare to continue in office in the face of such a declaration of want of confidence on the part of the people. What becomes of any theory of representative Government in such open defiance of the popular will?

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"Speaking in Winnipeg, shortly before the beginning of the last session of Parliament, Mr. Meighen, the present Prime Minister, said of the Union Government, that it had many critics and few friends; that he believed that the time had come when its record should be discussed before the people, and that he could well understand with what impatience Sir Robert Borden might be awaiting the opportunity to have the people pass upon his administration. These are not his exact words, but they convey the purport of his remarks.

Challenge to Meighen.

Mr. Meighen is now the Prime Minister. He is to deliver his first public address on political issues at Belleville on Wednesday of next week. It is no longer for Sir Robert to decide when the people are to be given an opportunity to pronounce upon the Government's record. It rests with Mr. Meighen to give this opportunity. What the electors of Ontario and the electors of the Dominion will expect Mr. Meighen to tell them on Wednesday next is not what the Unionist Government has done in the past, nor what he proposes to do in the course of the next couple of years, but whether or not, before another session of Parliament we are to have a general election, and an opportunity thereby afforded the people to send to Parliament representatives of their own choosing, and to return to power a Government that has their confidence. This is the question to which the country awaits an immediate reply. It will judge of the courage and statesmanship of the new Prime Minister by the answer which he makes on Wednesday next. If it is evasive, we will know he is a politician of the type that is afraid to plant his colors and wants to hold on to office. If he will promise us a general election, we will promise him that his tenure of office will be brief indeed. (Prolonger cheering.)

Class Movements Fail.

"The U.F.O. movement is a great economic movement, doing a great work for the agricultural people of this country," continued Mr. King, "but let me say in all sincerity, that history shows that any class movement, whether labor or farmer, so long as it confines its efforts to the economic field is apt to meet with success, but when it enters the stormy arena of politics it is running the risk of defeating its own ends. That may not be the effect of this movement to-day, but history shows that no class can hope to govern a country as diverse as this country is. Class movements are apt to create that discord politically which places town against country, and manufacturer against farmer, making the life of the country less one than it ought to be. I say this openly because above all I want to see Canada a thoroughly united country. We have in our politics in the past paid too much attention to material things. We have been considering railroads and stocks, questions of taxation and other questions which are vastly important, but what are all these things compared with the happiness and contentment of men, women and children? The first duty of a Government is to help to preserve happiness between all classes and creeds.

General Election Coming.

"No one knows how soon a general election may come," said Sir Allen Aylesworth, who represented the constituency for three terms. "The signs of its impending are upon every side. We know that it cannot be delayed longer than two years, no matter how much the Government may want to delay it. It may easily come before the present year is out, and it is well to be prepared. Conditions in Canada are serious enough."

Farmers Should Ponder.

"I have personally the greatest sympathy with any movement that has for its object the improvement of the conditions of the farmers of this country," said Sir Allen, in referring to the candidature of R. W. E. Burnaby of the U. F. O. Having worked on a farm until he was 21 years of age, he was thoroughly familiar with conditions existing nearly half a century ago, he said, and even with the advent of modern machinery he doubted if the average conditions of farmers and their wives to-day were not much the same as then. "In regard to the public platform of the Farmers' Party, I see very little in it to which any good Liberal could take exception. Their principles enunciated in that platform are thoroughly in line with the Liberal platform as formulated a year ago. Under these circumstances, I ask any elector who may be hesitating whether he should cast his vote for Mr. King or the candidate of the Farmers' party, whether it is not a pitiable and deplorable thing that strength should be divided, when there is not merely an opportunity but a practical certainty that with united effort the defeat of the present rascally Government at Ottawa could be accomplished?" (Applause.) "Is it not a pity that in divided effort there may be a possibility of such detriment to the cause of Mr. King that his Tory opponent in this contest should be elected. It is not a question which of the three, so much as it is which of the two—Mr. King or Mr. Armstrong—stands to lose the greatest amount of support by the candidature of the Farmers' candidate. Ask yourselves whether the Tory vote or the Liberal vote is going to be cut into the most, and if in your conviction the danger is that the Liberal party may be hurt the worst, and if for any reason an old Liberal thinks he should leave his old party principles and vote for the Farmers' candidate, let him consider if he may not possibly be cutting his own throat and giving half a vote or more for the Tory candidate he would be least willing to see elected?"

Quebec Leader Speaks.

Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux brought greetings to the ladies from their French-Canadian sisters. In thanking the chairman for kind references to his only son, who was killed in the war, he emphasized that he was not a conscript, but a volunteer. He recently visited his grave near Arras and drew inspiration from the fact that 200 French-Canadians there slept side by side with young men from Ontario. "That is a lesson for Canada. They fought for the same cause. We should take the torch from their hands and carry it to Canada also." (Cheers.)

"We may speak a different language, we may profess a different creed, but we all believe in one God, we all believe in one great country, we all are Canadians," he said, in extending the hand of fellowship from Quebec. A house divided against itself could not stand, and Canada could not endure if half the people were loyal and half disloyal. "It is the duty of Liberal and of wellthinking Conservatives to love their country, their King and their flag, and to preach the gospel of sound Canadianism, union and fraternity." (Cheers.)

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Toronto Globe Aug 9th 1920 D 4421

MACKENZIE KING HEARD BY 5,000 AT NEWMARKET

Liberal Leader Makes First of Series of Campaign Addresses

GREAT LIBERAL RALLY

Sir Allen Aylesworth and Hon. Mr. Lemieux Also Give Stirring Addresses

(Staff Correspondence to The Globe.)

Newmarket, Aug. 8. — One year ago yesterday Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King was chosen as Leader of the Liberal party. On the first anniversary of that date the new Leader, in the riding of which he is the Liberal candidate, delivered the opening address in what will probably be the precursor of the next general election. The picnic, which formed the background for the day's political activities, was held on the Fair grounds and attracted about 5,000 people, and although the speeches occupied about four hours, for the most part the crowd remained until the close and showed considerable interest, notwithstanding the intense heat.

Felicitations were received from Liberal organizations and members of Parliament from all over Canada, the resolution from the North York Riding Association being signed by two members who are prominent in the U. F. O.

Besides the Liberal Leader the other speakers were Sir Allen Aylesworth and Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux. All agreed that the present Administration at Ottawa, whether a remnant of Union Government or a new Government, was usurping power in endeavoring to continue without a mandate. On this point Mr. Lemieux referred to the historic perspective supplied by the riding of North York, that it was from York that Robert Baldwin went when defeated in Upper Canada, and it was to York that Lafontaine came when defeated in Quebec.

The Chairman of the day was W. H. S. Cane, Mayor of Newmarket, and President of the North York Liberal Association.

The One Message.

"The Liberal party has not one message for the East and another for the West," said Hon. Mr. King. "It has not one gospel for Ontario and another for Saskatchewan and Alberta. Neither has it one appeal to make to Labor and another to Capital, nor one policy for the farming interests and another for the manufacturing. To all alike it says, With extreme views, with purely sectional opinions, we are not concerned; what we are concerned about is the common good, and with all who seek the common good we are anxious and ready to co-operate in that spirit of moderation and toleration whereby in non-essentials differences are reconciled, and in essentials the good of all is made to prevail.

"May I be permitted to say that if in any part or place in our Dominion there be men and women calling themselves Liberals who still harbor toward their neighbors feelings of ill-will or of distrust because of differences of opinion, honestly maintained, during past political contests, such men and women are neither true to the memory of Laurier nor to the spirit of Liberalism. I care not whether it be a Liberal who opposed the Unionist Government, in his attitude toward those Liberals who supported it, or vice versa, there is neither respect for differences of opinion nor charitable outlook in such an attitude.

In Space of a Year.

"Standing to-day at a distance of a year from that great political gathering — the National Liberal Convention—we are perhaps in a better position now than then to judge of its significance, not only as an outstanding incident in the history of Canadian Liberalism, but also as one of those graphic and realistic happenings which serve to reveal the democracy of aim and method inherent in Liberalism, as contrasted with the autocracy of its opposing force, whether designated Toryism, as of old, or disguised under the name of Unionism, or that of its latest hybrid variety, the so-called National Liberal and Conservative party.

"I was on the point of saying that since the Liberal Convention of a year ago we had witnessed another convention, which had given to the opposing party a new Leader, a new platform and, I should add, a new name. It is true a new Leader has been selected, a new platform announced, a new name assumed; but in none of this has the voice of the people or their representatives assembled in convention been anywhere heard. Everything has been by special appointment, under divine or some other assumed inherent right. Here, my friends, is the real difference between Liberalism and Toryism, call them by whatever names you please. Liberalism trusts the people and manifests itself by giving expression to the popular will. Toryism ignores the people and manifests itself by the assertion of self-appointed and self-constituted authority.

What Liberals Did.

"Let me place concretely before you, by way of illustration, actually what has taken place. When the Liberal Convention was called invitations were sent, months in advance, to every constituency in the Dominion of Canada, calling upon the men and women of Liberal aims and sympathies to send from among their number delegates to represent them in the reconstruction of the Liberal platform and the selection of a new Leader for the Liberal party. In the call that was sent out no discrimination was made between those Liberals who were Liberal-Unionists in the last general election and those who had opposed the Unionist Government, any more than in the selection of delegates to the convention there was any discrimination as between men and women. All were represented there. Of the Premiers of the several Provinces who were present, and who took an outstanding part in the proceedings, with but one or two exceptions all had been Liberal-Unionists. Those present were not thinking of the past; their minds were intent upon the future of Liberalism.

Method of the Tories.

"Contrast now if you will the method by which the new Leader of the so-called National Liberal and Conservative party was chosen and the party's platform devised. The public for a year or more past have assumed that Sir Robert Borden's purpose in continuing to hold the office of Prime Minister was that of keeping together the diverse elements of which his war-time Cabinet was composed.

"Had Sir Robert dropped out, as was his intention and desire, six months ago the Unionist Cabinet and the Unionist party would have fallen to pieces like a house of cards. It required six months of silent manoeuvring among the special interests that held in their hands the fate of the Unionist party and the placating of its following in the House of Commons by divers methods, some of which have been only too apparent to bring things to the pass where a Leader could be chosen from above in secret councils by a sort of divine right, and a party platform formulated without conference, save in caucus of a chosen few. What sympathy can any man professing himself a Liberal, or having a drop of Liberal or democratic blood in his

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veins, have with a system of party government where control in the matter of name, leadership and platform alike is decided in secret councils and under the dictatorship of a single individual?

The Special Interests.

"But it will be said expressions of opinion were invited, and were carefully considered before any choice and pronouncement was made. Yes, but invited by whom, and from whom? By one individual, from the members of his chosen circle, from that unknown coterie of the representatives of privileged and special interests that constitute the invisible Government by which in reality the destinies of Canada are at the present time being shaped. Procedure of this kind is the very antithesis of democratic procedure; it is, in fact, the essence of autocracy.

Usurper of Power.

"Take whichever alternative one will, is there aught to justify the continuance in office of this Administration? If it is a wholly new Administration, and I notice Hon. Mr. Guthrie, speaking at Essex a day or two ago, says we have a very young Government in power, it must be perfectly clear that it has received no mandate whatever from the Canadian people. It has submitted no policy for their approval. It has received no endorsation of any kind. If it is a new Administration, then by every canon of constitutional procedure and practise it has usurped in their entirety all that pertains to popular self-government, upon which we have been led to believe, and which we have a right to believe, all our political liberties are founded.

"If, on the other hand, the Meighen Administration is not, as its new name, its new leadership and its new platform would lead the country to suppose, a new Administration, but is simply the reincarnation in many-colored garb of that portion of the old Unionist Administration that clings to office for the sake of power and patronage, then it is not less a usurper, because the Unionist Administration, both for the purposes for which it was formed and in the personnel of its original membership, has long since ceased to exist or to retain any of the confidence which at any period of its existence it ever enjoyed."

Signs of Election.

Sir Allen Aylesworth said it was fitting that on the anniversary day of the election of the Liberal Leader there should be held in the riding with which he is identified a general meeting, which would be the opening of his political campaign in the country. While not exactly in the heat of a general election contest in Canada, there was no telling how soon an election might come. The signs of an impending contest were seen on every side. It cannot be delayed beyond two years; it may easily come before the present year is out.

Conditions in Canada were serious enough, continued Sir Allen. The situation as between the two old historic parties was to some extent one of novelty. Each would go before the country with a new Leader. Each would present itself to the country as a supporter of a man who, while he had had experience, to some extent was yet untried.

Anyone familiar with the traditions of the respective parties, Liberal and Conservative, would see at once a marked contrast and at the same time a close adherence to form in the manner and principles guiding each political party in the method of choosing a leader.

Democratic Choice of Leader.

"A year ago to-day, at a great convention of representatives of the Liberal party in Canada, men and women, were gathered together from every section of this great Dominion for the very purpose of organizing itself into fighting form for the next contest that might come. They chose from among themselves the one they thought best fitted to stand in the Leader's shoes. And the manner in which Mackenzie King was selected as Leader of the Liberal party by popular choice is in accordance with the spirit of the democratic institutions for which the Reform party has stood for one hundred years. (Applause.)

"On the other hand, the present First Minister of the country was sent to the King's representative as the choice for the post of Prime Minister made by a few of his colleagues in the Government, or his colleagues in the House of Commons, or the portion of the House of Commons which supports the present Government—the choice, not of the people, but the choice of the few men who for the time being were in a position to advise his Excellency the Governor-General on the subject."

Referring to Mr. Meighen's recent speech at Portage la Prairie, Sir Allen said that the keynote was to cheer up and get together. It was not altogether a political occasion. He could understand the First Minister going home and being met with an appropriate welcome by his neighbors and fellow-citizens. It seemed an opportune time to make such an appeal. It was aimed, some of the newspapers say, at the Province of Quebec. It was a broad hint to the people of the Province of Quebec that the best thing they could do was to come back as they were forty odd years ago.

New Premier a Tory.

"Among all the members of Parliament at Ottawa," continued Sir Allen, "the new Prime Minister was the most typical, out-and-out Tory that the House contained. He may be relied upon to take what I consider the typical Tory, or Conservative, if you prefer, view on any political question that arises. His whole idea of government is government by the strong hand, government by the rattling of the sabre, government by holding down any popular movement which does not meet with his favor."

For such a man to make an appeal directed to the people of Quebec to cheer up and get together reminded him of the joke of his boyhood days, when they applied the first lines of Caesar's Commentaries, that "All gall (Gaul) is divided into three parts, of which you at least possess two." (Laughter.)

Referring to the contest of 1917, Sir Allen said: "The purpose for which the Borden Government forced the conscription measure through Parliament was that they might make the Province of Quebec an Ishmaelite in this country, and endeavor, if they could, to bring together the English-speaking Provinces of Canada in a position of hostility to Quebec.

The Tory spirit in Canada, proceeded Sir Allen, was maintained by the United Empire Loyalists. They left the United States because they could not feel at home in any atmosphere except that of the Monarchy under George III., and they came to this country to support exactly that form of government. In the course of twenty-five or thirty years there arose men who were born on the soil of Canada, and there soon began to grow up a feeling of opposition at the way in which power was aggrandized in the hands of a few, and that was the true origin of the Liberal party in Upper Canada, or Ontario as it is to-day.

Referring to the Farmers' movement, Sir Allen pointed out that a division of the vote at the next election might accomplish the very end for which both the Farmers and Liberals were striving, namely, the defeat of the present oligarchy at Ottawa.

Message to the Ladies.

Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux, who received a hearty reception, addressed his first remarks with characteristic French courtesy to the ladies of the audience. "To them," he said, "I bring a message of friendship and love from their sisters of the Province of Quebec."

Describing himself as one of the deans of the House of Commons, having served Canada and the Liberal party in Parliament for over a quarter of a century, he said he wanted to take back with him to old Quebec a message of friendship and amity from the Province of Ontario as "I now extend to you the hand of fellowship from the Province of Quebec." Quoting Abraham Lincoln, who at the time of the American Civil War, said, using Scripture, "A house that is divided against itself cannot stand," Mr. Lennox drew an analogy to the present situation in

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Canada with its charges and counter-charges of disloyalty. "I say to you men of Ontario that this country of ours cannot endure one-half loyal and one-half disloyal. It is the duty of Liberals, it is the duty as well of Conservatives, to love their country and their King, to preach the gospel of sound Canadianism, of union and prosperity. It is that gospel I wish to preach this afternoon."

Historic North York.

North York, continued Mr. Lemieux, formed an historic political background. It was in this county that William Lyon Mackenzie maintained his struggle for responsible government in Upper Canada. It was from the same neighborhood that Robert Baldwin was defeated by reactionary forces and invited by the Liberals of Rimouski to accept a nomination there. And it was the same riding that later, when Lafontaine was defeated in Terrebonne, secured his election to the Parliament of that day. North York had been represented in the past by Sir William Mulock and Sir Allen Aylesworth, and he believed in the not distant future that it would be represented by Mackenzie King, who was destined to be the next Premier of Canada.

The Portage la Prairie speech again came in for criticism. Mr. Lemieux said Mr. Meighen might be sincere in his desires to see both races in Canada united forever. But the people of Quebec were not so light-hearted as it was supposed and were not prone to be carried away with enthusiasm. They would prefer to wait and see whether the offer was backed up by deeds. Insensible as adamant to flattery they had been in the past, and they were as insensible as adamant to insult in 1917.

"First-class Club" at Washington.

Dealing with the growing expenditures of the present Government at Ottawa, Mr. Lemieux said, with some sarcasm, that $50,000 was voted last session to "maintain a first-class clerk in the office of Sir Auckland Geddes, British Ambassador at Washington. And when the British Ambassador will be away fishing in Maine or hunting in the Rockies, Mr. Rowell or some other good Tory —(laughter)—will immediately step into the Ambassador's boots and settle such questions as arise between Great Britain and the United States."

In the campaign of 1917 Mr. Meighen was guilty of actions which in ordinary times would have made him amenable to the criminal courts. He likened the circumstances in 1917 to what took place in England following the French Revolution when the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended. "The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended in the Province of Quebec, and regiments from the Province of Ontario were tramping the streets of Quebec to suppress supposed riots concocted, planned and arranged by the agents paid by the Minister of Justice. That has been proven before."

On the tariff issue, he said, every sane man was at heart a free trader. But with Canada's tremendous financial obligations it was not practicable to be without a tariff. The tariff should be for revenue only and should not impose burdens upon the necessaries of life. "Our infant industries are getting pretty old, and I think we should have some regard for the consumer."

Congratulatory Resolution.

A resolution moved by Thomas M. Blackburn and seconded by Charles Haines read in part:

"On this, the first anniversary of the accession to the Liberal leadership of their candidate, the Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, the Liberals of North York are proud to avail themselves of the opportunity to express their unqualified confidence in him and in his leadership of the Liberal party, and to extend to him and to the Liberal members of the House of Commons their heartiest congratulations on the work accomplished by the Opposition during the recent session."

From all parts of Canada letters, telegrams and resolutions, congratulating the Liberal Chieftain on the occasion of the anniversary of his election to that position, have been received by W. H. S. Cane, President of the North York Liberal Association. Among them are resolutions from the North York Women's Liberal Association, moved by Miss E. E. Driffill and seconded by Miss Beatrice Cane; from the Montreal Reform Club, Laurier Club, Quebec; Liberal Association, Prince Edward Island; Ontario Liberal Association and Liberal associations in all parts of the Dominion.

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Mail and Empire Aug 9th 1920 D 4424

LIBERAL LEADER DEMANDS ELECTION

Denounces Government at Big Liberal Picnic at Newmarket.

MANDATE HAS EXPIRED

Hon. Mr. King Keeps Clear of Any Reference to United Farmers.

Special to The Mail and Empire from Staff Reporter.

Newmarket, Aug. 7.—The first of a number of Liberal picnics arranged to permit the rank and file of the party in Ontario to gaze upon and listen to their new leader, was held here this afternoon, in the riding which the Hon. William Lyon Mackenzie King, with fine optimism, hopes to make his own. As political picnics go, it was fairly satisfactory. There was not the crowd that one sees at U. F. O. picnics, but it was well attended, and the two or three thousand people on the Fair Grounds found the whole program interesting, even to the speeches. The oratory was rather a heavy meal for a picnic audience, Sir Allen Aylesworth, Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux and Hon. Mr. King filling in nearly three hours in relieving themselves of their messages, but the program called for a big football game after the speech-making was over and the crowd stayed to the end.

The new leader of Liberalism was given a cordial reception, although old-time political enthusiasm was confined to a comparatively limited section of his audience. The great majority of the farmers present—and it was essentially a farmers' gathering—seemed drawn more by curiosity to hear what Mr. King had to say, rather than by the call of party loyalty. Having regard to the fact that within recent months a leading exponent of U. F. O. principles has entered the field in North York against Mr. King, it was a reasonable assumption that the Liberal leader would make some passing comment upon that development and the significance of it. But apparently Mr. King has never heard of the U. F. O. or the U. F. A. or any other organization labeled "United Farmer." Not even when reciting the list of defeats suffered by the Government did he mention the Farmers. When the victor was a Liberal the fact rolled off Mr. King's lips like a sweet morsel, but a "United Farmer" winner was just plain "Mr." without affiliations. In mentioning the "Mr. Gould," who won in Assiniboia, Sask., the Liberal leader forgot that he was a Farmer as well as the fact that his defeated opponent was an outstanding Liberal. But it was another Government defeat.

The Liberal Convention.

Mr. King's address fell naturally into two parts. In the first he preached of a rejuvenated Liberalism carrying on the Laurier tradition. The Ottawa convention he cleverly represented as the fulfillment of the hopes and plans of Sir Wilfrid in the months before his death. From that point it was not a long step to claim the spiritual blessing of Sir Wilfrid for the results of that convention, including the selection of a new leader. The manner of that selection he contrasted with the way in which Hon. Arthur Meighen had been chosen for the Premiership. That contrast, he claimed, revealed the basic difference between Liberalism and Toryism, under whatever name it traveled, between democracy and autocracy in matters of government.

Having settled the question of merit between Mr. Meighen and himself, Mr. King proceeded with the second half of his address, an attempt to prove that Union Government had outlived its term and that the new Administration—if it really was a new administration and not the old one under a new name—had not a mandate from the people, and no right to continue in office. The Government, he maintained, had not only lost the confidence of the people, as was shown by the verdict given in the numerous by-elections, but had lost the confidence of its own supporters in the House. The retirement or withdrawal of member after member and the steady diminution in the Government's majority was evidence enough.

Demands an Election.

He wound up with a demand for an early election.

"What the electors of Ontario and the electors of the Dominion will expect Mr. Meighen to tell them," he said, "is not what the Union Government has done in the past nor what he proposes to do in the course of the next couple of years, but whether or not before another session of Parliament we are to have a general election. That is the question to which the country awaits an immediate reply."

Sir Allen Aylesworth also contrasted the Liberal and the "Tory" manner of choosing leaders, and harked back to the birth of Union Government. He declared that the purpose for which the Borden Government forced conscription through Parliament was to separate the province of Quebec from the rest of the Dominion, to bring together the English-speaking portions of Canada in a postion of hostility to the province of Quebec.

Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux covered the whole political field in a lengthy address, that somewhat tired his audience toward the end. He reviewed the record of the Union Government, and spoke strongly of its attitude toward the province of Quebec. He had heard fair words from Premier Meighen addressed to Quebec, but the people of that province, remembering his attitude toward them in 1917, would wait. They would judge him by his deeds and not by his words. He criticized the Government for its failure to deal with the big problems of the day, instancing profiteering. Not a single profiteer had been jailed, he said. Mr. Lemieux had a good deal to say about the size of the national debt, and adtroitly put the idea of "national bankruptcy" in the minds of his hearers without putting himself in the awkward position of prophesying it. He hoped the country would be able to avoid it, but an honest and fair Government was necessary.

Before closing Mr. Lemieux stated his position on the tariff. He declared that free trade was not an issue in the Dominion. There could be no free trade while Canada had great obligations to meet, but the tariff should be one for revenue only and not for the protection of industries that were now large enough to look after themselves. That was the position the Liberal party was taking to-day.

Mr. King's Speech.

Mr. Lemieux was followed by Mr. King, who plunged into his address without wasting much time in preliminariees. He spoke first of the principles of Liberalism.

"The Liberal Party has not one message for the East and another for the West; it has not one gospel for Ontario and another for Saskatchewan and Alberta. Neither has it one appeal to make to Labor and another to Capital, nor one policy for the farming interests and another for the manufacturer. To all alike it says, with extreme views, with purely sectional opinions, we are not concerned; what we are concerned about is the common good, and with all who seek the common good we are anxious and ready to co-operate in that spirit of moderation and toleration."

Turning to the Liberal convention of a year ago, Mr. King spoke of Sir Wilifrid Laurier's thoughts along that line before his death.

"Standing, to-day, at a distance of a year from that great political gathering—the National Liberal Convention—we are perhaps in a better position now than then to judge of its significance, not only as an outstanding incident in the history of Canadian Liberalism, but also as one of those graphic and realistic happenings which serve to reveal the democracy of aim and method inherent in Liberalism, as contrasted with the autocracy of its opposing force, whether designated Toryism, as of old, or disguised under the name of Unionism, or that of its

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latest hybrid variety, the so-called National Liberal and Conservative Party.

People Not Consulted.

"I was on the point of saying that, since the Liberal Convention of a year ago, we had witnessed another convention, which had given to the opposing party a new leader, a new platform, and, I should add, a new name. It is true a new leader has been selected, a new platform announced, a new name assumed; but in none of this has the voice of the people or their representatives assembled in convention been anywhere heard. Everything has been by special appointment, under divine or some other assumed inherent right. Here, my friends, is the real difference between Liberalism and Toryism, call them by whatever names you please. Liberalism trusts the people, and manifests itself by giving expression to the popular will. Toryism ignores the people, and manifests itself by the assertion of self-appointed and self-constituted authority."

Mr. King reviewed the democratic manner in which the Liberal convention was organized and in which its business was transacted, even down to the choice of a leader. In sharp contrast was the choice of Mr. Meighen.

"Contrast now, if you will, the method by which the new leader of the so-called National Liberal and Conservative Party was chosen, and the party's platform devised. The public, for a year or more past, have assumed that Sir Robert Borden's purpose in continuing to hold the office of Prime Minister, was that of keeping together the diverse elements of which his war-time Cabinet was composed. As long ago as December last, his own party press announced his resignation, and pronounced their eulogies upon his political past. It was to save the Union Government, not to save the country, that Sir Robert was given a sojourn of many months, during which to seek a restoration of his health. That was wholly apparent at the time to any but the most obtuse of political observers. It is apparent now to everyone. The Government continued to exist, not for the sake or good of the country; but the country has been made to serve the convenience and personal ambitions of members of the Government.

"Had Sir Robert dropped out, as was his intention and desire, six months ago," said Mr. King, "the Unionist Cabinet and the Unionist party would have fallen to pieces like a house of cards. It required six months of silent manoeuvring among the special interests that hold in their hands the fate of the Unionist party, and the placating of its following in the House of Commons by divers methods, some of which have been only too apparent, to bring things to the pass where a leader could be chosen from above, in secret councils, by a sort of divine-right, and a party platform formulated without conference, save in caucus of a chosen few. What sympathy can any man professing himself a Liberal, or having a drop of Liberal or democratic blood in his veins, have with a system of party government where control in the matter of name, leadership and platform alike is decided in secret councils and under the dictatorship of a single individual.

Proceeding, Mr. King dealt with the enactment of the War Times Election Section, which he bitterly denounced and touched upon the organization of the Union Government.

"But," he continued, "leaving aside altogether the manner in which the Union Government was brought into being and was returned to office in the elections of 1917, and assuming for the moment that the whole transaction was bona fide and altogether in the interests of the people of Canada and of the British Empire at the time, is there anything in the circumstances of the formation of the Union Government under Sir Robert Borden which justifies the assumption of office and proposed retention of power by the present Meighen administration? As respects the new administration, it can conceivably be only one of two possible things: either it is, as it purports to be, an entirely new administration, with a new name, a new leader, and a new platform; or it is simply the old Unionist administration, disguised under a new name, led by a new leader, and holding out to the public the pretense of a new platform.

"Take whichever alternative one will, is there aught to justify the continuance in office of this administration? If it is a wholly new administration, and I notice Hon. Mr. Guthrie, speaking at Essex a day or two ago, says we have a very young government in power, it must be perfectly clear that it has received no mandate whatever from the Canadian people. It has submitted no policy for their approval. It has received no endorsation of any kind. It has afforded the electors no opportunity of pronouncing any judgment upon its fitness for office, and no opportunity of expressing their willingness to have it manage the affairs of this country. If it is a new administration, then by every canon of constitutional procedure and practice, it has usurped in their entirety all that pertains to popular self-government upon which we have been led to believe, and which we have a right to believe, all our political liberties are founded.

"If, on the other hand, the Meighen administration is not, as its new name, its new leadership, and its new platform would lead the country to suppose, a new administration, but is simply the reincarnation in many colored garb of that portion of the old Unionist administration that clings to office for the sake of power and patronage—then it is not less a usurper, because the Unionist administration, both for the purposes for which it was formed, and in the personnel of its original membership, has long since ceased to exist, or to retain any of the confidence which at any period of its existence it ever enjoyed."

Union for War Only.

Coming toward the close of his address, Mr. King quoted from early addresses of members of the Union Government to show that in entering the Government they were doing so for a definite purpose: for the better carrying on of the war. It was fully understood then that union was to be for the duration of the war only, a temporary alliance, not a fusion. With the close of the war the mandate they received from the people expired. The people had been denied the expression of their will at a general election, but they had found opportunity to express themselves to a limited extent in the by-elections since the Spring of 1918. From the Atlantic to the Pacific, omitting the Ministers, not a single Government supporter had been returned for a single constituency. "A Government that had not lost all regard for self-respect would not dare to continue in office in the face of such a declaration of want of confidence on the part of the people.

Mr. King dealt with the declining majorities of the Government in the Commons and of the defeat of Conservatives in provincial elections.

"What could be clearer," he said, "than the voice of the people thus expressed as indicating the impatience with which the general public views Tory control and the present demand for the control of government under Liberal sentiment and forces? What clearer, the right of the people of Canada to a general election at this time, with a return to a representative Parliament and a responsible Ministry?

"Just this word in conclusion. Speaking in Winnipeg shortly before the beginning of the last session of Parliament, Mr. Meighen, the present Prime Minister, said of the Union Government that it had many critics and few friends; that he believed that the time had come when its record should be discussed before the people, and that he could well understand with what impatience Sir Robert Borden might be awaiting the opportunity to have the people pass upon his Administration. These are not his exact words, but they convey the purport of his remarks.

"Mr. Meighen is now the Prime Minister. He is to deliver his first public address on political issues at Belleville on Wednesday of next week. It is no longer for Sir Robert to decide when the people are to be given an opportunity to pronounce upon the Government's record. It rests with Mr. Meighen to give this opportunity. What the electors of Ontario and the electors of the Dominion will expect Mr. Meighen to tell them on Wednesday next is not what the Union Government has done in the past, nor what he proposes to do in the course of the next couple of years, but whether or not, before another session of Parliament we are to have a general election, and an opportunity thereby afforded the people to send to Parliament representatives of their own choosing, and to return to power a Government that has their confidence. This is the question to which the country awaits an immediate reply. It will judge for the courage and statesmanship of the new Prime Minister by the answer which he makes on Wednesday next."

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Newmarket Era
Aug 13 — 20

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Hurrah for Mackenzie King !

Magnificent Demonstration to the Liberal Leader.

Between 6,000 and 7,000 People Present.

Most Eloquent and Stirring Addresses.

The demonstration planned by the Liberals of North York in honor of their party candidate and the Liberal Leader in the House of Commons, held on the Fair Grounds, Newmarket, last Saturday afternoon, was a grand success, over 6000 people being on the grounds.

Proceedings opened with a splendid game of baseball between Stouffville and Newmarket, which was won by the latter on a score of 8 to 5. It was a struggle from start to finish.

Shortly after two o'clock the Band of the G. W. V. A., Toronto, accompanied by some Highland Pipers, appeared on the grounds and for over an hour entertained the crowds who packed the Grand Stand and all the surrounding space, anxiously waiting for the speaking to start, which was delayed for an hour owing to the interest in the ball game.

Finally Mr. Howard Cane, President of the North York Liberal Association, ascended the platform, which reflected much credit on the work of the Decoration Committee, and the distinguished guests were introduced to the many ladies who were favored with seats on the platform. After a few introductory remarks the chairman called upon the Secretary, Mr. J. M. Walton, to read some telegrams and other correspondence relative to the demonstration.

Mr. Walton very wisely refrained from reading all but two or three, as there were no less than forty communications from all parts of the Dominion, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, congratulating Hon. Mr. King on the anniversary of his election as Leader of the Party and offering best wishes for future health and success in his mission of restoring Liberalism to the reigns of Government and also predicting that he may be Premier in the next Parliament.

Miss Lelia Starr, of Newmarket, secretary of the North York Women's Liberal Association, read the following resolution which was moved by Miss C. E. Driffil and seconded by Miss Bernice Cane :

The Liberal women of North York are proud to take this opportunity of expressing their confidence in Hon. Mackenzie King, as the Leader of the Liberal Party of Canada.

They are especially gratified by the interest which he evinces in the human side of public affairs, the well-being of the people, and the betterment of the homes on which the strength of the Nation is based, and the character of which is a true test of civilization.

They believe that his study and experience of the problems of industry will enable him to render signal service to Canada at a time like the present, when these questions are arousing the keenest interests and anxiety.

They appeal to the women of Canada to make full use of their newly acquired Franchise, to study public questions earnestly and to have their free judgment and conscience exercise its due influence in public affairs.

The following resolution was moved by Mr. Thos. M. Blackburn and seconded by Mr. Chas. H. Haines :

On this, the first Anniversary of the accession to the Leadership of the Liberal Party of their candidate, the Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, the Liberals of North York are proud to avail themselves of the opportunity to express their unqualified confidence in him and in his Leadership of the Liberal Party, and to extend to him, and the Liberal Members of the House of Commons their heartiest congratulations on the work accomplished by the Opposition during the recent Session.

They note with gratification the evidences of unity and harmony in the party ranks, as indicated by the debates and votes in Parliament and the growing tide of Liberal sentiment throughout the Country.

They are encouraged by the strong assertion of the principles of responsible government of Parliamentary independence and control over administration, and of the representative character of our free institutions.

They believe that the work done by the Liberal Opposition and its Leader, in endeavouring to make the new Franchise Act fair and democratic, deserves the thanks, not only of Liberals, but of all the people of Canada, without distinction of Party.

They heartily support the demand for an immediate general election, as the only means for restoring the free representative and responsible character of our institutions and substituting a representative Government and Parliament, for a Government and Parliament which have exhausted their mandate and forfeited the confidence of the people.

"Cheer Up and Get Together."

The chairman then introduced Sir Allen Aylesworth, who spoke for nearly an hour, congratulating Mr. King on his selection as Liberal Leader and contrasting the method of selection with that of the Leader of the present Government—Mr. King having been selected in the democratic form, being chosen by representatives from every part of the whole Dominion assembled at Ottawa, while the new Premier was selected by a few men already in office without any regard to the wishes of the people. That contrast clearly revealed the basic difference between Liberalism and Torryism—between democracy and autocracy.

Sir Allen prophesied that the election would take place in the near future—not more than two years under any circumstances, and he warned the Liberals of North York to be ready. He recalled the recent speech delivered by the prime minister at Portage la Prairie, in which he said that the one thing for the people of this country was to "cheer up and get together." The advice of the prime minister was, in his opinion, good, but he took it as a hint to Quebec to come back to the fold of the Conservative party and lend their help to the new government which the prime minister had formed. It was somewhat akin to the "Come into my parlor said the spider to the fly" idea. The prime minister's way of governing was by sabre and rattling of guns, and the extinguishing of those opposed to him. He considered the prime minister had nerve when he made the appeal to Quebec. In fact, he had a great amount of gall.

He devoted considerable time to the position of Quebec on the matter of conscription and how the then government deliberately sought to wreck the country rather than let Laurier into power. "They wanted to make Quebec the Ishmael and outcast of Canada," he said, and "the newspapers of Ontario did not give fair play to Quebec, who sent so many men to the mother country, France." He thought it outrageous on the part of Meighen to say to the people who had suffered so much as Quebec, to come together.

Sir Allen said he would welcome any candidate who would strive for better treatment to farmers, and he considered there was nothing in the Farmer's policy to which the Liberals could take exception. He said their ideas were brought well in line with the policy of the Liberal party formulated a year ago, and deplored that there should be divided efforts which "would give the rascally government a chance of winning in this riding." He urged the electors to vote for Mr. King.

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Lemieux's Gallantry.

Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux told the ladies that he would take back to Quebec a feeling of amity and friendship from the women of Ontario, and he extended from his province similar sentiments. "In Quebec, we have a different creed, but we have the same God and we serve the same country," he said, amidst applause. He said to the province of Ontario: "No house divided against itself can stand. This country cannot succeed if it is half loyal and half separate. Conservatives should preach the gospel of unity and fraternity." The speaker spoke in eulogistic terms of Hon. King, the chosen standard-bearer at the next election, and grandson of that father of responsible government, the late Lyon Mackenzie. He provoked much laughter when he stated that "we want a King as leader, but we want a queen as well." He said Mr. King had a difficult task to tackle, confronted with an experienced opponent, supported by the big interests, and to fill the shoes of the late Sir Wilfrid Laurier. He thought the people of this country, Liberals and true Conservatives alike, would unite and return to power at the next election the party which, in his opinion, had done such good work from 1896 to 1911.

Mr. Lemieux was thunderstruck with the speech delivered by Mr. Meighen at Portage la Prairie, especially when he extended the olive branch to the old province of Quebec. "I am a doubting Thomas, and my reply to Mr. Meighen is that the people of Quebec are queer people. They will rather wait and seek to judge the prime minister not by words of mouth, but by deeds."

The speaker said that the campaign of 1911 was a whispering one. It was one of defamation—one of make believe. He said the Conservative party had not been two months in power before Sir George Foster was sent to Washington to seek favors for the farmers of the west, and that the Tories had been dealing in reciprocity ever since. He charged Mr. Meighen with acts which in ordinary times would have made him amenable to the criminal courts. "We said to the prime minister that it was bad enough to deprive Canadians of their franchise in 1917, and to deprive the boys in the trenches, but you, sir, have distributed in some of the constituencies secret ballots of our soldiers; you asked the officer at Ottawa to put so many ballots in certain counties." He did not know but what something occurred in North York to put Armstrong in.

Mr. Lemieux charged Mr. Meighen when he was solicitor-general with formenting trouble in Quebec. "The people of Quebec were exposed to all sorts of insults by the minister," he said, and added that the time had come when all must work shoulder to shoulder and have a more British system of government.

The speaker, alluding to the gigantic national debt of Canada, said it was high time to practice economy, and he advocated the cutting of the expenditure on the militia department, which costs about $12,000,000 a year. He said that now the war was over the frills appertaining to that department could be dispensed with and the money more profitably used in the purchase of box cars to move the produce of the farms throughout the country.

Mr. King's Speech.

It was about half past five when Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King was introduced to the audience and was received with rousing cheers. For three-quarters of an hour the people waited and hung upon his eloquence and oratory, together with his convincing arguments, in spite of the lateness of the hour and the attraction of the football game. He plunged into his address without loosing time on preliminaries. He said :

My first words, on this occasion, must be of thanks to the many friends in North York, to whose thoughtfulness and generosity I owe the privilege of speaking to the electors, no of this riding only, but of the Prov ince, in the first of a series of meet ings which I hope to address in th course of the present month. If al goes well, I shall have the opportunit of meeting with the electors of Britis Columbia and the Prairie Provinces i the early fall.

Recalling as I do the series of splen did meetings held in the Maritim Provinces at the beginning of the yea and other meetings addressed in th Province of Quebec, I cannot but fee that the wider acquaintance thus gain ed with the people of all parts of ou Dominion, and the first-hand know ledge acquired of existing problems will be of the utmost service not onl in making better known throughou the Dominion the principles, policies, and platform of the Liberal Party, but in bringing these principles and policies to bear in a direct and vital manner upon the needs of all classes and sections of our country.

It is my firm belief that any principle which is not sufficiently wide in its application to serve the interest of all classes, or any policy that is not sufficiently broad to meet the common, as opposed to any special, interest, possesses but little of enduring value to a nation as a whole, and is not likely to make for that unity and stability in matters pertaining to government without which there can be neither progress nor contentment. It is for this reason that I especially welcome the opportunity of addressing my fellow Liberals and myself.

The Liberal Party has not one message for the East and another for the West; it has not one gospel for Ontario and another for Saskatchewan and Alberta. Neither has it one appeal to make to Labor and another to Capital, nor one policy for the farming interests and another for the manufacturing. To all alike it says, with extreme views, with purely sectional opinions, we are not concerned; what we are concerned about is the common good, and with all who seek the common good we are anxious and ready to co-operate in that spirit of moderation and toleration whereby in non-essentials differences are reconciled, and in essentials the good of all is made to prevail.

It is a pleasing and deeply gratifying thought that this initial meeting comes on the anniversary of the day which concluded the proceedings of the great National Liberal Convention which took place in the city of Ottawa just a year ago. That was the largest and most representative political gathering eves held in the history of Canada. Its deliberations extended over three consecutive days, and were marked by a cordiality and a unanimity of thought and feeling which it would be difficult to surpass. Perhaps I could not do better on this occasion than to dwell a little upon the significance of that Convention, in its relation to the present position of the political parties in this country and its bearing upon the present and future of Liberalism in Canada.

It marks a place of new beginning in the history of Canadian Liberalism, and suggests, by contrast with the methods under which the present so-called National Liberal and Conservative Adminstration has come into being, the fundamental differences between what we as Liberals believe to be of the essence of Liberal policy and what, in the same connection, may be described as the essence of Toryism. As opportunity is afforded, in subsequent meetings, I shall seek by ampler reference to the Liberal platform and policy and to the work of the Liberal Opposition in Parliament, still further to illlustrate the differences between Liberal thought and method and the thought and method of those reactionary forces by which Liberalism is ever assailed and opposed. To-day, I should like to deal more particularly with what lies at the root of all freedom and justice in matters of government, namely : the right of the people to govern themselves, through the agency of a representative Parliament and a responsible Ministry. If this right is denied the people as a whole, it matters little what parties or policies we have, whether they be Liberal, or Farmer, or Labor, or parties of any other kind of description, their aims and purposes, failing altogether of legitimate expression, can be of little avail.

To appreciate aright the significance of the Liberal Convention of a year ago, and the purposes it was intended to serve, it is necessary to have regard for what was in the mind of the great Leader to whose judgment and forethought it owed its origin.

Laurier's Thought of a Convention.

Many months before his death, which occurred on February 18, 1919, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, had intimated to his friends and to the public that in his opinion the time had come when, with the conclusion of the War and the beginning of a new era of readjustment of world conditions and reconstruction in human society, the Liberal Party of Canada should review its policies, restate the practical application of its principles in the light of changed conditions and new needs, and select from among its followers one who might relieve him, at his advanced years, of the burdens of leadership, which with such farseeing vision and consummate skill he had carried over a period of thirty-two years.

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Laurier's Hopes for the Convention.

On more than one occasion when this convention was in contemplation, Sir Wilfrid expressed to his more intimate friends some of the hopes he cherished with respect to its outcome: His life had been given, above all else, to the Liberal Party and to the cause of national unity as the noblest expression of its policies of conciliation. No man ever saw Liberal principles more triumphantly vindicated, nor the supreme task of national unity more splendidly achieved, than did Sir Wilfrid during the fifteen years of his premiership of this Dominion. Those years were, and will ever continue to constitute, the golden era of Canadian peace, progress and prosperity. And yet Sir Wilfrid lived on to see all that for which he had most laboured, seemingly shattered before his very eyes. Fanned into flame by the fierce passions of war, racial and religious hatreds and prejudices were sown like dragons' teeth throughout our Dominion, from coast to coast; and from coast to coast the Party which he loved so dearly, and for whose unity he had striven so assiduously, became dismembered and divided, as was possible only through one of those vast upheavals which shatter system and institutions, as well as men.

Laurier's Hope for Liberalism.

It was all part of the inevitable consequence of war, a part of the world tragedy reflected in the political mirror. Sir Wilfrid Laurier was too much of a philosopher, as well as statesman, not to recognize it as such. He once said to me that he thought he had lived too long. It was but a passing reflection, for a moment later his thought was of the convention which was to give to Liberalism its revivified and wider expression, and to the people of Canada the evidence of a reunited and vigorous party. His spirit might have found expression in Browning's words :

"Grow old along with me,
The best is yet to be,
The last of life for which the first
was made."

Laurier's Spirit at the Convention.

Sir Wilfrid had looked forward to presiding at the convention, and to witnessing the coming together of the Liberals of all schools of thought, and their union in a common effort to make Liberal ideas and principles prevail in post-war policies. He was denied this privilege; but long before the end came the counsels of moderation and toleration, which had been his watchwords through life, had begun to make themselves heard again in all parts of the Dominion, and friends whose political allegiance had been temporarily severed were making known to him their oneness of feeling in the promotion alike of Liberal principles and of national unity. Though Sir Wilfrid did not live to witness the great gathering which was to be a symbol of a reunited and reinspired Liberalism, the vision he had entertained was realized in very full measure.

Liberal Unity Symbolized.

True, it was left to no one man to fill the chair in which it was expected Sir Wilfrid would have presided; but the presence, side by side as joint presiding officers, of the Prime Minister of Quebec and the Prime Minister of Nova Scotia, and the presence on the platform, beside them, of the Prime Ministers of British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, as well as the Leader of the Opposition in the Province of Ontario, was expression sufficient of a party that was again one, not only in aim and purpose, but also in personnel. It is true that in person Sir Wilfrid Laurier did not preside; but the spirit which ruled his life, that spirit of charity toward all and malice toward none, animated the Convention and lent its guiding genius to the principles enunciated in the platform which was the outcome of its deliberations.

May I at this point be permittde to say that, if in any part or place in our Dominion there be men and women calling themselves Liberals who still harbor towards their neighbors feelings of ill-will or of distrust because of differences of opinion honestly maintained during past political contests, such men and women are neither true to the memory of Laurier nor to the spirit of Liberalism. I care not whether it be a Liberal who opposed the Unionist Government, in his attitude towards those Liberals who supported it, or vice versa, there is neither respect for differences of opinion, nor charitable outlook, in such an attitude. It is not for us to remember differences, either of the past or the present; it is ours to forget the estrangements of the past, to reconcile differences of the present, and to stand, as respects the future, united and ready to co-operate with all those forces that are one with us in liberal aim and purpose.

Standing, to-day, at a distance of a year from that great political gathering —the National Liberal Convention— we are perhaps in a better position now than then to judge of its significance, not only as an outstanding incident in the history of Canadian Liberalism, but also as one of those graphic and realitic happenings which serve to reveal the democracy of aim and method inherent in Liberalism, as contrasted with the autocracy of its opposing force, whether designated Toryism, as of old, or disguised under the name of Unionism, or that of its latest hybrid variety, the so-called National Liberal and Conservative Party.

I was on the point of saying that, since the Liberal Convention of a year ago, we had witnessed another convention, which had given to the opposing party a new leader, a new platform, and, I should add, a new name. It is true a new leader has been selected, a new platform announced, a new name assumed; but in none of this has the voice of the people or their representatives assembled in convention been anywhere heard. Everything has been by special appointment, under divine or some other assumed inherent right. Here, my friends, is the real difference between Liberalism and Toryism, all the way whatever names you please. Liberalism trusts the people, and manifests itself by giving expression to the popular will. Toryism ignores the people, and manifests tself by the assertion of self-appointed and self-constituted authority.

In addressing, the Imperial Press Conference at a dinner given by the Government on Thursday night, Mr. Meighen, the new Prime Minister, took as his text the familiar scriptural injunction, "The truth shall set you free." He said the Press should "tell the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth." Well, this is the truth I should like to bring home to every individual in this country who is at all concerned in the affairs of government, and who is at all desirous of taking an intelligent interest and part in the control of its political destinies. To my mind, at this time, it is vastly more important that the people should understand that, in the last analysis it is the force of Liberalism or the force of Toryism which is going to control, than that they should know to the minutest detail all the differences in platforms and professions which any party, or any number of parties, called by whatever name you like may put forth. Throughout the centuries of the past, down to this very moment, there have alternated in the control of the political affairs of men, these two mighty opposing forces : the force of Liberalism, seeking, on the one hand expression of the will of the many as against the privileges of the few; and, on the other, the force of Toryism, seeking a monopoly of control for the privileged few indifferent to the needs and demands of the many.

A force is something larger and vastly more real than any name by which it may be described. The unfortunate and really dangerous aspect of the political situation in Canada today is that the force which is reality is Tory is keeping itself united, though hidden, under the disguise of an ever-changing name; whereas the forces that are the real Liberal forces, instead of being united in one broad forward movement which could sweep Toryism off its feet for another generation, are being weakened through the maintenance of futile divisions, some of them old, some of them new, but each seeking special emphasis for itself at the expense of the good which all have in common.

Let me place concretely before you, by way of illustration, actually what has taken place. When the Liberal Convention was called, invitations were sent, months in advance, to every constituency in the Dominion of Canada, calling upon the men and women of Liberal aims and sympathies to send from among their number delegates to represent them in the reconstruction of the Liberal platform, and the selection of a new leader for the Liberal Party. In the call that was sent out no discrimination was made between those Liberals who were Liberal Unionists in the last general election, and those who had opposed the Unionist Government, any more than, in the selection of delegates to the Convention, there was any discrimination as between men and women. All were

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represented there. Of the Premiers of the several provinces who were present, and who took an outstanding part in the proceedings, with but one or two exceptions all had been Liberal Unionists. In the vast gathering of delegates, it was difficult, if not impossible, to say what proportion had supported, and what proportion had opposed, the Union Government at the last general elections. Those present were not thinking of the past; their minds were intent upon the future of Liberalism.

For three days this assembly, counting its numbers not in the hundreds but in the thousands, discussed the questions of the day and the attitude which the Liberal Party, as a Party, should assume toward the several issues presented. By a show of hands, in open meeting, plank after plank in the Liberal platform was adopted unanimously, or by an overwhelming majority. In no direction were extremes of view permitted sway, though all shades of opinion were freely expressed and carefully weighed. The interests of the West were balanced against the interests of the East, the interests of consumers were balanced against the interests of producers; the interests of the town and city dwellers were balanced against the interests of those in rural parts; the interests of Labor were balanced against the interests of Capital; the interests of the farmer were balanced against those of the manufacturer. And wherever, in this weighing of opinion by popular judgment, an even balance was struck, there the endeavour was made to give practical application and expression to principles upon which all were united.

Similarly, in the choice of leader, no single man or group of men had a controlling voice. To each and every individual was accorded, under the secrecy of the ballot, the freest expression of choice, and no sooner was the voice of the majority made known than, by the generous and chivalrous proposal of others who had shared in the race, it was made the unanimous expression of the entire gathering. It may well be that, under this method of selection, the difficult and delicate role of a political leader fell upon the shoulders of one less qualified than many another, by years of experience or in other ways, to cope with its exacting demands; but this, at least, cannot be denied, that to members of the Party as a whole the method of selection was as democratic at is was possible to make it.

Contrast now, if you will, the method by which the new leader of the so-called National Liberal and Conservative Party was chosen, and the party's platform devised. The public, for a year or more past, have assumed that Sir Robert Borden's purpose in continuing to hold the office of Prime Minister, was that of keeping together the diverse elements of which his war-time cabinet was composed. As long ago as December last, his own party press announced his resignation, and pronounced their eulogies upon his political past. It was to save the Union Government, not to save the country, that Sir Robert was given a sojourn of many months during which to seek a restoration of his health. That was wholly apparent at the time to any but the most obtuse of political observers. It is apparent now to everyone. The Government continued to exist, not for the sake or good of the country; but the country has been made to serve the convenience and personal ambitions of members of the Government.

Had Sir Robert dropped out, as was his intention and desire, six months ago, the Unionist cabinet and the Unionist party would have fallen to pieces like a house of cards. It required six months of silent manoeuvring among the special interests that held in their hands the fate of the Unionist party, and the placating of its following in the House of Commons by divers methods, some of which have been only too apparent, to bring things to the pass where a leader could be chosen from above, in secret councils, by a sort of divine right, and a party platform formulated without conference, save in caucus of a chosen few. What sympathy can any man professing himself a Liberal, or having a drop of Liberal or democratic blood in his veins, have with a system of party government where control in the matter of name, leadership, and platform alike is decided in secret councils and under the dictatorship of a single individual.

But, it will be said, expressions of opinion were invited, and were carefully considered before any choice and pronouncement was made. Yes, but invited by whom, and from whom? By one individual, from the members of his chosen circle, from that unknown coterie of the representatives of privileged and special interests that constitute the invisible government by which in reality the destinies of Canada are at the present time being shaped. Procedure of this kind is the very antithesis of democratic procedure; it is in fact, the essence of autocracy.

Here, then, is a distinction in method so fundamental that too much thought canont be given to its significance by men and women of all shades of liberal thought and opinion, and particularly by those who now for the first time are about to exercise the rights of the franchise. It is a distinction which goes to the very root of all matters pertaining to government: the making of their laws by the people themselves, through those who believe in the people; as contrasted with the making of laws by a privileged few and those who do not hesitate to ignore the people, whenever opportunity so to do is afforded.

Following up this distinction between autocracy and democracy in matters of government, let us now look at the present administration and see whether or not it can be said that in any sense of the word our present Parliament is a representative Parliament or the present ministry a responsible ministry. If they are not, the rights of the Canadian people in matters pertaining to government are being usurped, and the ministry responsible for the usurpation should not be given countenance in any quarter for a single hour.

I shall not dwell at length upon the circumstances which brought Union Government into existence in 1917. There is one episode, however, which must never be overlooked, for it discloses wherein the Government had its origin in as arbitrary, autocratic, and infamous an act as any government could be capable of. When, in 1916, Sir Wilfrid Laurier and his Liberal following in the House of Comons and the Senate consented to the extension of Parliament for a year beyond the time provided by the British North America Act for the duration of Parliament, he did so from the highest of patriotic motives, but upon the distinct understanding that in no particular were the people thereby to be robbed of any control which it was their right to exercise over Parliament.

The extension of the life of Parliament for another year was to be for the purpose solely of avoiding political controversy in time of war, and to enable the Government of the day to devote its energies to the winning of the War. By a betrayal of all that honour demanded under such conditions, the then administration, of which it must be remembered the present Prime Minister was a member, took advantage of the new lease of power granted solely for the purpose mentioned, to frame an electoral law which would make impossible any full, honest, and free expression of the will of the people, but which would assure the return to office of the Government controlling its machinery.

May I suggest a simile which will serve to illustrate the nature and consequences of this betrayal of the people, by those exercising authority in their name in Parliament? It was as if the owner of some historic mansion, who had left his ancestral home to participate in the wars of freedom abroad, had found upon his return that its occupants to whom he had granted possession during his absence, presuming upon the unexpected prolongation of the war, had taken advantage of the opportunity thus afforded to rob the home of those possessions which spoke of the struggles of his ancestors and the traditions he hoped to maintain, and had then so strewn with entanglements the customary approaches, and so barred the wonted entrances, as to make impossible the owner's return into free and complete possession.

This is actually what occurred. Instead, however, of it being the home of an individual, it was the people's House of Commons that was thus robbed of its rights and traditions, and that had its approaches so strewn with entanglements, and its doors so barred, that, from that day to the present, the representatives of the Canadian people, its only lawful owner, have never found it possible to regain a full and free possession. Whilst, honestly carried out, the principle of Unionism in time of war may have had much to commend it, the method by which Union Government was brought about and under which its lease of office was obtained—the infamous War-time Elections Act—was such as to deprive it from the very outset of any truly representative character, and to make it, in the eyes of the public, the

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living embodiment of arbitrary and autocratic enactment.

It may appear to some that, by dwelling at this late date upon this outrageous encroachment upon the rights of a people in the matter of their franchise, one is harking back unnecessarily into the past, and seeking to revive memories and incidents that, for the sake of national honour and good-will, cannot be too soon forgotten. This indeed would be true were it not that it is only in virtue of this very betrayal that the present administration, with its new name, its new leader, and its new platform, find it possible to occupy the treasury benches to-day. They have received no mandate from the people of Canada. They occupy a position that was usurped at the outset, and which is doubly usurped when it is remembered that the only ground ever urged as a defence and excuse for Union Government and its support, has, with the conclusion of war, long since passed away.

Leaving aside altogether the manner in which Union Government was brought into being and was returned to office in the elections of 1917, and assuming for the moment that the whole transaction was bona fide and altogether in the interests of the people of Canada and of the British Empire at the time, is there anything in the circumstance of the formation of Union Government under Sir Robert Borden which justifies the assumption of office and proposed retention of power by the present Meighen administration. As respects the new administration, it can conceivably be only one of two possible things : either it is, as it purports to be, an entirely new administration, with a new name, a new leader, and a new platform, or it is simply the old Unionist administration, disguised under a new name, led by a new leader, and holding out to the public the pretence of a new platform.

Take which ever alternative one will, is there aught to justify the continuance in office of this administration ? If it is a wholly new administration, and I notice Hon. Mr. Guthrie, speaking at Essex a day or two ago, says we have a very young government in power, it must be perfectly clear that it has received no mandate whatever from the Canadian people. It has submitted no policy for their approval. It has received no endorsation of any kind. It has afforded the electors no opportunity of pronouncing any judgment upon its fitness for office, and no opportunity of expressing their willingness to have it manage the affairs of this country. If it is a new administration, then by every canon of constitutional procedure and practice, it has usurped in their entirety all that pertains to popular self-government upon which we have been led to believe, and which we have a right to believe, all our political liberties are founded.

If, on the other hand, the Meighen administration is not, as its new name, its new leadership, and its new platform would lead the country to suppose, a new administration, but is simply the reincarnation in many-coloured garb of that portion of the old Unionist administration that clings to office for the sake of power and patronage—then it is not less a usurper, because the Unionist administration, both for the purposes for which it was formed, and in the personnel of its original membership, has long since ceased to exist, or to retain any of the confidence which at any period of its existence it ever enjoyed.

I shall not asked you to accept, in support of these statements, any representations of mine nor, indeed, any representations other than those of members of the Unionist administration.

Take, first of all, the Cabinet as originally formed, the personnel of which helped to give to it, at the time, the semblance at least of a Unionist administration. Barely half of the original government now remains. Those who have resigned are : Sir Robert Borden, Sir Thomas White, Mr. Crerar, Mr. Carvell, Mr. Maclean, General Mewburn, Mr. Rowell, Mr. Sevigny, Mr. Crothers, and Mr. Burrill. Mr. Cochrane has died. Thus, the Union Government as returned to power in 1917 has lost its Prime Minister, its President of the Privy Council, its Minister of Finance, its Minister of Agriculture, its Minister of Public Works, its Minister of Militia and Defence, its Minister of Labour; and new men have been appointed to fill these positions. Through the resignations of Mr. Crerar, Mr. Rowell, General Mewburn, Mr. Carvell and Mr. Maclean, it has lost altogether its character of a union government, or its semblance of such.

It is to be remembered, as respects what remains of the original cabinet, that three of is members—Sir James Lougheed, Minister of Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment; Hon. Gideon Robertson, Minister of Labour; and Hon. P. E. Bloudin, Postmaster General—occupy seats in the Senate, and have never received the endorsation of any portion of the electorate in a single constituency. As a matter of fact, the Honourable P. E. Blondin, the Postmaster General, the only one of the three to contest a constituency in 1917, and who, in order to ensure his election ran in two different constituencies, was defeated in both, in one by a majority of 1,247, and in the other by a majority of 6.623 or a vote of 7,095 to 472. By the wildest stretch of the imagination, these gentlemen cannot be regarded as in any sense of the word members of a ministry that is representative of the popular will, nor can any of the original members clinging on to office under circumstances of such dismemberment be regarded as representative of any will but their own.

Apart from the changes in personnel, let us judge by their own words, and the words of their colleagues, the right to a continuance in office of those ministers who profess to regard themselves as still members of a unionist administration.

On November 2, 1917, a convention of Liberals of Ontario who supported conscription was held in Hamilton. In the report published in the Toronto Globe of November 3, 1917, the following resolution appears to have been adopted at that meeting :

"That, whereas since the notice calling this convention was sent out, a union government has been formed, in which Liberals throughout the Dominion have joined, this Convention, recording its belief that the formation of a union government for the duration of the war was highly desirable and in the best interests of Canada, and believing that thereby the share of Canada in the conduct of the present world-war will be best served, and the government of the country most effectively and satisfactorily carried on during the period of the War, expresses its approval of the action of the Liberal members of the present union government in entering same."

Clearly, it was understood by those Liberals who joined with members of the previously existing Conservative government, to form the so-called Union Government, that it was to be for war purposes only, and that there was to be a temporary alliance, not a fusion, of Liberals and Conservatives. The Union Government was formed, as expressed in this resolution, for the duration of the War. This was expressly stated on every platform during the election of 1917 by speakers of both political parties.

Among the speakers at the meeting in Hamilton was the Hon. Mr. Ballantyne, the Minister of Marine and Fisheries in Sir Robert Borden's Unionist cabinet and the first minister to be sworn in as a member of Mr. Meighen's administration. Referring to the report in the Toronto "Globe" already quoted, Mr. Ballantyne is reported to have said :

"I prefer to take my Liberalism and my patriotism at this juncture from men like Hon. W. S. Fielding in Nova Scotia, or men like Mr. Fred Pardee in Ontario, together with every Liberal Provincial Prime Minister, save one, in Canada."

All the persons mentioned by Mr. Ballantyne as sources of his inspiration have long since asserted that the purposes for which the Union Governmet was created are at an end, and have been openly opposed to the Unionist Administration. Hon. Mr. Fielding, the person first mentioned, did me the honour of sharing my desk in the House of Commons throughout the past session. On the front benches of the Liberal Party, a little further along, sat Mr. Fred Pardee, equally loyal in his support, and equally strong in his opposition to the Government. Present at the Liberal Convention in August of last year, and generously sharing in the unanimous endorsation of myself as Leader of the Liberal Party, was every one of the Provincial Prime Mnisters referred to by Mr. Ballantyne. In what company does Mr. Ballantyne find himself to-day ? He is without the association of a single individual upon the weight of whose name he sought to gain prominence and prestige for himself.

But Mr. Ballantyne is not the only member of the present Meighen administration who has endeavoured to support his own position by the names of others who to-day stand in open op-

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position to him. No one could have spoken more strongly against any fusion of political parties through the formation of Union Government than Mr. Calder did. In the month of October, 1917, a meeting was held at Winnipeg which was addressed, among others, by Mr. Meighen, the present Prime Minister, and Mr. Calder, now President of the Privy Council and Minister of Immigration. Reference to the Toronto Globe of October 23, 1917, will show that on that occasion the present Prime Minister is reported to have said :

"No man or woman is asked to reverse or abnegate convictions on fiscal or other subjects. The accepted basis of union was the only basis on which union was possible under present conditions, and our appeal is that the people of Canada unite on the same basis on which the members of the Govenrment have united, and get behind this union and stay behind it until it achieves its end."

No one could have spoken more strongly against any fusion of political parties than Mr. Calder did at that time. He said, referring to what Mr. Meighen had previously said, that

"It was on that understanding they had come in. He was not deserting Liberalism nor the principles for which Liberalism stands. They were not absorbed nor submerged by the Conservative Party. They had simply consented to union for the purpose of this war and reserved their views and opinions outside of the war. Union had been achieved only by each side agreeing to sink for the time being purely domestic problems."

Let us follow Mr. Calder's pronouncement a little further, with special reference to being absorbed or submerged by the Conservatives. On November 11, 1919, in the House of Commons, endeavouring to justify his course in remaining in the Government after Hon. Mr. Crerar had resigned, Mr. Calder said :

"Let me ask hon. members of this House, what would be the consequences if we all followed the course taken by the hon. member for Marquette (Mr. Crerar). Suppose the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Carvell) resigned, and the President of the Privy Council (Mr. Rowell), and the Acting Minister of Trade and Commerce (Mr. Maclean) and myself and others should resign."

At which point there was some interruption, when Mr. Calder continued :

"Do not be too sure, my friends, the task of carrying on government in this country and the responsibilities that are thrown upon public men are not so alluring as some hon. gentlemen seem to think. I say, that if these resignations did take place there would immediately be a political crisis in this country, and one thing, and one thing only, could happen; either the Prime Minister would have to appeal to the country, or he would have to advise the Governor General to call upon my friends who leads the Opposition to form a new government."

Examine this declaration carefully. Mr. Calder said, and his words are of record in the Hansard debates, that if Mr. Cavell, Mr. Rowell, Mr. Maclean, himself, and others resigned, there would be a political crisis and the Prime Minister would either have to appeal to the country or advise the Governor General to call upon the Leader of the Opposition to form a general election, and an opportunity

government. Now, observe that every minister mentioned by Mr. Calder, excepting himself, has resigned. Mr. Carvell, Mr. Maclean and Mr. Rowell have resigned. Not only so, but the Prime Minister himself has resigned. Sir Thomas White, who was Minister of Finance, and for a time Acting Prime Minister, has resigned. According to Mr. Calder's own declaration, therefore, there is now a crisis, and there ought to be an appeal to the country or the Government should call upon the Leader of the Opposition to form an administration.

I need not point out that Mr. Crerar, Mr. Carvell, and General Mewburn have seen their obligation of retirement from the so called Union Govenment in the same light as Mr. Maclean and Mr. Rowell. Perhaps I should point out that Mr. Crerar, who was the first to retire, has ceased to give the Government any support whatever, and has been openly opposed to the administration, and voted in favour of its immediate resignation, in support of a motion moved by myself as an amendment to the Address on the Reply to the Speech from the Throne. Mr. Meighen and the members of his government, in the position which they hold to-day, have no more right to regard themselves as having a mandate from the people for that purpose, than Mr. Crerar has in his attitude of opposition to the Government. Indeed, all the ministers who have resigned have just as much right to assert that they have a mandate from the public to carry on the government of the country as the ministers who have remained in office. Neither the one nor the other have received any endorsation from the people as respects post war policies, or the right to carry on government, now that the purposes for which Union Government was formed have passed into history.

But the voice of the people, though afforded no opportunity to express itself at a general election, has found some expression in the several by-elections that have taken place since the spring of 1918. Save in the single instance of the return of the present Minister of Finance, in Kingston, the evidence of the loss of public confidence in the Government has been made only too apparent.

In Victoria, B. C., upon the accession of Hon. Mr. Tolmie to the cabinet, his majority was reduced, from 8,764, obtained at the time of his return as a private member at the general elections to 2,134 in the by-election of October 27, 1919.

Taking an indicative of public opinion the other by-elections, from the East to the West, the results have been as follows :

In Prince County, P. E. I., on October 20, 1919, the present Leader of the Opposition was returned by acclamation.

In Carleton, N. B., the constituency which returned a Minister, Hon. Frank Carvell, by acclamation at the general elections, returned, on October 27, 1919, Mr. Carvell in opposition to the Government by a majority of 3,544 over the Government candidate.

In Quebec East, on October 27, 1919, Mr. Ernest Lapointe, the Liberal Candidate, was returned by a majority of 3,939, with two opposition candidates in the field. He was not so much as opposed by a Government candidate.

In Kamouraska, Que., on March 30, 1920, Mr. Stein, the Liberal candidate was returned by acclamation.

In St. James Division, in the City of Montreal on April 7, 1920, Mr. Fernand Rinfret, the Liberal candidate, was returned by a majority of 1,557 over the Labor candidate, there being no Government candidate in the field.

In Glengarry and Stormont, Ont., where at the general elections of 1917, the Unionist candidate was returned by acclamation Mr. J. W. Kennedy defeated the Government candidate by 2,375.

In North Ontario, Ont., on December 9, 1919, where the Government candidate had a majority of 1,575 in the elections of 1917, Mr. R. H. Halbert defeated the Government candidate by 185.

In Temiskaming, Ont., where a minister of the Crown received a majority of 2,157 at the general elections, Mr. Angus McDonald, the Labor candidate, came first in the by-election of April 7, 1920, and the Liberal candidate second, both defeating the Government candidate, after a contest participated in by several ministers of the Crown, including the present Prime Minister.

In Assiniboia, Saskatchewan, represented by a supporter of the Unionist administration at the general election of 1917, no Government candidate entered the field in the by-election of October 27, 1919, and Mr. Gould, the present member, was returned.

What verdict at the polls could be more pronounced than this ? From the Atlantic to the Pacific virtually from the time the present administration was formed up to the present, omiting the ministers, whose position is always exceptional, not a single Government supporter returned for a single constituency in any of the Provinces of the Dominion. A government that had not lost all regard for self respect would not dare to continue in office in the face of such a declaration of want of confidence on the part of the people. What becomes of any theory of representative government in such open defiance of the popular will ?

One might cite, as a further expression of the voice of the people, most of the leading journals which at the time of its formation supported the Union Government. In their present denunciation of the pretence of unionism, and in their demand for a general election, they reveal how completely Mr. Meighen and his cabinet are prepared to defy public opinion in continuing to hold on to office. The Montreal Star and the Montreal Gazette, during the fall session of 1919, were stating that the Government at

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that time was no longer representative, and demanded an appeal to the people. The same is true of the Ottawa Citizen, of the Toronto lGobe, The Toronto Star, the Winnipeg Free Press, and any number of leading journals which might be named. To the public opinion the Government would appear to be as indifferent as it is to public morality.

But not only is the Government indifferent to the voice of the people as expressed at the polls in the several by-elections, and in the daily press, it is equally indifferent to its waning support in the House of Commons itself. There it must be remembered, any expresseion of want of confidence would mean, not only the resignation of the ministry, but an immediate dissolution of Parliament as well. This is well known to members of Parliament, as well known by many, as the circumstance that once a dissolution comes they will never again be returned as members. It has been, as a consequence, an easy matter for the Government at all times and occasions to feel assured of majorities sufficient to enable it to survive. It is interesting, however to observe how the Government's majority has steadily dwindled, and how on occasions it has come well nigh to the vanishing point.

According to the Parliamentary Guide, the Government's majority as determined by the elections of 1917, was 71. In the sessions that immediately followed there were few divisions, and as a consequence it was difficult to test its strength. In the last session or two, however, there have been important divisions, all of which have revealed by what an uncertain and precarious following the Government maintains its hold upon power. In the first division of the session, on the amendment I moved to the Address, on March 1st, demanding the immediate resignation of the Government, majority was only 34.

In the amendment to the Budget, calling for an immediate tariff reduction which was moved by Hon. Mr. Fielding on May 18th, and which in many respects was the most important division of the session, the Government's majority was only 26.

It was only 21 on the division with respect to an amendment I moved on April 22 to the Government's Bill to amend the Act respecting the acquisition of the Grand Trunk Railway Company, and demanding the insertion of a clause in the Government's contract with the Company which would ensure to employees of the Company involved in the strike of some years ago the pensions to which they are justly entitled.

On a motion in the nature of a vote of want of confidence in the Government for refusing to give to Parliament any information respecting the appointment of a Minister Plenipotentiary to Washington, which was moved by Mr. Fielding on May 17, the Government escaped defeat by the slender majority of 5.

Upon the third reading of the Franchise Act, on June 28, the Government's majorities were respectively 31, 26 and 19, on three of the amendments moved by the Opposition. In committee of supply, they hovered about from 24, and 22 to 17 and 15, and again to 11 and 10 on motions to reduce the amounts being voted for military, naval, and police purposes. In the last division of the session, one respecting the reduction by nearly half a million of dollars on the amount asked by the Government for the erection of mounted police barracks, the Government escaped defeat in Committee by the narrow margin of 3.

What does all this go to show? Not only that the administration has lost the confidence of the public, as expressed at the polls and by the press, but that it has been rapidly losing the confidence of its own followers in Parliament. In addition to the large number of resignations from the ministry, there has been this steadily dwindling support in the House of Commons, which, since the close of the session, has been made even less than it was by the further reignation of ministers and one or two members, on the score that the ministry has no longer any mandate to carry on. The Government has lost not only confidence, but has lost all title to respect, in clinging on to office in open defiance of these many clear and outspoken expressions of public opinion and the popular will.

Were more needed, one has only to look to the several provincial arenas to see how completely exasperated with Toryism, wherever it raises its head, the people of this country have become, mainly through the arbitrary and reactionary methods of the Ottawa administration. Since the War in Prince Edward Island, a Tory Government has been succeeded by a Liberal. In Ontario where the Hearst Government regarded itself and was generally regarded as the right bower of the Ottawa administration, once the appeal was made to the electorate, on lists prepared under a new electoral law framed by the Government to further its own purposes, the administration was swept from office and hardly a remnant of Tory members was left in the field. In Manitoba, where another provincial election has been recently held, the Liberal Government remains, whilst the Opposition has been greatly reduced. In the Province of Quebec, the returns show that only five Conservatives were elected in an Assembly of 81; and now, last of all, comes the provincial election in the Province of Nova Scotia. There, the Liberal Government has again been returned to power, whilst the Conservative Party has been all but completely routed, there being but two Conservative members elected out of a total of 43.

What could be clearer than the voice of the people thus expressed as indicating the impatience with which the general public views Tory control and the present demand for the control of government under Liberal sentiment and forces? What clearer, the right of the people of Canada to a general election at this time, with a return to a representative Parliament and a Responsible Ministry?

Just this word in conclusion. Speaking in Winnipeg shortly before the beginning of the last session of Parliament, Mr. Meighen, the present Prime Minister said of the Union Government that it had many critics and few friends; that he believed that the time had come when its record should be discussed before the people and that he could well understand with what impatience Sir Robert Borden might be awaiting the opportunity to have the people pass upon his administration. These are not his exact words, but they convey the purport of his remarks.

Mr. Meighen is now the Prime Minister. He is to deliver his first public address on political issues at Belleville on Wednesday of next week. It is on longer for Sir Robert to decide when the people are to be given an opportunity to pronounce upon the Government's record. It rests with Mr. Meighen to give this opportunity. What the electors of Ontario and the electors of the Dominion will expect Mr. Meighen to tell them on Wednesday next is not what the Unionist Government has done in the past, nor what he proposes to do in the course of the next couple of years, but whether or not, before another session of Parliament we are to have a thereby afforded the people to send to Parliament representatives of their own choosing and to return to power a Government that has their confidence. This is the question to which the country awaits an immediate reply. It will judge of the courage and statesmanship of the new Prime Minister by the answer which he makes on Wednesday next.

It was a quarter after eight when the football match was concluded, King City winning from their old rivals, Kettleby, by 3 to 0.

The demonstration was declared to be a success in every way and the Liberals of North York are greatly encouraged, believing that their chances of success at the next election are greatly strengthened.

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Citizen, August 9, 1920

LIBERAL LEADER SAYS HOUSE IS NOT OF PEOPLE

Hon. Mackenzie King Claims His Party Has Not One Message for East and Another for West.

ONE POLICY FOR ALL THE PEOPLE

Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux Supports Leader at Newmarket Picnic.

(Canadian Press Despatch.)

NEWMARKET, Ont., Aug. 8.—The need of a representative parliament and a responsible ministry was the theme of an address delivered here yesterday by Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, leader of the Liberal opposition in the house of commons. The occasion was a Liberal picnic held under the auspices of the North York Reform Association in the Agricultural park and was the first of a series of meetings in the interests of the Liberal party, which will be held in North York and throughout the province.

Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux and Sir Alan Aylesworth were the other speakers.

Hon. S. A. Fisher was unable to be present through illness.

Asserting that the most important question at the present time is the right of the people to govern themselves through a representative parliament and responsible ministers, the Liberal leader made a demand for an immediately general election on the ground, that either the government is an entirely new administration in which event it ought to get the approval of the people, or that it is an old administration in which event it has long exhausted its mandate and has lost its original complexion and personnel.

Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux.

Mr. Lemieux spoke at length of the olive branch held out by Premier Meighen to the Liberals of Quebec. "We from Quebec thank him very much for his language and hope that his acts will correspond with his words, but should Quebec Liberals decide to throw in their lot with the English speaking Liberals instead of the Tories, I am very much afraid it would be vastly different sentiments he would express," said Mr. Lemieux.

The French-Canadian Liberal leader compared the history of the Borden government with that of the Laurier administration and followed it up by asserting that the policy of the Liberal party was a revenue tariff policy. This would be followed, he declared, if the party was returned at the next election. The policy had been fully set out in the latest address by Hon. Mr. Fielding. "We must have revenue to pay interest, to pay our pension obligations, and to pay our debts," he said.

Our First Anniversary.

It was one year ago today that Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King was chosen leader of the Liberal party. On the first anniversary of that date the new leader delivered the opening address in a campaign which, it is hoped by his followers, will be the precursor of the next general election. The picinc which formed the background for the day's political activities, which was held in the fair grounds, attracted about 5,000 people.

Felicitations were received from Liberal organizations and members of parliament from all over Canada.

Besides the Liberal leader, the other speakers were Sir Alan Aylesworth and Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux. All agreed that the present administration at Ottawa, whether a remnant of Union government or a new government was usurping power in endeavoring to continue without a mistake. While on this point, Mr. Lemieux pointed to the historic background supplied by the riding of North York, that it was from York that Robert Baldwin went when he defeated Upper Canada and it was to York that Lafontaine came when defeated in Quebec.

A Message For All.

"The Liberal party has not one message for the east and another for the west," said Hon. Mr. King. "It has not one gospel for Ontario and another for Saskatchewan and Alberta. Neither has it one appeal to make to labor and another to capital, nor one policy for the farming interests and another for the manufacturing. To all alike it says with extreme views, with purely sectional opinions, we are not concerned; what we are concerned about is the common good, and with all who seek the common good we are anxious and ready to keep, in that spirit of moderation and toleration whereby in non-essentials differences are reconsiled and essentials the good of all is made to prevail.

"May I be permitted to say that if in any part or place in our Dominion there be men and women calling themselves Liberals who still harbor towards their neighbors feelings of ill-will or of distrust because of differences of opinion, honestly maintained during past political contests, such men and women are neither true to the memory of Laurier nor to the spirit of Liberalism. I care not whether it be a Liberal who supported it, or vice versa, there is neither respect for differences of opinion nor charitable outlook in such an attitude.

The Liberal Conference.

"Standing today at a distance of a year from that great political gathering—the national Liberal convention—we are perhaps in a better position now than then to judge of its significance, not only as an outstanding incident in the history of Canadian Liberalism, but also as one of those graphic and realistic happenings which serve to reveal the democracy of aim and method inherent in liberalism, as contrasted with the autocracy of its opposing force, whether designated Toryism, as of old, or disguised under the name of unionism, or that of the latest hybrid variety, the so-called National Liberal and Conservative party.

"I was on the point of saying that since the Liberal convention of a year ago we had witnessed another convention, which had given to the opposing party a new leader, a new platform, and, I should add, a new name. It is true a new leader has been selected and a platform; a new name assumed; but in none of them has the voice of the people or their representatives assembly in convention been anywhere heard. Everything has been by special appointment, under divine or some other assumed inherent right. Here, my friends, is the real difference between Liberalism and Toryism, call them by whatever name you please. Liberalism trusts the people and manifests itself by giving expression to the popular will. Toryism ignores the people and manifests itself by the assertion of self-appointed and self-constructed authority.

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Mr. Lemieux's Message.

Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux, who received a hearty reception, addressed his first remarks with characteristic French courtesy to the ladies of the audience. "To them," he said, "I bring a message of friendship and love from their sisters of the province of Quebec. He then launched out upon a vigorous attack upon Premier Meighen's Portage la Prairie speech.

Mr. Lemieux said Mr. Meighen might be sincere in his desires to see both races in Canada united for ever. But the people of Quebec were not so lighthearted as it was supposed and were not prone to be carried away with enthusiasm. They would prefer to wait and see whether the offer was backed up by deeds. Insensible as adamant to flattery they had been in the past, and they were as insensible as adamant to insult in 1917.

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Volume D 8

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"If, on the other hand, the Meighen Administration is not, as its new name, its new leadership and its new platform would lead the country to suppose, a new Administration, but is simply the reincarnation in many-colored garb of that portion of the old Unionist Administration that clings to office for the sake of power and patronage, then it is not less a usurper, because the Unionist Administration, both for the purposes for which it was formed and in the personnel of its original membership, has long since ceased to exist or to retain any of the confidence which at any period of its existence it ever enjoyed."

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"On the other hand, the present First Minister of the country was sent to the King's representative as the choice for the post of Prime Minister made by a few of his colleagues in the Government, or his colleagues in the House of Commons, or the portion of the House of Commons which supports the present Government—the choice, not of the people, but the choice of the few men who for the time being were in a position to advise his Excellency the Governor-General on the subject."

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The Tory spirit in Canada, proceeded Sir Allen, was maintained by the United Empire Loyalists. They left the United States because they could not feel at home in any atmosphere except that of the Monarchy under George III., and they came to this country to support exactly that form of government. In the course of twenty-five or thirty years there arose men who were born on the soil of Canada, and there soon began to grow up a feeling of opposition at the way in which power was aggrandized in the hands of a few, and that was the true origin of the Liberal party in Upper Canada, or Ontario as it is to-day.

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North York, continued Mr. Lemieux, formed an historic political background. It was in this county that William Lyon Mackenzie maintained his struggle for responsible government in Upper Canada. It was from the same neighborhood that Robert Baldwin was defeated by reactionary forces and invited by the Liberals of Rimouski to accept a nomination there. And it was the same riding that later, when Lafontaine was defeated in Terrebonne, secured his election to the Parliament of that day. North York had been represented in the past by Sir William Mulock and Sir Allen Aylesworth, and he believed in the not distant future that it would be represented by Mackenzie King, who was destined to be the next Premier of Canada.

The Portage la Prairie speech again came in for criticism. Mr. Lemieux said Mr. Meighen might be sincere in his desires to see both races in Canada united forever. But the people of Quebec were not so light-hearted as it was supposed and were not prone to be carried away with enthusiasm. They would prefer to wait and see whether the offer was backed up by deeds. Insensible as adamant to flattery they had been in the past, and they were as insensible as adamant to insult in 1917.

"First-class Club" at Washington.

Dealing with the growing expenditures of the present Government at Ottawa, Mr. Lemieux said, with some sarcasm, that $50,000 was voted at the session to "maintain a first-class clerk in the office of Sir Auckland Geddes, British Ambassador at Washington. And when the British Ambassador will be away fishing in Maine or hunting in the Rockies, Mr. Rowell or some other good Tory —(laughter)—will immediately step into the Ambassador's boots and settle such questions as arise between Great Britain and the United States."

In the campaign of 1917 Mr. Meighen was guilty of actions which in ordinary times would have made him amenable to the criminal courts. He likened the circumstances in 1917 to what took place in England following the French Revolution when the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended. "The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended in the Province of Quebec, and regiments from the Province of Ontario were tramping the streets of Quebec to suppress supposed riots concocted, planned and arranged by the agents paid by the Minister of Justice. That has been proven before."

On the tariff issue, he said, every sane man was at heart a free trader. But with Canada's tremendous financial obligations it was not practicable to be without a tariff. The tariff should be for revenue only and should not impose burdens upon the necessaries of life. "Our infant industries are getting pretty old, and I think we should have some regard for the consumer."

Congratulatory Resolution.

A resolution moved by Thomas M. Blackburn and seconded by Charles Haines read in part:

"On this, the first anniversary of the accession to the Liberal leadership of their candidate, the Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, the Liberals of North York are proud to avail themselves of the opportunity to express their unqualified confidence in him and in his leadership of the Liberal party, and to extend to him and to the Liberal members of the House of Commons their heartiest congratulations on the work accomplished by the Opposition during the recent session."

From all parts of Canada letters, telegrams and resolutions, congratulating the Liberal Chieftain on the occasion of the anniversary of his election to that position, have been received by W. H. S. Cane, President of the North York Liberal Association. Among them are resolutions from the North York Women's Liberal Association, moved by Miss E. E. Driffill and seconded by Miss Beatrice Cane; from the Montreal Reform Club, Laurier Club, Quebec; Liberal Association, Prince Edward Island; Ontario Liberal Association and Liberal associations in all parts of the Dominion.

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Historic North York.

North York, continued Mr. Lemieux, formed an historic political background. It was in this county that William Lyon Mackenzie maintained his struggle for responsible government in Upper Canada. It was from the same neighborhood that Robert Baldwin was defeated by reactionary forces and invited by the Liberals of Rimouski to accept a nomination there. And it was the same riding that later, when Lafontaine was defeated in Terrebonne, secured his election to the Parliament of that day. North York had been represented in the past by Sir William Mulock and Sir Allen Aylesworth, and he believed in the not distant future that it would be represented by Mackenzie King, who was destined to be the next Premier of Canada.

The Portage la Prairie speech again came in for criticism. Mr. Lemieux said Mr. Meighen might be sincere in his desires to see both races in Canada united forever. But the people of Quebec were not so light-hearted as it was supposed and were not prone to be carried away with enthusiasm. They would prefer to wait and see whether the offer was backed up by deeds. Insensible as adamant to flattery they had been in the past, and they were as insensible as adamant to insult in 1917.

"First-class Club" at Washington.

Dealing with the growing expenditures of the present Government at Ottawa, Mr. Lemieux said, with some sarcasm, that $50,000 was voted at last session to "maintain a first-class clerk in the office of Sir Auckland Geddes, British Ambassador at Washington. And when the British Ambassador will be away fishing in Maine or hunting in the Rockies, Mr. Rowell or some other good Tory —(laughter)—will immediately step into the Ambassador's boots and settle such questions as arise between Great Britain and the United States."

In the campaign of 1917 Mr. Meighen was guilty of actions which in ordinary times would have made him amenable to the criminal courts. He likened the circumstances in 1917 to what took place in England following the French Revolution when the Habeas Corpus Act was suspended. "The Habeas Corpus Act was suspended in the Province of Quebec, and regiments from the Province of Ontario were tramping the streets of Quebec to suppress supposed riots concocted, planned and arranged by the agents paid by the Minister of Justice. That has been proven before."

On the tariff issue, he said, every sane man was at heart a free trader. But with Canada's tremendous financial obligations it was not practicable to be without a tariff. The tariff should be for revenue only and should not impose burdens upon the necessaries of life. "Our infant industries are getting pretty old, and I think we should have some regard for the consumer."

Congratulatory Resolution.

A resolution moved by Thomas M. Blackburn and seconded by Charles Haines read in part:

"On this, the first anniversary of the accession to the Liberal leadership of their candidate, the Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, the Liberals of North York are proud to avail themselves of the opportunity to express their unqualified confidence in him and in his leadership of the Liberal party, and to extend to him and to the Liberal members of the House of Commons their heartiest congratulations on the work accomplished by the Opposition during the recent session."

From all parts of Canada letters, telegrams and resolutions, congratulating the Liberal Chieftain on the occasion of the anniversary of his election to that position, have been received by W. H. S. Cane, President of the North York Liberal Association. Among them are resolutions from the North York Women's Liberal Association, moved by Miss E. E. Driffill and seconded by Miss Beatrice Cane; from the Montreal Reform Club, Laurier Club, Quebec; Liberal Association, Prince Edward Island; Ontario Liberal Association and Liberal associations in all parts of the Dominion.

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W.L. Mackenzie King Papers Volume D 8

D 4435

9 Aug. 1920 Oak Ridges, Ont.

THE U.F.O. CANDIDATE
(R.W.E. BURNABY)

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CANADA

Ontario Speeches - 1920 D 4436

August 9 - Whitchurch

(U.F.O. Candidate)

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers

Volume D 8

PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES

CANADA

Newmarket Era
Aug" 13 20

D 4437

King Asks Burnaby to Withdraw.

(From Toronto Star.)

Aurora, Aug. 10.—The citizens o Whitchurch and King Townships in North York were afforded an unusual treat last night, when the Hon. Mackenzie King addressed them in Oakridges school-house, three miles south of this town. The meeting was included in the Liberal Leader's campaign at a late hour and the fact that the school-house was filled on such short notice spoke well for the interest that North York is taking in Liberalism.

The audience was small when compared with the thousands at Newmarket on Saturday, but perhaps it was because of this that the meeting was so impressive. For the Liberal Leader's speech was more of a chat than an address and his message lost nothing by the quiet manner in which it was delivered.

Mr. King devoted considerable time in explaining his attitude toward the U. F. O. and other parties and more especially towards Mr. R. W. E. Burnaby, the U. F. O. candidate opposing him in North York. In plain language, Mr. King told the audience that he thought it was up to the U. F. O. man to withdraw.

Referring to the Union Government as the "common enemy" of the Liberals and the U. F O., he said "The trouble is that those who want to get rid of it are divided among themselves."

How it Would Work Out.

He showed how it might be possible for Mr. Armstrong, the Government candidate, to be elected if both the U. F. O. and Liberal representatives ran.

"If they get the U. F. O. and Liberals and other parties fighting throughout the country, then the Union Government will have a chance," he declared, "and if they are again elected, they might carry on for another generation. I think the first thing to do is to defeat the Government."

No man heard him say a word against the farmers' interests. He had always recognized them as the backbone of the nation. There was no other solution for the lowering of the cost of living unless by the increased production from the soil, and making the cost of farming implements as low as possible.

"As far as I understand," the Liberal Leader said, "my belief is practically the same as the U. F. O. platform.

After explaining his attitude taken in connection with the Glengarry and Stormont by-elections and the conditions of his candidature in Prince County, Mr. King asked his hearers whether it was up to him to withdraw. He confessed that he was more or less decided to stand. Mr. Burnaby had entered the arena subsequent to his declaration that he would contest North York.

"But I do want that you people should see the folly of any division," he said. I leave it to your own judgment." Later he said, "I want it known that I have not any antagonism to the Farmers' Party, whatever may come. I am ready to co-operate with any other class, but let us make sure of defeating the Government."

During the last session, the little group of fourteen or fifteen Farmers led by Mr. Crerar had seldom differed with the Liberals. Both groups had assisted each other.

Eyes on North York.

The whole country was watching North York. A Liberal fighting a U.F.O. in North York he described as being a frightful disaster. "It is the last thing I want to see."

Seated in front of the speaker was Mr. Burnaby himself. Just what impression the remarks made upon the U.F.O. candidate, however, is a matter of conjecture. He talked with Mr. King after the meeting, but did not express himself.

The present Government was again called upon to resign and Mr. King, in a simple but telling way showed by a review of the last session, just how unrepresentative the Meighen followers were.

Mr. Wm. Hulme, a returned man of the old 2th Rangers, acted as chairman.

Mr. J. M. Walton was also on the platform and spoke in an optimistic vein when dealing with the prospects of the Liberal leader. "Liberals in North York have always kept their colors flying," he said, "and will continue to do so." He appealed to the audience to make sure that North York should be represented in Parliament by the "future Premier of Canada."

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CANADA

Toronto World
Aug 10/20

D 4438

FARMERS NOT FAIR, SAYS HON. MR. KING

R. W. E. Burnaby Hears Censure of His Nomination in North York.

Aurora, Ont., Aug. 9.—(Special).—Hon. W. L Mackenzie King, Liberal leader, speaking at Oak Ridges, three miles south of here, tonight, deprecated the fact that the U.F.O. had placed a candidate in North York against him, asserting that in the last session of the Dominion house it had been demonstrated that Liberal and Farmer M.P.'s were in accord on leading questions. He referred to the G.T.P., naval undertakings, military expenditures and matters relating to the franchise as questions on which they had voted side by side. He had declined a nomination in Glengarry, Ont., because he wished to leave the field open to a farmer candidate, but in spite of this the U.F.O. had nominated R. W. E. Burnaby to oppose him in North York, thus bringing the parties into antagonism when they should naturally work together.

The situation tonight was made more interesting by the circumstance that Mr. Burnaby was present at the meeting, altho he did not speak. J. M. Walton of Aurora, a prominent Liberal of the riding, spoke briefly. Those on the platform included J. H. Haughton of Richmond Hill and J. H. Legge, a prominent farmer of the district.

The meeting, which was held in the local school house, was well attended, and Hon. Mr. King was given a cordial reception.

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Star August 10 20

D 4439

KING ASKS BURNABY TO QUIT NORTH YORK

Liberal Leader Thinks It's Up to U. F. O. Chief to Withdraw.

Special to The Star by a Staff Reporter.

Aurora, Aug. 10.—The citizens of Whitchurch and King Townships in North York were afforded an unusual treat last night, when the Hon. Mackenzie King addressed them in Ridgeways School, three miles south of this town. The meeting was included in the Liberal leader's campaign at a late hour and the fact that the school was filled on such short notice spoke well for the interest that North York is taking in Liberalism.

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"As far as I understand," the Liberal leader said, "my belief is practically the same as the U.F.O. platform."

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Seated in front of the speaker was Mr. Burnaby, himself. Just what impression the remarks made upon the U.F.O. candidate, however, is a matter of conjecture. He talked with Mr. King after the meeting, but did not express himself.

The present Government was again called upon to resign and Mr. King, in a simple but telling way, showed by a review of the last session, just how unrepresentative the Meighen followers were.

Mr. William Hulme, a returned man of the old 12th York Rangers, acted as chairman.

Mr. J. M. Walton was also on the platform and spoke in an optimistic vein when dealing with the prospects of the Liberal leader. "Liberals in North York have always kept their colors flying," he said, "and will continue to do so." He appealed to the audience to make sure that North York should be represented in Parliament by the "future Premier of Canada."

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11 Aug. 1920 Stouffville D 4440

THE GOVERNMENT'S WASTING OF
PUBLIC FUNDS AND ITS ATTITUDE
TOWARD LABOUR

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Ontario Speeches - 1920

D 4441

Stouffville Aug 11.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Toronto Star
August 11
20

D 4442

MONEY SQUANDERED, IS MR. KING'S CHARGE

Liberal Leader Accuses Government of Wasting Public Funds.

FRIENDLY TO LABOR

Expounds Liberal Principles at Enthusiastic Meeting in Stouffville.

Stouffville, Aug. 11.—When arrangements were being made for a meeting at this town for the Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, one of the executive sent word to the Liberal leader that although the citizens of the township would like to hear him, there was no need for him to worry, for no matter what happened he would get a clear majority of at least three hundred at the next election.

Mr. King came, however, last night and found the place fully up to expectations. Over a thousand enthusiastic townsmen and farmers gathered on Dr. Sanders' lawn and listened to one of the most brilliant speeches the North York candidate has yet delivered.

At the suggestion of Mr. Seneca Baker, of Whitchurch, who acted as chairman, the address was semi-instructive.

Referring to the Government, Mr. King again emphasized the need for an election. "The present Administration has the habit of spending money in large quantities," he said, "and the habit of doing things without consulting the people's representatives, which they can't shake off. And we won't get rid of these habits until we have a change of Government." (Cheers.) "We want men who have a peace mind rather than that the war mind."

Mr. King asked how Canada was going to manage if hard times came. The interest on the public debt would remain at $140,000,000. Now was the time for absolute economy. Men were needed in Parliament who were feeling the necessities of our times and feeling the effects of heavy taxation. These men could only be obtained by a general election.

Public Money Wasted.

The speaker deplored the two sessions of last year, for which he said there was absolutely no need. The ratification of the Peace Treaty could easily have been left over until this last session, but Premier Borden did not consult the people's representatives and drew out the session in order that the members might get the extra indemnity. One million and a half dollars of public money was wasted by that session.

As further evidence of the absolute disregard for the wishes of the people and of autocratic Government, Mr. King reviewed the acquisition of the Grand Trunk system. The Union Government would not allow the representatives of the Canadian people in Parliament to see that contract before it was signed.

"Was that fair?" he asked. "But, mind you, the same Government granted the shareholders of the Grand Trunk in England the right to pass on the contract, before it was signed."

"I care not whether a man calls himself a Labor man, a U.F.O. man or a Conservative, if you wish, if you do not believe in that kind of Government, if you believe that the people should have more to say in the affairs of the country, then in your heart of hearts, you are a Liberal." (cheers).

During his speech here, Mr. King showed not the slightest antagonism to the U. F. O., its aims or its representative, Mr. Burnaby, who is in the field against him.

Is Friend of Labor.

In response to the request of the chairman he made plain his attitude towards Labor and towards the soldiers. "As to Labor, my views, I think, are well known. I believe that Labor should be more and more in the control of industry in which it has to do. I would be in favor of the men in the ranks choosing one or two men from themselves to act as directors in shaping the broad policies of the national industries of the country."

Mr. King said that he agreed with the chairman that the most generous care should be taken of those men who fought overseas and the dependents of those who fell. "I believe that it is the duty of Canada to exercise the broadest kind of generosity to these people," he said. "I don't believe though, that the men want charity."

He also agred that a real attempt should be made to have a big percentage of fortunes made by war brought back to the State to help make up the cost of that terrible period of our history.

At the conclusion of Mr. King's address, Reeve Radcliffe moved a motion of confidence in the Liberal candidate and a protest against the power exercised by the present Government. This was enthusiastically carried by the large crowd.

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CANADA

12 Aug. 1920 Paisley D 4443

"RESTORATION OF PARLIAMENTARY
INSTITUTIONS"

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Volume D 8

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CANADA

A - Restore Character of Parliament
as a Deliberative Assembly

Parliament has ceased to be deliberative.

I. Speech from Throne:
- Should mirror legislative program.
- Its contents.
- Opposition demand for election - amendment.
- Indifference to manner and time of introducing legislation.
- Opposition protests, but not obstructs Reasons for.
- Example of Parliament.
- Limitation to Opposition's power.

II. Estimates:
- Nature of - public interested in.
- Govt. controls business - delays.
- Date of Estimates reflects indifference (Exhibit A)
- Demand for consideration of Estimates.
- Deceptive methods practised -
  - Naval Affairs (Exhibit B)
  - Military Estimates
- Need for a ministry without war habit of mind

III. Budget:
- Nature of - importance of taxation.
- 3 weeks' consideration.

IV. Continuous and Late Sittings:
- (Exhibit C)
- Opposition protests to secure consideration and publicity.
- Business administration needed.

B - Regain Control of Executive
by Parliament

Executive come to regard itself master, not servant of Parliament.

1. Ignoring of Parliament - secret councils: G.T.R. acquisition.
2. Ignoring law of land: Merchant Marine.
3. Ignoring Parliament while in session: Contract with City of Ottawa.
4. Ignoring sacred function in law making: Act re Director of Coal Operations.
5. Ignoring its own following: Purchasing Commission by O-in-C.

C - Regain control of Parliament
by the People

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EXHIBIT A

Estimates

Parliament met February 26.

Estimates presented March 22.

Fiscal year ended March 31 - new year Apr. 1.
9 days.

Delays - till June.

May: more Estimates	-	$ 12,500,000
		19,051,198
June 26		62,002,482
		53,000

4 days

Parliament prorogued July 1.

The Budget

Parliament met February 26.

Fiscal year, April 1.

Budget brought down, May 19.

Commenced consideration, June 9.

Parliament prorogued July 1.

EXHIBIT B

Naval Estimates:

Mar. 22 - Main Estimates -

1919-20	-	$ 300,000
1920-21	-	600,000

Mar. 25 - Minister announces reorganization.
No policy till Imperial Conference.
Action, camouflage.
Govt. accepted:
1 cruiser
2 torpedo boat destroyers
2 submarines.

June 14 - Minister announces intention to ask for supplementary appropriation of $2,500,000.
Opposition protest so strong -

June 26 - Supplementary Estimate - $1,700,000.
Opposition saves half a million.
Move to strike out supplementary lost.
Money almost obtained by false pretences.

Militia Estimates:

Mar. 22 - Main estimates -

1919-20	-	$ 8,391,152
1920-21	-	12,520,016
Increase	-	4,128,864

June 10 - Consideration of
Minister announces $4,000,000 property
Answers question $2,000,000 for barracks
Standing army.

June 26 - Suppl's. $100,000. Oppn. saves million

Aug. 10 Guthrie at Kingston - more barracks.

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D 4448

EXHIBIT C

Continuous and Late Sittings

Feb. 26 - Parliament meets.

Apr. 21 - Wednesday evening adjournments ended.
Midnight sessions, and over.

June 4 - Beginning sitting at 2 p.m., and
protracted night sessions.
Saturday afternoon and night sittings
Very late sittings:

June 14	12.40	a.m.	June 23	1.05	a.m.
15	12.35	a.m.	24	1.29	a.m.
16	12.18	a.m.	25	2.25	a.m.
17	3.24	a.m.	26	12.00	midnight
18	11.20	p.m.	28	4.00	a.m.
19	7.05	p.m. (Sunday)	29	2.25	a.m.
21	12.25	a.m.	30	3.35	a.m.
22	2.42	a.m.	July 1	Prorogation.	

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RESTORATION OF PARLIAMENTARY INSTITUTIONS

When Parliament assembled on February 26, it met, for the first time since the War, in the Buildings on Parliament Hill which had been partially destroyed by fire during the War and which are now in process of final reconstruction. In a very true and remarkable way, the return of the people's representatives to their old legislative home, partially destroyed during the period of the War but now being restored in proportions more adequate to the nation's needs, expresses the note which the Opposition sought to keep uppermost and to make the dominating one from the beginning to the end of the session.

What, in a word, was sought on every possible occasion, and wherever opportunity was afforded, was the restoration of our parliamentary institutions, of customs and practices long since established which, under the stress of war and its destructive influences, have in no small measure been destroyed or come to be wholly and entirely disregarded.

REPRESENTATIVE AND RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT
BASIS OF FREEDOM

All that has been attained by what we term self-government, representative government, and responsible government, represents the high water mark of achievement in political control by the people over their own affairs, the strongest bulwark of their freedom, and the surest guarantee of their peace, prosperity and progress. One has only to look over the face of the world to-day, to see that the nations which have most developed their free representative institutions in matters of government have best survived the shocks and ravages of war, and have met most adequately its imperative necessities.

While this is true, it is scarcely less apparent that no nation, however far it may have progressed in its onward march toward freedom in matters pertaining to government, has escaped the fatal tendency - at all times present in the lives of nations as well as of men - to revert, under periods of stress and compelling necessity, to an order of lesser freedom. Under this reversion, one after another of the liberties of a people, attained not infrequently through centuries of endeavour and conflict, have been thwarted and curtailed, if not wholly sacrificed and lost.

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OPEN DEFIANCE BY THE MINISTRY OF
REPRESENTATIVE INSTITUTIONS

In Canada, we have not escaped the baneful influences of war in this respect. Our parliamentary institutions, not less than our parliament buildings, have suffered partial destruction. Customs, usages, and practices, intended to preserve the free, self-governing, representative character of our Parliament and the responsible character of its ministry, have one by one been temporarily set aside; then, one by one, ignored - until to-day on the part of the administration there is open defiance of the most fundamental of those considerations of government which lie at the root of freedom in matters of political control.

FREE INSTITUTIONS, THE FRUIT OF LIBERALISM

The achievement, in matters pertaining to government, of the application of the great principles of freedom which characterize British parliamentary institutions as they have been held up as a model before the world, has been the fruit of a militant Liberalism through centuries of struggle and endeavour. Wherever a wider measure of freedom has been sought - whether it has related to political, fiscal, social, industrial, religious, or personal freedom,- it has been around the standard of a true Liberalism, by whatever name it may have been called, that men have rallied and fought and won. As long as the love of freedom, in any of its many forms, finds a place in the breasts of men, it will be through the advocacy and maintenance of some principle of Liberalism, that it will seek to find expression.

TO RE-ESTABLISH POLITICAL FREEDOM, THE WORK
OF LIBERALISM TO-DAY

In this post-war period, in this new era of wider liberty for mankind, to which end all the sacrifices of the free nations of the world have been made, the work of Liberalism, first and foremost, must be that of seeking to re-establish, on firm and enduring foundations and in wider compass than has hitherto been known, all those institutions, customs, practices, and usages in our parliamentary system and matters pertaining to government which comprise the charter of freedom we possessed prior to the commencement of the War.

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THE WORK OF THE LIBERAL PARTY IN OPPOSITION

How, as a Party in opposition in the Parliament of Canada, the Liberal members have sought to carry on this work of Liberalism in the spirit of our forefathers, and in accord with what we believe to be the spirit of greater freedom which should characterize the new order into which the world has been born, I shall endeavour to illustrate by reference to the attitude and work of the Opposition with respect to the procedure and business of Parliament in the session recently closed.

PARLIAMENT HAS CEASED TO BE A DELIBERATIVE ASSEMBLY

In very large measure, during the period of the War, Parliament ceased to be, in any true sense of the phrase, a deliberative assembly. It became more and more merely a register of the will of the Executive in voting appropriations and in sanctioning courses of procedure which by the ministry were alleged to be necessary for the successful prosecution of the War. Without disputing the wisdom or unwisdom of the latitude accorded the Government through war necessity, its effect in causing the ministry to become increasingly self-assertive and autocratic and disregardful of Parliament in one or another particular cannot be denied. To restore the supremacy of Parliament, the authority of Parliament over the ministry, and the power of the people over Parliament, has therefore become the supreme duty of the hour. To restore to Parliament its character as a deliberative assembly, and to compel upon the part of the ministry a recognition of its responsibility to Parliament, expresses in a word that for which the Opposition strove most assiduously throughout the entire session.

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INCAPACITY OF THE MINISTRY REFLECTED IN SPEECH FROM THE THRONE

A time-honoured custom in the procedure of British parliaments is to open the business of the session with what is termed "the Speech from the Throne". If this practice has any significance at all, beyond that of being purely ceremonial, it is to further the character of Parliament as a deliberative assembly by bringing before the people's representatives, and through Parliament before the people of the country, at the earliest possible moment, a knowledge of the Government's measures and policy on matters of supreme national concern. The Speech from the Throne should mirror the mind of the ministry as regards its proposed legislative programme. In so doing, it should disclose to the country that the ministry is fully alive to the country's needs, and how, through legislative enactment or otherwise, these needs are to be met.

Judged by either criterion, the Speech from the Throne with which the late session of Parliament was opened, served only to disclose the inefficiency and incapacity of the ministry. As a mirror, it reflected nothing of a constructive character; it was wholly devoid of pronouncement of policy on any really vital subject, such as the revision of the tariff, measures to cope with the high cost of living, to further ~~production~~ increased production, or to allay social unrest; and, what at this juncture is most important of all, it contained no intimation of an early opportunity being afforded the electorate to return to power a Parliament that is truly representative and chosen in accord with the will of a free people.

Mention was made of the unrest in Europe; of the conclusion of a treaty between Bulgaria and the Allied and Associated Powers, which Canada was to be asked to ratify; of the intention of the Government to amend the Opium and Drug Act, the Copyright Act, the Patent Act, the Loan and Trust Companies Act, the Insurance Act, and the Exchequer Court Act, none of which were measures of any real national significance.

The only really important measure of which mention was made in the Speech from the Throne was that respecting the Franchise, an enactment which, notwithstanding the wholly unjustifiable tamperings with the long-established electoral laws by the administration during the period of the War, was altogether unnecessary. The old Dominion Elections Act contained all that is required in the way of machinery for conducting elections to the satisfaction of the electorate as a

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whole. The new Act is far from being an improvement over the old. It is more truly an Act to assist in the winning of elections than a measure to safeguard the rights of electors.

OPPOSITION'S ~~DEMAND~~ IMMEDIATE DEMAND FOR A GENERAL ELECTION

To the limitations of the Speech from the Throne in the particulars described, attention was drawn by the Opposition in a vigorous debate at the very commencement of the session. Not an hour was lost after the moving and seconding of the Address before the attitude of the Opposition toward the Government was made clear in the following amendment, which I moved, and which expressed what the Opposition believed to be the real sentiment of the country:

That the following be added to the Address to His Excellency:

'We respectfully submit to Your Excellency that the conditions under which the Government was formed and the present House of Commons was elected have now passed away, and that new conditions have arisen which are not being adequately met. The regrettable protracted absence of the Prime Minister, the widely accepted belief that it is not his intention to return to the duties of his office, the makeshift arrangements for the direction of important departments to which no minister has been regularly appointed, the attempt to carry on the public business when the three eastern Maritime Provinces are entirely unrepresented in the Cabinet - these and other things operate to produce a condition of uncertainty and instability from which a vigorous and efficient administration of the Dominion's affairs cannot be expected.

'We respectfully submit to Your Excellency that in the interest of the peace, order, and good government of this Dominion, such a condition of our public affairs should be brought to a speedy termination, and that the only effective remedy is to be found in an appeal to the electors at a general election.

'We, therefore, respectfully represent that Your Excellency's advisers should forthwith bring forward the promised Franchise Bill for the enrollment of the electors and give it precedence over all other business, and that upon the enactment of such a measure as may be necessary, and the making of temporary provisions for the urgent public service, they should take the proper constitutional steps to obtain Your Excellency's approval of an appeal to the people at the polls.'

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The amendment was lost on a division of 112 to 78, a Government majority of 34. According to the Parliamentary Guide, the Government's majority at the time of the elections of 1917 was 71.

AN ELECTION NECESSARY TO SECURE GOVERNMENT BY THE PEOPLE

Notwithstanding that the amendment was lost, I still assert that it expressed at the time the view of the people of Canada, whose opinion the Government should respect, and that all that has since transpired has only served to prove how true are the representations it contains. It has now become apparent, as the Opposition at the time asserted, that the Prime Minister's absence was all a subterfuge, intended primarily to afford the ministry an excuse for holding together and avoiding controversial measures pending the selection of a new Prime Minister at the end of the session. In other words, Parliament has been made to serve, not the good of the people, but the exigencies of the ministry in its determination to hold on to office regardless altogether of the people's will. This is not government of the people, by the people, for the people; it is government of the people, by a self-constituted autocratic executive, for the sake solely of office, patronage, and power.

INDIFFERENCE TO MANNER AND TIME OF INTRODUCING LEGISLATION

But the indifference of the ministry to constitutional methods of proeedure, and its disregard of the convenience and rights of Parliament in matters of legislation, were further exhibited by the introduction of numerous measures ~~the introduction~~ of which the Speech from the Throne contained no intimation whatever, and their introduction at a date in the session which precluded altogether opportunity for adequate consideration and full and free discussion.

For example, the Government introduced, at the very close of the session, and carried through Parliament, several bills perpetuating the control by the Government of industry in many of its branches in accordance with methods adopted in the war period. The Bill respecting the Director of Coal Operations in Western Canada, and the Bill to perpetuate the Canada Wheat Board, are cases in point. Had measures of the kind been in contemplation, the Government should

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have so informed the country at the earliest possible moment, in order that opportunity might have been afforded for public opinion to make its voice heard. Other legislation of the kind related to very large appropriations for military, naval, and police purposes, to representation of Canada at Washington, and large guarantees to special industries. All these measures were of vastly greater concern to the taxpayers of Canada than amendments to the Copyright Act and the Patent Act, both of which were mentioned in the Speech from the Throne, but neither of which were proceeded with during the course of the session.

OPPOSITION PROTESTED, BUT AVOIDED OBSTRUCTION

With respect to new legislation introduced by the Government, in the concluding weeks of the session, and of which no intimation had previously been given to the people or their representatives, the Opposition made such protest as was possible in the circumstances. To have attempted to obstruct altogether the enactment of this legislation would simply have meant that the session would have been indefinitely prolonged; that public money would have been further wasted in keeping Parliament longer assembled; and that, in all probability, the instrument of the closure would have been used by the Government to obtain its own way in the end.

I have noticed that in some quarters the Opposition has been criticized for not offering a more determined resistance to the Government and for not obstructing altogether the voting of supplies. It has been urged by some that we should have continued to sit all night and all day for a week at a time if necessary, to prevent any supplies being voted. I confess that the provocation to adopt such a course of the kind was strong indeed. Had there not been public reasons even stronger which compelled the most careful consideration of all that such a course might have involved, there would perhaps have been some justification in resorting to it.

WHY OPPOSITION DID NOT OBSTRUCT UNDULY

Let me state frankly what the reasons were which led the Opposition to content itself with such resistance as seemed adequate clearly to define its position, and to reveal the unconstitutional and arbitrary method of the Government's procedure, and not attempt to go the length of following the Government into an open defiance of usages and practices which must be preserved if Parliament is to have the character of a deliberative assembly.

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It all comes back to what at the outset I said was the actuating motive of the Opposition in its attitude toward the Government at all stages throughout the session, namely: the desire to restore and to reconstruct those usages, customs, and practices which have made British parliamentary institutions the admiration of the world. To have offered resistance to the point of open and prolonged obstruction would have meant, on the part of the Opposition, the meeting of force with force, with ultimate victory to the Government through its superior numbers, at great cost and loss to the country as a whole. It would have meant the perpetuation, in the arena of parliamentary discussion, of the war spirit, a reviving of those passions which warfare tends to arouse, just at a time when effort must be made from every quarter to allay all that tends to provoke discord and unrest, if peace, law, and order are ever to be re-established on a firm and enduring foundation.

THE EXAMPLE OF PARLIAMENT ALL-IMPORTANT

The country has been slowly but none the less surely recovering its equilibrium. The passions and hatreds which war has provoked between classes and groups in our national society have been gradually subsiding. Reason is slowly reasserting its supremacy over Force as the effective instrument for maintaining human relations on a satisfactory and enduring basis. It is for Parliament, by its example, to aid, not to impede or thwart, this return to normal and sane methods of establishing human relations. Because the Government was prepared to become Bolshevist in its methods, by rejecting and ignoring those customs and practices which made of Parliament a truly deliberative assembly, was not a ground why the Opposition should attempt to follow suit in any manner which might serve to fan into flame throughout the country past or existing prejudices, or latent unrest or actual unrest.

Our task being avowedly that of seeking to restore the constitution and constitutional methods of procedure in matters of government, we not only sought, but were content, to make our position clear without resort to any extremes of action. I believe that this course will commend itself to the sober judgment of the people of this country, the more so as they reflect upon the consequences of extreme action attempted in any quarter, and most of all in Parliament at a time like the present, when there is need everywhere of reconciliation and the beneficent work of healing and restoration.

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LIMITATIONS TO THE POWER OF THE OPPOSITION

It must be remembered, too, that there are limitations to the power of an Opposition, and to what it is possible for an Opposition to achieve in any given set of circumstances. So long as countenance was given by the country to the pretext of Union Government, as representative to any degree of different phases of political thought and opinion, an immense handicap was placed on the powers of the Opposition to compel a course of conduct by the Government in accordance with the popular will. So long as men professing themselves Liberals continued to have in any degree the backing of their constituencies in support given the Government, either as members of Parliament or as members of the Administration, the power of a Liberal Opposition was thwarted by just so much. Behind the Opposition, and behind the Government, are the people of the country; and it is for the people to make their voices heard, not only through their representatives in Parliament, but by the control which they themselves should at all times seek to exercise over their representatives.

THE PEOPLE MUST MAKE THEIR VOICE HEARD

Let the people of the different constituencies of Canada who have members giving their support to the present administration, but who feel that the administration no longer commands the confidence of the people, demand an instant withdrawal of any further support of the administration by their representatives in Parliament - and the power of the Opposition in compelling obedience to the people's wishes will be increased a thousand fold. If it is government by the people that the people want, the people themselves must assert their views and wishes in no uncertain tone. They can do so in the several constituencies by demanding the immediate resignation of those members of Parliament who, in continuing their support to the present government, have ceased rightly to represent the constituencies for which they stand in Parliament. Let the people themselves follow the example set by the Great War Veterans, and pass resolutions demanding the immediate resignation of those members who are continuing, in defiance of the public will, to support the present administration; and it will not then be difficult for the Opposition so to strengthen its numbers in Parliament, and so to assert its position as to make impossible the indefinite perpetuation in office of the present administration.

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UNIONISM PARALYZES EXPRESSION OF POPULAR WILL

The keeping alive, in however small a measure, of the semblance of union between men or parties opposed to each other in feeling and principle, serves only to maim and paralyze any vigorous expression of the real will of the people. It is time there should be an end to this paralysis in matters of government. Liberalism is a mighty force throughout this Dominion; but its true and full expression in Parliament is being denied by all that serves further to compromise and to stultify an honest and frank expression of opinion on the part of any members of either Parliament or the ministry.

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THE ESTIMATES

Let me now say a word about the two outstanding measures of every session, and the practices which should pertain in reference thereto if Parliament's character as a deliberative assembly is to be preserved.

Provision for the various services of the GOvernment of the country is made annually in what are termed "the Estimates", which are submitted to Parliament for that purpose. The Estimates represent the amounts which the Government believes will be required to carry on the work of government. They constitute what in money is to be paid out of the treasury of the country. When the Estimates have passed Parliament - in other words, when they have been voted - they become known as appropriations. The word "supply" is used to describe what is meant in speaking alike of Estimates and Appropriations.

PUBLIC VITALLY INTERESTED IN CONSIDERATION OF ESTIMATES

Inasmuch as every dollar of expenditure means a dollar of taxation, it is manifest that there is nothing in which the people are more vitally interested than in having the Estimates submitted to Parliament at as early a date in the session as may be possible. Not only are they interested in knowing what amounts the Government proposes to expend; but they are not less vitally interested in having ample opportunity afforded for the careful consideration and scrutiny of all proposed expenditures.

GOVERNMENT CONTROLS BUSINESS OF PARLIAMENT

Under our system of government, the arrangement of the business of Parliament is exclusively in the control of the Government. If the Government wishes to permit a full and frank and open discussion of public affairs, it can always effect this by making its proposals known at an early stage of the session, and so arranging the business of Parliament from day to day as to give ample opportunity for consideration of the different measures on its legislative programme, including the Estimates. On the other hand, it can, by one device or another, if it so desires, so arrange the legislative programme as virtually to deny to the people's representatives in Parliament any real opportunity of carefully considering the matters in which they are most vitally concerned, and cause the time of Parliament to be taken up with matters of wholly secondary importance which are of no real concern to the people at large.

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Which of these courses a Government is likely to adopt will depend, first of all, upon the sense of responsibility it has in the discharge of its duties as a public trust; and, secondly, upon the nature of its following in Parliament. If the latter are subservient, mainly desirous, like the Government itself, of holding on to office and power, a ministry not over conscientious can adopt almost any course it pleases in so arranging the business of Parliament as to make Parliament a mere register of its own caprices and will.

ARRANGEMENTS OF RECENT SESSION REFLECT GOVERNMENT'S INDIFFERENCE TO PEOPLE'S INTERESTS

Perhaps nothing more strongly reflects both the subservience of the Government's following in the House of Commons and the Government's own indifference to what is owing the people by way of a careful scrutiny and supervision by their representatives in Parliament of all proposed expenditures, than the manner in which the business of Parliament was arranged and conducted during the past session.

In the first place, Parliament itself was not called until the 26th of February. The Estimates for the fiscal year 1920-21 were presented to Parliament on March 22. When it is remembered that one fiscal year ends and the other begins on the 31st of March, it will be seen that this allowed a period of only nine days for a consideration of the supplies before the beginning of the fiscal year to which they were intended to apply. As a matter of fact, the Government did not permit any consideration of the Estimates until some time after the Estimates were brought down. It then allowed weeks and weeks to go by without more than a slight consideration of a very few of the proposed appropriations. Indeed, we had almost reached the beginning of July - or, in other words, the end of the session - before any opportunity was afforded to consider in committee the great body of the Estimates. Meanwhile, new estimates were brought down. In May, estimates to the amounts of $12,500,000 and $19,051,198 respectively were brought down; and on June 26 supplementary estimates amounting to $62,002,482, and June 29 amounting to $53,000; with the result that, whilst some few appropriations had been carefully considered, the great bulk of the appropriations, running up into the hundreds of millions, were rushed through Parliament within the last few days of the session, with little or no opportunity for consideration or supervision.

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OPPOSITION SOUGHT TO MAINTAIN CONTROL OF PARLIAMENT
OVER EXPENDITURES

The records of Parliament will show that not a month went by that I did not draw the attention of the Government to the advisability and necessity of proceeding with a consideration of the Estimates without delay. The request was all but wholly ignored. Instead of giving the people's representatives in Parliament opportunity of supervising expenditures, the time of Parliament was taken up in passing amendments to legislation enacted at previous sessions, or in consolidating different amendments, to such an extent that it might truly be said that three-fourths of the time of the past session was devoted to this patching and repairing of past legislation, much of which had been ill-conceived or ill-drafted.

DECEPTION OF PARLIAMENT IN METHOD OF
PRESENTING ESTIMATES

How wholly misleading and deceptive the Government's procedure in the matter of the presentation of its estimates to Parliament was, will be apparent from the following two or three illustrations, which clearly illustrate the methods adopted to evade criticism and to secure appropriations for expenditures that were known to be unpopular, and certainly are without justification at this time.

When the main estimates were presented, on March 22, they disclosed an expenditure for last year, on Naval Service, of $600,000, and an amount desired for the present year of $300,000. In other words, as set out in printed form, an apparent decrease was shown on this account, at a time when economy was necessary, of $300,000. Three days after these estimates were presented to Parliament, the Minister of Naval Service announced in Parliament that the Government was reorganizing the entire naval service, and that no permanent policy would be adopted until after the Imperial Conference, which is to be held in Britain next year. Naturally, Parliament and the country assumed that the Government proposed to economize on this branch of the public service. In the press of the country, the Government were commended for their action in this particular. Apparently, however, this action on the Government's part was a mere camouflage, for, as subsequently transpired, the Government, without even taking Parliament into its confidence, had accepted from the British Government one cruiser, two torpedo boat destroyers; and the Prime Minister, without consulting the Cabinet, had accepted two

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submarines, to be the nucleus of a new naval service, an appropriation for which was to be obtained from Parliament in the very last days of the session, when no opportunity whatever would be afforded for a discussion on naval policy and naval affairs.

It was not until June 14 that the Government, through the Minister of Naval Service, intimated to Parliament that what was desired was, not the appropriation of $300,000 asked for in the main estimates, but an appropriation totalling $2,500,000, through the additional amount of $2,200,000 to be provided for in supplementary estimates.

OPPOSITION PROTESTS AGAINST LARGE NAVAL EXPENDITURES

The Opposition protested vigorously against the appropriation of this additional amount for naval service: first, on the ground that the Government had expressly stated it had no permanent naval policy, and would have none until after the Imperial Conference; secondly, on the ground that, until the demobilization of the Canadian forces was completed, expenditures on the Army and Navy should be curtailed as much as possible; and on the ground that there was no conceivable menace, and consequently no existing necessity for any such large expenditure for naval matters at the present time; and, lastly, because of the great need for economy in public expenditures under the existing gigantic public debt, the high cost of living, and the ever-increasing taxation. These points were strongly developed in debate. When the supplementary estimates were brought down on June 26, the supplementary appropriation for naval service was fixed at $1,700,000 instead of $2,200,000, as intimated previously by the Minister, and a half a million dollars was thus saved the country by the Opposition. Later, the Opposition moved to reduce the Estimates by $1,700,000 so as to bring the amount for the naval service for the present year to the amount set forth in the Estimates, as being the total amount expended on naval service during last year, and also as a protest against Parliament not having been treated frankly and honestly by the ministry in the methods by which it was asked to grant this large appropriation. It was in vain that the Opposition sought to effect this economy and to maintain the principle of a genuine control over expenditures by the people through their representatives. To appearances, control was maintained through the Government being supported by its supine following. In reality, the tactics adopted to secure these appropriations from Parliament were so deceptive that one might almost say the money had been obtained by the ministry for the purposes mentioned under false pretences.

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QUESTIONABLE METHODS ADOPTED IN PRESENTING THE MILITIA ESTIMATES

Like tactics were adopted by the Government in the matter of securing appropriations from Parliament for purposes of Militia and Defence, over and above what was alleged to be required for demobilization purposes and expenditures growing out of the War. The main estimates presented to Parliament, on March 22, showed an expenditure for the year 1919-20, on account of Militia and Defence, of $8,391,152, and for the present fiscal year a proposed expenditure of $12,520,016. To appearances, this meant an increase of $4,128,864. It was not, however, until June 16 that the estimates of the Department of Militia and Defence were considered in Parliament.

The discussion of the Militia Estimates was preceded by a lengthy statement on the part of the Minister of Militia and Defence, in which he intimated that the Government had military property to the extent of about $4,000,000 for which it had no apparent use, and that the Government was contemplating a sale of this property and the diversion of its proceeds to military purposes in other directions. It might have been assumed that monies realizable in this way would be used, at a time like this, to help to meet some of the vast expenditures which the War has occasioned.

Nothing was said by the Minister to intimate any intention of additional outlays for military purposes until, by direct question, I asked if the Government had in mind requesting from Parliament, in the form of supplementary estimates, further amounts for military purposes other than those mentioned by the Minister. Then, for the first time, Parliament was informed that the Government contemplated bringing in an estimate for some $2,000,000 for additional barracks, to be erected in different centres throughout the Dominion. In other words, the Government was proposing, without daring to make its intentions publicly known until the last days of the session, to add an additional two millions to the Militia estimates as provision for accomodation for a nucleus of nothing less than a permanent standing army in this country. Fortunately, this admission was drawn from the ministry before the estimates were actually submitted. Meanwhile, so strong was the protest made by the Opposition to the large expenditures proposed in the main estimates, that the Government reconsidered its position, and, in bringing in the supplementaries, instead of seeking from Parliament, as the Minister had intimated was his intention, an additional appropriation of $2,000,000 on account of militia barracks, asked for this purpose the amount only of $100,000. The Opposition were thus able to save the country an expenditure, on account of barracks at this time of almost two millions of dollars. They were unable, however, to reduce the Militia estimates in any other respects.

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NEED OF A MINISTRY THAT HAS NOT ACQUIRED
THE WAR HABIT OF MIND

Numerous other examples might be given to illustrate wherein the administration, so accustomed to doing as it pleased in all matters, revealed itself wholly indifferent to an honourable and honest procedure. These, however, are sufficient to illustrate the point I am seeking to make, namely: the necessity, if constitutional practice and procedure are to be restored, of placing in office a wholly new administration composed of men whose sense of responsibility to Parliament and the public will be a first concern, and ridding the country forever of ministers who, through having acquired the war habit of mind, can never be expected to view other than with impatience any restraint upon the exercise of their own free will. The truth is that members of the war administration have become so accustomed to dealing in millions of dollars that expenditures involving thousands are beneath their consideration; they have become so accustomed to doing everything by executive order that they no longer have regard for Parliament, where it is possible in any way to ignore its presence. There will be ~~a~~ no change in this respect, no return to a responsible ministry, until we have a new and properly representative parliament.

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THE BUDGET

Of like, ~~if not of greater~~, importance, compared with the Estimates, is what is termed The Budget. The Estimates, as has been mentioned, are representative of the expenditures of government. The Budget is the statement of the means by which revenues are to be raised to meet these expenditures. The Estimates are considered in Parliament in what is known as the Committee of Supply. The proposals as to the means of raising revenue are considered and adopted in what is known as the Committee of Ways and Means. Inasmuch as all revenue is derivable from taxation in one form or another, it is apparent that too much thought and attention cannot be given by Parliament to a consideration of the Budget. To have anything like adequate consideration given its proposals, the Budget should be announced to Parliament at an early stage in its proceedings, and opportunity to consider its proposals also afforded at an early stage.

The indifference of the Government to the usages and practices of which I have been speaking was illustrated, at the last session, in the case of the Budget, as in all else. Though the fiscal year to which its provisions necessarily apply commenced on April 1st, it was not until May 19 that the Budget itself was presented to Parliament by the Minister of Finance. Then its consideration was not commenced until June 9: in other words, until the very last weeks of the session.

Thus matters were so arranged as to avoid consideration of all taxation proposals in the earlier part of the session, or, indeed, at any stage of the session save its very close, when, ~~as already intimated, the~~ very late sittings were being resorted to. As a consequence, matters pertaining to taxation, the most important of all in their effect upon the people in these days of high prices and ever-increasing cost of living, received anything but the attention to which they were entitled.

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DEVICE OF LATE SITTINGS TO AVOID DUE CONSIDERATION
OF PUBLIC BUSINESS

Another device resorted to by the Government, wholly destructive of the character of Parliament as a deliberative assembly, and without doubt resorted to for the purpose, in part, of crippling the power of the Opposition and of evading the public gaze in numerous transactions, was the practice, commenced at an early stage in the session, of keeping the House so continuously in session, and until such late hours every night, that anything like a proper attention to the business of Parliament by those who sought to be regular in their attendance upon its proceedings, became absolutely impossible.

On April 21, the Government discontinued the Wednesday evening adjournment, thereby making evening sittings, in addition to the afternoon sessions, continuous throughout the week. From that time on, Parliament sat from three in the afternoon until midnight, or within an hour of midnight, on five days of the week. Soon the hour of midnight was passed, and the sessions were protracted until one or two in the morning. Then, on June 4, the hour of convening in the afternoon was changed from three until two; and with this extension of time in the afternoon came an additional protraction of the lateness of sittings after midnight. Finally, Saturday afternoon and Saturday night sittings were added to those of the other days of the week, with the result that, during the last fortnight, in which most of the business of the country was transacted, there was scarcely a night that adjournment came before one or two in the morning, and several nights the adjournment was as late as three or four. The following is a statement of the hours of adjournment, as shown by reference to Hansard:

June 14	-	12.40 a.m.	June 23	-	1.05 a.m.
15		12.35 a.m.	24		1.29 a.m.
16		12.18 a.m.	25		2.25 a.m.
17		3.24 a.m.	26		12.00 m.
18		11.20 p.m.	28		4.00 a.m.
19(Sat)		7.05 p.m.	29		2.25 a.m.
21		12.25 a.m.	30		3.35 a.m.
22		2.42 a.m.	July 1		Prorogation.

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PROTEST BY OPPOSITION TO SECURE DUE CONSIDERATION
AND PUBLICITY OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

Over and over again, I protested against this method of carrying on the business of the country; not that I was unwilling to get through the public business just as rapidly as possible, but because it was perfectly apparent to me, as it must be to everyone who stops to consider it, that it is physically impossible to bring a clear mind or calm judgment to bear on the administration of a nation's affairs where a deliberate effort is made so to exhaust the vitality of members as to make their attendance in the House, to say nothing of their interest in debate, next to impossible.

Moreover, as will be apparent, with the newspapers of the country going to press at a fixed hour, this practice of very late sittings results in a very considerable part of the country's business being transacted without any knowledge whatever on the part of the public of what is taking place. It was at these late hours that the Government adopted the practice of bringing in measures for consideration of which they were least desirous of having the public gain any adequate knowledge. As a consequence, no record whatever has gone out to the public of much of the work of the Opposition which has been most effective by way of criticism and safeguarding of the public interest, and a burden of many millions of dollars has been imposed upon the taxpayers of this country which might have been saved them, to the benefit of all concerned, had a procedure been followed more in accordance with what is befitting the character of Parliament as a deliberative assembly.

Indeed, the Government's arrangement of its business in the manner described was equivalent to the adoption of a method of closure quite as effective as any that would have resulted from an open use of that device for limiting public discussion.

ESSENTIAL REQUIREMENTS OF A DELIBERATIVE ASSEMBLY

If the character of Parliament as a deliberative assembly is to be restored, if there is to be a proper control by the people's representatives in Parliament over the ministry, which for the time being is the executive in charge of the nation's affairs, it is imperative that the annual sittings of Parliament should not be delayed until within a few weeks of the beginning of a new fiscal year, but should

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commence at a date sufficiently early to permit of a free and full discussion of all estimates before the beginning of the fiscal year; secondly, that all important legislation be announced at the commencement of the session, or as soon thereafter as may be possible, and regard had for ample discussion of every measure by the arrangement of its different readings so as to permit of the public being duly informed of matters which affect its well-being during the course of their consideration in Parliament; thirdly, that the ~~daily sittings~~ Estimates and the Budget should be ~~so~~ brought down immediately after the opening of Parliament; and, lastly, that the daily sittings of Parliament should be so arranged as to enable the business of the country to be transacted with at least as much care and deliberation as would be given by directors of ordinary financial and business concerns, to the administration of their affairs.

In other words, what is necessary to-day is a business administration, which will conduct the affairs of the country in a business-like manner, with due regard to the moral obligations which so great a trust as that of administering a nation's affairs should impose.

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II

NEED FOR THE CONTROL OF THE EXECUTIVE BY PARLIAMENT

So much by way of the need for the restoration of the character of Parliament as a deliberative assembly. Necessarily, the work ~~the~~ of the Opposition in this connection was, so far as possible, to arouse the Government to a sense of its duty and to disclose to the public wherein, through the Government's indifference, their rights were being infringed.

To reassert, and, so far as possible, to regain the control of Parliament over the executive, is the second great need in the restoration of our parliamentary institutions. In ~~the~~ large measure it is bound up with the restoration of the character of Parliament as a deliberative assembly. It is well, perhaps, to pause at this point and to recall that the growth of constitutional freedom under the British system is to be estimated by the degree to which the supremacy of Parliament over the Executive has been secured and maintained. The difference between autocratic government and responsible self-government is that, in the former, the will of a few is made to prevail, irrespective of the wishes of the many; under the latter, the many, through their representatives, control and direct the few, who, for the time being, are an executive entrusted with the duties of administering the affairs of the state.

WAR HAS TENDED TO DESTROY RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT

It has been the proud boast of the upholders of the British constitution that under no other system of government is the Executive so completely responsible to Parliament and to the people's wishes as there expressed through their representatives. In nothing has Liberalism played a nobler or more splendid part than in its contributions to the working out of responsible self-government. In nothing has the War done more to destroy what is best in responsible self-government than in the degree to which it has caused to be forgotten or ignored the fundamental principles on which responsible self-government rests.

Under the stress of war, the Executive has come to regard itself, not as the servant of Parliament, but as its master. It has tended to become a dictator, and, like all dictatorships, autocratic. To such lengths have the public become accustomed to autocratic

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proceedings as tolerated during the War, that it is doubtful if to-day the public appreciate just how far we have drifted from a conception of government by the people's representatives in Parliament as it was held prior to the commencement of the War. One thing is certain, having become so accustomed to the exercise of its own will by the Cabinet throughout the whole of the war period, there is no member who has served in any war cabinet that can be said to retain a true perspective of the relations which should exist between Parliament and the ministry in the matter of ultimate control. It is essential to the restoration of Parliamentary government in the true sense of the word that we get back to the A.B.C. of cabinet responsibility, and place in office ministers who will realize that their function collectively is solely that of a committee of Parliament which derives its entire rights and authority from Parliament itself. The insistence upon the responsibility of the Executive to Parliament in all its executive acts has been the outstanding feature of the work of the Liberal Opposition during the past session.

Numerous examples might be cited of the indifference, on the one hand, of the Executive to ministerial responsibility to Parliament; and, on the other, of the assertion by the Opposition of the principle of ministerial responsibility and of the supremacy of Parliament over the Executive. A few examples will perhaps suffice.

AUTOCRATIC ACTION OF MINISTRY WITH RESPECT TO
ACQUISITION OF GRAND TRUNK RAILWAY SYSTEM

Take, first of all, the largest single financial transaction in the history of the Canadian Parliament: the acquisition of the Grand Trunk Railway System by the Government of Canada. This matter relates itself, not only to the last session of Parliament, but also to the one preceding it. If there ever was a measure over which the people's representatives should have had complete supervision from start to close, it was that which embodied the terms and conditions surrounding this enormous transaction. Not only were the people's representatives entitled to the right to pass upon all phases of the transaction, but any due appreciation of the rights of the people would have reserved to the people themselves the right of passing, at a general election, upon a policy so far-reaching as that involved in the control or ownership and operation by the state of such a national railway system.

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Not only did the administration deny to the people of Canada any opportunity of passing upon the policy of government ownership and operation involved in this transaction; but they gave neither to the people nor to their representatives in Parliament the slightest intimation that they themselves were contemplating any such transaction until the matter had been all but consummated. The announcement of the Government's intention to acquire the Grand Trunk and Grand Trunk Pacific Railway Companies as part of a nationally owned and nationally operated transcontinental system came at the end of a session of Parliament called in the fall of 1919, a session called with entirely with reference to other matters. Nothing was said in the Speech from the Throne of any contemplated railway legislation; nor, indeed, was any intimation given Parliament of the Government's intention with reference thereto until it had been announced that the session would end within a fortnight, and representatives had already begun to arrange for a return to their homes. Then, in the last hours of that special session, in the absence of the Prime Minister, and at the instance of the present Prime Minister, Mr. Meighen, who was in charge of the measure, a Bill for the acquisition of the Grand Trunk Railway System was introduced and pressed through Parliament with indecent haste.

In vain did the Opposition endeavour to have mature consideration of so large a transaction effected by postponemtn of its final enactment until a subsequent session. The ministers in charge of the measure were adamant in their decision. They revealed an indifference, not only to the wishes of Parliament, but to their own party press in many parts of the country. By a greatly reduced majority in the House of Commons, and a very narrow majority in the Senate, they procured from Parliament the required legislation. In vain the Opposition protested that the haste in the transaction would only delay matters in the end, and that further consideration at a subsequent session of Parliament would in all probability be necessary. In vain did the Opposition try to reserve to Parliament the right which was reserved to the Grand Trunk shareholders, of passing upon the agreement between the Government and the Company before its final acceptance by both parties. The Government, led by the present Prime Minister, were ready to concede to bondholders in Britain rights and privileges which they wholly denied to the taxpayers of Canada, an attitude which, having regard for the magnitude of the transaction, should have caused the present Prime Minister to forfeit forever his right to the confidence of the Canadian people, and to stamp him forever as arbitrary and autocratic in the administration of public affairs.

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EFFORTS OF OPPOSITION TO SECURE APPROVAL BY PARLIAMENT

What the Opposition prophesied would happen did happen. The agreement was drafted between the Government and the Grand Trunk Railway Company, and was submitted to the shareholders of the Company in London and passed upon by them without any expression from the people's representatives in the Canadian Parliament. Then it was discovered that the whole transaction had been consummated with such haste that errors had arisen in the agreement as drawn, and grave doubts having been cast upon the legality of the procedure in certain particulars, the Government were obliged, at the last session, to bring the agreement again into Parliament and to introduce a Bill to correct certain errors and to ratify the agreement as drawn.

Never perhaps was there a more glaring example of the complete indifference of an Executive to Parliament or to the people of the country with the administration of whose affairs they were entrusted, than was revealed in connection with this measure. Having before it for the first time the agreement which had been drafted, the Opposition, in the interests of the people of Canada, sought the right of considering its several provisions and of proposing such amendments as seemed in the public interest. This right was absolutely denied. The Government stated in the plainest terms that it would permit no alteration whatever in the wording or terms of the agreement, except such as of its own accord it cared to introduce.

When the Bill relating to the acquisition of the Grand Trunk Railway came before Parliament in the second session of 1919, representatives of the railroad brotherhoods had petitioned the Prime Minister and Minister of Labour to see that the pension rights of certain of the employees of the Grand Trunk Railway Company were definitely secured in any agreement which might be made. They might as well have spared themselves the trouble of making any representations, for the Government ignored them altogether. Knowing the justice of the demands of these employees of the Company, and the long injustice to which they had been subjected through a failure on the part of the Company to carry out its rightful obligations, I proposed in Parliament an amendment to the Bill which, had it been accepted, would have settled and established once and for all the pension rights and claims of the employees, which they have been denied for some ten years past. The Government decided to refuse even to entertain the proposal, and the amendment was defeated.

This acquisition of an entire railway system under an agreement to which the people's representatives in Parliament were

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denied the right of any real voice of approval or amendment, is about as glaring an example of autocratic control by an Executive, and the ignoring of Parliament, as the annals of any legislative assembly in the world will disclose. So far as I know, its only parallel in recent Canadian history is that afforded by the determination of the present Prime Minister and his colleagues to carry on the business of the country for another two years, regardless altogether of constitutional right or the popular will.

AUTOCRATIC PROCEDURE IN CREATION OF MERCHANT MARINE

Scarcely less autocratic has been the Government's procedure in the expenditure of seventy millions of the people's money in the creation of a merchant marine. $70,000,000 not very long ago would have been regarded as a sum sufficient to carry on the entire government of the Dominion. It would have all but met the entire outlay on account of ordinary expenditure in the Government of Canada in each of the last years of Sir Wilfrid' Laurier's administration. No ministry would have ventured to award contracts for expenditures of one tenth or one hundredth of this sum without in the first instance coming to Parliament for authority so to do. Not so any administration of which the present Prime Minister has been a member. Questioned in Parliament at the last session concerning their action, the ministry announced that the contracts for all the ships required for the Canadian merchant marine, some sixty or seventy in all, had been awarded, every one by Order-in-Council, without in a single case any authority from Parliament, and without, in any case, calling for tenders for the awarding of contracts. All Parliament was asked to do was to vote the money necessary to pay the shipbuilding concerns to which these contracts were awarded.

Here was open defiance, not only of Parliament, but of the law of the land, which provides that in all expenditures exceeding a certain amount, tenders must first be called and contracts awarded to the lowest tenderer. At first, the Minister of Marine was inclined to dispute the existence of such a law. With the aid of the Minister of Justice, he and his colleagues subsequently took refuge under the pretext that the awarding of the contracts in the manner described was in the nature of a war measure, to save the country from unrest arising out of the unemployment of returned soldiers - a poor kind of compliment, indeed, to the men who have fought overseas, but the kind of excuse wholly in keeping with the Government's readiness, when its own ends can be served by so doing, to shield its limitations under the guise of patriotism, even at the expense of the soldiers.

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The indifference of the Executive to the rights of Parliament and of the people did not stop even at this point. Questioned as to the extent and nature of many expenditures in connection with the Merchant Marine, the Minister bluntly refused to give Parliament many of the details asked for, putting forward the pretext that an incorporated company controlled its affairs, and it was for the company to say what publicity, if any, should be given to its business transactions. The Hon. Dr. Reid, Minister of Railways and Canals, took precisely the same position with regard to the Canadian National Railways and their management, an attitude wholly new, arbitrary, and autocratic, in government owned and operated enterprises.

PARLIAMENT IGNORED WHILE IN SESSION IN IMPORTANT CONTRACT WITH THE CITY OF OTTAWA

I might cite, as an instance of the habit into which ministers have fallen of completely ignoring the people's representatives in Parliament in the expenditure of public monies, one incident which occurred while Parliament was in session.

For a number of years past, the Government of Canada has contributed sums of money toward the improvement and beautifying of Ottawa as the capital of the Dominion. This money is voted to the Ottawa Improvement Commission. The City of Ottawa, in addition, has been paid by the Government sums of money for various municipal services such as fire and police protection, etc., all of which is a matter of agreement between the city and the Government. During the past year, this agreement with the City of Ottawa was revised and a new agreement entered into which increased the amount being paid by the Government to the Improvement Commission from $100,000 to $150,000, and to the City of Ottawa from $15,000 to $75,000 a year, with the additional right to the city to tax the incomes of civil servants, which under former agreements had been exempt from taxation. An Act of Parliament was necessary to enable the Government to make the concessions which the contract with the city of Ottawa proposed. The Bill for this purpose was introduced by the Minister of Public Works on March 19. Prior to its introduction, the contract had been drafted, with its various terms and stipulations.

One would have assumed that opportunity would have been afforded to the people's representatives at least to examine and to suggest modifications of these terms during a consideration of the legislation. It transpired, however, that before the Bill had had its second reading on April 6, and while it was still before Parliament, the contract was duly executed on behalf of the Government, on March 30,

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by the Minister of Public Works. Parliament was then put in the position of either being obliged to accept the contract exactly as drawn by the Minister or of repudiating an agreement that had been entered into between the Government of Canada and the Corporation of the City of Ottawa. In other words, Parliament's function was reduced to that merely of registering the will of the ministry. The Act of Parliament became a mere formality. The voting of appropriations necessary to execute the contract was nothing more than an admission by the Government's majority of its willingness to sanction any course of procedure or kind of measure for which the ministry might ask their support.

The Opposition both exposed and opposed this whole transaction, as being but one of many of the kind of which the Government was guilty. It was impossible, of course, to alter the situation so long as the ministry could count on a blind support from its followers. The power of the Opposition was necessarily limited to that of seeking to arouse public opinion.

INDIFFERENCE OF MINISTRY AND ITS FOLLOWING TO OBLIGATIONS OF LAW-MAKING ILLUSTRATED BY BLIND SANCTION OF ORDERS CITED MERELY BY NUMBER

The lengths to which the ministry felt itself at liberty to go to give the force of law to its own decrees and those of its own appointees under Order-in-Council, was well exhibited in the case of a Bill respecting the Director of Coal Operations in Western Canada. One can search the records of legislative bodies in any quarter of the world without being able to find in any of them so glaring an example of the indifference of a ministry to the sacred duties of Parliament in the matter of law-making, and the indifference of a ministerial following to its obligations in this connection.

Amongst many other examples of control over industry inaugurated during the war by the ministry under Order-in-Council was that of the appointment of a Director of Coal Operations in Southern Alberta and British Columbia to whom was given, also by Order-in-Council, powers of the most extreme and autocratic character, powers to fix prices, wages, conditions of employment, even the classes of labour to be employed. It was argued that the emergency of war made this necessity absolute; and to strengthen the authority of the Director of Coal Operations in any order he might desire to make, he was given the power to direct the Dominion Mounted Police to see to its execution.

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These powers have been continued since the War, without authority of Act of Parliament. Recently, however, litigation arose in which a question was raised as to the jurisdiction of the Federal Government in the matter of continuing these powers in peace time, and as to the legality of certain of the orders issued. To protect itself and its officers from the consequence of their own autocratic deeds, and to perpetuate the system of war control in this industry, the Government brought into Parliament a Bill, not only to continue the powers granted the Director of Coal Operations for a period to extend to the close of the next session of Parliament, but also to legalize every order which had been issued. The orders numbered somewhere in the vicinity of 170. As already intimated, they related to all kinds of subjects. One, for example, provided that nine hours' pay should be given for eight hours' work; another that the difference in cost in consequence to the operators should be made up in part by additional prices to be charged consumers for the coal sold, and in part by assistance from the Government. Another order provided that boys of a certain age were to receive the same wages as men; and another that only persons who held membership in one particular union should be permitted to work in or about any of the mines.

Without even having read the orders through, or knowing that litigation had arisen concerning them, the present Prime Minister fathered the measure in the House of Commons and insisted on its passage through the House, despite vigorous protest against Parliament being called upon to legislate in entire ignorance of the terms of the measures it was enacting into law. Not one of the orders was printed nor attached to the Bill the passage of which was to give to them the force of law. Parliament was asked to enact them into law by mere citation of numbers, which appeared in a schedule forming part of the Bill, and running from 1 to 144. In this manner, a code of industrial law, in length more considerable than the enactments of any single session of Parliament, was forced through the House of Commons in a few hours and made part of the existing law of Canada. The Opposition exposed and opposed this transaction with all its power, but was overborne by numbers on the part of the Government's following.

I fail to see how, in the face of legislation of this kind, the ministry or its following can pretend that Parliament, as at present constituted, retains aught of its character of a deliberative assembly, or of its supremacy over the Executive in matters of legislation. Much better, to my mind, than legislation enacted in this

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fashion would be the abolition of the legislative function entirely and the delegation outright of autocratic powers to the ministry. It would at least save the dignity of Parliament and prevent its being transformed into a mere screen to conceal the autocratic behaviour of the ministry.

THE DEFIANCE BY THE MINISTRY OF ITS OWN FOLLOWERS IN THE APPOINTMENT OF A WAR PURCHASING COMMISSION

But this is not all. Let me give a still later example, not only of the ignoring of Parliament, but of the open defiance of the will of its own followers by the ministry.

During the War, among the many other forms of control instituted was that of the appointment of what has been termed the War Purchasing Board, for the purpose of purchasing war supplies necessary for the different departments of the Government. No legislation was ever enacted by Parliament authorizing the appointment of this body. It owed its origin wholly to an Order-in-Council. It has been kept in existence ever since, not by the authorization of Parliament, but by the process under which it was originally created, namely: Order-in-Council.

In the second session of 1919, the Government, realizing the anomaly, without sanction of Parliament, of perpetuating a War Purchasing Board in times of peace, introduced legislation to perpetuate the Board in a regular manner and to confer on it powers for the purchasing of government supplies in times of peace. When the legislation was introduced, it was so bitterly opposed in Parliament, not by the Opposition but by many of the Government's own followers, that the Bill was withdrawn. The Board, however, was continued in office.

The same legislation, or legislation intended to accomplish an identical purpose, was introduced anew at the last session of Parliament. Its introduction was accompanied by an announcement on the part of ministers that the Government had determined upon its enactment, and that it must pass Parliament. Again, however, opposition to the measure was so strong, not on the part of the official Opposition only, but on the part of the Government's own supporters, that the Bill never passed its second reading. One would have upposed that the Government, twice prevented in Parliament by its own followers from the enactment of legislation for a particular purpose, would have regarded this action on the part of the people's representatives as conclusive evidence

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of the desire of Parliament to have the War Purchasing Board discontinued, and that it would have allowed the matter to drop. Not so the present administration. The Bills were allowed to drop; Parliament was virtually told to do what it pleased; and then, as soon as the session was over and members had left for their different constituencies, out comas the announcement that the Purchasing Board is to be continued as heretofore, by Order-in-Council, and to be transformed from a War board into a permanent purchasing body for the purchase of all government supplies. It has been announced that there may be a change in the personnel of the Board, and that new appointments will be made.

One would wonder what possible defence the Government could find for action of the kind. Certainly there is none on constitutional grounds; nor indeed has the Government sought a justification of its acts on any such grounds. Unwittingly they have asserted the doctrine which invariably is that of the autocrat who believes his own will to be superior to that of all others, and finds it usually in alliance with the Divine Will as representing a higher order of moral as well as of ordinary intelligence. To all intents and purposes, the ministry has said: "We will assume a sort of divine right of kings. The people do not know what is good for themselves, or for the country. Their representatives in Parliament are equally ignorant and astray. We alone are the guardians of public morality and capable to pronounce upon it. Patronage must be abolished; we will see to its abolition. So long as we have autocratic control, we can let Parliament go on its own way; we will work ours." And that is exactly what they have done.

This,perhaps, should be borne in mind, that while, to appearances, the Executive may seem to have a shadow of excuse for its action in the supposed elimination of patronage, it has by its act, through taking into its own hands the appointment of the personnel of the Commission, done nothing more than to transfer patronage, if there has been control elsehwere, into the exclusive control of the ministry.

What power, it may well be asked, has any Opposition in the teeth of autocratic action of this kind. It demonstrates that, however forceful an Opposition may be, the ministry, if it so pleases, may, if the public are sufficiently apathetic, ignore the effects of all opposition once the sessions of Parliament are over. There is but one remedy, and that is speedily to become rid of a Government following that is so supine and subservient as the one at present in Parliament, and to substitute therefor a representative parliament and for a self-willed ministry, a cabinet of ministers endowed with a due sense of responsibility to Parliament and the people.

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III

REGAIN CONTROL OF THE PEOPLE OVER PARLIAMENT

The only effective means of remedying the evils complained of, and of freeing Canada from the baneful influence of the control of its political affairs by the present autocratic administration, is that which a general election affords. By all that constitutional usage and procedure demands, that right should be afforded the people of Canada without delay. The Government has lost entirely the confidence of the people. It is either a new administration, and as such not entitled to continue in office without the approval of its policies by the people; or it is the old administration under a new name, with a new policy and a new leader, in which event it has exhausted the purposes for which the Union Government was formed, and has no mandate to continue in office. The original Union ministry no longer exists. It has lost half of its entire membership, several of its own members have declared that its purpose has been served and its right to continue in office long since gone. It has lost the confidence of the people, as evidenced by the by-elections, and the voice of the press which helped to bring it into being and which at one time supported it so strongly. Its following in Parliament has steadily lessened, till it is precarious beyond words. It stands for a reactionary Toryism against the continuance of which every Province in the Dominion has declared with no uncertain voice. Judged by every canon of parliamentary government, it is a usurper of the people's rights in the matter of government. It should no longer be tolerated, but should make way for a Parliament that will be truly representative, and a ministry that is responsible to Parliament and the people.

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had an opportunity to read the translations of the speeches of their French confreres.

Mr. BUREAU: Hear, hear. So say we all.

ESTIMATES AND THEIR DISCUSSION.

Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (leader of the Opposition): Might I take advantage of this moment again to suggest to the Government that if by any possibility they ould be in office this fall—

Mr. BUREAU: Unthinkable.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING:—they consider the advisability of calling the session at an early date, so that we will not again be confronted with a situation such as we have had on this occasion, of reaching the month of July with a very large proportion of Estimates hurriedly passed in the preceding and last remaining twenty-four hours. I trust the Government will make a point not only of bringing down its Estimates as early as possible, but of affording an early opportunity for consideration of them. We of the Opposition—if we are still in opposition—will not agree to give the Government any votes on account if that can be avoided. The public interest in these matters must be protected as far as possible.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: I may say in answer to my hon. friend (Mr. Mackenzie King) that his remarks are founded on such impossible suppositions, in one case particularly, that it is difficult to come down to any reasonable basis in discussing the subject matter that he has brought to the attention of the House. But the Government, as it always has done, will try and get the session on as early as conveniently possible; and, as it always has done, it will have a body of Estimates ready for the Opposition almost from the time that the House gets into working order.

I am not so sure that my hon. friend—if he has in view the prevention of Estimates being to a certain extent the subject for discussion at or very close to the end of the session—will be very much nearer his goal unless the Opposition mends its ways—and that is something that no Opposition that I have known in my time has done. I noticed a peculiarly strong illustration of that point last week. There is an ineradicable disposition on the part of an Opposition not to come to close quarters on Estimates until the very last moment, and then when there is not very much time left, to plead inability owing to the lateness of the hour to give that close attention which they had threatened.

Mr. BUREAU: No, no.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: What I mean to say is that the Opposition, as I have noted it during my parliamentary career, is disposed to discuss everything else but the Estimates itself until the time comes that the bell is about to ring for the dismissal of the House. For instance, we had most important Estimates before the House on the occasion I refer to—those relating to the Administration of Justice—brought forward by my right hon. friend the Minister of Justice (Mr. Doherty). They were, in fact, the whole of the Main Estimates of my right hon. friend. In them were embalmed a great deal of good stuff—almost all good I think—but they contained some new propositions which, if I mistake not, had not received very much consideration from the Opposition. What happened? The Estimates were before my hon. friends, and the day was before them as well, but instead of discussing the Estimates on their merits and the principles they involved, two or three hours were taken up in discussing some legal matter which was at the time before a Court in Montreal for decision. And when those two or three hours had passed, my hon. friends forgot all their duties as a lynx-eyed Opposition to see that the Estimates were properly framed and contained nothing that should not be voted,—they forgot all about these things and those Estimates went through, as it is sometimes said, "like greased lightning"; not a word was said with reference to the Estimates themselves. Now, that illustrates what may be a necessary fault in an Opposition, but it has so often turned out that way that really there is a good deal of blame to be given to the Opposition for not taking up and discussing when they have the opportunity the Estimates themselves and not a whole lot of extraneous matters. Of course, I do not want, nor have I any wish to shut out the right of hon. members to discuss all grievances—

Mr. BUREAU: You could not.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: —on the presentation of the Estimates; but as my hon. friend gave me some hints to think about during the vacation, I thought I might just venture in a good-natured way to give him something to think about during his summer holidays.

Mr. W. F. MACLEAN (South York): I suggest that we might try out the plan of having the Estimates referred to subcommittees.

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Mr. BUREAU: Oh, no; get them in the House and fight them out.

Mr. FIELDING: My own observation, after large experience in dealing with Estimates, both on the ministerial side and in Opposition, does not lead me entirely to endorse all that my right hon. friend has said. He speaks of having a body of Estimates ready from the earliest stage of the session. It is one thing to have a body of Estimates laid before us; it is another thing to have a proper opportunity presented to discuss them. It is the opportunity to discuss the Estimates that has been delayed in many cases. I could give illustrations, but the knocks at the door prevent.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER: In other words, my hon. friend has been knocked out.

Mr. FIELDING: Knocked out, but not by the Government.

PROROGATION OF PARLIAMENT.

A message was delivered by Lieutenant-Colonel Ernest J. Chambers, Gentleman Usher of the Black Rod, as follows:

Mr. SPEAKER: His Excellency the Governor General desires the immediate attendance of this Honourable House in the Chamber of the Honourable the Senate.

Accordingly, Mr. Speaker, with the House, went up to the Senate Chamber.

In the Senate Chamber, His Excellency the Governor General was pleased to give, in His Majesty's name, the Royal Assent to the following Bills:

BILLS ASSENTED TO.

An Act to amend the Inspection and Sale Act.
An Act to amend the Admiralty Act.
An Act to amend the Northwest Game Act.
An Act respecting the Director of Coal Operations.
An Act for the relief of Mary Oakley.
An Act for the relief of Margaret Elizabeth Cooper.
An Act for the relief of Catherine Burfoot.
An Act for the relief of Thomas Lindsay Thacker.
An Act for the relief of Margaret Henrietta Pettit.
An Act for the relief of John William Wallace.
An Act respecting the Colonial Investment and Loan Company.
An Act to incorporate The Great West Bank of Canada.
An Act to amend and consolidate the Acts respecting the British America Assurance Company.
An Act to amend and consolidate the Acts respecting the Western Assurance Company.
An Act for the relief of Edith Ellen Holmes Austin.
An Act for the relief of Ethelbert Gilmour Harris.
An Act for the relief of Albert Ernest Wice.
An Act for the relief of Peter Sutherland Cowie.
An Act for the relief of Roy Bradley.
An Act for the relief of Joan Doran.
An Act for the relief of Alexander Ross, Junior.
An Act for the relief of Jean Mary Sandford.
An Act for the relief of John Durose.
An Act to incorporate The North West Route, Limited.
An Act to amend the Customs Tariff, 1907.
An Act to amend the Business Profits War Tax Act, 1916.
An Act to amend the Penitentiary Act.
An Act respecting the Harbour of Pictou Nova Scotia.
An Act to amend the Irrigation Act.
An Act respecting Dominion Trust Company.
An Act to incorporate Reliance Insurance Company of Canada.
An Act respecting Maple Products.
An Act to amend the Canada Shipping Act (Sick and Distressed Mariners).
An Act respecting Canadian National Railways.
An Act to regulate the Sale and Inspection of Commercial Feeding Stuffs, Bran, Shorts, Middlings and Chop Feeds.
An Act to amend the Railway Act, 1919.
An Act for the relief of George Emerson Fox.
An Act for the relief of Graziano Bertini.
An Act for the relief of William Henry Caswell.
An Act for the relief of John Covert.
An Act for the relief of Mary Ireland.
An Act for the relief of John Daniel Mills.
An Act for the relief of Joseph Aimee Wilfrid David.
An Act for the relief of Richard Simpson.
An Act for the relief of Nora Dowle.
An Act to amend the Militia Pensions Act.
An Act to amend the Royal Canadian Mounted Police Act.
An Act to amend The Pension Act.
An Act to amend the Post Office Act.
An Act to amend the Inland Revenue Act.
An Act to amend the Bankruptcy Act.
An Act to amend the Yukon Placer Mining Act.
An Act to amend the Civil Service Act, 1918, and the Civil Service Amendment Act, 1919.
An Act to provide for the Settlement of Differences between the Governments of the Dominion of Canada and the province of British Columbia respecting Indian Lands and certain other Indian Affairs in the said province.
An Act respecting The Dominion Fire Insurance Company.
An Act to amend the Indian Act.
An Act for the relief of Muriel Curren Gilmour.
An Act for the relief of Marie Jeanne Yvonne Albertine St. Amour Lallemand.
An Act for the relief of Lauretta Estelle Cook.
An Act for the relief of Reginald Muir Barlow.
An Act for the relief of Alfred John Crawford.
An Act for the relief of Frederick Minskip.
An Act for the relief of Charles Henry Foster.
An Act for the relief of Frank Cox.
An Act for the relief of Joseph Dubé.
An Act for the relief of John Donnelly.
An Act to assist Shipbuilding.
An Act to amend The Income War Tax Act, 1917.
An Act to amend The Special War Revenue Act, 1915.

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An Act to confirm certain borrowings under The Demobilization Appropriation Act, 1919.

An Act respecting the Election of Members of the House of Commons and the Electoral Franchise.

An Act respecting The Canadian Wheat Board.

An Act to amend The Railway Act, 1919.

An Act to revive and amend The Naturalization Act, 1914.

An Act to amend the Criminal Code.

An Act to amend the Salaries Act and the Senate and House of Commons Act.

An Act for the relief of Mildred Euphemia Alsina Blanche Martin.

An Act for the relief of Arthur John Frankling, otherwise known as John Arthur Holmes.

An Act for the relief of Nelson Alexander Boylen.

An Act for the relief of Mahala Burton.

An Act for the relief of Joseph Henry Forbes.

An Act to amend The Boards of Trade Act.

An Act to provide for the Insurance of Returned Soldiers by the Dominion of Canada.

An Act to provide for the retirement of certain members of the Public Service.

An Act to amend The Canada Grain Act.

An Act to amend the Judges Act.

An Act to amend The Fish Inspection Act.

An Act for granting to His Majesty certain sums of money for the public service of the financial years ending respectively the 31st March, 1920, and the 31st March, 1921.

To these Bills the Royal Assent was pronounced by the Clerk of the Senate in the following words:

In His Majesty's name, His Excellency the Governor General doth assent to these Bills.

Then the Honourable the Speaker of the House of Commons addressed His Excellency the Governor General as follows:

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY:

The Commons of Canada have voted Supplies required to enable the Government to defray certain expenses of the public service.

In the name of the Commons I present to Your Excellency the following Bill:

An Act for granting to His Majesty certain sums of money for the public service of the financial year ending the 31st March, 1921.

To which Bill I humbly request Your Excellency's assent.

To this Bill the Clerk of the Senate, by command of His Excellency the Governor General, did thereupon say:

In His Majesty's name, His Excellency the Governor General thanks his loyal subjects, accepts their benevolence, and assents to these Bills.

After which His Excellency the Governor General was pleased to close the Fourth Session of the Thirteenth Parliament of the Dominion of Canada, with the following speech:

1920

Honourable Gentlemen of the Senate:

Gentlemen of the House of Commons:

In relieving you from further attendance in Parliament, I am happy to recall that your labours during the Session have resulted in many beneficial enactments.

You have given to the Franchise Act the long and careful deliberation which the importance of this measure amply justified. It embodies provisions which should insure the preparation of fair and impartial lists at all future elections.

The liberal increases in pensions which have been granted, the establishment of a scheme of state insurance for returned soldiers, and the further provisions concerning the settlement of soldiers upon the land, have shown your determination to take every practical means of fulfilling just obligations towards those who have rendered to our country such conspicuous service.

In the taxation measures which have been adopted, you have courageously taken into account of a difficult financial situation and it may be confidently expected that they will materially increase the revenues.

You have wisely made provision to continue authority for the supervision of the marketing of the Canadian wheat crops, if events in the world's markets should render this the most advantageous method of protecting the interests of the Canadian people. The exercise of this authority will necessarily receive the most attentive and careful consideration from my advisers.

The measure providing for the control of fuel recognises the peculiar importance of this matter in the national economy and the need for insuring supplies to the greatest possible extent.

You have adopted legislation with respect to shipbuilding which should result in the continued employment of many thousands of men hitherto engaged in that and associated industries.

The provision made for the naval service wisely recognizes the importance of preserving a nucleus which can be developed if need should arise.

Provision for the air service has also been made in such a manner as will produce the largest trained personnel consistent with the financial capacity of the country. Because of Canada's peculiar geographical position and features, it is highly important that the possibilities of this new method of communication and transportation should be fully explored. The Air Board will be enabled to watch every new development and to take practical steps in the interests of aerial navigation in the Dominion.

The measure for the education and enfranchisement of Indians constitutes an effective means of enabling these wards of the nation to make further advance to the responsibilities of citizenship.

The settlement of the issues of the war still proceeds, but it is hoped that before another Session the final treaties will have been concluded. After obtaining your approval, the Government have sanctioned on behalf of Canada, the ratification of the Treaty with Bulgaria; the Treaty with Hungary has been signed, but the Treaty with Turkey is still under negotiation.

During the Session, as a result of a Conference between the Government and the Governments of the British West Indian Colonies, an important agreement was concluded with the object of rendering still closer the trade relationships between Canada and these Colonies

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and of improving the means of intercourse and communication. This agreement will be submitted to you in due course.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons:

In His Majesty's name I thank you for the provision you have made for the needs of the public service.

Honourable Gentlemen of the Senate:

Gentlemen of the House of Commons:

On your return to your homes, I trust you will find such reassuring evidences of a bountiful harvest and of continued productiveness in every sphere of national activity as will enhance your confidence in the prosperity and stability of the Dominion in these critical times.

OTTAWA: Printed by THOMAS MULVEY, printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, 1920.

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however, that this public statement should be made in order that no false impression might be created by the change to which I have alluded.

Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (leader of the Opposition): I would like, on behalf of hon. gentlemen on this side, to supplement my hon. friend's statement by saying that we cordially reciprocate all that has been said with regard to the confidence expressed in Mr. Gisborne, not alone in his character, but also in his integrity and ability.

TRANSLATION OF FRENCH SPEECHES.

On the Orders of the Day.

Mr. JOSEPH ARCHAMBAULT (Chambly and Vercheres): Mr. Speaker, if I may be allowed to make a statement, there appears on the Order Paper a resolution which stands in my name regarding the immediate translation into English of the French speeches delivered in this House, which resolution was discussed on the 24th of March last. As you know very well each day's edition of Hansard contains the text of those speeches. That is, the English speeches are printed in English, and the French speeches in French. Two or three days afterwards an unrevised edition of Hansard is issued which is wholly French. The English translation of the French speeches does not appear in the revised edition of Hansard until seven or eight months after their delivery. For example the beautiful speech in French of my hon. friend the Minister of Trade and Commerce —then acting Prime Minister—on the opening day of the session has not yet been translated.

Mr. JACOBS: Shame.

Mr. ARCHAMBAULT: I am sure that all the members of this House would have been happy to read the inspiring words my hon. friend uttered on that occasion. When I proposed the resolution referred to, by me a discussion took place and not a dissenting voice was raised against it. The Minister of Trade and Commerce himself was in sympathy with that motion, and at page 728 of Hansard he expressed himself in these words:

> I am entirely in sympathy with the idea that these speeches should be translated and at the disposal of the members in a reasonable time; and if it be true that it runs to five, or six, or seven months before these translations appear, that is not a condition of things that ought to be continued. My sympathy then is entirely with the purpose of the motion, but this is a matter which pertains to the management of the translators and the publishing of the debates, and is under the Debates Committee, composed of members of both sides of the House. I am informed that to carry out the exact wording of the motion of my hon. friend is physically impossible. So my suggestion to him is that, having brought the matter before the House, as he has done in a very temperate and full manner, he shall not press his motion to a conclusion; that it stand if he pleases, or that he withdraw it, as may seem best to him; and I will undertake that the matter shall be taken up at once and that we shall come to a conclusion which will be fair and also which will be possible of being carried out.

I followed the advice of my right hon. friend. I went before the Debates Committee, and the chief translator stated before the committee that my proposal was feasible. He made two suggestions: first, that on every Monday the translation of the French speeches delivered during the preceding week should be published with the English unrevised copy; second, that every Monday a special leaflet containing the translation of speeches delivered in French during the preceding week should be distributed. After that meeting I wrote to my right hon. friend and then had an interview with him, and he again expressed his sympathy towards my motion.

I am bringing this matter before the House in the hope that full attention will be given to it, and that during the recess my right hon. friend will consult with the chief translator and the chairman of the Debates Committee in order that this very desirable reform may be put into force at the next session.

Rt. Hon. Sir GEORGE FOSTER (Minister of Trade and Commerce): The sympathy that I expressed at the time my hon. friend introduced this matter still exists, and after the very flattering and courteous way in which he has referred to a few remarks of mine at the time he introduced his motion, it is only natural that, old as I am—

Mr. BUREAU: Oh, no.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER:—I should feel the stimulus of that praise and that it should serve to keep my sympathy alive during the recess. I hope that before another session those of us who are spared to come back—

Mr. BUREAU: We will all be spared.

Sir GEORGE FOSTER:—will have reached a reasonable and sensible solution of this question. Certainly I feel that in some sense an injury has been done to my English colleagues in that they have not

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House of Commons Debates

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THOMAS P. OWENS,
Editor of Debates.

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HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Speaker:
THE HONOURABLE EDGAR N. RHODES.

Tuesday, July 1, 1920.

The House met at Two o'clock.

PARLIAMENTARY COUNSEL.

On the Orders of the Day:

Rt. Hon. Sir GEORGE FOSTER (Minister of Trade and Commerce): Before the Orders of the Day are called I desire to make the following statement:

"In the absence of the Prime Minister, who is necessarily absent for the purpose of meeting His Excellency the Governor General upon his arrival to prorogue Parliament, I desire to make the following explanation as to a certain change in the Bill respecting the Electoral Franchise Act:

'As originally introduced into the House, Section 19 of that Bill provided that the Parliamentary Counsel of the House of Commons should be appointed Chief Electoral Officer and should hold office upon the same tenure as judges of the Superior Courts. Many sections of the Bill, including this, were the subject of conference between the two sides of the House, and it was desired by the Government to meet as far as possible any views put forward by the members on both sides. As a result of these conferences, a change was made in Section 19 and another provision was substituted for that which proposed the appointment of the Parliamentary Counsel.

'It is due to Mr. Gisborne to say that the change was in no way due to any failure to recognize his conspicuous ability and his remarkable zeal and devotion in the discharge of his duties as Parliamentary Counsel. These qualities, which he has always exhibited in his long and valuable service to the country, are recognized by the Government and also, I believe, by members on both sides of the House. It is thought,

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S P E E C H

at

PAISLEY ONTARIO

August 12th, 1920

RESTORATION OF PARLIAMENTARY INSTITUTIONS

When Parliament assembled on February 26, it met, for the first time since the War, in the Buildings on Parliament Hill which had been partially destroyed by fire during the war and which are now in process of final reconstruction. In a very true and remarkable way, the return of the people's representatives to their old legislative home, partially destroyed during the period of the war but now being restored in proportions more adequate to the nation's needs, expresses the note which the Opposition sought to keep uppermost and to make the dominating one from the beginning to the end of the session.

What, in a word, was sought on every possible occasion, and wherever opportunity was afforded, was the restoration of our parliamentary institutions, of customs and practices long since established which, under the stress of war and its destructive influences, have in no small measure been destroyed or come to be wholly and entirely disregarded.

REPRESENTATIVE AND RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT BASIS OF FREEDOM

All that has been attained by what we term self-

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government, representative government, and responsible government, represents the high water mark of achievement in political control by the people over their own affairs, the strongest bulwark of their freedom, and the surest guarantee of their peace, prosperity and progress. One has only to look over the face of the world to-day, to see that the nations which have most developed their free representative institutions in matters of government have best survived the shocks and ravages of war, and have met most adequately its imperative necessities.

While this is true, it is scarcely less apparent that no nation, however far it may have progressed in its onward march toward freedom in matters pertaining to government, has escaped the fatal tendency - at all time present in the lives of nations as well as of men - to revert, under periods of stress and compelling necessity, to an order of lesser freedom. Under this reversion, one after another of the liberties of a people attained not infrequently through centuries of endeavour and conflict, have been thwarted and curtailed, if not wholly sacrificed and lost.

OPEN DEFIANCE BY THE MINISTRY OF REPRESENTATIVE INSTITUTIONS

In Canada, we have not escaped the baneful influences of war in this respect. Our parliamentary institutions, not less than our parliament buildings, have suffered partial destruction. Customs, usages, and practices, intended to preserve the free,

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self-governing, representative character of our Parliament and the responsible character of its ministry, have one by one been temporarily set aside; then, one by one, ignored - until to-day on the part of the administration there is open defiance of the most fundamental of these considerations of government which lie at the root of freedom in matters of political control.

FREE INSTITUTIONS, THE FRUIT OF LIBERALISM

The achievement, in matters pertaining to government, of the application of the great principles of freedom which characterize British parliamentary institutions as they have been held up as a model before the world, has been the fruit of a militant Liberalism through centuries of struggle and endeavour. Wherever a wider measure of freedom has been sought - whether it has related to political, fiscal, social, industrial, religious, or personal freedom,- it has been around the standard of a true Liberalism, by whatever name it may have been called, that men have rallied and fought and won. As long as the love of freedom, in any of its many forms, finds a place in the breasts of men, it will be through the advocacy and maintenance of some principle of Liberalism, that it will seem to find expression.

TO RE-ESTABLISH POLITICAL FREEDOM, THE WORK OF LIBERALISM TODAY

In this post-war period, in this new era of wider liberty for mankind, to which end all the sacrifices of the free nations of the world have been made, the work of Liberalism, first

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and foremost, must be that of seeking to re-establish, on firm and enduring foundations and in wider compass than has hitherto been known, all those institutions, customs, practices, and usages in our parliamentary system and matters pertaining to government which comprise the charter of freedom we possessed prior to the commencement of the war.

THE WORK OF THE LIBERAL PARTY IN OPPOSITION

Now, as a party in opposition in the Parliament of Canada, the Liberal members have sought to carry on this work of Liberalism in the spirit of our forefathers, and in accord with what we believe to be the spirit of greater freedom which should characterize the new order into which the world has been born, I shall endeavour to illustrate by reference to the attitude and work of the Opposition with respect to the procedure and business of Parliament in the session recently closed.

PARLIAMENT HAS CRAVED TO BE A DELIBERATIVE ASSEMBLY

In very large measure, during the period of the war, Parliament ceased to be, in any true sense of the phrase, a deliberative assembly. It became more and more merely a register of the will of the Executive in voting appropriations and in sanctioning courses of procedure which by the ministry were alleged to be necessary for the successful prosecution of the war. Without disputing the wisdom or unwisdom of the latitude accorded the Government through war necessity, its effect in causing the ministry to become increasingly self-assertive and autocratic and

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disregardful of Parliament in one or another particular cannot be denied. To restore the supremacy of Parliament, the authority of Parliament over the ministry, and the power of the people over Parliament, has therefore become the supreme duty of the hour. To restore to Parliament its character as a deliberative assembly, and to compel upon the part of the ministry a recognition of its responsibility to Parliament, expresses in a word that for which the Opposition strove most assiduously throughout the entire session.

INCAPACITY OF THE MINISTRY REFLECTED IN SPEECH FROM THE THRONE

A time-honoured custom in the procedure of British parliaments is to open the business of the session with what is termed "the Speech from the Throne". If this practice has any significance at all, beyond that of being purely ceremonial, it is to further the character of Parliament as a deliberative assembly by bringing before the people's representatives, and through Parliament before the people of the country, at the earliest possible moment, a knowledge of the Government's measures and policy on matters of supreme national concern. The Speech from the Throne should mirror the mind of the ministry as regards its proposed legislative programme. In so doing, it should disclose to the country than the ministry is fully alive to the country's needs, and how, through legislative enactment or otherwise, these needs are to be met.

Judged by either criterion, the Speech from the Throne

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with which the late session of Parliament was opened, served only to disclose the inefficiency and incapacity of the ministry. As a mirror, it reflected nothing of a constructive character; it was wholly devoid of pronouncement of policy on any really vital subject, such as the revision of the tariff, measures to cope with the high cost of living, to further increased production, or to allay social unrest; and, what at this juncture is most important of all, it contained no intimation of an early opportunity being afforded the electorate to return to power a Parliament that is truly representative and chosen in accord with the will of a free people.

Mention was made of the unrest in Europe; of the conclusion of a treaty between Bulgaria and the Allied and Associated Powers, which Canada was to be asked to ratify, of the intention of the Government to amend the Opium and Drug Act, the Copyright Act, the Patent Act, the Loan and Trust Companies Act, the Insurance Act, and the Exchequer Court Act, none of which were measures of any real national significance.

The only really important measure of which mention was made in the Speech from the Throne was that respecting the Franchise an enactment which, notwithstanding the wholly unjustifiable tamperings with the long-established electoral laws by the administration during the period of the war, was altogether unnecessary. The old Dominion Elections Act contain all that is required in the way of machinery for conducting elections to the satisfaction of

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the electorate as a whole. The new Act is far from being an improvement over the old. It is more truly an Act to assist in the winning of elections than a measure to safeguard the rights of electors.

OPPOSITION'S IMMEDIATE DEMAND FOR A GENERAL ELECTION

To the limitations of the Speech from the Throne in the particulars described, attention was drawn by the Opposition in a vigorous debate at the very commencement of the session. Not an hour was lost after the moving and seconding of the Address before the attitude of the Opposition toward the Government was made clear in the following amendment, which I moved, and which expressed what the Opposition believed to be the real sentiment of the country:

> That the following be added to the address to His Excellency:
>
> 'We respectfully submit to Your Excellency that the conditions under which the Government was formed and the present House of Commons was elected have now passed away, and that new conditions have arisen which are not being adequately met. The regrettable protracted absence of the Prime Minister, the widely accepted belief that it is not his intention to return to the duties of his office, the makeshift arrangements for the direction of important departments to which no minister has been regularly appointed, the attempt to carry on the public business when the three eastern Maritime Provinces are entirely unrepresented in the Cabinet - these and other things operate to produce a condition of uncertainty and instability from which a vigorous and efficient administration of the Dominion's affairs cannot be expected.
>
> 'We respectfully submit to Your Excellency that in the interest of the peace, order, and good government of this Dominion, such a condition of our public affairs

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should be brought to a speedy termination, and that the only effective remedy is to be found in an appeal to the electors at a general election.

'We, therefore, respectfully represent that Your Excellency's advisers should forthwith bring forward the promised Franchise Bill for the enrollment of the electors and give it precedence over all other business, and that upon the enactment of such a measure as may be necessary, and the making of temporary provisions for the urgent public service; they should take the proper constitutional steps to obtain Your Excellency's approval of an appeal to the people at the polls.'

The amendment was lost on a division of 112 to 70, a Government majority of 34. According to the Parliamentary Guide, the Government's majority at the time of the elections of 1917 was 71.

AN ELECTION NECESSARY TO SECURE GOVERNMENT BY THE PEOPLE

Notwithstanding that the amendment was lost, I still assert that it expressed at the time the view of the people of Canada, whose opinion the Government should respect, and that all that has since transpired has only served to prove how true are the representations it contains. It has now become apparent, as the Opposition at the time asserted, that the Prime Minister's absence was all a subterfuge, intended primarily to afford the ministry an excuse for holding together and avoiding controversial measures pending the selection of a new Prime Minister at the end of the session. In other words, Parliament has been made to serve, not the good of the people, but the exigencies of the

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ministry in its determination to hold on to office regardless altogether of the people's will. This is not government of the people, by the people, for the people; it is government of the people, by a self-constituted autocratic executive, for the sake solely of office, patronage, and power.

INDIFFERENCE TO MANNER AND TIME OF INTRODUCING LEGISLATION

But the indifference of the ministry to constitutional methods of procedure, and its disregard of the convenience and rights of Parliament in matters of legislation, were further exhibited by the introduction of numerous measures the introduction of which the Speech from the Throne contained no intimation whatever, and their introduction at a date in the session which precluded altogether opportunity for adequate consideration and full and free discussion.

For example, the Government introduced, at the very close of the session, and carried through Parliament, several bills perpetuating the control by the Government of industry in many of its branches in accordance with methods adopted in the war period. The Bill respecting the Director of Coal Operations in Western Canada, and the Bill to perpetuate the Canada Wheat Board, are cases in point. Had measures of the kind been in contemplation, the Government should have so informed the country at the earliest possible moment, in order that opportunity might have been afforded for public opinion to make its voice heard.

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Other legislation of the kind related to very large appropriations for military, naval, and police purposes, to representation of Canada at Washington, and large guarantees to special industries. All these measures were of vastly greater concern to the taxpayers of Canada than amendments to the Copyright Act and the Patent Act, both of which were mentioned in the Speech from the Throne, but neither of which were proceeded with during the course of the session.

OPPOSITION PROTESTED, BUT AVOIDED OBSTRUCTION

With respect to new legislation introduced by the Government, in the concluding weeks of the session, and of which no intimation had previously been given to the people or their representatives, the Opposition made such protest as was possible in the circumstances. To have attempted to obstruct altogether the enactment of this legislation would simply have meant that the session would have been indefinitely prolonged: that public money would have been further wasted in keeping Parliament longer assembled; and that, in all probability, the instrument of the closure would have been used by the Government to obtain its own way in the end.

I have noticed that in some quarters theOpposition has been criticized for not offering a more determined resistance to the Government and for not obstructing altogether the voting of supplies. It has been urged by some that we should have continued to sit all night and all day for a week at a time if necessary, to

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prevent any supplies being voted. I confess that the provocation to adopt a course of the kind was strong indeed. Had there not been public reasons even stronger which compelled the most careful consideration of all that such a course might have involved, there would perhaps have been some justification in resorting to it.

WHY OPPOSITION DID NOT OBSTRUCT UNDULY

Let me state frankly what the reasons were which led the Opposition to content itself with such resistance as seemed adequate clearly to define its position, and to reveal the unconstitutional and arbitrary method of the Government's procedure, and not attempt to go the length of following the Government into an open defiance of usages and practices which must be preserved if Parliament is to have the character of a deliberative assembly.

It all comes back to what at the outset I said was the actuating motive of the Opposition in its attitude toward the Government at all stages throughout the session, namely;the desire to restore and to reconstruct those usages, customs, and practices which have made British parliamentary institutions the admiration of the world. To have offered resistance to the point of open and prolonged obstruction would have meant, on the part of the Opposition, the meeting of force with force, with ultimate victory to the Government through its superior numbers, at great cost and loss to the country as a whole. It would have meant the perpetuation, in the arena of parliamentary discussion of the war spirit, a reviving of those passions which warfare tends to arouse, just

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at a time when effort must be made from every quarter to allay all that tends to provoke discord and unrest, if peace, law, and order are ever to be re-established on a firm and enduring foundation.

THE EXAMPLE OF PARLIAMENT ALL-IMPORTANT

The country has been slowly but none the less surely recovering its equilibrium. The passions and hatreds which war has provoked between classes and groups in our national society have been gradually subsiding. Reason is slowly reasserting its supremacy over force as the effective instrument for maintaining human relations on a satisfactory and enduring basis. It is for Parliament, by its example, to aid, not to impede or thwart, this return to normal and sane methods of establishing human relations. Because the Government was prepared to become Bolshevist in its methods, by rejecting and ignoring those customs and practices which made of Parliament a truly deliberative assembly, was not a ground why the Opposition should attempt to follow suit in any manner which might serve to fan into flame throughout the country past or existing prejudices, or latent or actual unrest.

Our task being avowedly that of seeking to restore the constitution and constitutional methods of procedure in matters of government, we not only sought, but were content, to make our position clear without resort to any extremes of action. I believe that this course will commend itself to the sober judgment of the people of this country, the more so as they

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reflect upon the consequences of extreme action attempted in any quarter, and most of all in Parliament at a time like the present, when there is need everywhere of reconciliation and the beneficent work of healing and restoration.

LIMITATIONS TO THE POWER OF THE OPPOSITION

It must be remembered, too, that there are limitations to the power of an Opposition, and to what it is possible for an Opposition to achieve in any given act of circumstances. So long as countenance was given by the country to the pretext of Union Government, as representative to any degree of different phrases of political thought and opinion, an immense handicap was placed on the powers of the Opposition to compel a course of conduct by the Government in accordance with the popular will. So long as men professing themselves Liberals continued to have in any degree the backing of their constituencies in support given the Government, either as members of Parliament or as members of the Administration, the power of a Liberal Opposition was thwarted by just so much. Behind the Opposition, and behind the Government, are the people of the country; and it is for the people to make their voice heard, not only through their representatives in Parliament, but by the control which they themselves should at all times seek to exercise over their representatives.

THE PEOPLE MUST MAKE THEIR VOICE HEARD

Let the people of the different constituencies of

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Canada who have members giving their support to the present administration, but who feel that the administratinn no longer commands the confidence of the people, demand an instant withdrawal of any further support of the administration by their representatives in Parliament - and the power of the Opposition in compelling obedience to the people's wishes will be increased a thousand fold. If it is government by the people that the people want, the people themselves must assert their views and wishes in no uncertain tone. They can do so in the several constituencies by demanding the immediate resignation of those members of Parliament who, in continuing their support to the present government, have ceased rightly to represent the constituencies for which they stand in Parliament. Let the people themselves follow the example set by the Great War Veterans, and pass resolutions demanding the immediate resignation of those members who are continuing, in defiance of the public will, to support the present administration; and it will not then be difficult for the Opposition so to strenthen its numbers in Parliament, and so to assert its position as to make impossible the indefinite perpetuation in office of the present administration.

UNIONISM PARALYSES EXPRESSION OF POPULAR WILL

The keeping alive, in however small a measure, of the semblance of union between men or parties opposed to each other in feeling and principle, serves only to maim and paralyse any

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vigorous expression of the real will of the people. It is time there should be an end to this paralysis in matters of government. Liberalsim is a mighty force throughout this Dominion; but its true and full expression in Parliament is being denied by all that serves further to compromise and to stultify an honest and frank expression of opinion on the part of any members of either Parliament or the ministry.

THE ESTIMATES

Let me now say a word about the two outstanding measures of every session, and the practices which should pertain in reference thereto if Parliament's character as a deliberative assembly is to be preserved.

Provision for the various services of the Government of the country is made annually in what are termed "the Estimates", which are submitted to Parliament for that purpose. The Estimates represent the amounts which the Government believes will be required to carry on the work of government. They constitute what in money is to be paid out of the treasury of the country. When the Estimates have passed Parliament - in other words, when they have been voted - they become known as appropriations, The word "supply" is used to describe what is meant in speaking alike of Estimates and Appropriations.

PUBLIC VITALLY IMPRESSED IN CONSIDERATION OF ESTIMATES

Inasmuch as every dollar of expenditure means a dollar

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of taxation, it is manifest that there is nothing in which the people are more vitally interested than in having the Estimates submitted to Parliament at as early a date in the session as may be possible. Not only are they interested in knowing what amounts the Government proposes to expend, but they are not less vitally interested in having ample opportunity afforded for the careful consideration and scrutiny of all proposed expenditures.

GOVERNMENT CONTROLS BUSINESS OF PARLIAMENT

Under our system of Government, the arrangement of the business of Parliament is exclusively in the control of the Government. If the Government wishes to permit a full and frank and open discussion of public affairs, it can always effect this by making its proposals known at an early stage of the session, and so arranging the business of Parliament from day to day as to give ample opportunity for consideration of the different measures on its legislative programme, including the Estimates. On the other hand, it can, by one device or another, if it so desires, so arrange the legislative programme as virtually to deny to the people's representatives in Parliament any real opportunity of carefully considering the matters in which they are most vitally concerned, and cause the time of Parliament to be taken up with matters of wholly secondary importance which are of no real concern to the people at large.

Which of these courses a Government is likely to

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adopt will depend, first of all, upon the sense of responsibility it has in the discharge of its duties as a public trust, and, secondly, upon the nature of its following in Parliament. If the latter are subservient, mainly desirous, like the Government itself, of holding on to office and power, a ministry not over conscientious can adopt almost any course it pleases in so arranging the business of Parliament as to make Parliament a mere register of its own caprices and will.

ARRANGEMENTS OF RECENT SESSION REFLECT GOVERNMENT'S INDIFFERENCE TO PEOPLE'S INTERESTS

Perhaps nothing more strongly reflects both the subservience of the Government's following in the House of Commons and the Government's own indifference to what is owing the people by way of a careful scrutiny and supervision by their representatives in Parliament of all proposed expenditures, than the manner in which the business of Parliament was arranged, and conducted during the past session.

In the first place, Parliament itself was not called until the 26th of February. The Estimates for the fiscal year 1920-21 were presented to Parliament on March 22. When it is remembered that one fiscal year ends and the other begins on the 31st of March, it will be seen that this allowed a period of only nine days for a consideration of the supplies before the beginning of the fiscal year to which they were intended to apply. As a matter of fact, the Government did not permit any consideration of the Estimates until some time after the Estimates

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were brought down. It then allowed weeks and weeks to go by without more than a slight consideration of a very few of the proposed appropriations. Indeed, we had almost reached the beginning of July - or, in other words, the end of the session - before any opportunity was afforded to consider in committee the great body of the Estimates. Meanwhile, new estimates were brought down. In May, estimates to the amounts of $12,500,000 and $19,031,192 respectively were brought down; and on June 26 supplementary estimates amounting to $62,002,482, and June 29 amounting to $53,000; with the result that, whilst some few appropriations had been carefully considered, the great bulk of the appropriations, running up into the hundreds of millions, were rushed through Parliament within the last few days of the session, with little or no opportunity for consideration or supervision.

OPPOSITION SOUGHT TO MAINTAIN CONTROL OF PARLIAMENT OVER EXPENDITURES

The records of Parliament will show that not a month went by that I did not draw the attention of the Government to the advisability and necessity of proceeding with a consideration of the Estimates without delay. The request was all but wholly ignored. Instead of giving the people's representatives in Parliament opportunity of supervising expenditures, the time of Parliament was taken up in passing amendments to legislation enacted at previous sessions, or in consolidating different

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amendments, to such an extent that it might truly be said that three-fourths of the time of the past session was devoted to this patching and repairing of past legislation, much of which had been ill-conceived or ill-drafted.

DECEPTION OF PARLIAMENT IN METHOD OF PRESENTING ESTIMATES

How wholly misleading and deceptive the Government's procedure in the matter of the presentation of its estimates to Parliament was, will be apparent from the following two or three illustrations, which clearly illustrate the methods adopted to evade criticism and to secure appropriations for expenditures that were known to be unpopular, and certainly are without justification at this time.

When the main estimates were presented, on March 22, they disclosed an expenditure for last year, on Naval Service, of $600,000, and an amount desired forthe present year of $300,000. In other words, as set out in printed form, an apparent decrease was shown on this account, at a time when economy was necessary, of $300,000. Three days after these estimates were presented to Parliament, the Minister of Naval Service announced in Parliament that the Government was reorganizing the entire naval service, and that no permanent policy would be adopted until after the Imperial Conference, which is to be held in Britain next year. Naturally, Parliament and the country assumed that the Government proposed to economise on this branch of the public service. In

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the press of the country, the Government were commended for their action in this particular. Apparently, however, this action on the Government's part was a mere camouflage, for, as subsequently transpired, the Government, without even taking Parliament into its confidence, had accepted from the British Government, one cruiser, two torpedo boat destroyers; and the Prime Minister, without consulting the Cabinet, had accepted two submarines, to be the nucleus of a new naval service, an appropriation for which was to be obtained from Parliament in the very last days of the session, when no opportunity whatever would be afforded for a discussion on naval policy and naval affairs.

It was not until June 14 that the Government, through the Minister of Naval Service, intimated to Parliament that what was desired was, not the appropriation of $300,000 asked for in the main estimates, but an appropriation totalling $2,300,000, through the additional amount of $2,200,000 to be provided for in supplementary estimates.

OPPOSITION PROTESTS AGAINST LARGE NAVAL EXPENDITURES

The Opposition protested vigorously against the appropriation of this additional amount for naval service; first, on the ground that the Government had expressly stated it had no permanent naval policy, and would have none until after the Imperial Conference, secondly, on the ground that, until the demobilization of the Canadian forces was completed, expenditures on the Army and Navy should be curtailed as much as possible;

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ground that there was no conceivable menace, and consequently no existing necessity for any such large expenditure for naval matters at the present time; and, lastly, because of the great need for economy in public expenditures under the existing gigantic public debt, the high cost of living, and the ever-increasing taxation. These points were strongly developed in debate when the supplementary estimates were brought down on June 26. The supplementary appropriation for naval service was fixed at $1,700,000 instead of $2,200,000, as intimated previously by the Minister, and a half a million dollars was thus saved the country by the Opposition. Later, the Opposition moved to reduce the Estimates by $1,700,000 so as to bring the amount for the naval service for the present year to the amount set forth in the Estimates, as being the total amount expended on naval service during last year, and also as a protest against Parliament not having been treated frankly and honesty by the ministry in the methods by which it was asked to grant this large appropriation. It was in vain that the Opposition sought to effect this economy and to maintain the principle of a genuine control over expenditures by the people through their representatives. To appearances, control was maintained through the Government being supported by its supine following. In reality, the tactics adopted to secure these appropriations from Parliament were so deceptive that one might almost say the money had been obtained by the ministry for the purposes mentioned under false pretences.

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QUESTIONABLE METHODS ADOPTED IN PRESENTING THE MILITIA ESTIMATES

Like tactics were adopted by the Government in the matter of securing appropriations from Parliament for purposes of Militia and Defence, over and above what was alleged to be required for demobilization purposes and expenditures growing out of the War. The main estimates presented to Parliament, on March 22, showed an expenditure for the year 1919-20, on account of Militia and Defence, of $8,391,152, and for the present fiscal year a proposed expenditure of $12,520,016. To appearances, this meant an increase of $4,123,564. It was not, however, until June 16 that the estimates of the Department ofMilitia and Defence were considered in Parliament.

The discussion of the Militia Estimates was preceded by a lengthy statement on the part of the Minister of Militia and Defence, in which he intimated that the Government had military property to the extent of about $4,000,000 for which it had no apparent use, and that the Government was contemplating a sale of this property and the diversion of its proceeds to military purposes in other directions. It might have been assumed that monies realizable in this way would be used, at a time like this, to help to meet some of the vast expenditures which the war has occasioned.

Nothing was said by the Minister to intimate any intention of additional outlays for military purposes until, by direct question, I asked if the Government had in mind requesting from Parliament, in the form of supplementary estimates, further amounts

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for military purposes other than those mentioned by the Minister. Then, for the first time, Parliament was informed that the Government contemplated bringing in an estimate for some $2,000,000 for additional barracks, to be erected in different centres throughout the Dominion. In other words, the Government was proposing, without daring to make its intentions publicly known until the last days of the session, to add an additional two millions to the Militia estimates as provision for accomodation for a nucleusof nothing less than a permanent standing army in this country. Fortunately, this admission was drawn from the ministry before the estimates were actually submitted. Meanwhile, so strong was the protest made by the Opposition to the large expenditures proposed in the main estimates, that the Government reconsidered its position, and, in bringing in the supplementaries, instead of seeking from Parliament, as the Minister had intimated was his intention, an additional appropriation of $2,000,000 on account of militia barracks, asked for this purpose the amount only of $100,000. The Opposition were thus able to save the country an expenditure, on account of barracks at this time of almost two millions of dollars. They were unable, however, to reduce the Militia estimates in any other respects.

NEED OF A MINISTRY THAT HAS NOT ACQUIRED THE WAR HABIT OF MIND

Numerous other examples might be given to illustrate wherein the administration, so accustomed to doing as it pleased in

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all matters, revealed itself wholly indifferent to an honourable and honest procedure. These, however, are sufficient to illustrate the point I am seeking to make, namely, the necessity, if constitutional practice and procedure are to be restored, of placing in office a wholly new administration composed of men whose sense of responsibility to Parliament and the public will be a first concern, and ridding the country forever of ministers who, through having acquired the war habit of mind, can never be expected to view other than with impatience any restraint upon the exercise of their own free will. The truth is that members of the war administration have become so accustomed to dealing in millions of dollars that expenditures involving thousands are beneath their consideration; they have become so accustomed to doing everything by executive order that they no longer have regard for Parliament, where it is possible in any way to ignore its presence. There will be no change in this respect, no return to a responsible ministry, until we have a new and properly representative parliament.

THE BUDGET

Of like, if not of greater, importance, compared with the Estimates, is what we termed the Budget. The Estimates, as has been mentioned, are representative of the expenditures of government. The Budget is the statements of the means by which revenues are to be raised to meet these expenditures. The Estimates are considered in Parliament in what is known as the Committee of Supply. The proposals as to the means of raising revenue are considered and adopted in what

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is known as the Committee of Ways and Means. Inasmuch as all revenue is derivable from taxation in one form or another, it is apparent that too much thought and attention cannot be given by Parliament to a consideration of the Budget. To have anything like adequate consideration given its proposals, the Budget should be announced to Parliament at an early stage in its proceedings, and opportunity to consider its proposals also afforded at an early state.

The indifference of the Government to the usages and practices of which I have been speaking was illustrated, at the last session, in the case of the Budget, as in all else. Though the fiscal year to which its provisions necessarily apply commenced on April 1st, it was not until May 19 that the Budget itself was presented to Parliament by the Minister of Finance. Then its consideration was not commenced until June 9; in other words, until the very last weeks of the session.

Thus matters were so arranged as to avoid consideration of all taxation proposals in the earlier part of the session, or, indeed, at any stage of the session save its very close, when, as already intimated, the very late sittings were being resorted to. As a consequence, matters pertaining to taxation , the most important of all in their effect upon the people in these days of high prices and ever-increasing cost of living, received anything but the attention to which they were entitled.

DEVICE OF LATE SITTINGS TO AVOID DUE CONSIDERATION OF PUBLIC BUSINESS

Another device resorted to by the Government, wholly

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destructive of the character of Parliament as a deliberative assembly, and without doubt resorted to for the purpose, inpart, of crippling the power of the Opposition and of evading the public gaze in numerous transactions, was the practice, commenced at an early stage in the session, of keeping the House so continuously in session, and until such late hours every night, that anything like a proper attention to the business of Parliament by those who sought to be regular in their attendance upon its proceedings, became absolutely impossible.

On April 21, the Government discontinued the Wednesday evening adjournment, thereby making evening sittings, in addition to the afternoon sessions, continuous throughout the week. From that time on, Parliament sat from three in the afternoon until midnight, or within an hour of midnight, on five days of the week. Soon the hour of midnight was passed, and the sessions were protracted until one or two in the morning. Then, on June 4, the hour of convening in the afternoon was changed from three until two; and with this extension of time in the afternoon came an addition protraction of the lateness of sittings after midnight. Finally, Saturday afternoon and Saturday night sittings were added to those of the other days of the week, with the result that, during the last fortnight, in which most of the business of the country was transacted, there was scarcely a night that adjournment came before one or two in the morning, and several nights the adjournment was as late as three or four. The following is a statement of the hours of adjournment, as shown by reference to Hansard:

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June 14	12.40 a.m.	June 23	1.05 a.m.
15	12.35 a.m.	24	1.29 a.m.
16	12.15 a.m.	25	2.33 a.m.
17	3.24 a.m.	26	12.00 a.m.
18	11.20 p.m.	28	4.00 a.m.
19	7.05 p.m.	29	2.25 a.m.
21	12.25 a.m.	30	3.35 a.m.
22	2.42 a.m.	July 1	Prorogation.

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III

REGAIN CONTROL OF THE PEOPLE OVER PARLIAMENT

The only effective means of remedying the evils complained of, and of freeing Canada from the baneful influence of the control of its political affairs by the present autocratic administration, is that which a general election affords. By all that constitutional usage and procedure demands, that right should be afforded the people of Canada without delay. The Government has lost entirely the confidence of the people. It is either a new administration, and as such not entitled to continue in office without the approval of its policies by the people; or it is the old administration under a new name, with a new policy and a new leader, in which event it has exhausted the purposes for which the Union Government was formed, and has no mandate to continue in office. The original Union ministry no longer exists. It has lost half of its entire membership, several of its own members have declared that its purpose has been served and its right to continue in office long since gone. It has lost the confidence of the people; as evidenced by the by-elections, and the voice of the press which helped to bring it into being and which at one time supported it so strongly. Its following in Parliament has steadily lessened, till it is precarious beyond words. It stands for a reactionary Toryism against the continuance of which every Province in the Dominion has declared with no uncertain voice. Judged by every canon of parliamentary government, it is a usurper of the

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people's rights in the matter of government. It should no longer be tolerated, but should make way for a Parliament that will be truly representative, and a ministry that is responsible to Parliament and the people.

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Toronto Globe
Aug." 13/20

OLD TORY PARTY OF HIGH TARIFF, SAYS MR. KING

Federal Liberal Leader Criticizes Premier Meighen's Speech

USURPING GOVERNMENT

Bruce Liberals Gather at Paisley; Messrs. Dewart and Pardee Speak

(Staff Correspondence of The Globe.)

Paisley, Aug. 12.—Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King took the earliest opportunity to reply to Premier Arthur Meighen at this afternoon's gathering in Riverside Park before an audience of 2,500 Bruce county people. Referring to Premier Meighen's remarks, which gave the new party, born on the ruin of Union Government, the credit for being the only constructive political engineers of the country, while all others were classed as wreckers, Hon. Mr. King declared: "The language he used was characteristic of the old-fashioned Toryism, which sees only itself and cares nothing for the rest of the community."

The Government was hotly attacked on many points. Premier Meighen was likened to the priest and the Levite who passed by, and his party dubbed the "middle-of-the-road" party, and charged with practically turning old, established Parliamentary procedure into an autocracy, "the worst in the history of modern times."

Hearty Welcome Given.

The Liberal Leader was met at the station by the committee of the South Bruce Reform Association, by the Chesley Brass Band, which saluted Mr. King with the strains of "O, Canada," as he issued from the car, and by gaily decorated motor cars, which formed a procession. The streets were decorated, and the Liberal Chieftain, Messrs. Hartley Dewart, M.P.P., F. F. Pardee, M.P., and R. E. Truax, M.P., were given a hearty welcome.

In a brief speech Hon. Mr. King thanked the citizens at the Town Square for the welcome; following dinner, another procession took the Leader to the park.

During the course of the day two little girls presented Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King and Mr. Hartley Dewart, K.C., each with a large bouquet. Like the candidate in "Pickwick Papers," Hon. Mr. King saluted the little maids with a kiss, but Mr. Hartley Dewart, receiving his bouquet first, did not set his Chieftain the example.

Liberal Victory Predicted.

All the speakers were given a hearty welcome and close attention, and cheers greeted predictions of a Liberal victory when the delayed appeal to the country was made by the old Tory party of the many aliases.

New Name Camouflage.

After a brief introductory address by Alex. Mewhinney, M.P.P., Fred Pardee, spoke. He paid a tribute to Hon. W. L. M. King and to R. E. Truax, member for South Bruce. The country could not be deceived by the camouflage of a new name, which merely disguised the old Tory party with its big interest affiliations, Mr. Pardee declared. It was the same old high-tariff party back again, setting the interests of the classes before the interests of the masses as ever. He took up the statement made by the Union Government that the Liberal party followed a policy of "fiscal humbug," and showed that the Liberals served the public by reductions in tariff on many occasions. "Mr. Meighen's speech simply says that he still stands by the big interests, that he is for the big interests and the classes, and intends to legislate for their benefit, while the public could take care of itself," said Mr. Pardee. He also referred to the Murdock charges that the Government had consistently blocked any effort of the Board of Commerce to reduce prices.

Prefers "Parties" to "Groups."

"I don't like to hear the parties in the Provincial Legislature spoken of as groups," declared Mr. Hartley Dewart, K.C., in opening his speech. He pointed out that while the Liberals in the Legislature had supported some Government legislation it was a party, and acted as a party. In stating that he wished to tell the people just what kind of Government Ontario had, Mr. Dewart pointed out that Premier Drury objected to its being known as the Farmers' Government, preferring the People's party, while Hon. Peter Smith added "the Common People's party."

"I see where Mr. James Simpson now calls it the National Farmer-Labor party," remarked the Ontario Leader. "When a Government does not know what to call itself, perhaps some of the people who supported it will find the good old Liberal party and the policy of Liberalism a good thing to tie to."

Criticism Duty of Opposition.

Mr. Dewart also attacked a suggestion that the recall be used. "Some people say I am too critical of the Farmers' Government," said Mr. Dewart, "but it is the duty of the Opposition to criticize; if it does not do so it fails in its duty. We are not entitled to censure for doing our duty. The Farmers criticize the profligate former Government, but we find them making the same mistake. Do you mean to tell me that you want private cars to be used at all times? Do you mean to tell me that Ministers should travel around the country in private cars on junketing trips? That the Parliament Buildings should have private suites fitted up for Ministers and their relatives, and be turned into an apartment house? It was not the idea the farmers had when they elected the men who are sitting in the seats of power to-day," declared Mr. Dewart.

Bouquet for Mr. Ferguson.

It was the Liberals who exposed the timber scandal, Mr. Dewart claimed, in declaring Hon. Howard Ferguson "the most corrupt Minister who has ever disgraced Ontario political life." While the Farmers' Government was taking credit, the Liberal party had turned over most important evidence for the Government's use, not caring for the political advantage gained, but merely as a public duty.

Commissions and Boards Criticized.

Claiming further that the present Government continued to delegate its power of action to commissions, boards and committees, in defiance of the principle that the members elected should rule, Mr. Dewart named many of the sixteen commissions or boards appointed, with comment on each — the Board of License Commissioners was termed cumbersome and useless, and others came in for criticism. The Mothers' Pensions Board, Minimum Wage Board and Superannuation Board were not objected to, as being necessary.

If North York returns a Farmer it will only have the effect of keeping out of Parliament a man who is necessary for the good governing of the Dominion, Mr. Dewart declared, in paying a tribute to Hon. W. L. M. King.

On behalf of the South Bruce Liberal Association, George Durst, President of that body, then read an address of welcome to the Liberal Leader, and the final prediction that an election would see Hon. W. L. M. King Premier of Canada, was greeted with prolonged applause.

Old Tory High Tariff Party.

Hon. Mr. King, in a speech of nearly two hours, reviewed the record of the Government from the beginning of last session up to the birth of the hybrid creation bequeathed as a legacy from Sir Robert Borden to Premier Arthur Meighen. Liberalism and Conservatism have nothing in common, he declared. You might just as well have a national wet and dry party, a national milk and water party, or anything else. They are trying to monopolize the names of all parties, but it is the old Tory party of high tariffs hiding under a number of aliases, which they keep changing to deceive the people as to their aim.

Touching on the militia expense, he declared the Government justi-

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Dr. Johnson's remark that patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel, by dragging in the returned soldiers with the plea of giving them employment in steel plants with Government affiliations and in the building of barracks. "We thought that the returned soldiers themselves would say: 'Let us save on munitions and barracks and get the country on its feet.' They are always thinking of the returned soldiers; I suppose that is the reason they voted themselves the increased salaries, on account of the returned soldiers." said Hon. Mr. King, amid laughter.

Likens Meighen to Priest and Levite.

The Liberal Chieftain took up Premier Meighen's speech at some length. "See the picture for yourselves. When our Prime Minister, not so very old, yet who portrays himself as walking down the middle of the road, seeing nobody but himself, and treating those to the left and right of him as the offscouring of Canada—when I read this I remember the story of my youth in which the priest and Levite and the Samaritan and the bruised and broken man in the road were mentioned. I tell Mr. Meighen if he wishes to take the position of the priest or of the Levite the party I represent will be quite content to take the part of the Samaritan and help to bind the wounds and cure the suffering of our country after the great war. I stand for the party making for the improvement and welfare of the masses in the country," he declared. "Premier Meighen says that they are the builders, and that we are enjoying the work of pulling down."

For Freedom of Parliament.

Hon. Mr. King continued to look at the record of Premier Meighen's party in the last session. When there has been any constructive legislation worth naming, he said, it has been advanced by the Liberal party seeking to restore the rights of the people. The efforts of the Liberal party will turn to getting back that freedom of Parliament which will help to insure good government in Canada.

Restore Parliamentary Institutions.

The assembling of Parliament last session in the new buildings at Ottawa seemed to express the note which the Liberal party thought should dominate all Canada, namely, the restoration of Parliamentary institutions, said Mr. King. These institutions, under the destructive influences of the war, had been, if not destroyed, at least wholly disregarded. The achievement of representative government under the British system had been the result of militant Liberalism through centuries of struggle and endeavor. In the post-war period the first and foremost duty of Liberalism was to re-establish on firm and enduring foundations and in wider compass "all those institutions, customs, practises and usages in our Parliamentary system, and matters pertaining to government, which comprise the charter of freedom we possessed prior to the commencement of the war."

As a party in Opposition, the Liberals had sought to carry on this work. During the war Parliament had ceased, in large measure, to be a deliberate assembly and become merely a machine for registering the will of the Executive. "To restore the supremacy of Parliament, the authority of Parliament over the Ministry, and the power of the people over Parliament has therefore become the paramount duty of the hour."

Liberals' First Move.

Criticizing the vacuity of the Government's proposals contained in the Speech from the Throne at the opening of the last session of Parliament, Mr. King said this procedure had deteriorated into nothing more than a mere ceremonial. The first move of the Liberal party had been to challenge the right of the Government to continue in office after the conclusion of the war without consulting the electorate. All that had transpired since has served only to prove that the representations of the Liberal party were right. It was apparent that the absence of Sir Robert Borden was only a subterfuge, "intended primarily to afford the Ministry an excuse for holding together and avoiding controversial measures pending the selection of a new Prime Minister at the end of the session."

"In other words," declared the Liberal Leader, "Parliament has been made to serve, not the good of the people, but the exigencies of the Ministry in its determination to hold on to office regardless altogether of the people's will. It is not government of the people, by the people, for the people; it is government of the people by a self-constituted autocratic Executive for the sake solely of office, patronage and power."

Flouting the Constitution.

The indifference of the Ministry to constitutional methods was further exhibited by the introduction of legislation of which no mention whatever had been made at the opening of the session. Measures of great concern to the people of Canada were brought down in the concluding weeks of the session. The Opposition protested, but avoided obstruction. Criticisms had been made that there should have been more resistance, but, while the provocation was strong, public reasons for not adopting such a course were stronger than the consequences of such a course would have involved.

The desire of the Opposition was to see normal conditions restored. Resistance and prolonged obstruction would have perpetuated in Parliament the passions of the war, which it was hoped were subsiding.

Estimates Misleading.

As an indication of the continued indifference of the Government to a proper conduct of public affairs, Mr. King pointed out that the presentation of the estimates in the House of Commons had been misleading, and questionable methods had been adopted in connection with the militia estimates. Examples might be given to illustrate wherein the Administration, so accustomed to doing as it pleased in all matters, revealed itself wholly indifferent to an honest and honorable procedure.

"The truth is," he asserted, "that members of the War Administration have become so accustomed to dealing in millions of dollars that expenditures involving thousands are beneath their consideration; they have become so accustomed to doing everything by Executive order that they no longer have regard for Parliament where it is possible in any way to ignore its presence. There will be no change in this respect, no return to a responsible Ministry, until we have a new and properly representative Parliament."

Criticizes Acquisition of G.T.R.

Mr. King sternly criticized the Government's attitude in negotiating for the acquisition of the Grand Trunk Railway. This was the largest financial transaction Canada had ever undertaken. "The Government gave neither to the people nor to their representatives in Parliament the slightest intimation htat it was contemplating any such transaction until the matter had all been consummated." Rights and privileges were conceded to the security holders of the Grand Trunk in England which were denied to the taxpayers of Canada. "Any due appreciation of the rights of the people would have reserved to the people themselves the right of passing at a general election upon a policy so far-reaching."

Similarly, in the creation of a merchant marine Parliament was ignored, as well as in an important contract with the city of Ottawa. In another case the Government defied Parliament and its own followers in continuing the War Purchasing Commission.

General Election Only Remedy.

"The only effective means of remedying the evils complained of, and of freeing Canada from the baneful influence of the control of its political affairs, is that which a general election affords. By all that constitutional usage and procedure demands, that right should be afforded the people of Canada without delay. The Government has lost entirely the confidence of the people. It is either a new Administration and as such not entitled to continue in office without approval of its policies by the people; or it is the old Administration under a new name, with a new policy and a new Leader, in which event it has exhausted the purpose for which Union Government was formed and has no mandate to continue in office."

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Toronto Daily Star Aug 13th 1920 D 4518

LIKENS THE PREMIER TO PHARISEE OF OLD

Mackenize King Makes Attack on Meighen in Vigorous Address to Bruce Liberals.

A GREAT RECEPTION

Liberals are Concerned With Suffering Humanity, Says Young Chieftain.

Special to The Star by a Staff Reporter.

Paisley, Ont., Aug. 12.—Liberals of North and South Bruce held one of the most enthusiastic political gatherings the county has witnessed in years at this town this afternoon.

Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, the Liberal leader, responded with oratory that held two thousand people spellbound for almost two hours.

As Mr. King stepped from the train accompanied by Mr. H. H. Dewart shortly after noon, a band from Chesley played "O Canada" and the station grounds were crowded with scores of citizens eager to welcome their leader. The parade through the town looked like a triumphant entry of a hero. Messages of reform and progress evoked cheers. Nor did Mr. King take long to press his attack on Premier Meighen's utterances at Belleville yesterday. Every hearer was thrilled by the manner in which he upbraided the Premier's conception of responsible Government. He quoted from the Premier's remarks. "Looking over the world to-day and then fixing eyes on Canada I see only two divisions of our people, only two classes in this country. I see on the one side, those who hold steady, who walk firmly in the middle of the road, who learn from experience, who believe in industry and ordered liberty, who still have faith in good old British institutions and Brtiish principles that have made us what we are. On the other side I see those who have given way to prejudices to class consciousness, to passion for change and experiment, whose minds are occupied in nurturing suspicion and hostility against other classes of the state."

See the Pharisee.

Then with tempetuous scorn, Mr. King launched out: See this person for yourself," he said, "here is the new Prime Minister of Canada, who is not yet an old man, beginning by walking down the middle of the road wrapping his raiment about him, seeing no one but himself. I ask you is that the attitude for which the people of Canada are looking at the present time? It reminds me of the story of the Pharisee, who seeing to the left of him some one who was wounded and maimed, walked straight down the middle of the road without helping. I remind Mr. Meighen that another man came along the road who heard and who helped bind up the wounds of the suffering, and I tell him I am only too content that the party I am to lead, shall take the role of the Good Samaritan and do whatever we can to bind the wounds of bleeding humanity after a world wide war."

"Those remarks of Mr. Meighen's seem to me to depict the kind of mental outlook that serves to show the difference between Toryism and Liberalism. Liberalism trusts the people and Toryism ignores the people, and vests itself with self-constituted authority."

Referring later to the Premier6s speech, Mr. Kemp said: "He says that they are the nation builders and that the others are engaged in pulling down. Look at the record for the last sessio nand point out where constructive work has been done. That work has been done by a Liberal Opposition." And later, "Mr. Meighen said that he would oppose the forces of destruction and disruption which wish to tear down the structure of responsible Government. Why he represents the forces that have torn down the structure of responsible Government. What becomes of a Government that has no mandate from the people, yet holds on to power? It has no right to govern. That is our attitude. Those of us on either side of the main highway, continuing Mr. King "showed that Parliament had ceased to be a deliberative assembly. To restore the supremacy of Parliament and the authority of Parliament over the ministry and the power of the people over Parliament has therefore become the supreme duty of the hour, he said. It could only be accomplished by a general election. Mr. King proceeded to give instance after instance of the autocratic Government at Ottawa the large audience al lthe while echoing indignation.

Dewart and The U.F.O.

Mr. Hartley Dewart, Ontario Liberal leader, had a good reception. He confined his remarks to the Legislature, claiming the right of constructive criticism of the U.F.O., as the leader of the Opposition. He objected to the word group, when applied to the Liberals in the Provincial House. The Liberals formed an active party there, he said. "Why should there be any antagonism between Farmers and Liberals?" he asked. "It is suggested that I am too critical of the present Government. They should not chafe under constructive criticism. We find that the U.F.O. is making the same mistake as the Hearst Government before them, as far as expenditures are concerned." Private cars were being used to visit relatives. The Parliament Buildings were being used as a huge apartment house. Useless commissions were appointed. "We, as Liberals, believing in the principles of responsible Government, do not believe in the system of Government by commission, and I am opposed to the delegation of power which should rest with the Government."

Fred. Pardee, M.P., of West Lambton, also made a vigorous speech attacking Mr. Meighen's policy as a "fiscal humbug."

People's Rights Usurped.

Summing up a vigorous indictment of the Government, Hon. Mackenzie King declared:

"The only effective means of remedying the evils complained of, and of freeing Canada from the baneful influence of the control of its political affairs by the present autocratic administration, is that which a general election affords. By all that constitutional usage and procedure demands, that right should be afforded the people of Canada without delay. The Government has lost entirely the confidence of the people. It is either a new administration, and as such not entitled to continue in office without approval of the policies by the people; or it is the old administration under a new name, with a new policy and a new leader, in which event it has exhausted the purposes for which the Union Government was formed, and has no mandate to continue in office. The original Union ministry no longer exists. It has lost half of its entire membership, several of its own members have declared that its purpose has been served and its right to continue in office long since gone.

"It has lost the confidence of the people, as evidenced by the by-elections, and the voice of the press which helped to bring it into being and which at one time supported it so strongly. Its following in Parliament has steadily lessened, till it is precarious beyond words. It stands for a reactionary Toryism against the continuance of which every Province in the Dominion has declared with no

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uncertain voice. Judged by every canon of parliamentary Government, it is a usurper of the people's rights in the matter of Government. It should no longer be tolerated, but should make way for a Parliament that will be truly representative, and a ministry that is responsible to Parliament and the people.

All a Subterfuge.

Having stated that the only really important measure of which mention was made in the Speech from the Throne was that respecting the franchise, more truly an Act to assist in the winning of elections than a measure to safeguard the rights of electors, and drawn attention to the Opposition's amendment favoring an appeal to the electors at a general election, the Liberal leader continued: "Notwithstanding that the amendment was lost, I still assert that it expressed at the time the view of the people of Canada, whose opinion the Government should respect, and that all that has since transpired has only served to prove how true are the representations it contains. It has now become apparent, as the Opposition at the time asserted, that the Prime Minister's absence was all a subterfuge, intended primarily to afford the ministry an excuse for holding together and avoiding controversial measures pending the selection of a new Prime Minister at the end of the session. In other words, Parliament has been made to serve, not the good of the people, but the exigencies of the ministry in its determination to hold on to office regardless altogether of the people's will. This is not Government of the people, by the people, for the people; it is Government of the people by a self-constituted autocratic executive, for the sake solely of office, patronage, and power.

G.T.R. Acquisition.

Giving examples of the autocracy of the Cabinet Mr. King said: "Take, first of all, the largest single financial transaction in the history of the Canadian Parliament, the acquisition of the Grand Trunk Railway System by the Government of Canada. This matter relates itself, not only to the last session of Parliament, but also to the one preceding it. If there ever was a measure over which the people's representatives should have had complete supervision from start to close, it was that which embodied the terms and conditions surrounding this enormous transaction. Not only were the people's representatives entitled to the right to pass upon all phases of the transaction, but any due appreciation of the rights of the people would have reserved to the people themselves the right of passing, at a general election, upon a policy so far reaching as that involved in the control or ownership and operation by the State of such a national railway system.

"Not only did the Administration deny to the people of Canada any opportunity of passing upon the policy of Government ownership and operation involved in this transaction, but they gave neither to the people nor to their representatives in Parliament the slightest intimation that they themselves were contemplating any such transaction until the matter had been all but consummated. The announcement of the Government's intention to acquire the Grand Trunk and Grand Trunk Pacific Railway Companies as part of a nationally owned and nationally operated transcontinental system came at the end of a session of Parliament called in the fall of 1919, a session called entirely with reference to other matters. Nothing was said in the Speech from the Throne of any contemplated railway legislation, nor, indeed, was any intimation given Parliament of the Government's intention with reference thereto until it had been announced that the session would end within a fortnight, and representatives had already begun to arrange for a return to their homes. Then, in the last hours of that special session, in the absence of the Prime Minister, and at the instance of the present Prime Minister, Mr. Meighen, who was in charge of the measure, a bill for the acquisition of the Grand Trunk Railway System was introduced and pressed through Parliament with indecent haste.

Meighen Arbitrary.

"In vain did the Opposition endeavor to have mature consideration of so large a transaction effected by postponement of its final enactment until a subsequent session. The Ministers in charge of the measure were adamant in their decision. They revealed an indifference, not only to the wishes of Parliament, but to their own party press in many parts of the country. By a greatly reduced majority in the House of Commons, and a very narrow majority in the Senate, they procured from Parliament the required legislation. In vain the Opposition protested that the haste in the transaction would only delay matters in the end, and that further consideration at a subsequent session of Parliament would in all probability be necessary. In vain did the Opposition try to reserve to Parliament the right which was reserved to the Grand Trunk shareholders, of passing upon the agreement between the Government and the company before its final acceptance by both parties. The Government, led by the present Prime Minister, were ready to concede to bondholders in Britain rights and privileges which they wholly denied to the taxpayers of Canada, an attitude which, having regard for the magnitude of the transaction, should have caused the present Prime Minister to forfeit forever his right to the confidence of the Canadian people, and to stamp him forever as arbitrary and autocratic in the administration of public affairs.

"What the Opposition prophesied would happen did happen. The agreement was drafted between the Government and the Grand Trunk Railway Company, and was submitted to the shareholders of the company in London and passed by them without any expression from the people's representatives in the Canadian Parliament. Then it was discovered that the whole transaction had been consummated with such haste that errors had arisen in the agreement as drawn, and grave doubts having been cast upon the legality of the procedure in certain particulars, the Government were obliged, at the last session, to bring the agreement again into Parliament and to introduce a bill to correct certain errors and to ratify the agreement as drawn.

"Never, perhaps, was there a more glaring example of the complete indifference of an executive to Parliament or to the people of the country with the administration of whose affairs they were entrusted than was revealed in connection with this measure. Having before it for the first time the agreement which had been drafted, the Opposition, in the interests of the people of Canada, sought the right of considering its several provisions and of proposing such amendments as seemed in the public interest. This right was absolutely denied. The Government stated in the plainest terms that it would permit no alteration whatever in the wording or terms of the agreement, except such as of its own accord it cared to introduce.

Open Defiance of Law.

"Scarcely less autocratic has been the Government's procedure in the expenditure of seventy millions of the people's money in the creation of a merchant marine. $70,000,000 not very long ago would have been regarded as a sum sufficient to carry on the entire Government of the Dominion. It would have all but met the entire outlay on account of ordinary expenditure in the Government of Canada in each of the last years of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's Administration. No Ministry would have ventured to award contracts for expenditures of one-tenth or one hundredth of this sum without in the first instance coming to Parliament for authority to do so. Not so any Administration of which the pre-

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sent Prime Minister has been a member. Questioned in Parliament at the last session concerning their action, the Ministry announced that the contracts for all the ships required for the Canadian merchant marine, some sixty or seventy in all, had been awarded, every one by order-in-Council, without in a single case any authority from Parliament, and without, in any case, calling for tenders for the awarding of contracts. All Parliament was asked to do was to vote the money necessary to pay the shipbuilding concerns to which these contracts were awarded.

More Autocracy.

"The indifference of the executive to the rights of Parliament and of the people did not stop even at this point. Questioned as to the extent and nature of many expenditures in connection with the merchant marine, the Minister bluntly refused to give Parliament many of the details asked for, putting forward the pretext that an incorporated company controlled its affairs, and it was for the company to say what publicity, if any, should be given to its business transactions. The Hon. Dr. Reid, Minister of Railways and Canals, took precisely the same position with regard to the Canadian National Railways and their management, an attitude wholly new, arbitrary, and autocratic, in Government owned and operated enterprises.

Referring to the appointment of the War Purchasing Board, the Liberal leader said: "No legislation was ever enacted by Parliament authorizing the appointment of this body. It owed its origin wholly to an Order-in-Council. It has been kept in existence ever since, not by the authorization of Parliament, but by the process under which it was originally created, namely: Order-in-Council. In the second session of 1919, the Government, realizing the anomaly, without sanction of Parliament, of perpetuating a War Purchasing Board in times of peace, introduced legislation to perpetuate the Board in a regular manner and to confer on it powers for the purchasing of Government supplies in times of peace. When the legislation was introduced, it was so bitterly opposed in Parliament, not by the Opposition but by many of the Government's own followers, that the bill was withdrawn. The Board, however, was continued in office.

"The same legislation, or legislation intended to accomplish an identical purpose, was introduced anew at the last session of Parliament. Its introduction was accompanied by an announcement on the part of Ministers that the Government had determined upon its enactment, and that it must pass Parliament. Again, however, opposition to the measure was so strong, not on the part of the official Opposition only, but on the part of the Government's own supporters, that the bill never passed its second reading. One would have supposed that the Government, twice prevented in Parliament by its own followers from the enactment of legislation for a particular purpose, would have regarded this action on the part of the people's representatives as conclusive evidence of the desire of Parliament to have the War Purchasing Board discontinued, and that it would have allowed the matter to drop. Not so the present Administration. The bills were allowed to drop; Parliament was virtually told to do what it pleased; and then, as soon as the session was over and members had left for their different constituencies, out comes the announcement that the Purchasing Board is to be continued as heretofore, by Order-in-Council, and to be transformed from a war board into a permanent purchasing body for the purchase of all Government supplies. It has been announced that there may be a change in the personnel of the board, and that new appointments will be made.

Deceptive Tactics.

Referring to the main estimates, when published in March, disclosing an expenditure on naval service for the present year of $300,000, and the fact that later the announcement was made that $2,200,000 would be provided in the supplementaries, Hon. Mr. King continued:

"The Opposition protested vigorously against the appropriation of this additional amount for naval service; first, on the ground that the Government had expressly stated it had no permanent naval policy, and would have none until after the Imperial Conference; secondly, on the ground that, until the demobilization of the Canadian forces was completed, expenditures on the army and navy should be curtailed as much as possible; and on the ground that there was no conceivable menace, and consequently no existing necessity for any such large expenditure for naval matters at the present time; and, lastly, because of the great need for economy in public expenditures under the existing gigantic public debt, the high cost of living, and the ever-increasing taxation. These points were strongly developed in debate when the supplementary estimates were brought down on June 26th. The supplementary appropriation for naval service was fixed at $1,700,000 instead of $2,200,000, as intimated previously by the Minister, and a half a million dollars was thus saved the country by the Opposition.

"Later, the Opposition moved to reduce the estimates by $1,700,000 so as to bring the amount for the naval service for the present year to the amount set forth in the estimates, as being the total amount expended on naval service during last [illegible] also as a protest against [illegible] not having been treated honestly by the ministry in the methods by which it was asked to grant this large appropriation. It was in vain that the Opposition sought to effect this economy and to maintain the principle of a genuine control over expenditures by the people through their representatives. To appearances, control was maintained through the Government being supported by its supine following. In reality, the tactics adopted to secure these appropriations from Parliament were so deceptive that one might almost say the money had been obtained by the ministry for the purposes mentioned under false pretences.

"Nothing was said by the Minister to intimate any intention of additional outlays for military purposes until, by direct question, I asked if the Government had in mind requesting Parliament, in the form of supplementary estimates, further amounts for military purposes other than those mentioned by the Minister. Then, for the first time, Parliament was informed that the Government contemplated bringing in an estimate for some $2,000,000 for additional barracks, to be erected in different centres throughout the Dominion. In other words, the Government was proposing, without daring to make its intentions publicly known until the last days of the session, to add an additional two millions to the militia estimates as provision for accommodation for a nucleus of nothing less than a permanent standing army in this country. Fortunately, this admission was drawn from the Ministry before the estimates were actually submitted. Meanwhile, so strong was the protest made by the Opposition to the large expenditures proposed in the main estimates, that the Government reconsidered its position, and, in bringing in the supplementaries, instead of seeking from Parliament, as the Minister had intimated was his intention, an additional appropriation of $2,000,000 on account of militia barracks, asked for this purpose the amount only of $100,000. The Opposition were thus able to save the country an expenditure, on account of barracks at this time of almost two millions of dollars. They were unable, however, to reduce the militia estimates in any other respects.

Subservient Followers.

In the course of further remarks, Hon. Mr. King said: "Perhaps nothing more strongly reflects both the subservience of the Government's following in the House of Commons and the Government's own indifference to what is owing the people by way of a careful scrutiny and supervision by their representatives in Parliament of all proposed expenditures, than the manner in which the business of Parliament was arranged and conducted during the past session," continued Hon. Mr. King. "In the first place, Parliament itself was not called until the

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26th of February. The estimates for the fiscal year 1920-21 were presented to Parliament on March 22. When it is remembered that one fiscal year ends and the other begins on the 31st of March, it will be seen that this allowed a period of only nine days for a consideration of the supplies before the beginning of the fiscal year to which they were intended to apply. As a matter of fact, the Government did not permit any consideration of the estimates until some time after the estimates were brought down. It then allowed weeks and weeks to go by without more than a slight consideration of a very few of the proposed appropriations. Indeed, we had almost reached the beginning of July—or, in other words, the end of the session—before any opportunity was afforded to consider in committee the great body of the estimates. Meanwhile, new estimates were brought down. In May, estimates to the amounts of $12,500,000 and $19,051,198 respectively were brought down; and on June 26 supplementary estimates amounting to $62,002,482, and June 29, amounting to $53,000; with the result that, whilst some few appropriations had been carefully considered, the great bulk of the appropriations, running up into the hundreds of millions, were rushed through Parliament within the last few days of the session, with little or no opportunity for consideration or supervision.

Hon. Mr. King further declared: "The truth is that members of the War Administration have become so accusomed to dealing in millions of dollars that expenditures involving thousands are beneath their consideration; they have become so accusomed to doing everything by executive order that they no longer have regard for Parliament, where it is possible in any way to ignore its presence. There will be no change in this respect, no return to responsible Ministry, until we have a new and properly representative Parliament.

"In this post-war period, in this new era of wider liberty for mankind, to which end all the sacrifices of the free nations of the world have been made, the work of Liberalism, first and foremost, must be that of seeking to re-establish, on firm and enduring foundations and in wider compass than has hitherto been known, all those institutions, customs, practices, and usages in our Parliamentary system and matters pertaining to Government which comprise the charter of freedom we possessed prior to the commencement of the war," declared Hon. Mr. King. He maintained that during the session recently the Opposition strove to restore to Parliament its character as a deliberative assembly and to compel upon the part of the Ministry a recognition of its responsibility to Parliament.

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Montreal Gazette Aug 7th 1920

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LIBERAL PARTY GOOD SAMARITAN

Mackenzie King at Paisley, Replies to Premier Meighen.

1,500 ATTEND THE PICNIC

Hartley Dewart and Other Stalwarts Also Address the Gathering.

Canadian Press.

Paisley, Ont., Aug. 12.—Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, chief speaker at a mass meeting of Bruce County Liberals in Paisley's beautiful Riverside Park this afternoon, devoted considerable time replying to Premier Meighen's address at Stirling yesterday. He scored the Premier's attitude toward the country at large as autocratic and lofty, picturing him as walking down the middle of a highway, ignoring those on either side.

"I am reminded," he said, "of the Pharisee who kept to the middle of the road without allowing his garments to be touched by suffering humanity. But there was another figure in that parable, and if Mr. Meighen wishes to play the role of the Pharisee, I am content that the party I lead shall take the part of the good Samaritan, and do what it can to bind the wounds and better the conditions of humanity."

Besides the Liberal leader in the Federal House, the list of speakers included: Hartley Dewart, K.C., M.P.P.; F. F. Pardee, M.P., West Lambton, and T. H. Marshall, M.P.P. for Lincoln. The chair was occupied by A. P. McWhinney, M.P.P. for South Bruce. It was a broiling hot day, but the 1,500 people who attended heard the speeches very comfortably from seats arranged under the shade of huge, spreading elms. Chesley bandsmen shed their red tunics and provided excellent music. The town gave a warm welcome to the visitors.

The rally was arranged by the North and South Bruce Reform Associations, and was more or less in the interests of R. E. Truax, M.P. for South Bruce, victor for his party in 11 previous contests, but now about to be opposed for the first time by a U. F. O. candidate.

Attacked the U. F. O.

Mr. Pardee, in opening the list of addresses, paid his respects to any U. F. O. who might be present, and said no U. F. O., or anyone else, would represent his constituency any better than R. E. Truax had done.

"Better trust the devil you know, than the devil you do not know, and stick to Truax," he said. He also referred to the address of the Premier yesterday, and said it was devoid of any real statement of policy.

"It was simply a retrospect of what had been done in the past," he stated. "The Premier said we Liberals are free-traders and fiscal humbugs. Is it fiscal humbug to endeavor to help the masses of the people? If that's fiscal humbug, I'm a fiscal humbugger."

Mackenzie King he referred to as a man whose record speaks for itself, and who, he believed, the people were willing to make Premier.

Mr. Dewart's Address.

Mr. Dewart, in opening, found it eminently fitting that in the very grove where Sir Wilfrid Laurier had enunciated the principles of Liberalism, Mr. King should now, as his successor, outline his party policy to the people of Bruce. "I do not like," he said, "the tendency to refer to the parties as groups. The principles of the parties will prevail long after the groups have ceased to exist. The Government is called the Farmers' Party. Mr. Drury doesn't like that and calls it 'People's Party.' The Provincial Treasurer is still not satisfied and calls it the 'Common People's Party,' and now James Simpson proposes calling it the 'National Farmer and Labor Party.' When our friends do not know what kind of party they are, it would not be surprising if a good many people chose to stick to the principles of Liberalism.

"Do you mean to tell me that farmers sent their representatives to Toronto to ride in automobiles as their predecessors did, or to ride in private cars and go junketing about the country with their families and friends, or to convert the Parliament Buildings into apartments for their families and relatives, and make a boarding-house of the place? If that is their idea of economy, it is not the idea of many of their constituents."

He referred to acts for which the present Government were praised and claimed for himself the honor of pointing out some of the things which were later investigated under Mr. Drury. Mr. Dewart objected strenuously to the appointment of commissioners in matters for which the Government should itself take the responsibility. The U. F. O. Government, he said, had appointed some sixteen commissions, some of which he classed as cumbrous and useless.

"The people do not want the Government to escape responsibility for its actions in this way," he said.

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Paisley Advocate - August 18, 1920

Liberal Leaders Heard at Paisley

GIVEN A GREAT RECEPTION
2,500 PEOPLE IN THE PARK

Hon. W. L. MacKenzie King Ennunciates Broad Policy

HARTLEY DEWART, F. F. PARDEE AND T. R. MARSHALL ARE OTHER SPEAKERS

Program was Carried Out Most Perfectly

The distinguished political leaders who were billed to address a meeting in Riverside Park, Paisley on Thursday last were given a great reception on their arrival. At the station a large crowd assembled, and as the train drew up the Chesley band played "O Canada." The South Bruce Reform Association Executive Committee were on hand as their new Grand Chieftain stepped from the car, followed by Messrs. Hartley Dewart, K. C., M. P. P., F. Pardee, Thos. Marshall, M. P. P., and a hearty welcome was extended to each.

A long procession of cars, headed by the band and several decorated motors carrying the leading visitors, then formed up and wended its way to the town hall square, where the following address was read to MacKenzie King by Reeve Forrester:

Sir: On this the occasion of your first visit to the Village of Paisley and the County of Bruce we desire to extend to you our most cordial greetings and heartiest welcome on behalf of all our citizens irrespective of party affiliations, realizing as we do the great honor you have conferred upon us in selecting this place for one of your meetings in your tour of the Province of Ontario. We beg to assure you, Sir, of our deep appreciation of being accorded the privilege of meeting and hearing on the public platform the leader of the great historical parties in Canada.

Though still a comparatively young man you have for years occupied a prominent place in the government of our country and the direction of public affairs. After equipping yourself for your life's work by the most thorough and liberal education to be obtained in the schools and colleges of Canada and the United States you were called upon to fill the important and responsible position of Deputy-Minister of Labor in the Federal Government in which office you discharged with such marked executive ability and displayed such a capacity for administration that you were selected to preside over the Department of Labor and you were, we believe, Canada's first Minister of Labor. While occupying this position you rendered invaluable service to our country not only in organizing this Department and securing the enactment of useful legislation but also in the settlement of strikes and the amicable adjustment of differences between Labor and Capital. Your success as an administrator is largely due to your natural aptitude for such work and also to the fact that you have been a close student of political economy to which subject you have made a number of valued contributions and on which you are now a recognized authority. We believe that with your thorough education and training for public life coupled with your experience gained in administering so important a Department as that of Labor you are well qualified to fill any position in the service of our country to which you may be called.

The successful government of our country to-day demands the highest degree of statesmanship and whatever position you may occupy in the public life of Canada we feel sure that your best efforts will be directed to promoting the well being of the masses of the people and conserving those rights and privileges which we all so highly cherish. We are not unmindful of the fact that it is to your distinguished grandsire, Wm. Lyon MacKenzie—a name written large in the pages of our early history—and to the patriot leaders associated with him that we owe in a large measure the political liberties which we now enjoy, for to their efforts must be justly ascribed the firm establishment of responsible government during the trying formative period in the history of Upper Canada. We cannot honor too highly this noble patriotism which gave us perfect liberty to manage our own affairs, which is the perfection of political liberty. And if we may be permitted to express to you any wish as to your future action in directing or influencing public affairs in our country it is this—that you may preserve and hold fast those dearly bought principles of liberty and freedom that they may be handed down to posterity unimpaired and unsullied as our fathers handed them down to us.

The present period of our history is one fraught not only with great opportunities and possibilities but also with great responsibilities to those who are entrusted with the direction of public affairs. Of all things that are needed to usher in the longed for democracy and brotherhood of man—the coming new era of enlightenment and peace—one of the most essential is tolerance. It remains for the statesmen of the present day to build a highway broad and free so that every man, whatever may be his nationality, sank or condition in life may walk therein secure in life, freedom of action and reputation so long as he is a citizen of our country and obedient to its laws. The right of free thought, free enquiry and free speech to all men everywhere should be as clear as the noonday sun and bounteous as the air we breathe.

Our fair Canada is now enjoying a period of rest and recovery from the trials and heart breakings of the recent Great War now happily fading into the past. While the sword of Damocles still hangs over the head of stricken Europe where starving millions are crying for bread, Canada is now garnering in one of the greatest and most bountiful harvests. May the blessings of peace and plenty now enjoyed in our beloved country soon be felt in other lands. May the day soon dawn when every land from Orient to Occident, from pole to pole, from mountain to shore and from shore to the farthest island of the sounding sea shall feel the glad sunshine of freedom on its breast, and when people of all climes shall join in glad acclaim to usher in the golden era of humanity and the universal monarchy of man.

Permit us to again thank you for your presence here to-day and to express the wish that you may enjoy your brief sojourn with us and that on some future occasion you may again visit the County of Bruce.

Signed on behalf of the Municipality of Paisley by a special committee of the Council—D. Forrester, Reeve; R. Fullerton, Councillor.

In a brief but cordially worded speech in reply to the address, and thanking the citizens for their cordial welcome, the Liberal leader at once won the re-ard of all who could get within sound of his voice.

An hour later the procession formed up again and escorted the visitors to Riverside Park where good seating accommodation was found ready in the cool shade of the grove and in front of a covered platform from which the orations were delivered. The feast of political reasoning was

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Liberal Leaders at Paisley

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opened by a brief prefatory speech by Mr. A. P. Mewh' ney, M. P. P. for West Bruce, chairman of the meeting, who filled the position admirably.

Mr. F. Pardee, M. P. for Lambton, was the first speaker introduced. In his preliminary remarks he paid his respects to any U. F. O. who might be present, and said no U. F. O., or anyone else, would represent his constituency any better than R. E. Truax had done. "Better trust the devil you know, than the devil you do not know and stick to Truax," was the way he tersely put it.

Mr. Pardee said the country could not be deceived by the camouflage of a new name, which merely disguised the old Tory party with its big interest affiliations. It was the same old high-tariff party back again, setting the interests of the classes before the interests of the masses as ever. He took up the statement made by the Union Government that the Liberal party followed a policy of "fiscalhumbug," and showed that the Liberals served the public by reductions in tariff on many occasions. "Mr. Meighen's speech simply says that he still stands by the big interests, that he is for the big interests and the classes, and intends to legislate for their benefit, while the public could take care of itself," said Mr. Pardee. He also referred to the Murdoch charges that the Government had consistently blocked any effort of the Board of Commerce to reduce prices.

Prefers "Parties" to "Groups."

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Liberal Leaders at Paisley

(Concluded)

advanced by the Liberal party seeking to restore the rights of the people. The efforts of the Liberal party will turn to getting back that freedom of Parliament which will help to insure good government in Canada.

The assembling of Parliament last session in the new buildings at Ottawa seemed to express the note which the Liberal party thought should dominate all Canada, namely, the restoration of Parliamentary institutions, said Mr. King. These institutions, under the destructive influences of the war, had been, if not destroyed, at least wholly disregarded. The achievement of representative government under the British system had been the result of militant Liberalism through centuries of struggle and endeavor. In the post-war period the first and foremost duty of Liberalism was to re-establish on firm and enduring foundations, and in wider compass "all those institutions, customs practises and usages in our Parliamentary system, and matters pertaining to government, which comprise the charter of freedom we possessed prior to the commencement of the war."

As a party in Opposition, the Liberals had sought to carry on this work. During the war Parliament had ceased, in large measure, to be a deliberative assembly and become merely a machine for registering the will of the Executive. "To restore the supremacy of Parliament, the authority of Parliament over the Ministry, and the power of the people over Parliament has therefore become the paramount duty of the hour."

Liberals' First Move

Criticizing the vacuity of the Government's proposals contained in the Speech frm the Throne at the opening f the last session of Parliament, Mr. King said this procedure had deteriorated into nothing more than a mere ceremonial. The first move of the Liberal party had been to challenge the right of the Government to continue in office after the conclusion of the war without consulting the electorate. All that had transpired since had served only to prove that the representations of the Liberal party were right. It was apparent that the absence of Sir Robert Borden was only a subterfuge, "intended primarily to afford the Ministry an excuse for holding together and avoiding controversial measures pending the selection of a new Prime Minister at the end of the session." "In other words," declared the Liberal Leader, "Parliament has been made to serve, not the good of the people, but the exigencies of the Ministry in its determination to hold on to office regardless altogether of the people's will. It is not government of the people, by the people, for the people; it is government of the people by a self-constituted autocratic Executive for the sake solely of office, patronage and power."

Flouting the Constitution

The indifference of the Ministry to constitutional methods was further exhibited by the introduction of legislation of which no mention whatever had been made at the opening of the session. Measures of great concern to the people of Canada were brought down in the concluding weeks of the session. The Opposition protested, but avoided obstruction. Criticisms had been made that there should have been more resistance, but while the provocation was strong, public reasons for not adopting such course were stronger than the consequences of such a course would have involved.

The desire of the Opposition was to see normal conditions restored. Resistance and prolonged obstruction would have perpetuated in Parliament the passions of the war, which it was hoped were subsiding.

Estimates Misleading

As an indication of the continued indifference of a Government to a proper conduct of public affairs, Mr. King pointed out that the presentation of the estimates in the House of Commons had been misleading, and questionable methods had been adopted in connection with the militia estimates. Examples might be given to illustrate wherein the Administration, so accustomed to doing as it pleased in all matters, revealed itself wholly indifferent to an honest and honorable procedure.

"The truth is," he asserted, "that members of the War Administration have become so accustomed to dealing in millions of dollars that expenditures involving thousands are beneath their consideration; they have become so accustomed to doing everything by Executive order that they no longer have regard for Parliament where it is possible in any way to ignore its presence. There will be no change in this respect, no return to a responsible Ministry, until we have a new and properly representative Parliament."

Criticies Acquisition of G. T. R.

Mr. King sternly criticized the Government's attitude in negotiating for the acquisition of the Grand Trunk Railway. "This was the largest financial transaction Canada has ever undertaken. "The Government gave neither to the people nor to their representatives in Parliament the slightest intimation that it was contemplating any such transaction until the matter had all been consummated." Rights and privileges were conceded to the security holders of the Grand Trunk in England which were denied to the taxpayers of Canada. "Any due appreciation of the rights of the people would be reserved to the people themselves the right of passing at a general election upon a policy so far-reaching."

Similarly, in the creation of a merchant marine Parliament was ignored, as well as in an important contract with the city of Ottawa. In another case the Government defied Parliament and its own followers in continuing the War Purchasing Commission.

General Election Only Remedy

"The only effective means of remedying the evils complained of, and of freeing Canada from the baneful influence of the control of its political affairs, is that which a general election affords. By all that constitutional usage and procedure demands, that right should be afforded the people of Canada without delay. The Government has lost entirely the confidence of the people. It is either a new Administration and as such not entitled to continue in office without approval of its policies by the people; or it is the old Administration under a new name, with a new policy and a new leader, in which event it has exhausted the purpose for which Union Government was formed and has no mandate to continue in office."

Mr. Thos. Marshall, M. P. P. for Lincoln, also made a brief address.

Those who occupied seats on the platform with the speakers were: Alex. Smith, K. C. of Ottawa, formerly organizer for the Liberals of the Dominion; R. E. Truax, M. P.; Frank Rennie, M. P. P.; Geo. Anderson, ex-M. P. P.; Wm. McDonald, ex-M. P. P.; J. J. Hunter and P. A. Malcomson of Kincardine; D. B. McDonald, County Warden; R. D. Cameron, of Lucknow; J. A. Johnston, of Mildmay; Jos. Chambers, of Amabel; Geo. Durst, of Chesley; Geo. H. Mooney, of Ripley; Geo. Brown, ex-reeve of Bruce Tp.; D. McBeath, D. Forrester, J. S. Dewar, C. L. Carter, Jas. Coulter, H. McKerracher, Revs. H. C. Packham, T. R. Voaden and H. D. McCuaig.

Upon rising to address the audience, Hon. MacKenzie King and Mr. Hartley Dewart were each presented with very handsome bouquets, two little girls acting as flower bearers—Beatrice Lyon handing one to the Dominion leader and Margaret Moore the one to the Provincial leader. Mr. Dewart omitted the customary return greeting but Mr. King gallantly kissed the little maid who brought him so pleasing an offering.

The crowd was a large one of at least 2,500 people, with a very good proportion of ladies. Throughout the order was perfect, and there was no lack of enthusiasm as the salient points in the speechifying were spontaneously applauded.

The officers and committees who had charge of the arrangements may be complimented on the way in which every detail was carried out. There was no hitch at any point.

The music by Chesley band on the street, at the station in the park and the hour's programme at the town hall in the evening was an enlivening feature of the proceedings that was very much appreciated at every point.

While in town MacKenzie King was a guest at the home of Mr. I. Shoemaker, who is an old friend and seat-mate in the days when they attended public school together in the city of Kitchener.

Paisley is the true centre of the county, when it comes down to fixing the place for a gathering of all the people. In 1878 this is where the great political campaign issues were hotly discussed at a joint meeting of Grits and Tories, when Hon. Alex. MacKenzie, the Liberal leader and premier, was the principal figure in a debate on the hustings. In 1906 Sir Wilfrid Laurier was the big card at a Liberal rally, and now the latest leaders of that party have been heard discussing the issues of the day in Riverside Park.

The streets were well decorated with evergreens, flags, streamers, and bunting, and presented a bright welcome to the visitors.

Paisley Advocate - August 18, 1920

Liberal Leaders Heard at Paisley

GIVEN A GREAT RECEPTION
2,500 PEOPLE IN THE PARK

Hon. W. L. MacKenzie King Ennunciates Broad Policy

HARTLEY DEWART, F. F. PARDEE AND T. R. MARSHALL ARE OTHER SPEAKERS

Program was Carried Out Most Perfectly

The distinguished political leaders who were billed to address a meeting in Riverside Park, Paisley on Thursday last were given a great reception on their arrival. At the station a large crowd assembled, and as the train drew up the Chesley band played "O Canada." The South Bruce Reform Association Executive Committee were on hand as their new Grand Chieftain stepped from the car, followed by Messrs. Hartley Dewart, K. C., M. P. P., F. Pardee, Thos. Marshall, M. P. P., and a hearty welcome was extended to each.

A long procession of cars, headed by the band and several decorated motors carrying the leading visitors, then formed up and wended its way to the town hall square, where the following address was read to MacKenzie King by Reeve Forrester:

Sir: On this the occasion of your first visit to the Village of Paisley and the County of Bruce we desire to extend to you our most cordial greetings and heartiest welcome on behalf of all our citizens irrespective of party affiliations, realizing as we do the great honor you have conferred upon us in selecting this place for one of your meetings in your tour of the Province of Ontario. We beg to assure you, Sir, of our deep appreciation of being accorded the privilege of meeting and hearing on the public platform the leader of the great historical parties in Canada.

Though still a comparatively young man you have for years occupied a prominent place in the government of our country and the direction of public affairs. After equipping yourself for your life's work by the most thorough and liberal education to be obtained in the schools and colleges of Canada and the United States you were called upon to fill the important and responsible position of Deputy-Minister of Labor in the Federal Government in which office you discharged with such marked executive ability and displayed such a capacity for administration that you were selected to preside over the Department of Labor and you were, we believe, Canada's first Minister of Labor. While occupying this position you rendered invaluable service to our country not only in organizing this Department and securing the enactment of useful legislation but also in the settlement of strikes and the amicable adjustment of differences between Labor and Capital. Your success as an administrator is largely due to your natural aptitude for such work and also to the fact that you have been a close student of political economy to which subject you have made a number of valued contributions and on which you are now a recognized authority. We believe that with your thorough education and training for public life coupled with your experience gained in administering so important a Department as that of Labor you are well qualified to fill any position in the service of our country to which you may be called.

The successful government of our country to-day demands the highest degree of statesmanship and whatever position you may occupy in the public life of Canada we feel sure that your best efforts will be directed to promoting the well being of the masses of the people and conserving those rights and privileges which we all so highly cherish. We are not unmindful of the fact that it is to your distinguished grandsire, Wm. Lyon MacKenzie—a name written large in the pages of our early history—and to the patriot leaders associated with him that we owe in a large measure the political liberties which we now enjoy, for to their efforts must be justly ascribed the firm establishment of responsible government during the trying formative period in the history of Upper Canada. We cannot honor too highly this noble patriotism which gave us perfect liberty to manage our own affairs, which is the perfection of political liberty. And if we may be permitted to express to you any wish as to your future action in directing or influencing public affairs in our country it is this—that you may preserve and hold fast those dearly bought principles of liberty and freedom that they may be handed down to posterity unimpaired and unsullied as our fathers handed them down to us.

The present period of our history is one fraught not only with great opportunities and possibilities but also with great responsibilities to those who are entrusted with the direction of public affairs. Of all things that are needed to usher in the longed for democracy and brotherhood of man—the coming new era of enlightenment and peace—one of the most essential is tolerance. It remains for the statesmen of the present day to build a highway broad and free so that every man, whatever may be his nationality, rank or condition in life may walk therein secure in life, freedom of action and reputation so long as he is a citizen of our country and obedient to its laws. The right of free thought, free enquiry and free speech to all men everywhere should be as clear as the noonday sun and bounteous as the air we breathe.

Our fair Canada is now enjoying a period of rest and recovery from the trials and heart breakings of the recent Great War now happily fading into the past. While the sword of Damocles still hangs over the head of stricken Europe where starving millions are crying for bread, Canada is now garnering in one of the greatest and most bountiful harvests. May the blessings of peace and plenty now enjoyed in our beloved country soon be felt in other lands. May the day soon dawn when every land from Orient to Occident, from pole to pole, from mountain to shore and from shore to the farthest island of the sounding sea shall feel the glad sunshine of freedom on its breast, and when people of all climes shall join in glad acclaim to usher in the golden era of humanity and the universal monarchy of man.

Permit us to again thank you for your presence here to-day and to express the wish that you may enjoy your brief sojourn with us and that on some future occasion you may again visit the County of Bruce.

Signed on behalf of the Municipality of Paisley by a special committee of the Council—D. Forrester, Reeve; R. Fullerton, Councillor.

In a brief but cordially worded speech in reply to the address, and thanking the citizens for their cordial welcome, the Liberal leader at once won the regard of all who could get within sound of his voice.

An hour later the procession formed up again and escorted the visitors to Riverside Park where good seating accommodation was found ready in the cool shade of the grove and in front of a covered platform from which the orations were delivered. The feast of political reasoning was

(Continued on page 4)

Liberal Leaders at Paisley

(Continued from page 1)

opened by a brief prefatory speech by Mr. A. P. Mewb' ney, M. P. P. for West Bruce, chairman of the meeting, who filled the position admirably.

Mr. F. Pardee, M. P. for Lambton, was the first speaker introduced. In his preliminary remarks he paid his respects to any U. F. O. who might be present, and said no U. F. O., or anyone else, would represent his constituency any better than R. E. Truax had done. "Better trust the devil you know, than the devil you do not know and stick to Truax," was the way he tersely put it.

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(Concluded)

advanced by the Liberal party seeking to restore the rights of the people. The efforts of the Liberal party will turn to getting back that freedom of Parliament which will help to insure good government in Canada.

The assembling of Parliament last session in the new buildings at Ottawa seemed to express the note which the Liberal party thought should dominate all Canada, namely, the restoration of Parliamentary institutions, said Mr. King. These institutions, under the destructive influences of the war, had been, if not destroyed, at least wholly disregarded. The achievement of representative government under the British system had been the result of militant Liberalism through centuries of struggle and endeavor. In the post-war period the first and foremost duty of Liberalism was to re-establish on firm and enduring foundations, and in wider compass "all those institutions, customs practises and usages in our Parliamentary system, and matters pertaining to government, which comprise the charter of freedom we possessed prior to the commencement of the war."

As a party in Opposition, the Liberals had sought to carry on this work. During the war Parliament had ceased, in large measure, to be a deliberative assembly and become merely a machine for registering the will of the Executive. "To restore the supremacy of Parliament, the authority of Parliament over the Ministry, and the power of the people over Parliament has therefore become the paramount duty of the hour."

Liberals' First Move

Criticizing the vacuity of the Government's proposals contained in the Speech frm the Throne at the opening f the last session of Parliament, Mr. King said this procedure had deteriorated into nothing more than a mere ceremonial. The first move of the Liberal party had been to challenge the right of the Government to continue in office after the conclusion of the war without consulting the electorate. All that had transpired since had served only to prove that the representations of the Liberal party were right. It was apparent that the absence of Sir Robert Borden was only a subterfuge, "intended primarily to afford the Ministry an excuse for holding together and avoiding controversial measures pending the selection of a new Prime Minister at the end of the session." "In other words," declared the Liberal Leader, "Parliament has been made to serve, not the good of the people, but the exigencies of the Ministry in its determination to hold on to office regardless altogether of the people's will. It is not government of the people, by the people, for the people; it is government of the people by a self-constituted autocratic Executive for the sake solely of office, patronage and power."

Flouting the Constitution

The indifference of the Ministry to constitutional methods was further exhibited by the introduction of legislation of which no mention whatever had been made at the opening of the session. Measures of great concern to the people of Canada were brought down in the concluding weeks of the session. The Opposition protested, but avoided obstruction. Criticisms had been made that there should have been more resistance, but while the provocation was strong, public reasons for not adopting such course were stronger than the consequences of such a course would have involved.

The desire of the Opposition was to see normal conditions restored. Resistance and prolonged obstruction would have perpetuated in Parliament the passions of the war, which it was hoped were subsiding.

Estimates Misleading

As an indication of the continued indifference of a Government to a proper conduct of public affairs, Mr. King pointed out that the presentation of the estimates in the House of Commons had been misleading, and questionable methods had been adopted in connection with the militia estimates. Examples might be given to illustrate wherein the Administration, so accustomed to doing as it pleased in all matters, revealed itself wholly indifferent to an honest and honorable procedure.

"The truth is," he asserted, "that members of the War Administration have become so accustomed to dealing in millions of dollars that expenditures involving thousands are beneath their consideration; they have become so accustomed to doing everything by Executive order that they no longer have regard for Parliament where it is possible in any way to ignore its presence. There will be no change in this respect, no return to a responsible Ministry, until we have a new and properly representative Parliament."

Criticies Acquisition of G. T. R.

Mr. King sternly criticized the Government's attitude in negotiating for the acquisition of the Grand Trunk Railway. This was the largest financial transaction Canada has ever undertaken. "The Government gave neither to the people nor to their representatives in Parliament the slightest intimation that it was contemplating any such transaction until the matter had all been consummated." Rights and privileges were conceded to the security holders of the Grand Trunk in England which were denied to the taxpayers of Canada. "Any due appreciation of the rights of the people would be reserved to the people themselves the right of passing at a general election upon a policy so far-reaching."

Similarly, in the creation of a merchant marine Parliament was ignored, as well as in an important contract with the city of Ottawa. In another case the Government defied Parliament and its own followers in continuing the War Purchasing Commission.

General Election Only Remedy

"The only effective means of remedying the evils complained of, and of freeing Canada from the baneful influence of the control of its political affairs, is that which a general election affords. By all that constitutional usage and procedure demands, that right should be afforded the people of Canada without delay. The Government has lost entirely the confidence of the people. It is either a new Administration and as such not entitled to continue in office without approval of its policies by the people; or it is the old Administration under a new name, with a new policy and a new leader, in which event it has exhausted the purpose for which Union Government was formed and has no mandate to continue in office."

Mr. Thos. Marshall, M. P. P. for Lincoln, also made a brief address.

Those who occupied seats on the platform with the speakers were: Alex. Smith, K. C. of Ottawa, formerly organizer for the Liberals of the Dominion; R. E. Truax, M. P.; Frank Rennie, M. P. P.; Geo. Anderson, ex-M. P. P.; Wm. McDonald, ex-M. P. P.; J. J. Hunter and P. A. Malcomson of Kincardine; D. B. McDonald, County Warden; R. D. Cameron, of Lucknow; J. A. Johnston, of Mildmay; Jos. Chambers, of Amabel; Geo. Durst, of Chesley; Geo. H. Mooney, of Ripley; Geo. Brown, ex-reeve of Bruce Tp.; D. McBeath, D. Forrester, J. S. Dewar, G. L. Carter, Jas. Coulter, H. McKerracher, Revs. H. C. Packham, T. R. Voaden and H. D. McCuaig.

Upon rising to address the audience, Hon. MacKenzie King and Mr. Hartley Dewart were each presented with very handsome bouquets, two little girls acting as flower bearers—Beatrice Lyon handing one to the Dominion leader and Margaret Moore the one to the Provincial leader. Mr. Dewart omitted the customary return greeting but Mr. King gallantly kissed the little maid who brought him so pleasing an offering.

The crowd was a large one of at least 2,500 people, with a very good proportion of ladies. Throughout the order was perfect, and there was no lack of enthusiasm as the salient points in the speechifying were spontaneously applauded.

The officers and committees who had charge of the arrangements may be complimented on the way in which every detail was carried out. There was no hitch at any point.

The music by Chesley band on the street, at the station, in the park and the hour's programme at the town hall in the evening was an enlivening feature of the proceedings that was very much appreciated at every point.

While in town MacKenzie King was a guest at the home of Mr. I. Shoemaker, who is an old friend and seat-mate in the days when they attended public school together in the city of Kitchener.

Paisley is the true centre of the county, when it comes down to fixing the place for a gathering of all the people. In 1878 this is where the great political campaign issues were hotly discussed at a joint meeting of Grits and Tories, when Hon. Alex. MacKenzie, the Liberal leader and premier, was the principal figure in a debate on the hustings. In 1906 Sir Wilfrid Laurier was the big card at a Liberal rally, and now the latest leaders of that party have been heard discussing the issues of the day in Riverside Park.

The streets were well decorated with evergreens, flags, streamers, and bunting, and presented a bright welcome to the visitors.

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TARIFF POLICY

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Toronto Star
Aug 14/20

D 4525

LOCAL LIBERALS RALLY ROUND THE OLD-TIME BANNER

Hon. Mackenzie King Addresses Big Crowd at Island—Enthusiastic Gathering.

LEADER WELCOMED

Sports Program For Everybody Precede Speeches by Mr. King and Others.

Island Stadium, Aug. 14.—Toronto Liberalism gathered here this afternoon to welcome Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, the Liberal leader, and his colleagues.

It was an old-time Liberal picnic, largely attended and enthusiastic. Mr. Liberal, Mrs. Liberal and the little Liberals were there, all on tip toe of expectancy. Nor were they disappointed. Mr. King made an aggressive speech. He analyzed the official utterances of the new Premier, Mr. Meighen, and drove home with vigor the claims of his own party at once historic and progressive.

Cheers for Leader.

When Mr. King, Hon. Dr. Beland, H. H. Dewart, K.C., M.P.P., Sir Allen Aylesworth and others arrived, the band played "O Canada," and cheers greeted the honored guests.

Then came the National Anthem in the stadium, where the ovation was long and gratifying.

Sir Allen Aylesworth presided at the mass meeting in the stadium. The speakers included Mr. King, Dr. Beland, and Mr. Dewart.

Dr. Beland urged racial peace. The public welfare demanded it.

Mandate for Future.

Mr. King declared that no Government had a right to carry on the country's affairs unless that Government had received the people's approval of the policies framed for the future, and his great audience acclaimed this vital rule of conduct.

Mr. King demanded a general election, and, in doing so, denounced the Meighen Administration for usurping the rights of the people. It was an autocratic executive that had thrown to the winds all respect for constitutional practices.

SPORTS.

Girls' race, 50 yards, 10 years and under—1, Bessie Napier; 2, Margaret Jackson.

Boys' race, 50 yards, 10 years and under—1, Bobbie Gregg; 2, Jerome McDermott.

Girls' race, 50 yards, 14 years and under—1, Hilda Stewart; 2, Ida Silverstone.

Boys' race, 50 years, 14 years and under—1, Beverly Puddy; 2, Fred Jackman.

Girls' race, 100 years, 16 years and under—1, Ida Abbott; 2, Georgina Johnston; 3, Hilda Stewart.

Boys' race, 100 yards, 16 years and under—1, E. Murphy; 2, J. Bergen.

Married ladies' race, 50 yards—1, Mrs. Swackhammer; 2, Mrs. Scattergood; 3, Mrs. Cushman.

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SMALL THRONG GREET KING

LIBERAL PICNIC AT ISLAND

Liberal Leader Scores New Government and Sketches the Liberal Policy on the Tariff.

Advance Liberalism! Come forth with sun shades and umbrellas! Quick march! Heaven may thunder and the clouds weep, but here at least are six hundred of the old guard in Toronto who will venture forth and sit in a cool pavilion on a hot Saturday afternoon to reflect upon the memories of Laurier and applaud the hopes of Hon. Mackenzie King.

OPINION OF GOVERNMENT.

These sublime sentiment were suggested by the Liberal picnic at Hanlan's Point on Saturday afternoon. Touching in the extreme was the sight of that little band of the faithful—which later increased to 1,000—going out, alone and unprotected, in the very midst of Tory Toronto. No, not entirely unprotected. For had not the new Liberal leader lined up a sort of bodyguard of returned soldiers who came marching ahead of him, two by two, into the Stadium after the Governor-General's Body Guard band had made a first grand entry? Tremendous applause: "Here comes our leader!" "Long live our King!"

"And that brings me," said Mr. King in the course of his address, "to a consideration of the political situation as it exists in the Dominion at the present time." It was somewhat the same "consideration" he had given elsewhere in York county. A nasty, usurping, tyranical, irresponsible, unrepresentative and unconstitutional Government was in power, and ought to get out A nice, intelligent, democratic, representative, broad-visioned lot of fellows — Liberals, of course—were out of power, and ought to get in. It was time for a change. (Cheers.)

Hon. Arthur Meighen called himself and his followers the party of law and order. "All and sundry who do not think and say as he does are," said the speaker, "to be relegated to one side as lawless and disorderly. He and those who walk with him are to have the middle of the road. All others may make shift in the highways and byways as best they can. If that is the meaning of law and order, Mr. Meighen is welcome to his interpretation of it. That particular phrase has been the refuge of autocracy and the shield of autocratic behavior in all countries and in all ages, and the people are not likely to be deceived by its use.

DEFYING LAW AND ORDER.

"I would tell the new Prime Minister, however, that there is something even finer and more necessary than law and order in any country, and that is that upon which law and order itself is founded, namely, constitutional Government and procedure. It is this which Mr. Meighen has overlooked; it is this which he and His Ministers who continue in office are prepared not only to ignore, but to defy; it is this which the Liberal party sees to establish and maintain."

And he replied to Premier Meighen's tariff pronouncement by saying:

"We believe that the time has come, indeed that it is already long past, when a downward revision of the tariff is necessary. In this revision we believe that there should be substantial reductions of the duties on the necessaries of life, in other words, on those articles which go to make up the food, the clothing, the shelter of the Canadian people; that certain specific articles required for the purposes of consumption and other articles essential to production should be placed upon the free list, and that in regad to the implements of production in the basic industries of agriculture, mining, lumbering and fishing there should also be a substantial reduction of duties. It is not a question of free trade or protection.

"In revising the tariff to this end care will be taken of the position and needs of all the industries in our country, but such tariff as may be necessary in this connection will be, under Liberal policy, a tariff for consumers and producers, and not a tariff to further the interests of combines, monopolies or of any special or privileged class.

TWO CLASSES.

Hon. Dr. Henri Beland put it rather more neatly. "Mr. Meighen has declared only this week," said the doctor, "that he can see only two classes in Canada: the nation-builders—Meighen & Co.—and the nation-wreckers—all those who don't see as he does. I protest against the insinuation. What about the farmers? What about the housewife who protests against the high cost of living? Mr. Meighen turns around and says to the poor woman. 'I am sorry, madam, but you are a nation wrecker.'" (Laughter.)

"Public welfare in Canada to-day does not centre around the ephemeral success of any political party," declared the doctor, after paying a Frenchman's compliments to "My dear Ontario compatriots"—particularly the ladies. "Before I am a Liberal I want to be a Canadian, whose pride is in the welfare and prosperity of the whole population. That will come only through racial peace. But how are we to secure racial peace? By closer contact and better knowledge of each other."

At this point, timed like a stage entrance, the band swung through into the grounds again, playing "O Canada."

ENEMY IN MIDST.

"But we have an enemy in our midst," continued Dr. Beland, "the man who indulges race prejudices and religious antagonisms. How will we combat it? Firstly, secondly and lastly by ignoring him, and the second part of our campaign will not be fought with bayonets, machine guns or 75-centimetre cannon. No, we will simply get together, interchange our views, and we will cnofound him."

The present administration, he said, was like a chamelon, which changed color through fear, and would doubtless display all the lines of the rainbow as the Premier proceeded on his pilgrimage from protectionist Toronto to free trade Alberta.

"SCRAPS OF PAPER."

The chairman, Sir Allen Aylesworth, who had talked against conscription when such talk was a prison offence for common men, got back once more to his favorite topic.

"Talk about scraps of paper," said Sir Allen, "when we have the present first Minister of the country in the past few days telling his electors at Stirling that, of course, his Government had broken their promise to the farmers. Mr. Meighen thinks it astonishing that any farmer should have expected otherwise. And yet I know that previous to the last election the country was literally flooded with telegrams from Ottawa telling the farmers not to fear conscription; that they and their sons would be protected.

"He has the audacity to say that but for conscription Canada would not have done her part in the war. The sufferings of so many of Canada's volunteer sons in France goes for nothing in his view! It was only on the conscripts that Canada's renown is based! Doesn't he know that everything accomplished up to the signing of the armistice would have been done just as effectually if there had been no conscription?"

TORONTO'S TRUST.

Toronto had learned to trust the Liberals, declared Hartley Dewart K.C., casting his prophetic eye over the "gallant six hundred" in the grand stand. That was why the Liberals had been so successful in the recent provincial elections. To-day it wasn't a question of what a party called itself. The question was: What does that party stand for? The name "Liberal," suggested the speaker modestly, stands for principles and progressive ideas, and that was infinitely preferable to a group that had been christened and didn't know what to call itself. The present Government in Queen's Park was held together by a slender thread, and showed obvious tendencies to "work for the advantage of two parties artificially bound together."

To "Our new leader" he handed in parting, this lovely bouquet: "In Mr. King you have a man who has been trained in the study of every social problem and industrial question that effects the people of Canada to-day. It is amazing that anyone can think Canada can get along without him.

"The unctuous and ubiquitous Mayor of Toronto—I shall not call him the perpetual Mayor, for that, too, will pass—has, I understand, in effect, conferred the freedom of the city of Toronto on the new and untried Premier of Canada, Mr. Meighen. To-day we give you the hearts of the common people of Toronto, who stand for progressive thought and principles."

As a pleasant interlude between the roar of the "big guns" Chairman Aylesworth presented "Our Leader" with an address from Toronto Liberals and from Mrs. Beaton, president of Toronto Women's Liberal Association and Mrs. Carpenter, president of the Ontario Women's Liberal Association, each read a resolution of confidence. It would appear from these documents that all differences in the Liberal ranks have been smoothed out and the future is golden with hope and promise.

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BREAKS CON SAYS KING

Liberal Leader at Old-Time Picnic Replies to Prime Minister.

FLAYS PROTECTION

Says Government Has Platitudes Instead of Policies to Relieve Burdens.

Cloudy weather changed into brilliant sunshine as Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, Liberal leader; Hon. Dr. H. S. Beland, Sir Allen Aylesworth and party arrived here this afternoon in the "Bathelma" for the old-time Liberal picnic. As they alighted from the boat the band of the Governor-General's Body Guard struck up "O, Canada" and the Liberal leader and Dr. Beland were cordially welcomed to Toronto by a reception committee, headed by Con. J. G. Ramsden.

To the cheers of the assembled crowd and escorted by the band, the party formed a procession to the Stadium, where the Hon. Mr. King received a magnificent ovation and the audience of over five thousand sang the National Anthem. Sir Allen B. Aylesworth presided at the mass meeting in the Stadium, and in addition to the Dominion Liberal leader, speeches were rendered by Hon. Dr. H. S. Beland and H. H. Dewart, K.C., Liberal leader for Ontario.

His declaration "That no Government has a right to carry on the affairs of this country which has not submitted to and received from the people approval of policies framed with reference to the future and not to the past," was cheered to the echo by the assembled thousands. In a vigorous demand for a general election he scathingly denounced the Meighen Administration for usurping the rights of the people, saying in effect that it was an autocratic executive which had thrown all respect for constitutional practice to the four winds.

While waiting for the arrival of the Liberal leader, the crowd in the stadium were treated to an enthusiastic display of athletics by the children married women and fat men. The program included special events for veterans.

The Oldest Liberal There.

Significant was the large number of returned soldier buttons in evidence and a score of war-crippled veterans who walked before Mr. King as he entered the grounds. Just after the fat men had laboriously finished a distance of 100 yards, which was supposed to be a "dash," came the real human interest contest of the day. "Who is the oldest Liberal present?" the crowd was asked through a large megaphone.

Mr. Archibald McKinnon, of 221 Poplar Plains road, a veteran Liberal of 81 years, was acclaimed the winner. The youngest was little Edith Shaughnessey, a baby of four months old.

And when the old gentleman, his grey hair blown by the Island breeze, held the babe in swaddling clothes for the camera man, men and women stood to their feet and cheered. Edith received a little silver spoon and the veteran a complete set of George Elliot's works.

Describing th elarge gathering as being the first one of its kind in fifty years, Sir Allen Aylesworth, the chairman, congratulated the Liberals in Ontario on the elections in Toronto. "It is many a long day," he said, "since the Liberals of Toronto wereable to place an actual majority of Liberals in the House. (Cheers.) We have presented in the Local Legislature a spectacle unequalled anywhere in the history of constitutional Government. We have a Government in Ontario which was not elected to that position by the votes of the people of this Province, and which was not even a candidate in October."

Mackenzie King's Address.

Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, after thanking the audience for the splendid reception tendered him said in part:

"The reference in the address you have just presented, to the heartiness of the popular welcome extended our late beloved leader, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, on the occasion of the different visits to this city, calls to mind how much not only our Province and the sister Province of Quebec, but all the Provinces of our Dominion, owe to his sagacious leadership and illustrious career. It was ever a part of the Liberalism of Sir Wilfrid Laurier to strive, above all else, for the unity of the Canadian people, and to inculcate that spirit of moderation and toleration in all things without which there can be neither harmony, nor unity, nor contentment. It was not less a part of the Liberalism of Sir Wilfrid Laurier to inculcate in the hearts and minds of his followers a belief in and a love for British institutions, and the British flag as the symbol of freedom in all things political and personal. So intimately are these precepts associated with his life and thought, that they will ever be a part of the Laurier tradition.

"To-day we have with us another of our distinguished French-Canadian brothers, one who is also an ex-Postmaster-General, and member of the Federal Parliament, and one who has ever worthily followed and continues greatly to honor the Laurier tradition. It is not alone because of the privation and suffering which for years he endured in a German prison that we honor our friend, Dr. Beland. We honor him even more in that his sufferings and privations have served but to make him the more eager to unite his brother Canadians of French and English extraction in loyal service of King and country, in the preservation of the liberty and freedom for which in his eyes British principles of justice and British freedom stand.

Indebted to French-Canadian M.P.'s.

"I know that I voice the wish of the citizens, not only of Toronto and of York County, but of our entire Province, when I say to Dr. Beland and to Mr. Lemieux—and, I might add also, to Mr. Lapointe, Sir Wilfrid Laurier's successor as representative in Parliament of the constituency of Quebec East, who preceded them some few weeks ago in a visit to the western part of the Province, and to other French Canadian members of Parliament from Quebec whose names I might mention, that we are not a little indebted for their visits to our Province. We thank them for the messages of cordial greeting and goodwill which they have brought and given to us, with such sincerity and eloquence, on behalf of the people of the Province of Quebec. They may feel, I think, that the great cause they have so much at heart, the cause we all have so much at heart—Canadian amity and Canadian unity—has been materially furthered by their presence in our midst.

"We have in Ottawa, as we had in this Province, a Government which has undertaken to perpetuate itself in office without any reference whatever to the wishes of the people, or without permitting any expression of the popular will. We have neither a representative Parliament nor a responsible Government. We have an autocratic executive usurping authority, exercising political control, regardless alike of constitutional procedure and the first principles of Government in a free and self-governing country.

A Discredited Administration.

"Within the past six weeks, the people of Canada have witnessed the formation of a new Government, with a new Prime Minister. They have had heralded from the Atlantic to the Pacific an all-embracing name of a new political party with a new political platform. Now, only one of two things is possible, either we have in office a new Government, which has made no appeal to and has received no approval on the part of the Canadian people; or we have continuing in office a Government so completely discredited that it is itself ashamed of its own name, and seeks to perpetuate itself in office under countless disguises, aliases, and subterfuges. Whichever alternative we take, there is nothing to justify the usurpation of the rights of the people of Canada in the matter of Government by the Meighen Administration.

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"Mr. Meighen has sought, with that liking for monopoly, in Government as in all else, which is so characteristic, to claim for his Government and the so-called National Liberal and Conservative party which he leads, the distinction of being the party of law and order. Anyone, or any group of persons, who do not think and say as he does are to be relegated to one side as lawless and disorderly. He and those who walk with him are to have the middle of the road. All others may make shift in the highways and byways as best they can. If that is the meaning of law and order, Mr. Meighen is welcome to his interpretation of it. He is welcome, if he so desires, to seek a monopoly of the term "Law and Order" for the party which he leads. That particular phrase has been the refuge of autocracy and the shield of autocratic behavior in all countries and in all ages and the people are not likely to be deceived by its use.

Overlooks Constitutional Government

"I would tell the new Prime Minister, however, that there is something even finer and more necessary than law and order in any country, and that is that upon which law and order itself is founded, namely: Constitutional Government and procedure. It is this which Mr. Meighen has overlooked; it is this which he and his Ministers who continue in office are prepared not only to ignore but to defy; it is this which the Liberal party seeks to establish and maintain as it has sought to do in the earliest beginning of its recorded history.

"Let me, by way of comparison, illustrate exactly what I mean. The Government of Sir Wilfrid Laurier was returned to power, in its last term of office, in the fall of 1908. According to the law, it was entitled to remain in office until the fall of 1913. In the course of its term of office, there came up the important issue of reciprocal trade relations with the United States. Sir Wilfrid might well have argued that this was no new issue; but on the contrary that it represented the realization of a goal in matters of trade toward which the people of Canada of both political parties had striven for more than a generation. Had Sir Wilfrid been thinking solely of power, he need never have dissolved Parliament in 1911 and appealed to the people for an expression of their will on this great question. As a true



"HON. DR. BELAND,

Quebec lieutenant of Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, who spoke at the Island to-day, delivering a stirring appeal for racial peace in Canada.

Liberal, however, he took the constitutional position that here was a great issue on which the people had not passed at the time his Government was returned. He held that, quite as binding as the law of the constitution, were the conventions of the constitution, and that outstanding among constitutional conventions is the one that on all great public questions where there is reason to believe a wide difference of opinion may exist, the people should be granted the right to give expression to their will.

"If there was justification, on grounds of constitutional procedure and practice, for a general election in 1911, how much more is there obligation for a like course of procedure at the present time. The Government of Sir Robert Borden was returned to power at the last general elections for one purpose, and one purpose only, namely, that of winning the war. Not only has the war been won, and the alleged purpose for which the Government was returned long since been fulfilled, but the Government of Sir Robert Borden itself has disappeared, and we have to-day an entirely new Administration. In 1917 we were engaged in the frightful business of destruction; to-day, it is the mightier task of reconstruction. Instead of war policies, the people are entitled to have placed before them and to pass upon peace policies.

That East Elgin Seat.

"It is just six months ago to-day that the late David Marshall, the member for the constituency of East Elgin, died, and that constituency lost its representative in the Dominion Parliament. Since Mr. Marshall's death, writs have been issued for by-elections in the constituencies of St. James (Montreal) and Kamouraska, Que., and Temiskaming, in this Province; but no writ has yet been issued for filling the vacancy in East Elgin. The constituencies to which I have referred were represented at least part of the time in Parliament during the recent session. East Elgin was without any representative.

Meighen Breaks Law.

"How nearly the Prime Minister, with all his boasting of law and order, has himself come to violating the law of the country will be apparent when I remind this gathering that at the session before last, at the instance of one of the Liberal members in the House of Commons, a law was passed providing that, wherever a vacancy existed an election must take place within six months of the date at which notification of such vacancy has been given by the Speaker to the clerk of the Crown in Chancery. In any broad interpretation of the law, this statute would be held to mean six months from the date at which the vacancy in the constituency occurred. However, by the straining of the law to its last letter, the period that remains for the issuing of the writs in East Elgin, according to the law of the land, is not more than seven days hence. I hope, for the sake of saving his own face and the face of his Government in this matter, that Mr. Meighen will not let the coming week go by without seeing that the electors of East Elgin are preserved in their legal as well as their constitutional rights of sending a representative to the Canadian House of Commons.

"Mr. Meighen has satisfied himself with giving to the country a statement of the ends, and leaving the country wholly in darkness as to the means by which they are to be attained. Indeed, he has unwittingly, but nevertheless in the clearest possible manner, indicated that neither he nor his Ministers are able to make up their minds as to what should be done; that they themselves are wholly in the dark, and propose to institute an inquiry as a means of throwing some light upon the path which they ought to take."

Quoting from Premier Meighen's speech at Sterling:

"The financial policy of this Government is to go in debt no farther.

"The financial policy of this Government is to get revenue to carry on the work of Government and to pay our debts."

~~Mr. King said~~: "I ask the people of Canada: Did they ever hear from the lips of a Prime Minister of a country such a puerile statement of financial policy as that contained in these first two planks? It makes one think, not of the Government of a country struggling with its problems of trade and commerce, under a public debt which has become colossal, but of some kindergarten debating society, where in the absence of constructive thought and ideas the most obvious platitudes are made to serve the purposes of national policies. Mr. Meighen says the policy of the Government is to go in debt no farther. What would be thought of any Government or party that, under existing conditions, would propose anything different?

Meighen would be glad about economy and a word about retrenchment in the wealth of public expenditure.

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Indeed there is no evidence that

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No Evidence of Economy.

"What evidence have we that Mr. Meighen and his Ministers intend to attempt any sort of rigid economy? If we judge by the appropriations which were asked and obtained from Parliament at the last session we shall find nothing to encourage us in any belief in economy on the part of the Ministers who have had to do with war expenditure, and have acquired the war habit of mind within recent years.

Liberals' Military Policy.

"Let me say quite clearly: the Liberal Party of Canada takes no exception to justifiable expenditures for military, naval, and police purposes. As a Party, however, we believe that there are times and seasons for all things, and that if there is one branch of Government in which, at the present time, we can afford to economize until matters more important have been successfully dealt with, it is in the matter of new naval, military, and police expenditures. It must be remembered that throughout the war these departments of Government were stimulated as no others. They attained proportions never before assumed in the Dominion, proportions necessary perhaps in times of war, but altogether out of relation to what is necessary in times of peace. Most of our debt has been incurred through military expenditures. The Minister of Finance tells us that all expenditures on this account amounted, during the war, to nearly two billions of dollars. Surely, for a time, we may be granted some respite from all unnecessary expenditures on this account.

"We have an expenditure to meet for the present year of something like double that required to carry on the business of Government for the whole country ten years ago.

"Is it not somewhat surprising that, under these circumstances, the Government should have asked from Parliament, and obtained during the past session, an appropriation, in addition to other amounts, of over $21,000,000 on account of militia, police, and naval service. The Opposition did its best to secure economies in these particular branches of expenditure, but without more than partial success. We succeeded in postponing an outlay of about two millions of dollars for additional barracks, but now Mr. Guthrie announces that he is going to ask the Minister of Finance for this amount, and commence the construction of these barracks at the earliest possible date. What Canada needs to-day is not more barracks for a standing army in the nature of a permanent force of both militia and police, but less in the way of military and police control and more in the way of increased production.

Platitudes in Place of Policies.

"And that brings me to the second main feature in Mr. Meighen's pronouncement. Having finished with the financial policy of a Government in the manner described, he goes on to give the tariff policy of the country. One would have expected, at this point, some reference to the needs of consumers and producers, some intimation that relief from the existing burdens of customs taxation might be expected in regard at least to the necessaries of life and to the instruments of production which are essential in our great basic industries of agriculture, lumbering, mining, and fishing, upon which the manufacturing industries and all our trade and commerce are dependent. But there is no suggestion of any tariff revision to meet the needs of either producers or consumers. Again, in the place of policies there are platitudes.

"'The tariff policy of this country,' says Mr. Meighen, 'is to keep Canadian workingmen in Canada. The policy of the Government is to enlarge the employment market and add to the size of Canada. The policy of the Government is to make goods here and keep people here with plenty of work for every class of man. The policy of the Government is to give Canadian industries of every kind just enough advantage in the Canadian market as to make it pay them better to stay here and expand than to diminish their plants or to leave.'"

Wherein do these pronouncements of policy assist us in discovering how the Government proposes to raise the revenues of this country? Wherein is there difference, in a statement of this kind, between the aims of the present Administration and those of any other Government, whether it be Liberal, Farmer or Labor, which might conceivably manage the affairs of the country? What we want to know is, not what is desired, but how the end is to be attained. Well, here we come to the admission of Mr. Meighen that on the all-important aspect of the matter neither he nor his Government has any views. He says:

"We are starting now an enquiry, the most thorough we can make, to determine what is absolutely necessary to secure these ends."

Starting an enquiry! That is what Sir Robert Borden said he intended to do three years ago. That is what every Government that has no policy of its own sets out to do. What we want in Canada is not more enquiries and Government by commission, but Government by a Government which has a policy that is known and approved, and which helps to meet the necessities of the hour.

"Mr. Meighen says: 'Wherever there is a tax or schedule that is not absolutely necessary it will be wiped away.'

"A lot of consolation there is in that phrase to the consumers and the producers of Canada, who to-day, through the high cost of living, are suffering from the taxation of the necessaries of life and the instruments of production in a manner that is wholly unjustifiable.

Lower Tariff a Necessity.

"In contrast to this evasive and meaningless phrase of the Prime Minister's, which denote an absence of all policy on the all-important question of tariff revision, and its relation to the high cost of living, let me give to the people of this country a statement of the Liberal party's position in this matter as it found expression at the great Liberal Convention held in Ottawa over a year ago, and as it has been contended for in the House of Commons since that time. We believe that the time has come, indeed, that it is already long past, when a downward revision of the tariff is necessary. In this revision we believe that there should be substantial reductions of the duties on the necessaries of life; in other words, on those articles which go to make up the food, the clothing, the shelter of the Canadian people; that certain specific articles required for the purposes of consumption and other articles essential to production should be placed upon the free list, and that in regard to the instruments of production in the basic industries of agriculture, mining, lumbering, and fishing, there should also be a substantial reduction of duties. It is not a question of free trade or protection. With the revenue which will be required for years to come, to meet the large interest payments on public debt, the obligations to our returned soldiers in the way of pensions and in other respects, as well as to carry on the work of Government in Canada—resort as we may to direct taxation of incomes and of business profits, which is also a part of the Liberal policy; tax as we will all luxuries, which is another plank in the Liberal platform—there will still be required for purposes of revenue large sums of money which of necessity will have to be raised by indirect taxation through a Customs tariff. In revising the tariff to this end, care will be taken of the position and needs of all the industries in our country; but such tariff as may be necessary in this connection will be, under Liberal policy, a tariff for consumers and producers and not a tariff to further the interests of combines, monopolies, or of any special or privileged classes.

"Let me point out such a tariff is not only in the interests of the people of the rural parts, but also in the interests of city dwellers; such a tariff is not only in the interests of the workingmen, but in the interest of employers; moreover, such a tariff is doubly necessary in the absence of any protection to consumers by the abolition of the Combines Investigation Act and the demoralization of the Board of Commerce, the function of which was to be primarily that of protecting the consumers against the evils of profiteering.

Bound by Slender Thread.

Mr. H. Hartley Dewart, K.C., Ontario Liberal leader, in a speech which reviewed the situation in Ontario, paid a glowing tribute to the qualifications of Hon. Mr. King to deal with the questions which arises out of the present state of unrest.

Referring to the Ontario Government, Mr. Dewart said: "The present Government is held together by a slender thread. An evident intention to work for the advantage of two classes—artifically bound together—by concessions in the interest of each class. The Liberal party will support this or any Government just so far as it legislates in the interest of all the people."

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IMMEDIATE GENERAL VOTE NATION'S RIGHT SAYS LIBERAL LEADER

Mackenzie King Enunciates Clear-Cut, Definite Policy On Tariff Question—Receives Tremendous Ovation At Toronto Rally—Hartley Dewart, Dr. Henri Beland and Sir Alan Aylesworth Give Addresses.

(By Staff Reporter.)

TORONTO, Aug. 14.—Demanding a general election immediately and enunciating a definite policy on the tariff question, Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, leader of the Liberal party, received a tremendous ovation when he appeared before thousands of Toronto Liberals gathered for an old-time picnic at the Stadium, Hanlan's Point, Toronto, Saturday. His message was ably backed up in address by H. Hartley Dewart, M.L.A., leader of the Ontario Liberal party; Dr. Henri S. Beland, former postmaster-general, and Sir Alan Aylesworth, who was chairman for the occasion.

Threatening skies did not prevent a large attendance at the picnic, and the enthusiasm was apparent from the very beginning to the close of the long afternoon. The speakers were cheered repeatedly as they dealt in vigorous fashion with the problems confronting the country today.

"Within the past six weeks the people of Canada have witnessed the formation of a new government, with a new prime minister," said Mr. King. "They have had heralded from the Atlantic to the Pacific an all-embracing name of a new political party with a new political platform.

Two Things Possible.

"Now only one of two things is possible. Either we have in office a new government which has made no appeal to and has received no approval on the part of the Canadian people, or we have continuing in office a government so completely discredited that it is itself ashamed of its own name, and seeks to perpetuate itself in office under countless disguises and subterfuges. Whichever alternative we take, there is nothing to justify the usurpation of the rights of the people of Canada in the matter of government by the Meighen administration."

He enunicated the policy of the Liberal party on the tariff as laid down by the last convention, declaring that the time was long past when a revision should have taken place.

Substantial Reduction.

"In this revision we believe that there should be substantial reduction of the duties on the necessities of life," he stated, "and that certain specific articles required for the purposes of consumption and other articles essential to production should be placed on the free list. It is not a question of free trade or protection. With the revenue which will be required for years to come to meet the large interest payments on public debt, the obligations to our returned soldiers, as well as to carry on the ordinary work of government, resort as we will to direct taxation, there will still be large sums which must be raised indirectly through a customs tariff.

Mr. King was introduced by Sir Alan Aylesworth. Commencing his address, he stated:

Grateful For Welcome.

I thank you heartily for the words of welcome extended on behalf of the Liberals of Toronto and York County. It is with more than ordinary pleasure that I find myself again amid associations which are very deeply cherished, and surrounded by friends, many of whom I knew as fellow citizens but a few years ago.

The reference, in the address you have just presented, to the heartiness of the popular welcome extended our late beloved leader, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, on the occasion of the different visits to this city, calls to mind how much not only our province and the sister province of Quebec, but all the provinces of our Dominion, owe to his sagacious leadership and illustrious career. It was ever a part of the Liberalism of Sir Wilfrid Laurier to strive, above all else, for the unity of the Canadian people, and to inculcate that spirit of moderation and toleration in all things, without which there can be neither harmony, nor unity, nor contentment. It was not less a part of the Liberalism of Sir Wilfrid Laurier to inculcate in the hearts and minds of his followers a belief in and a love for British institutions, and the British flag as the symbol of freedom in all things political and personal. So intimately are these precepts associated with his life and thought, that they will ever be a part of the Laurier tradition.

Farewell to Son.

A week ago today, we had with us, in this province and in this county, the Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux, a former postmaster-general, and today a members of the House of Commons from Quebec. Like many another Canadian father, he bade farewell, during the great war, to his only son, never to witness his return. Dying, with distinguished bravery, for king and country, on the field of battle, young Lemieux was true to the Laurier tradition, as his father and mother were in the sacrifice of their only son.

Today we have with us another of our distinguished French-Canadian brothers, one who is also an ex-postmaster-general and member of the Federal Parliament, and one who has ever worthily followed and continues greatly to honor the Laurier tradition. It is not alone because of the privation and suffering which for years he endured in a German prison that we honor our friend, Dr. Beland. We honor him even more in that his sufferings and privations have served but to make him the more eager to unite his brother Canadians of French and English extraction in loyal service of king and country, in the preservation of the liberty and freedom for which in his eyes British principles of justice and British freedom stand.

I know that I voice the wish of the citizens, not only of Toronto and of York County, but of our entire province, when I say to Dr. Beland and to Mr. Lemieux—and, I might add also to Mr. Lapointe, Sir Wilfrid Laurier's successor as representative in Parliament of the constituency of Quebec East, who preceded them some few weeks ago in a visit to the western part of the province, and to other French-Canadian members of parliament from Quebec, whose names I might mention, that we are not a little indebted for their visits to our province. We thank them for the messages of cordial greeting and good-will which they have brought and given to us, with such sincerity and eloquence, on behalf of the people of the province of Quebec. They may feel, I think, that the great cause they have so much at heart, the cause we all have so much at heart—Canadian amity and Canadian unity—has been materially furthered by their presence in our midst.

Dewart Responsible.

Your mention of the Liberal representative of this city in the Ontario Legislature affords me opportunity of saying how much Liberals everywhere feel they owe to the Liberal leader in Ontario, Mr. Hartley Dewart, in the fight waged during the last provincial election, and to which, more than to any other single influence, I believe, was owing the overwhelming defeat of the Hearst administration. It is true, in his case as in many another's where he sowed another reaped. He laid the foundations upon which another is building today. From an immediate point of view there may be in this something of inevitable disappointment. On the other hand, viewing the outcome of its large significance, there can be to Liberals nothing but satisfaction in the evidence of the determination of the people of this province to free themselves, as opportunity affords, from the control of an autocratic executive and from Tory policies in matters pertaining to government.

And that brings to me a consideration of the political situation as it exists in the Dominion at the present time. We have in Ottawa, as we had in this province, a Government which has undertaken to perpetuate itself in office without any reference whatever to the wishes of the people, or without permitting any expression of the popular will. We have neither a representative Parliament nor a responsible Government. We have an autocratic executive usurping authority, exercising political control, regardless alike of constitutional procedure and the first principles of government in a free and self-governing country.

Within the past six weeks the people of Canada have witnessed the formation of a new Government with a new prime minister. They have had heralded from the Atlantic to the Pacific an all-embracing name of a new policital party with a new political platform. Now, only one of two things is possible: either we have in office a new Government, which has made no appeal to and has received no approval on the part of the Canadian people, or we have continuing in office a Government so completely discredited that it is itself ashamed of its own name, and seeks to perpetuate itself in office under countless disguises, aliases and subterfuges. Which ever alternative we take there is nothing to justify the usurpation of the rights of the people of Canada in the matter of government by the Meighen administration.

Law and Order.

Mr. Meighen has sought, with that liking for monopoly, in government as in all else, which is characteristic, to claim for his Government and the so-called National Liberal and Conservative party, which he leads, the distinction of being the party of law and order. Anyone, or any group of persons, who do not think and say as he does are to be relegated to one side as lawless and disorderly. He and those who walk with him are to have the middle of the road. All others may make shift in the highways and byways as best they can. If that is the meaning of law and order Mr. Meighen is welcome to his interpretation of it. He is welcome, if he so desires, to seek a monopoly of the term "law and order" for the party which he leads. That particular phrase has been the refuge of autocracy and the shield of autocratic behaviour in all countries and in all ages and the people are not likely to be deceived by its use.

I would tell the new prime minister, however, that there is something even finer and more necessary than law and order in any country, and that is that upon which law and order itself is founded; namely: constitutional government and procedure. It is this which Mr. Meighen has overlooked; it is this which he and his ministers who continue in office, are prepared not only to ignore but to defy; it is this which the Liberal party seeks to establish and maintain as it has sought to do in the earliest beginnings of its recorded history.

Illustrates Meaning.

Let me, by way of comparison, illustrate exactly what I mean. The Government of Sir Wilfrid Laurier was returned to power in its last term of office in the fall of 1908. According to the law it was entitled to remain in office until the fall of 1913. In the course of its term of office there came up the important issue of reciprocal trade relations with the United States. Sir Wilfrid might well have argued that this was no new issue, but on the contrary that it represented the realization of a goal in matters of trade toward which the people of Canada of both political parties had striven for more than a generation. Had Sir Wilfrid been thinking solely of power he would never have dissolved Parliament in 1911 and appealed to the people for an expression of their will on this great question. As a true Liberal, however, he took the constitutional position that here was a great issue on which the people had not passed at the time his Government was retured. He held that, quite as biding, as the law of constitution were the conventions of the constitution, and that outstanding among constitutional conventions is the one that on all great public questions where there is reason to believe a wide difference of opinion may exist, the people should be granted the right to give expression to their will. He adopted the course of constitutional procedure, regardless of its consequences. In so doing, the Liberal party may have lost power for the time being, but it lost nothing of its great tradition. It may have sacrificed its own position, but it sacrificed none of the liberties and rights of the Canadian people.

General Election.

If there was justification, on grounds of constitutional procedure and practice, for a general election in 1911, how much more is there obligation for a like course of procedure at the present time. The Government of Sir Robert Borden was returned to power at the last general election for one purpose, and one purpose only, namely: that of winning the war. Not only has the war been won, and the alleged purpose for which the Government was returned long since been fulfilled, but the Government of Sir Robert Borden itself has disappeared, and we have today an entirely new administration. In 1917 the country was considering its war policies; today it is post-war policies we are called upon to consider. In 1917 we were engaged in the frightful business of destruction. Today it is the mightier task of reconstruction. Instead of war policies, the people are entitled to have placed before them and to pass upon, peace policies. No government has a right to carry on the affairs of this country which has not submitted to and received from the people approval of policies framed with reference to the future and not to the past.

I might cite many instances to show wherein the late administration, since the period of the war, was wholly indifferent to constitutional procedure and practice; how government has been carried on in Canada for the last year or two without any representation in the cabinet of the people of the Dominion from the confines of the city of Montreal to the Atlantic Ocean; how constituency after constituency, rendered vacant during the war, continued to be unrepresented in Parliament long after peace had been declared. But I shall not go into the past. I shall speak only of the present.

It is just six months ago today that the late David Marshall, the member for the constituency of East Elgin, died, and that constituency lost its representative in the Dominion Parliament. Since Mr. Marshall's death, writs have been issued for by-elections in the constituencies of St. James (Montreal) and Kamouraka, Que., and Pemiakaming in this province, but no writ has yet been issued for filling the vacancy in East Elgin. The constituencies to which I have referred were represented at least part of the time in Parliament during the recent session. East Elgin was without any representative.

Bait Irresistible.

Since Mr. Meighen's assumption of office, and within the past two weeks, writs have been issued for by-elections in the constituencies of Colchester, N.S., and St. John, N.B. No vacancies existed there until they were created by Mr. Meighen himself. Realizing that without some cabinet representation from the Maritime Provinces he would find it impossible to carry on government, and believing that the bait of two portfolios, even for a brief period of time, would be irresistible to a part of the Dominion wholly without representation in the cabinet of Canada, the prime minister has not hesitated to bring on by-elections in those constituencies. But still East Elgin is overlooked. How nearly the prime minister, with all his boasting of law and order, has himself come to violating the law of this country will be apparent when I remind this gathering that at the session before last, at the instance of one of the Liberal members in the House of Commons, a law was passed providing that, wherever a vacancy existed, an election must take place within six months of the date at which notification of such vacancy has been given by the Speaker to the clerk of the crown in chancery. In any broad interpretation of the law, this statute would be held to mean six months from the date at which the vacancy in the constituency occurred. However, by the straining of the law to its last letter, the period that remains for the issuing of the writs in East Elgin according to the law of the land is not more than seven days hence. I hope, for the sake of saving his own face and the face of his Government in this matter, that Mr. Meighen will not let the coming week go by without seeing that the electors of East Elgin are preserved in their legal as well as their constitutional rights of sending a representative to the Canadian House of Commons.

I have said that constitutional government and procedure demand not only a general election, but also demand the submission to the people of Canada of some definite statement of

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IMMEDIATE GENERAL VOTE NATION'S RIGHT, SAYS LIBERAL LEADER

Continued From Page One.

policy, for or against which they may be at liberty to express themselves. Even assuming that Mr. Meighen intended to hold onto office to the extreme limit of time the law permits, one would have thought that, knowing the responsibilities which attach to the high position he occupies, Mr. Meighen would have sought the first opportunity to inform the people of the means whereby the obvious ends of government are to be achieved by his administration, and of the policies which are to serve as the means toward these ends.

Statements of Ends.

Instead of that, Mr. Meighen has satisfied himself with giving to the country a statement of the ends, and leaving the country wholly in darkness as to the means by which they are to be attained. Indeed, he has unwittingly, but nevertheless in the clearest possible manner, indicated that neither he nor his ministers are able to make up their minds as to what should be done; that they themselves are wholly in the dark, and propose to institute an inquiry as a means of throwing some light upon the path, which they ought to take. Let me quote Mr. Meighen's own words. They were given to the public in his address at Stirling on Wednesday of this very week; and, having been brought prominently to the attention of the public through the press, will probably be in everyone's mind at the present time. First, as to the financial policy, what has Mr. Meighen to say? He says:

"The financial policy of this Government is to go in debt no farther.

"The financial policy of this Government is to get revenue to carry on the work of government and to pay our debts."

I ask the people of Canada: Did they ever hear from the lips of a prime minister of a country, such a puerile statement of financial policy as that contained in these first two planks? It makes one think not of the government of a country struggling with its problems of trade and commerce, under a public debt which has become colossal, but of some kindergarten debating society, where in the absence of constructive thought and ideas the most obvious platitudes are made to serve the purposes of national policies. Mr. Meighen says the policy of the Government is to go in debt no farther. What would be thought of any government or party that, under existing conditions, would propose anything different?

Let us look, for a moment, at the public debt of Canada. Canada's gross debt in 1910-11 was under $475,000,000. It had grown, by 1919-20, to over $3,-014,000,000. The net debt of Canada in 1910-11 was a little over $340,000,000. Today it is over $2,270,000,000. The annual interest charge on the public debt of Canada during 1910-11 was slightly over $12,500,000. At present, according to the statement of the present finance minister in his budget speech, it is about $146,000,000. In other words, the annual interest charge on public debt alone has increased in consequence of the war and the extravagance of the administrations which have been in office since 1910-11 from $1.67 per head of the population to $17.50 per head of the population.

National Bankruptcy.

With an annual interest charge on public debt of $140,000,000 to be met before beginning to meet the ordinary expenditures of government or any expenditure on capital account, what would be thought of an administration that would think of plunging this country further into debt. Any proposal of the kind would be an open declaration in favor of national bankruptcy. One would have thought that the new prime minister, in the face of such an obligation, instead of saying that his Government proposed to go in debt no farther, would have come out with the strongest kind of declaration for retrenchment and economy in all classes of public expenditure. But instead of that, he says that the financial policy of the Government is to get revenue to carry on the work of government and to pay our debts. For what other conceivable ends could a financial policy be devised. Surely Mr. Meighen does scant justice to the intelligence of the Canadian people if he thinks their faith in his administration is likely to be increased or they themselves flattered by being told that his Government does not propose to raise revenue for the sake of purposes altogether apart from those of government or national obligation.

It is not sufficient for the prime minister to express these obvious truths. It is his duty, and the duty of every public man who would deal honestly with Canadian affairs at the present time, to declare for the avoidance of expenditure in every direction where it is possible at all legitimately to avoid it, and to aim, not at raising revenues for the sake of carrying on the work of government in any fashion, but rather at so carrying on the work of government that taxation may be reduced instead of increased. But what evidence have we that Mr. Meighen and his ministers intended to attempt any sort of rigid economy. If we judge by the appropriations which were asked and obtained from Parliament at the last session, we shall find nothing to encourage us in any belief in economy on the part of the ministers who have had to do with war expenditure, and have acquired the war habit of mind within recent years.

It is somewhat significant that the first speeches to be made by any of his ministers since the formation of the new administration, were those which were recently delivered by the Hon. Mr. Guthrie, the minister of militia and defence, and the Hon. Mr. Ballantyne, minister of naval affairs, at the banquet tendered them in the city of Kingston on the evening preceding that on which the prime minister addressed the electors in Hastings County.

Repressive Agencies.

One would have thought, from the reading of these addresses, that, instead of emerging from a period of war, we were about to prepare for a new war, even before we had concluded the demobilization of our military forces. Mr. Ballantyne appears to have sought to imbue the public with the need for increased naval expenditures, and Mr. Guthrie with the need of increased expenditures for the construction of military barracks in different parts of the country. This new party of law and order evidently proposes to devote its time and attention to establishing repressive agencies of one kind or another throughout Canada, so that where it may not succeed in maintaining its position on grounds of constitutional right, it may find the means of so doing through the agencies of force.

Let me say quite clearly, the Liberal party of Canada takes no exception to justifiable expenditures for military, naval and police purposes. As a party, however, we believe that there are times and seasons for all things, and that if there is one branch of government in which at the present time we can afford to economize until matters more important have been successfully dealt with, it is in the matter of new naval, military and police expenditures. It must be remembered that throughout the war these departments of government were stimulated as no others. They attained proportions never before assumed in the Dominion, proportions necessary perhaps in times of war, but altogether out of relation to what is necessary in times of peace. Most of our debt has been incurred through military expenditures. The minister of finance tells us that all expenditures on this account amounted during the war to nearly two billions of dollars. Surely, for a time, we may be granted some respite from all unnecessary expenditures on this account.

Please note that, apart from the immense debt incurred on account of the war, and which is a first obligation on our treasury, we shall have, for years to come, very heavy commitments arising out of the necessary provision [illegible] care for our returned soldiers and [illegible] departments. In the estimates [illegible] the present year, including the amount of $38,000,000 required for demobilization purposes, there is a total obligation amounting to $171,334,-463, made up of charges on account of soldiers' land settlement, soldiers' civil re-establishment, pensions and repatriation of soldiers' dependents. In the last year of the Liberal administration, the total ordinary expenditure for the Government of Canada equalled the sum of only $87,774,000, and that was the highest figure reached up to that time in the expenditure on account of government. Thus, on the single account of commitments to our returned soldiers we have an expenditure to meet for the present year of something like double that required to carry on the business of the government for the whole country ten years ago.

Not Surprising.

Is it not somewhat surprising that under these circumstances the Government should have asked from Parliament and obtained during the past session an appropriation, in addition to these accounts, of over $21,000,000 on account of militia, police and naval service? The Opposition did its best to secure economies in these particular branches of expenditure, but without more than partial success. We succeeded in postponing an outlay of about two millions of dollars for additional barracks, but now Mr. Guthrie announces that he is going to ask the minister of finance for this amount and commence the construction of these barracks at the earliest possible date. What Canada needs today is not more barracks for a standing army in the nature of a permanent force of both militia and police, but less in the way of military and police control and more in the way of increased production.

And that brings me to the second main feature in Mr. Meighen's pronouncement. Having finished with the financial policy of a government in the manner described, he goes on to give the tariff policy of the country. One would have expected at this point some reference to the needs of consumers and producers; some intimation that relief from the existing burdens of customs taxation might be expected in regard at least to the necessaries of life and to the instruments of production which are essential in our great basic industries of agriculture, lumbering, mining and fishing, upon which the manufacturing industries and all our trade and commerce are dependent. But there is no suggestion of any tariff revision to meet the needs of either producer or consumer. Again, in the place of policies there are platitudes.

"The tariff policy of this country," says Mr. Meighen, "is to keep Canadian workingmen in Canada. The policy of the Government is to enlarge the employment market and add to the size of Canada. The policy of the Government is to make goods here and keep people here with plenty of work for every class of men. The policy of the Government is to give Canadian industries of every kind just enough advantage in the Canadian market as to make it pay them better to stay here and expand than to diminish their plants or to leave."

Has No Views.

Where in do these pronouncements of policy assist us in discovering how the Government proposes to raise the revenue of this country? Wherein is there difference, in a statement of this kind, between the aims of the present Administration and those of any other government, whether it be Liberal, Farmer or Labor, which might conceivably manage affairs of the country. What we want to know is, not what is desired, but how the end is to be attained. Well, here we come to the admission of Mr. Meighen that on the all-important aspect of the matter, neither he nor his Government has any views. He says:

"We are starting now an inquiry, the most thorough we can make, to determine what is absolutely necessary to secure these ends."

Starting an inquiry! That is what Sir Robert Borden said he intended to do three years ago. That is what every government that has no policy of its own sets out to do. What we want in Canada is not more inquiries and government by commission, but government by a government which has a policy that is known and approved, and which helps to meet the necessities of the hour.

Mr. Meighen says: "Wherever there is a tax or schedule that is not absolutely necessary it will be wiped away."

A lot of consolation there is in that phrase to the consumers and the producers of Canada, who today, through the high cost of living, are suffering from the taxation of the necessaries of life and the instruments of production in a manner that is wholly unjustifiable.

Evasive Phrase.

In contrast to this evasive and meaningless phrase of the prime minister's, which denote an absence of all policy on the all-important question of tariff revision and its relation to the high cost of living, let me give to the people of this country a statement of the Liberal party's position in this matter as it found expression at the great Liberal convention held in Ottawa over a year ago, and as it has been contended for in the House of Commons since that time. We believe that the time has come, indeed, that it is already long past, when a downward revision of the tariff is necessary. In this revision we believe that there should be substantial reductions of the duties on the necessaries of life; in other words, on those articles which go to make up the food, the clothing, the shelter of the Canadian people; that certain specific articles required for the purposes of consumption and other articles essential to production should be placed upon the free list, and that in regard to the instruments of production in the basic industries of agriculture, mining, lumbering, and fishing, there should also be a substantial reduction of duties. It is not a question of free trade or protection. With the revenue which will be required for years to come, to meet the large interest payments on public debt, the obligations to our returned soldiers in the way of pensions and in other respects, as well as to carry on the work of government in Canada—resort as we may to direct taxation of incomes and of business profits, which is also a part of the Liberal policy; tax as we will all luxuries, which is another plank in the Liberal platform—there will still be required for purposes of revenue large sums of money which of necessity will have to be raised by indirect taxation through a customs tariff. In revising the tariff to this end, care will be taken of the position and needs of all the industries in our country; but such tariff as may be necessary in this connection will be, under Liberal policy, a tariff for consumers and producers, and not a tariff to further the interests of combines, monopolies, or of any special or privileged classes.

Interests of People.

Let me point out wherein such a tariff is not only in the interests of the people of the rural parts, but also in the interests of city dwellers: wherein such a tariff is not only in the interests of workingmen, but in the interests of employers; moreover, wherein such a tariff is doubly necessary in the absence of any protection to consumers by the abolition of the combines investigation act and the demoralization of the board of commerce, the function of which was to be primarily that of protecting the consumers against the evils of profiteering.

Dewart Condemns Policy Of Shifting Responsibility To Several Commissions

H. Hartley Dewart, K.C., M.P.P., the Ontario Liberal leader, opened by a humorous reference to the fact that the Liberal party was holding its picnic upon the grounds so generously given by the Toronto baseball club. The Liberal party, he said, had won the last time it had played upon the home grounds, but had not done quite so well on circuit, but he felt that he could promise that next time by the same clean play, the Liberal party would win not only upon home grounds in Toronto, but also on circuit throughout the province.

The success of the Liberal party in the recent provincial elections in Toronto was due, he said, to the broadness and fairness of the Liberal policy in provincial matters and to the appreciation of our Conservative friends in a Conservative city that the Liberal party could be trusted. "As long," he said, "as I am the leader of the Liberal party in this province our Conservative friends, whether in Toronto of in the province, will find that we shall continue to advocate the best interests and the best ideas for the common benefit of all the people of the province of Ontario."

Had Many Names.

Mr. Dewart then referred to the many appelations which had been given to the Government of the U. F. O., such as the People's party, the Common People's party and others. The name of Liberal, he pointed out, stood for principles and progressive ideas, and he preferred that to a group which had not been christened and did not know what to call itself. It was not the right of any particular class to govern, because the rights of all must be considered.

These classes had been introduced in the Legislature, he pointed out, but claimed that the Liberal party was the one party today which stands in provincial matters in the interests of and for the interests of all the people. It was this recognition of honesty of purpose, progressive and aggressive force of the Liberal party which deservedly earned for it the support of fair-minded Conservatives, as well as Liberals of every class in the community, because it has stood for the rights of all.

"I need not discuss here the causes which led to the fall of the Hearst Government," said Mr. Dewart. "It was not in line with the progressive policy that we need to meet conditions. The Liberal party will occupy the position that it deserves to occupy in this province because it senses the changed conditions and has a progressive policy adapted to meet them. No alliance of incongruous elements can take the place of the cohesive forces of men who are bound together in the advocacy of progressive ideas which appeal to everybody, because they are in the interest of all."

Record of Session.

The provincial Liberal leader next dealt with the record of the past legislative session. He claimed that fair support had been given to all deserving measures and that any criticism which had been made was constructive criticism. There had been no facetious opposition. As a result of this policy valuable work had been done in regard to mothers' allowances, the minimum wage, the election act and workmen's compensation. But patronage, he asserted, still existed and cited an instance in which fishing rights in Lake Nipigon had been granted to fellow club members of the Hon. Mr. Mills, while a lifelong fisherman had been refused.

In referring to the hydro radial situation, Mr. Dewart asked why Parliament had not been taken into the confidence of the Government. He scored the multiplication of commissions, commissioners and legal advisers, claiming that this delegation of power was unilateral and contrary to the principles of responsible government, which Liberals and Conservatives should join to support.

Responsible Government.

"Liberals, Farmers, Conservatives and artisans must alike maintain it if there is to be a government responsible to the popular will," he declared. "The present government is held together by a slender thread with the evident intention of working for the advantage of two classes artificially bound together by concessions in the interest of each class. The Liberal party will support this or any government just so far as it legislates in the interest of the people as a whole and not for any class."

He told the story of the Scotchman who had just posted a letter to Kirkantulloch a few minutes before a fire started in the postoffice. As the firemen made gallant efforts to stop the destruction, he rushed up and cried: "Play on the Kirkantulloch bag." There was too much of this same spirit prevalent in the country today, he said, but it could not, and would not last.

Because of this there was the necessity for the Liberal party to carry on honestly and fearlessly, not tossed about by the winds of fortune, but acting in the interest of all the people, for principle, for moral advancement, for the right of the common people, regardless of criticism, detraction, or attack.

History of Liberalism.

He then reviewed the history of Liberalism, and its support of labor. From the days when Alfred Jury and D. J. O'Donoghue blazed the path for fair treatment of the industrial interests in the province, the Liberal party had been the one urging the reforms that had been effected. The existence of the department of labor today is solely due to Liberal insistence and assistance, he declared. During the last session no legislative measure had been proposed by the Government and pressed by the Labor representatives, on which the Liberal party had divided the House. The industrial forces of Toronto had realized that John O'Neill, Jack Ramsden, Col. Cooper, Sergt.-Major McNamara and himself were the friends of those who look for the betterment of existing social and industrial conditions, and they had made no mistake when they gave those men their support. The Liberal party had nothing to regret; it was not a retrospective party, but a progressive party.

Referring to the new leader of the Dominion party, Mr. Dewart said: "In Hon. Mackenzie King we have a man trained in the study of every social problem and industrial question that has to be solved today.

Tribute to Mackenzie King.

"No man on the continent today is better qualified to deal with the questions that arise out of the unrest of the people today than the man who has given this his life-long study. His knowledge of these industrial conditions is the greatest asset that the people of Canada have today to assist in their solution. It is amazing that any class should fail to realize the necessity of his presence in the House of Commons and pose as disinterested and fair-minded men who do not believe in parties by offering him the opposition of the leader of their mercenary group.

"The unctuous and ubiquitous mayor of Toronto, I shall not call him the perpetual mayor, because this too will pass, has, I understand, in effect conferred the freedom of the city of Toronto upon the new and untried premier of Canada, Mr. Meighen.

"Today we give you the freedom of the hearts of the common people of Toronto—Liberal, Industrial, Conservative and Radical, who stand for progressive thoughts and principles. We give you the freedom to speak clearly and strongly upon the great issues that affect the real people—a freedom that no titular official can bestow. The freedom which the citizens of Toronto enjoy today, because of the man who suffered in the flesh and in the spirit that he might enjoy the freedom of speech and the liberty of action that we enjoy today and who was deservedly honored as the first mayor of the city of Toronto that welcomes our Liberal leader today, your great forbearer, William Lyon Mackenzie, whose honored name you bear and who was the first mayor of the city of Toronto, who honors itself in honoring you today."

Aylesworth Denounces War Govenment Scheme To Hang on Five Years

Sir Alan Aylesworth, acting as chairman, congratulated the Liberals of Toronto on the fact that they had carried into the Provincial Legislature an actual majority of Toronto's representation. This had not prevailed generally, and they had in the Legislature today a spectacle unparalleled in history. They had a government not elected to that position and which had not even been a candidate for the position. The people had been determined to turn out the former administration and the result had been brought about largely by the efforts of the Liberal party, but they had no expectation of putting in power such a party as now existed. Speaking as a politician of some experience he thought that there need be no astonishment if another general election was very soon to come upon the province.

The Dominion House afforded an equally unusual situation, he said. A government had been returned to power with the express understanding that it would remain for the duration of the war. But the people were not quietly told that it proposed to hang on to power for five years. The only thing that astonished him was that anyone should be surprised at such conduct, as this was what he had predicted at the time of the election. He then dealt with the manner in which the Government had dealt with conscription, declaring they had attempted to make it appear to each man as a measure for conscripting the other fellow.

Conscription Party Plank.

Premier Meighen had the audacity to say that but for conscription Canada could not have done its part. Sir Alan asked if all the well-fought field of the earlier part of the war were to go for nought, as this statement indicated. Was the renown and fame of the Canadians to be based on the few conscripts sent to the front, and not to the thousands of volunteers? He believed the same result would as inevitably have taken place is not a man had been conscripted.

Presents Address.

Concluding his speech, Sir Alan presented Mr. King with an address from the Liberal Association of Toronto. It read as follows:

"It is a great gratification and pleasure for the Liberals of Toronto and York County to assemble and welcome you amongst them as leader of the Liberal party in Canada. In your individual person you do not come as a stranger. With the political history of this city and county your family name has been identified for generations.

"May we remind you upon this your initial appearance here since your accession to the leadership, the capital of this great province stands for the first time in its political record in the Liberal column of the Ontario Assembly.

"While in various other parts of the province and country, public opinion may appear to be more or less unsettled, and in the difficulties and uncertainties of the time class calls have been accorded a temporary hearing, the victory of Liberalism in Toronto may be regarded as holding forth promise of an early return to safe and progressive principles of politics, both in the province and in the Dominion, that alone can make for great parties and great leaders.

"Toronto never failed to extend a popular welcome to the greatest of our leaders, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and as his successor we have every confidence you will find real Liberal principles acceptable to the majority of the electors of this city and country in federal as well as in provincial issues.

"By the mere adaptation of a new name the discredited Federal Government lays unwarrantable claim to another stretch of power, and it is for the concerted strength of the Liberal party to keep Canada as a land of equal opportunity and equal political rights in the performance of which task recognition of the progressive policy of the Liberal party and of your progressive leadership are essential.

"Therefore we extend to you this pledge of our confidence in you as a leader of a great party standing now as in the past, for the cause of political rights and public interest of all the people of Canada."

Addresses of similar purpose were read by Mrs. A. H. Beaton, president of the Toronto Women's Liberal Association, and Mrs. Harry Carpenter, president of the Provincial Women's Liberal Association.

Beland Makes Dramatic Appeal For Harmony of Races Throughout Nation

Racial harmony was the keynote of a stirring address by Dr. Henri S. Beland, which was undoubtedly the most dramatic of the afternoon. At the height of a eulogy of the Dominion he was interrupted by a band which appeared, playing "O Canada." As the audience rose to its feet as one man, he led the cheering, which continued for several minutes.

Later he gave evidence of his ready wit when a few scattering drops of rain and heavy peals of thunder threatened to interrupt the proceedings. "That is a sign of the times for the Conservative Administration," he declared. "Heaven today is thundering with my voice, 'Withdraw or we shall crush you.'"

Opening his address, he stated that he had come from the neighboring province of Quebec to publicly proffer his friendship and the friendship of the people of that province to their new leader, Mr. King, and to give an expression of confidence in his enlightened and true Canadian patriotism. Noting the number of women in the audience, he said he was glad of their advent into politics for two reasons. Firstly, because it would decrease the acrimony of the elections, and secondly it would lead to much shorter speeches, because of the desire of the politicians to converse with the fair members of their audiences.

His Primary Reason.

He emphasized the fact that the primary reason for his visit was not to attempt to indicate a political course for his hearers. When the time came at last when they would have an opportunity to choose between the parties which sought their confidence he believed that above political interest would stand out interest in the public welfare.

"Far be it from me to deny that political interest is not the very foundation of my party," he said. "But who will deny that Canada's interest depends on public spirit rather than the evanescent political seethings. I am and probably shall remain a party man, for I hold that the party system is the only one which will fit the peculiar system of our British institutions, but before I am a Liberal I want to pride myself on being a Canadian.

"Progress can come only from racial peace," he continued. "How are you going to secure it? By a better knowledge of each other and a closer contact between you people and us people of Quebec. That is what prompted me to be here today.

"I have been in public life for 20 years, most of which time has been consecrated to a close study of the characteristics, traditions and even prejudices of our population, and I have reached the conclusion that our Canadian people, regardless of class, section, creed or race, is imbued with a generosity of nature and a nobility of purpose. But we have an enemy amongst us, and that enemy is the mischief-maker who indulges in the spreading of racial prejudices and in fanning religious differences. How are we to combat that enemy? Simply by ignoring him, and by getting together and exchanging our views.

Not To Be Deterred.

"Many times have I visited Ontario, but this condition has not yet been brought about, but I will not be deterred in continuing the promotion of this patriotic work. In cases of this kind the feeling always is: 'Let the other fellow move first.' I am willing to be the other fellow, and I come to you today. We are all Canadians, and bear the same allegiance to the same noble sovereign. We are all anxious to secure the largest amount of contentment possible for the largest number, and why therefore, should we waste time quarreling over trifles. There is a true patriotism which consists of a deep sense of national honor, backed up by a love of home, pride of race and adhesion to traditions and institutions. Canadians possess those probably in a larger degree than any nation in the world."

Dr. Beland next turned to Mr. Meighen's recent address at Stirling. His declaration that he could see but two classes of people nation builders, which meant Meighen & Co., and nation wreckers, which meant every one who did not believe as he did, he declared to be a most remarkable one. What about thousands of loyal farmers who disagreed with Mr. Meighen? Were they nation wreckers? he asked. He doubted if the housewife seeking some means of reducing the cost of living would relish being told that she was a nation wrecker.

Canada's Problems.

He dealt next with the problems facing the Dominion.

"It is true that Canada has not shared in the hardships of war to the extent which some European countries have," he stated, "but though conditions in general here are more favorable that does not mean that troubles and worries are absent. Numerous problems face us which our mandateless government seems entirely unconcerned about. Shortly after my return from being a boarder of his very imperial majesty, the Emperor of Germany, I hear Sir Thomas White state in the House of Commons that there would be a revision of the tariff in six months. The six months have elapsed, and nothing has happened except that Sir Thomas has gone away. Now the new prophet of the Tory party has announced that very shortly they are going to promenade from one end of the country to the other to obtain information. Information! Have they lost their sense of hearing? Put the Liberal party in power, and you will not need any investigation before they get busy."

The speaker next traced the currents of opinion on fiscal policy. It had been a highly controversial issue in the old country for many years and the same trends of thought were to be found here. On one side was the high protectionist or monopolistic protectionist, whose policy carried with it the cortege of curses, extreme wealth and extreme misery. On the other extreme was the free trader, who believes in the doctrine of the Manchester school of a free exchange of goods between countries.

Laws To Be Obeyed.

"I admit that when I read the pages of John Stuart Mill and Adam Smith, explaining free trade I am to a degree captivated," he said, "but some laws have to be obeyed, laws geographical and national before you can decide on a fiscal policy. You will find the true position between the two extremes. You farmers of Ontario are not free traders any more than are the high protectionists, because you do not want to open the country to the United States, and because free trade would mean commercial union with the United States. Predicting that owing to conditions resulting from the war that Britain would no longer be a free trading nation in ten years, he declared, that a safe middle course had been laid down by Sir Wilfrid Laurier. The consumer and the farmer had been the first consideration of the old leader, but he had never said not to give adequate protection. He pointed out that heavy demands were upon the national treasury by soldiers' dependents.

This entailed an expenditure of nearly $200,000,000 before the general administration of the country could be considered. This could not be obtained with a customs tariff, he claimed.

Unrest and suspicion today were due in part to the extravagant flaunting of riches, but more to the provocative disregard of public opinion by the powers' government.

Outlining his views on Imperial relations he said that he favored the gradual development of autonomy. He referred to Imperialist quacks who sought to cure the Empire of ills from which it was not suffering.

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WOULD REVISE TARIFF, NOT DO AWAY WITH IT

Mackenzie King Addresses Toronto Liberal Picnic

MEIGHEN AS USURPER

Hon. Dr. Beland Makes Strong Plea for Unity of Races

By Canadian Press.

Toronto, Aug. 15.—Three thousand persons, braving the heat and the threatening thunderstorms, attended the Liberal picnic held at Hanlan's Point Saturday to do honor to and hear the Federal Liberal leader, Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King. Only once did the rain fall on the gathering, and then the short-lived shower passed over and the sun shone forth. The programme of addresses was a full one. It included speeches by the chairman, Sir Alan Aylesworth, H. Hartley Dewart, K.C., M.P.P., Ontario Liberal leader, and Hon. Dr. Henri S. Beland, M.P. for Beauce and former Postmaster-General in the Laurier Cabinet.

Hon. Mr. King pointed out the absolute necessity for an election at this time. "We have neither a representative Parliament nor a responsible Government," he said. "We have an autocratic executive usurping authority." Quoting Premier Meighen's admission that the Government had no tariff policy, but would first make an inquiry and then evolve one, Mr. King said: "It is not honest to say that we can do away with the tariff. We can revise it, and that is the policy of the Liberal party."

Hon. Dr. Beland made a forceful appeal for racial peace. He also devoted some attention to the tariff, declaring that the Liberal policy was between the two extremes—high protection and absolute free trade. He refused to believe that Ontario farmers actually favored free trade, although they might think they did until they knew what would be the result of it in practice.

AUTHORITY USURPED.

"We have in Ottawa, as we had in this province, a Government which has undertaken to perpetuate itself in office without any reference whatever to the wishes of the people, or without permitting any expression of the popular will," said the Liberal leader in the course of his speech.

"We have neither a representative Parliament nor a responsible Government. We have an autocratic executive usurping authority, exercising political control, regardless alike of constitutional procedure and the first principles of government in a free and self-governing country.

"Within the past six weeks, the people of Canada have witnessed the formation of a new Government with a new Prime Minister. They have had heralded from the Atlantic to the Pacific an all-embracing name of a new political party with a new political platform. Now, only one of two things is possible. Either we have in office a new Government which has made no appeal to and has received no approval on the part of the Canadian people; or we have continuing in office a Government so completely discredited that is itself ashamed of its own name, and seeks to perpetuate itself in office under countless disguises, aliases and subterfuges. Whichever alternative we take, there is nothing to justify the usurpation of the rights of the people of Canada in the matter of government by the Meighen administration."

Premier Meighen was welcome to seek a monopoly of the term law and order, said Mr. King, who continued:

"I would tell the new Prime Minister, however, that there is something even finer and more necessary than law and order in any country, and that is that upon which law and order itself is founded, namely, constitutional government and procedure. It is this which Mr. Meighen has overlooked; it is this which he and his Ministers who continue in office are prepared not only to ignore but to defy; it is this which the Liberal party seeks to establish and maintain as it has sought to do in the earliest beginning of its recorded history."

PRECEDENT OF 1911.

"Let me, by the way of comparison, illustrate exactly what I mean. The Government of Sir Wilfrid Laurier was returned to power, in its last term of office, in the fall of 1908. According to the law, it was entitled to remain in office until the fall of 1913. But in the course of its term of office, there came up the important issue of reciprocal trade relations with the United States. Sir Wilfrid might well have argued that this was no new issue, but, on the contrary, that it represented the realization of a goal in matters of trade toward which the people of Canada, of both political parties, had striven for more than a generation. Had Sir Wilfrid been thinking solely of power, he need never have dissolved Parliament in 1911 and appealed to the people for an expression of their will on this great question. As a true Liberal, however, he took the position that here was a great issue on which the people had not passed at the time his Government was returned. He held that quite as binding as the law of the legislature, were the conventions of the constitution, and that outstanding among legislational conventions is the one that on all great public questions, where there is reason to believe a wide difference of opinion may exist, the people should be granted the right to give expression of their will.

"If there was justification on grounds of legislational procedure and practice for a general election in 1911, how much more is their obligation for a like course of procedure at the present time? It is just six months ago today that the late David Marshall, the member for the constituency of East Elgin, died, and that constituency lost its representative in the Dominion Parliament. Since Mr. Marshall's death, writs have been issued for bye-elections in the constituencies of St. James (Montreal) and Kamouraska, Que., and for Temiskaming, in this province; but no writ has yet been filed for the vacancy in East Elgin. The other constituencies to which I have referred were represented at least part of the time in Parliament during the recent session, but East Elgin was without any representative."

GOVERNMENT FINANCES.

Quoting from Premier Meighen's speech at Stirling: "The financial policy of this Government is to go in debt no farther. The financial policy of this Government is to get revenue to carry on the work of governments and to pay our debts," Mr. King said: "I ask the people of Canada: Did you ever hear from the lips of a Prime Minister of a country such a puerile statement of financial policy as that contained in these first two planks? It makes one think, not of a country struggling with its problems of trade and commerce under a public debt which has become colossal, but of some kindergarten debating society, where, in the absence of constructive thought and ideas, the most obvious platitudes are made to serve the purpose of national policies. Mr. Meighen says of the policy of the Government is to go in debt no farther. What would be thought of any Government or party that, under existing conditions, would propose anything different?

"What evidence have we that Mr. Meighen and his Ministers intend to attempt any sort of rigid economy? If we judge by the appropriations which were asked and obtained from Parliament at the last session, we shall find nothing to encourage us in any belief in economy on the part of the Ministers who have had to do with war expenditure and have acquired the war habit of mind within recent years.

MILITARY POLICY.

Mr. King went on to outline the Liberals' military policy. "Let me say quite clearly: The Liberal party of Canada takes no exception to justifiable expenditures for military, naval, and police purposes. As a party, however, we believe that there are times and seasons for all things, and that if there is one branch of Government in which, at the present time, we can afford to economize until matters more important have been successfully dealt with, it is in the matter of new naval, military and police expenditures. It must be remembered that throughout the war these departments of the Government were stimulated as no others. They attained proportions never before assumed in the Dominion, proportions necessary perhaps in time of war, but altogether out of relation to what is necessary in times of peace. Most of our debt has been incurred through military expenditures. The Minister of Finance tells us that all expenditures on this account amounted, during the war, to nearly two billions of dollars. Surely, for a time, we may be granted some respite from all unnecessary expenditures on this account.

"We have an expenditure to meet for the present year of something like double that required to carry on the business of government for the whole country ten years ago. Is it not somewhat surprising that, under these circumstances, the Government should have asked from Parliament and obtained during the past session, an appropriation, in addition to other amounts, of over $21,000,000 on account of militia, police, and naval service. The Opposition did its best to secure economies in these particular branches of expenditures, but without more than partial success. We succeeded in postponing an outlay of about two millions of dollars for additional barracks, but now Mr. Guthrie announces that he is going to ask the Minister of Finance for this amount and commence the construction of barracks at the earliest possible date. What Canada needs today is not more barracks for a standing army in the nature of a

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permanent force of both militia and police, but less in the way of military and police control and more in the way of increasing production."

COMMENT ON TARIFF.

The Liberal leader, commenting upon the tariff question, said:

"'The tariff policy of this country,' says Mr. Meighen, 'is to keep Canadian workingmen in Canada. The policy of the Government is to enlarge the employment market and add to the size of Canada. The policy of the Government is to make goods here and keep people here, with plenty of work for every class of men. The policy of the Government is to give Canadian industries of every kind just what advantage is in the Canadian market to make it pay them better to stay here and expand than to diminish their plants or to leave.' Wherein do these pronouncements of policy assist us in discovering how the Government proposes to raise the revenue of this country? Wherein is the difference, in a statement of this kind, between the aims of the present administration and those of any other Government, whether it be Liberal, Farmer or Labor, which might conceivably manage the affairs of the country? What we want to know is, not what is desired, but how the end is to be attained. Well, here we come to the admission of Mr. Meighen that on the all-important aspect of the matter neither he nor his Government has any views.

"We believe that the time has come, indeed, that it is already long past, when a downward revision of the tariff is necessary. In this revision we believe that there should be substantial reductions of the duties on the necessaries of life; in other words, on those articles which go to make up the food, the clothing, the shelter of the Canadian peoples; that certain specific articles required for the purposes of consumption and other articles essential to production should be placed upon the free list, and that in regard to the instruments of production in the basic industries of agriculture, mining, lumbering and fishing, there should also be a substantial reduction of duties.

TARIFF IS NECESSARY.

"It is not a question of free trade or protection. With the revenue which will be required for years to come to meet the large interest payments on public debt, the obligations to our returned soldiers in the way of pensions and in other respects, as well as to carry on the work of government in Canada — resort as we may to direct taxation of incomes and of business profits, which is also a part of the Liberal policy; tax as we will all luxuries, which is another plank in the Liberal platform—there will still be required for purposes of revenue large sums of money which of necessity will have to be raised by indirect taxation through a customs tariff. In revising the tariff to this end, care will be taken of the position and needs of all the industries in our country; but such tariff as may be necessary in this connection will be, under Liberal policy, a tariff for consumers and producers, and not a tariff to further the interests of combines, monopolies or any special or privileged classes.

"Let me point out that such a tariff is not only in the interests of the people of the rural parts, but also in the interests of city dwellers; such a tariff is not only in the interests of the workingmen, but in the interests of employers; moreover, such a tariff is doubly necessary in the absence of any protection to consumers by the abolition of the Combines Investigation Act, and the demoralization of the Board of Commerce, the function of which was to be primarily that of protecting the consumers against the evils of profiteering."

RACIAL PEACE VITAL.

Hon. Dr. Beland in his address declared that public welfare demanded, more than anything else, racial peace. He welcomed the opportunity given him to speak to the people of Ontario.

"Our people on the whole mean well," he said, "but many problems are facing us—financial, social and economical. These problems are pressing for immediate solution, but they seem to be entirely ignored by an indolent government."

Dr. Beland then discussed the tariff issue, urging the injury done by protection and the impracticability of complete free trade. "The fiscal policy as laid down by Sir Wilfrid Laurier before he was taken away, and which in a sense avoided the two extremes, seems to be the best to serve the interests of Canada," said Dr. Beland. "Its main features are the reduction of the high cost of living and the development of production by agriculture."

Dr. Beland attributed the greater part of the unrest and suspicion in Canada to the Government's disregard of so many of the public institutions so dear to the hearts of all British subjects, instancing the appointment by order-in-council of the purchasing commission which had been twice refused by Parliament.

Hartley Dewart, Ontario Liberal leader, reviewed provincial affairs and stated that the success of the party in the recent elections in Toronto was due to the broadness and fairness of the Liberal policy in provincial matters. "As long as I am the leader of the Liberal party in the province, our Conservative friends, whether in Toronto or in the province, will find that we shall continue to advocate the best interests and best ideas for the common benefit of all the people," declared Mr. Dewart. "The Liberal party will occupy the position that it deserves to occupy in this province, because it senses the changed conditions and has a progressive policy adapted to meet them."

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Toronto Globe
Aug 16/20

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LIBERAL CHIEFS DRAW BIG CROWD AT THE STADIUM

Hundreds Defy Threatening Clouds to Hear Federal and Ontario Leaders

MR. KING TALKS TARIFF

Urges More Consideration for Consumer—Dr. Beland Wants Racial Amity

Liberalism is to-day a virile force in so-called Tory Toronto. This was made strikingly manifest on Saturday afterpoon at the old-fashioned basket picnic of Liberals that was held at Hanlan's Point. Three thousand people, braving the heat and the threatening thunderstorms, crossed the bay to do honor to and hear the Federal Liberal Leader, Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King. Only once did drops of rain fall on the gathering, and then the short-lived shower passed over and the sun shone forth. Those who attended the picnic were amply repaid for the effort. The program of addresses was a full one. It included speeches by the Chairman, Sir Allen Aylesworth; H. Hartley Dewart, K.C., M.P.P., Ontario Liberal Leader; Hon. Dr. Henri S. Beland, M.P. for Beauce and formerly Postmaster-General in the Laurier Cabinet, and Hon. Mr. King.

Hon. Mr. King was tendered an ovation by the crowd when he arrived in the baseball grounds, in which the picnic was held, when he was introduced and again when he concluded his address. His speech was a splendid effort. Mr. King's ability as an orator is widely known, and it enabled him to hold the Saturday crowd for nearly two hours after the other speakers had concluded. It was a vigorous speech, and the manner in which the Liberal Chieftain scored the Meighen Government was much appreciated.

An Usurping Autocracy.

Hon. Mr. King pointed out the absolute need for an election at this time, because, he said, "We have neither a representative Parliament nor a responsible Government. We have an autocratic Executive usurping authority." Contrasted with Premier Meighen's admission that the Government had no tariff policy, but would first make an inquiry and then evolve one, was Mr. King's statement that: "It is not honest to say that we can do away with the tariff. We can revise it, and that is the policy of the Liberal party."

Hon. Dr. Beland, always an eloquent speaker, made a stirring address, in which he made a forceful appeal for racial peace. He also devoted some attention to the tariff, declaring that the Liberal policy was between the two extremes—high protection and absolute free trade. He refused to believe that Ontario farmers actually favored free trade, although they might think they did until they knew what would be the result of it in practise.

Inspected Harbor Work.

Prior to attending the picnic Hon. Mr. King and Hon. Dr. Beland, accompanied by officials of the Harbor Commission, made an inspection of the harbor in the commission's yacht Bethelma. When the distinguished visitors arrived at the Hanlan's Point dock they were met by the band of the Governor-General's Bodyguard and a Reception Committee headed by Controller George Ramsden. Amid cheers, the party formed a procession to the Stadium. On arrival there the Liberal Leader was tendered a hearty greeting by the audience, which stood and cheered for several moments. While awaiting the arrival of the speakers a program of races was run off.

Prizes were awarded to the oldest and youngest Liberals at the picnic. Great interest centred in this. To Archibald McKinnon of 221 Poplar Plains road, 81 years of age, went the honor of being the oldest Liberal present, while little Edith Shaughnessy, a four-months-old babe, of 320 Montrose avenue, was the youngest person in the grounds.

Among those on the platform, in addition to the speakers, were: John O'Neill, M.P.P., Controller Ramsden, Dr. John Hunter, Dr. J. D. Cascadden; J. E. d'Anjou, M.P. for Rimouski; Mrs. A. H. Beaton, and Mrs. Harry Carpenter.

A Peculiar Situation.

Sir Allen Aylesworth said that in 50 years in Toronto he had never known another Liberal gathering such as Saturday's picnic. Existing conditions in the Legislature were without a parallel in the whole history of constitutional government under British institutions, he averred. The Ontario Government at present had not been elected to its position by the people's votes, as it was not even a candidate for office at the elections which led to its being placed in power. Under such conditions, and without reference to its administrative or legislative record, it would be marvellous if such a Government could long endure. The Chairman severely arraigned the Dominion Government for hanging on to office in view of its election promises. However, knowing the members of the Government as he did, he was not surprised that promises had been broken. He ridiculed statements of Premier Meighen to the effect that Canada's proud war record was made possible by conscription. Instead, he said, the record had been made by the volunteers, and the armistice would have taken place just the same whether Canada had had conscription or not.

Address of Welcome From Toronto Liberals

At the conclusion of his remarks Sir Allen read an address of welcome signed by Dr. J. H. Cascadden on behalf of the committee, to Hon. Mr. King. It was as follows:

No Stranger Here.

"To the Hon. William Lyon Mackenzie King, M.P.:

"It is a great gratification and pleasure for the Liberals of Toronto and York county to assemble and welcome you among them as Leader of the Liberal party in Canada. In your individual person you do not come as a stranger. With the political history of this city and county your family name has been identified for generations.

"May we remind you that upon this your initial appearence here since your accession to the Leadership the Capital of this great Province stands for the first time in its political records in the Liberal column of the Ontario Assembly.

"While in various other parts of the Province and country public opinion may appear to be more or less unsettled, and in the difficulties and uncertainties of the time class calls have been accorded a temporary hearing, the victory of Liberalism in Toronto may be regarded as holding forth promise of an early return to safe and progressive principles of politics, both in the Province and in the Dominion, that alone can make for great parties and great leaders.

"Toronto never failed to extend a popular welcome to the greatest of our Leaders, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and as his successor we have every confidence you will find real Liberal principles acceptable to the majority of the electors of this city and county in Federal as well as in Provincial issues.

The Task of Liberalism.

"By the mere adoption of a new name the discredited Federal Government lays unwarrantable claim to another stretch of power, and it is for the concerted strength of the Liberal party to keep Canada as a land of equal opportunity and of equal political rights in the performance of which both the recognition of the progressive policy of the Liberal party and of your progressive Leadership are essential.

"Therefore we extend to you this pledge of our confidence in you as Leader of a great party standing now, as in the past, for the cause of the political rights and public interests of all the people of Canada."

Addresses of welcome were also presented to the Federal Leader by Mrs. A. H. Beaton, on behalf of the Toronto Liberal Women's Association, and Mrs. Harry Carpenter of

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Hamilton, President of the Ontario Liberal Women's Association.

Mr. Dewart Speaks.

Mr. Dewart reviewed Provincial affairs, and stated that the success of the party in the recent elections in Toronto was due to the broadness and fairness of the Liberal policy in Provincial matters. "As long as I am the Leader of the Liberal party in the Province our Conservative friends, whether in Toronto or in the Province, will find that we shall continue to advocate the best interests and best ideas for the common benefit of all the people," declared Mr. Dewart. "The Liberal party will occupy the position that it deserves to occupy in this Province, because it senses the changed conditions and has a progressive policy adapted to meet them."

Mr. Dewart asserted that no alliance of incongruous elements could take the place of the cohesive forces of men bound together in the advocacy of progressive ideas. The delegation of power by the Government to so many commissions was un-Liberal and contrary to the principles of responsible government. Labor occupied the position it did to-day, he averred, because of the persistent assistance of Liberalism. In conclusion the Provincial Liberal Leader paid a glowing tribute to Mr. King.

Is a Canadian First, Declares Dr. Beland

Hon. Dr. Beland was warmly applauded when he was introduced. His desire in coming to Toronto was not to instill into the minds of his hearers his own political creed; rather did he believe that something else stood forth more prominently than political interests, something which should appeal to all, namely, the public interest. The former Postmaster-General remarked that he believed the party system of government was the only one that would fit in with the existing form of Parliamentary institutions.

"Before I am a Liberal I want to pride myself on being a Canadian," declared Dr. Beland. "The welfare and prosperity which we all desire will be secured only from racial peace. So closely related is public welfare to racial peace that you cannot secure one without securing the other.

"How are you going to secure racial peace in Canada?" he asked. "By a better knowledge of each other; by a closer contact between you people of Ontario and we people of Quebec. That is the reason that has prompted me to accept the invitation and to come among you. I have been in public life for twenty years, and my time has been devoted to a close study of the character, customs, traits and even prejudices of our population."

Just at this juncture Dr. Beland was interrupted by the band marching into the Stadium and up to the speakers' platform, appropriately playing "O Canada."

Ignore Mischief-maker.

"I have reached the conclusion," continued Dr. Beland when the music ceased, "that our Canadian population, regardless of class, regardless of sections, regardless of creed, regardless of race, that our Canadian population is imbued with the generosity of nature and nobility of purpose. But we have an enemy among us, and that enemy is the mischief-maker. He is the man who indulges in the spread of race prejudices and in fanning religious passions.

"How are we going to combat this enemy of ours? We will combat that enemy simply, first, second and lastly by ignoring him; just simply ignore him, and for the second part of the campaign against him you will not need machine guns or 42 centimetres, but simply get together, let us interchange our views politically and in other ways.

"We all desire to secure the largest measure possible for the largest number of people, and why should we, therefore, waste our time in quarreling over trifling matters? I am here to tell you that there lies the true patriotism."

Dr. Beland then turned to a discussion of the political situation. Referring to Premier Meighen's assertion that there were only two forces in Canada, the nation-builders, who were Meighen and company, and the nation-wreckers, who were those who did not believe as the Premier did. He protested against this insinuation, because according to this interpretation the farmers who disagreed with the Government and the housewives who disagreed with the Government because no effective means were being taken to reduce the high cost of living were nation-wreckers. He criticized the Government for having delayed and postponed so long its promised tariff inquiry and revision. "Put the Liberal party in power and we will not require any investigation before we act," he asserted.

The Government Chameleon.

There were three courses on fiscal questions, he continued. On the one hand there was high protection, on the other there was absolute free trade, and then there was a middle course. "The Liberal party stands between the extremes," he declared. He poked fun at the name of the rejuvenated Government party, which he likened to the chameleon. "The distinguishing feature of this Government is fear, and like the chameleon, it will change color, taking in the whole range of the rainbow," said the speaker amid laughter.

"I have no quarrel with the farmers," continued the speaker. "I am the son of a farmer and represent a farming constituency. Speaking in the name of the farmers of Quebec I say to the farmers of Ontario, you are not free traders. You may say so, but you are not. You are not any more free trade than you are high protectionist, because you don't want to open this country to the United States, because integral free trade would mean practically commercial union with the United States and subject our world-wide commercial activities to the goodwill of our neighbors to the south. Free trade such as they have in England, you suggest? Who is ready to say that Great Britain will any longer be a free-trade country within ten years. There is a middle course, there is a course to adopt for the people of Canada whether they belong to the country or to the city, and this is the course that was laid down by the late Sir Wilfrid Laurier.

Middle Course Best.

"If Canada," proceeded Dr. Beland, "is to be a country in which there are neither extremely rich nor beggarly poor we must see that agriculture is made a remunerative occupation. It is essential that the farmer shall be able to procure the implements which are necessary to him, and it is also necessary that he shall find a remunerative market for his produce." Canada's financial responsibilities could not be met without a customs duty, asserted the speaker. There were other methods of taxation, such as single tax, but this country was not educated to them. "Therefore, I say that the course adopted by the Liberal party is the only one suited to the best interests of Canada," declared Dr. Beland.

The chief cause of unrest in Canada was the absolute disregard of public opinion by the present Dominion Government. Since returning to Canada from a German prison camp he had wondered whether he were in Germany or Canada.

In conclusion Dr. Beland criticized those who contended that there was something wrong with the Empire. There was nothing wrong with it, he asserted. That the centralization of power in London, such as these critics desired, would lead only to the disruption of the British Empire, was the advice he gave as a loyal friend.

Says Mr. Dewart Sowed and Another Reaped

After laudatory references to the late Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux and Hon. Dr. Beland, Hon. Mr. King complimented Mr. H. Hartley Dewart, K.C., M.P.P., on his Ontario leadership.

"Mention of the Liberal representative of this city in the Ontario Legislature," he said, "affords me opportunity of saying how much Liberals everywhere feel they owe to the Liberal Leader in Ontario, Mr. Hartley Dewart, in the fight waged during the last Provincial election, and to which, more than to any other single influence, I believe, was owing the overwhelming defeat of the Hearst Administration. It is true, in his case as in many another's, where he sowed another reaped. He laid the foundations upon which another is building to-day. From an immediate point of view there may be in this something of inevitable disappointment. On the other hand, viewing the outcome in its large significance, there can be to Liberals nothing but satisfaction in the evidence of the determination of the people of this Province to free themselves, as opportunity affords, from the control of

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an autocratic Executive and from Tory policies in matters pertaining to government."

Proceeding cerncerning the new Administration at Ottawa, Mr. King said:

"We have in Ottawa, as we had in this Province, a Government which has undertaken to perpetuate itself in office without any reference whatever to the wishes of the people, or without permitting any expression of the popular will. We have neither a representative Parliament nor a responsible Government. We have an autocratic Executive usurping authority, exercising political control, regardless alike of constitutional procedure and the first principles of government in a free and self-governing country.

"Mr. Meighen has sought, with that liking for monopoly in government as in all else which is so characteristic, to claim for his Government and the so-called National Liberal and Conservative party which he leads the distinction of being the party of law and order. Anyone or any group of persons who do not think and say as he does are to be relegated to one side as lawless and disorderly. He and those who walk with him are to have the middle of the road. All others may make-shift in the highways and byways as best they can. If that is the meaning of law and order Mr. Meighen is welcome to his interpretation of it. He is welcome, if he so desires, to seek a monopoly of the term "law and order" for the party which he leads. That particular phrase has been the refuge of autocracy and the shield of autocratic behavior in all countries and in all ages, and the people are not likely to be deceived by its use.

"I would tell the new Prime Minister, however, that there is something even finer and more necessary than law and order in any country, and that is that upon which law and order itself is founded, namely: constitutional government and procedure. It is this which Mr. Meighen has overlooked; it is this which he and his Ministers who continue in office are prepared not only to ignore but to defy; it is this which the Liberal party seeks to establish and maintain as it has sought to do in the earliest beginnings of its recorded history.

"If there was justification, on grounds of constitutional procedure and practise, for a general election in 1911, how much more is there obligation for a like course of procedure at the present time? The Government of Sir Robert Borden was returned to power at the last general elections for one purpose, and one purpose only, namely, that of winning the war. Not only has the war been won and the alleged purpose for which the Government was returned long since been fulfilled, but the Government of Sir Robert Borden itself has disappeared, and we have to-day an entirely new Administration.

"It is just six months ago to-day that the late David Marshall, the member for the constituency of East Elgin, died, and that constituency lost its representative in the Dominion Parliament. Since Mr. Marshall's death writs have been issued for by-elections in the constituencies of St. James (Montreal), and Kamouraska, Que., and Timiskaming, in this Province, but no writ has yet been issued for filling the vacancy in East Elgin. The constituencies to which I have referred were represented at least part of the time in Parliament during the recent session. East Elgin was without any representative.

Delay in East Elgin.

"Since Mr. Meighen's assumption of office, and within the past two weeks, writs have been issued for by-elections in the constituencies of Colchester, N.S., and St. John, N.B. No vacancies existed there until they were created by Mr. Meighen himself. Realizing that without some Cabinet representation from the Maritime Provinces he would find it impossible to carry on the government, and believing that the bait of two portfolios, even for a brief period of time, would be irresistible to a part of the Dominion wholly without representation in the Cabinet of Canada, the Prime Minister has not hesitated to bring on by-elections in these constituencies. But still East Elgin is overlooked. How nearly the Prime Minister, with all his boasting of law and order, has himself come to violating the law of this country will be apparent when I remind this gathering that at the session before last, at the instance of one of the Liberal members in the House of Commons, a law was passed providing that wherever a vacancy existed an election must take place within six months of the date at which notification of such vacancy has been given by the Speaker to the Clerk of the Crown in Chancery.

"In any broad interpretation of the law this statute would be held to mean six months from the date at which the vacancy in the constituency occurred. However, by the straining of the law to its last letter, the period that remains for the issuing of the writs in East Elgin according to the law of the land is not more than seven days hence. I hope, for the sake of saving his own face and the face of his Government in this matter, that Mr. Meighen will not let the coming week go by without seeing that the electors of East Elgin are preserved in their legal as well as their constitutional rights of sending a representative to the Canadian House of Commons."

The Financial Policy.

Mr. King then turned to the financial policy of the Government.

"What has Mr. Meighen to say?" he asked. "He says:

" 'The financial policy of this Government is to go in debt no farther.

" 'The financial policy of this Government is to get revenue to carry on the work of government and to pay our debts.'

"I ask the people of Canada: Did they ever hear from the lips of a Prime Minister of a country such a puerile statement of financial policy as that contained in these first two planks? It makes one think, not of the Government of a country struggling with its problems of trade and commerce, under a public debt which has become colossal, but of some kindergarten debating society, where in the absence of constructive thought and ideas the most obvious platitudes are made to serve the purposes of national policies. Mr. Meighen says the policy of the Government is to go in debt no farther. What would be thought of any Government or party that, under existing conditions, would propose anything different?"

Hon. Mr. King added that the annual interest charge on public debt alone has increased in consequence of the war and the extravagance of the Administrations which have been in office since 1910-11, from $1.67 per head of the population to $17.50 per head of the population.

"With an annual interest charge on public debt of $140,000,000 to be met before beginning to undertake to meet the ordinary expenditures of government or any expenditure on capital account, what would be thought of an Administration that would think of plunging this country farther into debt?" he asked. "Any proposal of the kind would be an open declaration in favor of national bankruptcy. One would have thought that the new Prime Minister, in the face of such an obligation, instead of saying that his Government proposed to go in debt no farther, would have come out with the strongest kind of declaration for retrenchment and economy in all classes of public expenditure.

More Expenditure.

"It is somewhat significant that the first speeches to be made by any of his Ministers since the formation of the new Administration were those which were recently delivered by the Hon. Mr. Guthrie, the Minister of Militia and Defense, and the Hon. Mr. Ballantyne, Minister of Naval Affairs, at the banquet tendered them in the city of Kingston on the evening preceding that on which the Prime Minister addressed the electors in Hastings county. One would have thought, from the reading of these addresses that, instead of emerging from a period of war, we were about to prepare for a new war, even before we had concluded the demobilization of our military forces. Mr. Ballantyne appears to have sought to imbue the public with the need for increased naval expenditures, and Mr. Guthrie with the need of increased expenditures for the construction of military barracks in different parts of the country. This new party of law and order evidently proposes to devote its time and attention to establishing repressive agencies of one kind or another throughout Canada, so that where it may not succeed in maintaining its position on grounds of constitutional right, it may find the means of so doing through the agencies of force.

"Let me say quite clearly: the Liberal party of Canada takes no exception to justifiable expenditures for military, naval and police purposes. As a party, however, we believe that there are times and seasons for all things, and that if there is one branch of government in which at the present time we can afford to economize until matters more important have been successfully dealt with, it is in the matter of new naval, military and police expenditures."

Mr. King stated that the Opposition had done its best to secure economics in the Naval and Militia Departments. He added: "We succeeded in postponing an outlay of about $2,000,000 for additional barracks, but now Mr. Guthrie announces that he is going to ask the Minister of Finance for this amount, and commence the construction of these barracks at the earliest possible date. What Canada needs to-day

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is not more barracks for a standing army in the nature of a permanent force of both militia and police, but less in the way of military and police control and more in the way of increased production.

Then to the Tariff.

"Having finished with the financial policy of a Government in the manner described, Hon. Mr. Meighen goes on to give the tariff policy of the country. One would have expected, at this point, some reference to the needs of consumers and producers, some intimation that relief from the existing burdens of customs taxation might be expected in regard at least to the necessaries of life, and to the implements of production which are essential in our great basic industries of agriculture, lumbering, mining and fishing, upon which the manufacturing industries and all our trade and commerce are dependent. But there is no suggestion of any tariff revision to meet the needs of either producers or consumers. Again, in the place of policies there are platitudes.

"The tariff policy of this country, says Mr. Meighen, is to keep Canadian workingmen in Canada. The policy of the Government is to enlarge the employment market and add to the size of Canada. The policy of the Government is to make goods here and keep people here, with plenty of work for every class of man. The policy of the Government is to give Canadian industries of every kind just enough advantage in the Canadian market to make it pay them better to stay here and expand than to diminish their plants or to leave.

"Wherein do these pronouncements of policy assist us in discovering how the Government proposes to raise the revenues of this country? Wherein is there difference, in a statement of this kind, between the aims of the present Administration and those of any other Government, whether it be Liberal, Farmer or Labor, which might conceivably manage the affairs of the country? What we want to know is, not what is desired, but how the end is to be attained Well, here we come to the admission of Mr. Meighen that on the all-important aspect of the matter neither he nor his Government has any views. He says: 'We are starting now an inquiry, the most thorough we can make, to determine what is absolutely necessary to secure these ends.'

An Old Story.

"Starting an inquiry! That is what Sir Robert Borden said he intended to do three years ago. That is what every Government that has no policy of its own sets out to do. What we want in Canada is not more inquiries and government by commission, but government by a Government which has a policy that is known and approved, and which helps to meet the necessities of the hour. Mr. Meighen says: 'Wherever there is a tax or schedule that is not absolutely necessary it will be wiped away.'

"A lot of consolation there is in that phrase to the consumers and the producers of Canada, who to-day, through the high cost of living, are suffering from the taxation of the necessaries of life and the implements of production in a manner which is wholly unjustifiable.

The Liberal Policy.

"In contrast to this evasive and meaningless phrase of the Prime Minister's, which denotes an absence of all policy on the all-important question of tariff revision and its relation to the high cost of living, let me give to the people of this country a statement of the Liberal party's position in this matter as it found expression at the great Liberal convention held in Ottawa over a year ago, and as it has been contended for in the House of Commons since that time. We believe that the time has come, indeed that it is already long past, when a downward revision of the tariff is necessary. In this revision we believe that there should be substantial reductions of the duties on the necessaries of life, in other words, on those articles which go to make up the food, the clothing, the shelter of the Canadian people; that certain specific articles required for the purposes of consumption and other articles essential to production should be placed upon the free list, and that in regard to the implements of production in the basic industries of agriculture, mining, lumbering and fishing, there should also be a substantial reduction of duties. It is not a question of free trade or protection.

"With the revenue which will be required for years to come to meet the large interest payments on public debt, the obligations to our returned soldiers in the way of pensions and in other respects, as well as to carry on the work of government in Canada—resort as we may to direct taxation of incomes and of business profits, which is also a part of the Liberal policy; tax as we will all luxuries, which is another plank in the Liberal platform—there will still be required for purposes of revenue large sums of money which of necessity will have to be raised by indirect taxation through a customs tariff. In revising the tariff to this end care will be taken of the position and needs of all the industries in our country, but such tariff as may be necessary in this connection will be, under Liberal policy, a tariff for consumers and producers, and not a tariff to further the interests of combines, monopolies, or of any special or privileged classes.

"It is not honest to say that we can do away with the tariff," Hon. Mr. King declared. "We can revise it, and that is the policy of the Liberal party. And I shall say in regard to tariff policies exactly the same in the city of Toronto as I shall say in the Western Provinces. I have not got one message for the city and another message for the country, one message for the employer and another for the employee."

Protecting War Profiteers.

Continuing, the Liberal Leader charged the Meighen Administration at Ottawa with deliberately protecting the war profiteers. More and more, he thought, should the revenues of the country be derived from direct taxation, and, he added, "profits that have been made during the war should be the first wealth that should be taxed. This Government has sought in every possible way to protect the war profiteer."

He had some little comment, too, upon the sidestepping by the Federal Government of the Murdock charges. The Government, he declared, had tried to belittle the late commissioner in every possible way, even by having it said that he was not a citizen of Canada, although he had two sons at the war. "It was the Ministers who appointed Mr. Murdock, not himself," Hon. Mr. King declared. "They appointed him because of his standing in the labor world and his reputation for integrity. They were ready enough to make use of his name with Labor and the public when it suited them to do so. But they found out that he was not the kind of stuff that some of the members of the Administration were made of.

"Mr. Murdock revealed enormous profits in some industries of from 130 to 180 per cent. With charges like those hanging over the Government's head, made by one of its own officials, what can you think of an Administration that refuses to sift to the bottom every charge that is brought forward. The only alternative the people have is to believe that the charges are true."

When the Liberal Leader concluded his address he was accorded a prolonged ovation, and the gathering broke up with cheers for the Liberal party and their Leader.

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LIBERAL PICNIC HELD AT HANLAN'S

Attendance Fell Far Below Optimistic Estimates of Party Promoters.

THE LIBERAL POLICY

Hon. W. L. M. King Outlines Proposals of Liberals on the Tariff.

About one thousand persons were in attendance at the Liberal picnic at the Hanlan's Point Stadium, on Saturday afternoon, when Hon. W. L. MacKenzie King was escorted into the grounds by the members of the reception committee. The Liberal leader was given a hearty welcome by the gathering, about one half of which was composed of ladies, and after a short wait, until the program of sports was completed the more serious part of the afternoon's program, the speech-making, was commenced.

Sir Allen Aylesworth, who acted as chairman, spoke at some length, touching upon matters political, both provincial and federal, and predicted a bright future for all who rallied around the Liberal standard. He read and presented an address from the Liberals of Toronto to the Dominion Leader of the Opposition and was followed by Mrs. Beeton and Mrs. Harry Carpenter, of Hamilton, who presented addresses on behalf of the Toronto Women's Liberal Association and the Ontario Women's Liberal Association, respectively.

The speakers of the afternoon, Hon. Mr. King, Hon. Dr. Beland and Mr. H. Hartley Dewart, K.C., leader of the Ontario Liberals.

Mr. Dewart, in referring to the present provincial government, stated that it was too prone to commissions and the evasion of responsibility. He related the principles and progressive ideas of the Liberal party.

"The Liberal party, he stated, is the one party that to-day stands in provincial matters in the interest of and for the interests of all the people. It was this recognition of the honesty of purpose—progressive and aggressive force of the Liberal Party which deservedly earned for it the support of fair-minded Conservatives as well as of Liberals, of every class in the community.

Dr. Beland was repeatedly applauded during his address, which was chiefly a plea for better relations between the various races and creeds in the Dominion.

"There is something that stands out above political interests, and that is public interest," stated the member for Beauce. "The party system is the only one that will fit in with the parliamentary system that is in vogue in Canada. Before I am a Liberal I pride myself that I am a Canadian, and my big ambition is to help do away with the questions that threaten Canada. Let us have racial peace. Quebec is a sister province of yours, and this will only be obtained by a better knowledge of each other and closer contact, one with the other. We have an enemy in our ranks to-day who is spreading race prejudices and religious differences. The only way that we can combat him is by ignoring him compeltely. We must get together, speak together, discuss matters of mutual importance and interchange ideas. I come to you as a representative of the Province of Quebec. We are all Canadians and loyal to the same King, so why should we waste our time in petty quarrels?"

He referred to the political situation throughout Canada, and stated that the present Government had no mandate, the war being over. He charged the Government with having no definite stand in regard to the tariff and the fiscal problem of the country, and stated that if the Liberals were put in power they would take a course between the two extremes of the tariff question, and would also present a financial program that would be of immediate and great benefit to the country.

A Plea For Unity.

A plea for unity throughout the Dominion, and particularly between Ontario and Quebec, was made by Hon. Mr. King in the opening of his address. He referred to the many French Canadians who had done many and great services to the country during the past. In a few words he referred to the part that Liberalism had played in the last Ontario elections, and the great work that had been done for the cause by Mr. Dewart. In referring to Dominion politics he stated that the present Government had failed to follow the precedent established by the Laurier Government in 1911 when it went to the people on a question of national importance before its term of office had expired.

"We have in Ottawa, as we had in this province, a Government which has undertaken to perpetuate itself in office without any reference whatever to the wishes of the people, or without permitting any expression of the popular will. We have neither a representative Parliament nor a responsible Government. We have an autocratic executive usurping authority, exercising political control, regardless alike of constitutional procedure and the first principles of government in a free and self-governing country.

"Mr. Meighen has sought, with that liking for monopoly, in government as in all else, which is so characteristic, to claim for his government and the so-called National Liberal and Conservative Party which he leads, the distinction of being the party of law and order. Anyone, or any group of persons, who do not think and say as he does are to be relegated to one side as lawless and disorderly. He and those who walk with him are to have the middle of the road. All others may make shift in the highways and byways as best they can. If that is the meaning of law and order, Mr. Meighen is welcome to his interpretation of it. I would tell the new Prime Minister, however, that there is something even finer and more necessary than law and order in any country, and that is that upon which law and order itself is founded, namely: constitutional government and procedure."

The Liberal leader attacked the Premier for failure to outline any definite proposals in connection with the tariff or the fiscal problem of the country.

"Instead of that," he said, "Mr. Meighen has satisfied himself with giving to the country a statement of the ends, and leaving the country wholly in darkness as to the means by which they are to be attained. Indeed, he has unwittingly, but nevertheless in the clearest possible manner, indicated that neither he nor his Ministers are able to make up their minds as to what should be done; that they themselves are wholly in the dark, and propose to institute an inquiry as a means of throwing some light upon the path which they ought to take."

Must Curtail Expenditure.

He sketched at some length the financial position of the country and stated that immediate and drastic action should be taken to curtail the expenditures, particularly those in connection with naval and military matters.

In referring to the announcement of the Prime Minister as to the tariff, Hon. Mr. King said:

"One would have expected, at this point, some reference to the needs of consumers and producers, some intimation that relief from the existing burdens of customs taxation might be expected in regard at least to the necessaries of life and to the instruments of production which are essential in our great basic industries of agriculture, lumbering, mining and fishing, upon which the manufacturing industries and all our trade and commerce are dependent. But there is no suggestion of any tariff revision to meet the needs of either producers or consumers. Again, in the place of policies there are platitudes.

"In contrast to this, which denotes an absence of all policy on the all-important question of tariff revision, and its relation to the high cost of living, let me give to the people of this country a statement of the Liberal Party's position in this matter as it found expression at the great Liberal convention held in Ottawa over a year ago, and as it has been contended for in the House of Commons since that time. We believe that the time has come, indeed, that it is already long past, when a downward revision of the tariff is necessary. In this revision we believe that there should be substantial reductions of the duties on the necessaries of life; in other words, on those articles which go to make up the food, the clothing, the shelter of the Canadian people; that certain specific articles required for the purposes of consumption and other articles essential to production should be placed upon the free list, and that in regard to the instruments of production in the basic industries of agriculture, mining, lumbering and fishing, there should also be a substantial reduction of duties. It is not a question of free trade or protection. With the revenue which will be required for years to come, to meet the large interest payments on public debt, the obligations to our returned soldiers in the way of pensions and in other respects, as well as to carry on the work of government in Canada—resort as we may to direct taxation of incomes and of business profits, which is also a part of the Liberal policy; tax as we will all luxuries, which is another plank in the Liberal platform—there will still be required for purposes of revenue large sums of money which of necessity will have to be raised by indirect taxation through a customs tariff. In revising the tariff to this end, care will be taken of the position and needs of all the industries in our country; but such tariff as may be necessary in this connection will be, under Liberal policy, a tariff for consumers and producers, and not a tariff to further the interests of combines, monopolies, or of any special or privileged classes."

Previous to the speeches there were a number of athletic events for those in attendance, which were keenly contested

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D 4539

Toronto Star
August 16, 1920

KING DEMANDS ENQUIRY INTO MURDOCK CHARGES

Action of Govt. has Given Profiteers Free Field, Says Liberal Leader.

Hon. W. L. M. King, Liberal leader, stated that the Opposition considered it was its duty to press for an investigation into the Murdock charges, during the course of his address at the Island Stadium on Saturday afternoon.

"The Government," he said, "ought to be grappling with the high cost of living. How does the Meighen administration propose to deal with this question?" he asked.

He declared that the revenue could not be raised without resort to some method of direct taxation. Incomes should be taxed by placing the burden on the shoulders of those best able to bear it. "This Government has sought in every possible way to protect war profiteers," said Mr. King. "We believe that the profits made during the war by profiteers should be the first wealth to be taxed."

He scored the Government for its inaction in connection with the Murdock charges. It had even allowed it to be said that Mr. Murdock was not a citizen of Canada but of the United States, although he had lost two sons in the war. "The Ministers themselves appointed Mr. Murdock because of his standing in the Labor world and his reputation for integrity." They were ready enough to make use of his name with Labor and the public when it suited their purpose. But they found that Mr. Murdock was not made of the kind of stuff that some members of the Administration thought he was made of."

Mr. Murdock had revealed profits in some industries ranging from 130 to 180 per cent. "With such charges made by one of its own officials what can you think of a Government that refuses to sift to the bottom every charge that is brought forward? The only alternative the people have is to believe those charges are true."

Mr. Murdock was a man of feeling, high integrity and principle who refused to draw his salary any longer by deceiving the Canadian people by a subterfuge, said Mr. King. "The Liberal Opposition considered it its duty to press for an investigation of the charges made by Mr. Murdock."

"By removing the Combines Investigation Act and demoralizing the Board of Commerce, the Government has left the field open to the special interest profiteers to carry on their business in any way they like. Instead of protecting the people, it is protecting the profiteers in the stand it has taken."

An address conveying expressions of confidence from the Liberals of Toronto, signed by Dr. J. H. Cascadden, was presented to the Liberal leader.

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Toronto World
Aug 16/20

D 4540

MACKENZIE KING URGES APPEAL TO ELECTORS

Large Attendance at Liberal Picnic at Toronto Island — Federal Leader Criticizes Financial and Military Policies —Hartley Dewart Condemns Drury Policy of Shifting Responsibilities to Commissions.

Some two thousand people attended the monster Liberal picnic held at the Island Stadium last Saturday, when Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, Hon. H. S. Beland, H. Hartley Dewart and Sir Alan Aylesworth delivered stirring addresses to their admirers. Hon. Mr. King is still insistent that the government makes an immediate appeal to the country, because, he contended, it was brought into existence till the end of the war only, and has undertaken "to perpetuate itself in office without any reference whatever to the wishes of the people." He severely criticized the government's financial and military policies, and said that the ministers had "acquired the war habit of mind within recent years." He said the time was long past when a downward revision of the tariff should have taken place, especially on the necessaries of life. Hon. Dr. Beland urged amity and friendship between those of different racial origin in the Dominion, while Mr. Dewart had a rap at the Drury government, and roundly condemned the practice of that government of appointing commissions, thereby shifting their responsibilities, and said that "the present Drury government was held together by a slender thread."

Resolutions by the Liberals of Toronto and York county, the Women Liberals of Toronto, and the Ontario Women's Liberal Association, expressing confidence in Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King as the leader of the Liberal party were carried with acclamation.

Ottawa Leader Speaks.

H. Hartley Dewart, K.C., M.L.A., the Ontario Liberal leader, opened by a humorous reference to the fact that the Liberal party was holding its picnic upon the grounds so generously given by the Toronto Baseball Club. The Liberal party, he said, had won the last time it had played upon home grounds, but had not done quite so well on the circuit, but he felt that he could promise the next time by the same clean play, the Liberal party would win, not only upon home grounds in Toronto, but also on circuit thruout the province. Referring to a cartoon in a Toronto paper, he said it was quite evident from the splendid attendance that we had filled the boat. The success of the Liberal party in the recent provincial elections in Toronto was due, he said, to the broadness and fairness of the Liberal policy in provincial matters and to the appreciation of our Conservative friends in a Conservative city, that the Liberal party could be trusted. "As long," he said, "as I am the leader of the Liberal party in this province our Conservative friends, whether in Toronto or in the province, will find that we shall continue to advocate the best interests and best ideas for the common benefit of all the people of the province of Ontario.

The Liberal party would occupy the position that it deserves to occupy in this province because it sensed the changed conditions and had a progressive policy adapted to meet them. No alliance of incongruous elements could take the place of the cohesive forces of men who were bound together in the advocacy of progressive ideas which appealed to all because they are in the interest of all.

Speaking of the large number of commissions appointed by the government, Mr. Dewart said this delegation of power was non-Liberal and contrary to the principles of responsible government, which Liberals and Conservatives should join to support if there was to be a government responsible to the popular will. The present government was held together by a slender thread. The industrial forces of Toronto realized that John O'Neill, Jack Ramsden, Colonel Cooper, Sergt.-Major Macnamara and himself were the friends of those who look for the betterment of existing social and industrial conditions, and they made no mistake when they gave us their support.

The Liberal party had nothing to regret. It was not a retrospective, but a progressive party. In Hon. Mackenzie King they have a man trained in the study of the social problems and industrial questions that have to be solved today.

Has All Qualifications.

No man on the continent today is better qualified, said Mr. Dewart, to deal with the questions that arise out of the unrest of the people today than the man who has given this his lifelong study. His knowledge of these industrial conditions is the greatest asset that the people of Canada have today to assist in their solution. It is amazing that any class should fail to realize the necessity of his presence in the house of commons, and pose as disinterested and fair-minded men who do not believe in parties by offering him the opposition of the leader of their mercenary group.

"The unctuous and ubiquitous mayor of Toronto—I shall not call him the perpetual mayor, because this, too, will pass—has, I understand, in effect, conferred the freedom of the city of Toronto upon the new and untried premier of Canada, Mr. Meighen. Today we give you the freedom of the hearts of the common people of Toronto—Liberal, industrial, Conservative and radical, who stand for progressive thought and principles—the freedom to speak clearly and strongly upon the great issues that affect the real people, a freedom that no titular official can bestow. The freedom which the citizens of Toronto enjoy today because of the men who suffered in the flesh and in the spirit, that we might enjoy the freedom of speech and the liberty of action that we enjoy today, and who was deservedly honored as the first mayor of the city of Toronto that welcomes our Liberal leader today, your great forebear, William Lyon Mackenzie, whose honored name you bear and who was the first mayor of the city of Toronto, which honors itself in honoring you today."

Liberal Leader Speaks.

Hon. Mackenzie King said in part:

"Your mention of the Liberal representative of this city in the Ontario legislature affords me opportunity of saying how much Liberals everywhere feel they owe to the Liberal leader in Ontario, Mr. Hartley Dewart, in the fight waged during the last provincial election, and to which, more than to any other single influence, I believe, was owing the overwhelming defeat of the Hearst administration. It is true, in this case as in many another's, where he sowed another reaped. He laid the foundations upon which another is building today. From an immediate point of view there may be in this something of inevitable disappointment. On the other hand, viewing the outcome in its large significance, there can be to Liberals nothing but satisfaction in the evidence of the determination of the people of this province to free themselves, as opportunity affords, from the control of an autocratic executive and from Tory policies in matters pertaining to government.

"And that brings me to a consideration of the political situation as it exists in the Dominion at the present time. We have in Ottawa, as we had in this province, a government which has undertaken to perpetuate itself in office without any reference whatever to the wishes of the people, or without permitting any expression of the popular will. We have neither a representative parliament nor a responsible government. We have an autocratic executive usurping authority, exercising political control, regardless alike of constitutional procedure and the first principles of government in a free and self-governing country.

No Justification.

"Within the past six weeks the people of Canada have witnessed the formation of a new government, with a new prime minister. They have had heralded from the Atlantic to the Pacific an all-embracing name of a new political party with a new political platform. Now, only one of two things is possible: either we have in office a new government, which has made no appeal to and has received no approval on the part of the Canadian people, or we have continuing in office a government so completely discredited that it is itself ashamed of its own name, and seeks to perpetuate itself in office under countless disguises, aliases and subterfuges. Whichever alternative we take, there is nothing to justify the usurpation of the rights of

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the people of Canada in the matter of government by the Meighen administration.

"Mr. Meighen has sought, with that liking for monopoly, in government as in all else, which is so characteristic, to claim for his government and the so-called National Liberal and Conservative party which he leads, the distinction of being the party of law and order. Anyone, or any group of persons, who do not think and say as he does are to be relegated to one side as lawless and disorderly. He and those who walk with him are to have the middle of the road. All others may make shift in the highways and byways as best they can. If that is the meaning of law and order, Mr. Meighen is welcome to his interpretation of it. He is welcome, if he so desires, to seek a monopoly of the term "law and order" for the party which he leads. That particular phrase has been the refuge of autocracy and the shield of autocratic behavior in all countries and in all ages and the people are not likely to be deceived by its use.

"I would tell the new prime minister, however, that there is something even finer and more necessary than law and order in any country, and that is that upon which law and order itself is founded, namely: constitutional government and procedure. It is this which Mr. Meighen has overlooked; it is this which he and his ministers who continue in office, are prepared not only to ignore but to defy; it is this which the Liberty party seeks to establish and maintain as it has sought to do in the earliest beginnings of its recorded history.

Demand an Election.

"I have said that constitutional government and procedure demand not only a general election, but also demand the submission to the people of Canada of some defnite statement of policy, for or against which they may be at liberty to express themselves. Even assuming that Mr. Meighen intended to endeavor to hold on to office to the extreme limit of time the law permits, one would have thought that, knowing the responsibilities which attach to the high position he occupies, Mr. Meighen would have sought the first opportunity to inform the people of the means whereby the obvious ends of government are to be achieved by his administration, and of the policies which are to serve as the means toward these ends.

"Instead of that, Mr. Meighen has satisfied himself with giving to the country a statement of the ends, and leaving the country wholly in darknes as to the means by which they are to be attained. Indeed, he has unwittingly, but nevertheless in the clearest possible manner, indicated that neither he nor his ministers are able to make up their minds as to what should be done; that they themselves are wholly in the dark, and propose to institute an inquiry as a means of throwing some light upon the path which they ought to take.

The Country's Finances.

Speaking on the Dominion's financial affairs, Mr. King said:

"With an annual interest charge on public debt of $140,000,000 to be met before beginning to undertake to meet the ordinary expenditures of government or any expenditure on capital account, what would be thought of an administration that would think of plunging this country further into debt? Any proposal of the kind would be an open declaration in favor of national bankruptcy. ould have thought that the new pri. minister, in the face of such an obligation, instead of saying that his government proposed to go in debt no further, would have come out with the strongest kind of declaration for retrenchment and econom- in all classes of public expenditure. Put, instead of that, he says that the financial policy of the government is to get revenue to carry on the work of government, and to pay our debts. For what other conceivable ends could a financial policy be devised? Surely Mr. Meighen does scant justice to the intelligence of the Canadian people if he thinks their faith in his administration is likely to be increased or they themselves flattered by being told that his government does not propose to raise revenue for the sake of purposes altogether apart from those of government or national obligation.

"It is not sufficient for the prime minister to express these obvious truths. It is his duty, and the duty of every public man who would deal honestly with Canadian affairs at the present time, to declare for the avoidance of expenditure in every direction where it is possible at all legitimately to avoid it, and to aim, not at raising revenues for the sake of carrying on the work of government in any fashion, but rather, at so carrying on the work of government that taxation may be reduced instead of increased. But what evidence have we that Mr. Meighen and his ministers intend to attempt any sort of rigid economy? If we judge by the appropriations which were asked and obtained from parliament at the last session, we shall find nothing to encourage us in any belief in economy on the part of the ministers who have had to do with war expenditure, and have acquired the war habit of mind within recent years.

A New Picture of Observation.

It is somewhat significant that the first speeches to be made by any of his ministers since the formation of the new administraton, were those which were recently delvered by the Hon. Mr. Guthrie, the minister of militia and defence, and the Hon. Mr. Ballantyne, minister of naval affairs, at the banquet tendered them in the city of Kingston on the evening preceding that on which the prime minister addressed the electors in Hastings county. One would have thought, from the reading of those addresses, that, instead of emerging from a period of war, we were about to prepare for a new war, even before we had concluded the demobilization of our military forces. Mr. Ballantyne appears to have sought to imbue the public with the need for increased naval expenditures, and Mr. Guthrie with the need of increased expenditures for the construction of military barracks in different parts of the country. This new party of law and order evidently proposes to devote its time and attention to establishing repressive agencies of one kind or another thruout Canada, so that where it may not succeed in maintaining its position on grounds of constitutional right, it may find the means of so doing thru the agencies of force.

"Please note that, apart from the 'mmense debt incurred on account of the war, and which is a first obligation on our treasury, we shall have, for years to come, very heavy commitments arising out of the necessary provision and care for our returned soldiers and their dependents. In the estimate for the present year, including the amount of $38,000,000 required for demobilization purposes, there is a total obligation amounting to $171,934,463, made up of charges on account of soldiers' land settlement, soldiers' civil re-establishment, pensions and repatriation of soldiers dependents. In the last year of the Liberal administration, the total ordinary expenditure for the government of Canada equaled the sum of only $87,774,000, and that was the highest figure reached up to that time in the expenditure on account of government. Thus, on the single account of commitments to our returned soldiers we have an expenditure to meet for the present year of something like double that required to carry on the business of government for the whole country ten years ago.

The Tariff Policy.

"The tariff policy of this country," says Mr. Meighen is to keep Canadian workingmen in Canada. The policy of the government is to enlarge the employment market and add to the size of Canada. The policy of the government is to make goods here and keep people here with plenty of work for every class of man. The policy of the government is to give Canadian industries of every kind just enough advantage in the Canadian market as to make it pay them better to stay here and expand than to diminish their plants or to leave."

"Wherein do these pronouncements of policy assist us in discovering how the government proposes to raise the revenues of this country? Wherein is there difference, in a statement of this kind, between the aims of the present administration and those of any other government, whether it be Liberal, Farmer or Labor, which might conceivably manage the affairs of the country? What we want to know is, not what is desired, but how the end is to be attained.

What Liberals Stand For.

"In contrast to the evasive and meaningless phrases of the prime minister's, which denote an absence of all policy on the all-important question of tariff revision, and its relation to the high cost of living, let me give to the people of this country a statement of the Liberal party's position in this matter as it found expression at the great Liberal convention held in Ottawa over a year ago, and as it has been contended for in the house of commons since that time. We believe that the time has come, indeed, that it is already long past, when a downward revision of the tariff is necessary. In this revision we believe that there should be substantial reductions of the duties on the necessaries of life; in other words, on those articles which go to make up the food, the clothing, the shelter of the Canadian people; that certain specific articles required for the purposes of consumption and other articles essential to production should be placed upon the free list, and that in regard to the instruments of production in the basic industries of agriculture, mining, lumbering and fishing there should also be a substantial reduotion of duties. It is not a question of free trade or protection. With the revenue which will be required for years to come, to meet the large interest payments on public debt, the obligations to our returned soldiers in the way of pensions and in other respects, as well as to carry on the work of government in Canada —resort as we may to direct taxation of incomes and of business profits, which is also a part of the Liberal policy; tax as we will all luxuries, which is another plank in the Liberal platform—there will still be required for purposes of revenue large sums of money which of necessity will have to be raised by indirect taxation thru a customs tariff. In revising the tariff to this end, care will be taken of the position and needs of all the industries in our country; but such tariff as may be necessary in this connection will be, under Liberal policy, a tariff for consumers and producers, and not a tariff to further the interests of combines, monopolies or of any special or privileged classes."

Hon. H. S. Beland, M.P., following pretty much what Hon. Mr. Lemieux said at Newmarket last Saturday, could not see why there should not be unity and friendship between those in the Dominion who were of different racial origin. He urged the people to use their energies towards this laudable end, and held out the hand of fellowshipp from those in the east to their neighbors to the west.

Sir Alan Aylesworth presided.

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Toronto Globe
August 14 20

D 4542

MR. KING IN TORONTO.

Mr. Mackenzie King comes among his own people to-day when he addresses the Liberals of Toronto. He came to Toronto first as a young University student thirty years ago. His father was educated in the city also, and married a daughter of the "Little Rebel," the Scottish printer who almost a century ago was the thorn in the flesh of the Family Compact.

Mackenzie was so well thought of by his fellow-townsmen before the Rebellion that he was chosen first Mayor of Toronto when it threw aside the name of "Muddy York" in 1834 and emerged into cityhood. The Liberal Leader is the grandson of Toronto's first Mayor. There are few men so intimately related to the beginning of things political and municipal in Toronto as William Lyon Mackenzie King.

There will be no civic reception for him to-day, but the grandchildren of the men who threw his grandfather's fonts of type and press into the Bay might do well to go over to Hanlan's Point and form their own impression of the Liberal Leader. He is represented as the head of a political party composed, according to Mr. Meighen, of either "faddists" or "fakers." If the Family-Compact type of mind had continued to dominate Canada from the time of the Rebellion onward, hanging and banishing outspoken opponents at will, the Dominion might still be a Crown colony and Toronto the happy hunting-ground of self-perpetuating Legislative Councils. It was Liberalism that made the difference. There is historic continuity in the Liberalism that makes the grandson of the Toronto rebel chief of 1837 the Leader of the constitutional Liberalism of 1920.

The Globe does not like Mr. King's lukewarm interest in the development of the National Railways and his failure to fight for the nationalization of Canada's water power resources so that energy at cost may be supplied to all who want it, but this paper has no stomach at all for the reborn Tory party headed by Mr. Meighen, who in his first address as Premier proved himself the strong tower of Reaction.

Tory Toronto might spend a Saturday afternoon in many worse ways than in listening to the Liberal Leader whose grandfather was Toronto's first Mayor.

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19 Aug. 1920 Aurora D 4543

LIBERALISM VS. CONSERVATISM

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Toronto Star
August 20
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D 4544

BIG CROWD AT AURORA HEARS LIBERAL CHIEF

Mackenzie King Will Continue Fighting for the Farmers,

ALSO FOR ELECTION

Will Again Move for Dissolution When Parliament Meets Next Year.

Special to The Star by a Staff Reporter.

Aurora, Aug. 20.—Notwithstanding that this is the busiest season of the year for the people in rural districts, Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King has had record audiences in every place he has spoken in North York during the past two weeks. But the meeting here last night surpassed all others for enthusiasm.

It was Aurora's first public reception to Mr. King since his elevation to the leadership of the party. After he had been met at the station by the town band and a large number of citizens, a parade was organized through the town to the hall. Just behind the band, rode Mr. King, accompanied by two returned soldiers of the town. Behind the Liberal leader again were about thirty cars, containing the Liberal workers of the riding, while the townspeople looked on from the sidewalks.

The hall, decorated especially for the occasion, was packed and many who were unable to get in, listened from the outside. As Mr. King entered, the audience rose and cheered him heartily, while the band played, "For he's a Jolly Good Fellow."

Mayor W. J. Bassett presided.

Appeal to Younger People.

Mr. King told his audience that in North York he had been dealing with the educational side of political questions. Because of the upheaval of war and because of the young people, who had not yet voted for the first time, it was becoming more and more necessary to show the difference between the party in power and those who were opposing them; the difference between a reactionary group and a progressive group. All big questions facing the Canadian public would have to be met by two groups who thought differently; those who wanted changes made and those who wished to retain the old order. And Mr. King appealed to the younger folk to become interested in one or the other.

The Speaker's announcement that as leader of the Opposition one of the first things he would do at the next session would be to again move for a general election, was greeted with cheers by the audience. But Mr. King said that it was quite possible that two years would elapse before another general election. For that reason the situation was more serious than perhaps most people realized. There was grave danger that the people would be deprived of free representative institutions. "Unless we are vigilant," he said, "we will lose them."

Fighting For the Farmers.

"The National Liberal and Conservative party will do everything in their power to entrench themselves in office," Mr. King continued. "I expect that my chief duty as Leader of the Opposition will be to see that in the redistribution of seats throughout the country the farmers are not cut out of their proper representation. Even if I were sure of defeat by a farmer—which I am not; quite the other way (cheers)—I would fight just as hard for the rights of the farmers as if I were returned at the head of the polls."

If the National Liberal and Conservative party had any followers in the audience last night they did not make themselves known. When Mr. King asked if there was one man present who thought that those in power should stay in a day longer, not one person accepted the invitation to stand up.

"Yet, Mr. Armstrong, your representative in Parliament voted against me last session when I moved for a general election," said Mr. King.

On behalf of the Women's Liberal Club of Aurora an address of confidence in the new chieftain was read to Mr. King by Mrs. Reith Whimster.

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Aurora Banner
August 27—20

D 4545

Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King held his first public meeting here on Thursday evening since his elevation to the leadership of the Liberal party. He was met at the station by the band and a large number of citizens. A parade of automobiles was organized and headed by the band proceeded to the Mechanics Hall.

The hall, decorated especially for the occasion, was packed. As Mr. King, entered, the audience rose and cheered him heartily, while the band played, "For he's a Jolly Good Fellow."

Mayor W. J. Bassett presided.

Mr. King told his audience that in North York he had been dealing with the educational side of political questions. Because of the upheaval of war and because of the young people, who had not yet voted for the first time, it was becoming more and more necessary to show the difference between the party in power and those who were opposing them: the difference between a reactionary group and a progressive group. All big questions facing the Canadian public would have to be met by two groups who thought differently; those who wanted changes made and those who wished to retain the old order. And Mr. King appealed to the younger folk to become interested in one or the other.

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"Yet, Mr. Armstrong, your representative in Parliament voted against me last session when I moved for a general election," said Mr. King.

Hon. Mr. King dealt briefly with the tariff question and taxation. He referred to the enormous public debt, and stated that in order to meet all the requirements of the country all methods of taxation would have to be adopted. The tariff must be revised for revenue purposes, but not for the benefit of any particular group. The high cost of living could only be reduced by producing, and raw materials must be made easier to obtain. He declared the Liberal policy was a tariff in the interests of both the consumer and producer, and not for special classes.

On behalf of the Women's Liberal Club of Aurora an address of confidence in the new chieften was read to Mr. King by Mrs. Whimster.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Newmarket Era
August 29/20

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LIBERAL CHIEFTAIN IN TORY STRONGHOLD

Tells Them Premier Meighen Was Chosen by Autocratic Methods.

Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King in continuing his campaign in North York, at Sutton on Tuesday night candidly admitted that at the last election Sutton went strong against him. For that reason he took it for granted that a large number of Conservatives were in the audience and on more than one occasion addressed his remarks direct to them rather than to the Liberals present.

Mr. King outlined the last Liberal convention. He told how representative it was, including farmers fishermen, Labor representatives and women from every part of Canada. It was the people of Canada who formed the platform of the Liberal party and through a secret ballot elected a leader.

The upheaval of war had broken up some institutions. In some places the Liberal party had suffered severely. But although different groups had been the result Liberals had been able to choose for themselves.

Then Mr. King turned to the Conservatives. "You Conservatives," he said, "did you have a voice in the creation of this new party? No. Some selfish autocratic groups said 'We will impose a policy for the people of Canada to follow.' Did the women of Canada have any voice in laying down the platform of the new party?"

"Your own members even had no voice except a few who happened to be in Ottawa at the time. Who chose Mr. Meighen? Was it North York or any other constituency in Canada? No. The whole thing was done secretly and quietly."

Mr. King also addressed the younger folk who had not yet had an opportunity of exercising their right to vote and who were present in large numbers. He reminded them of their responsibilities and the seriousness of politics. There were those who advocated getting rid of the old party, but Canada could only be governed properly by two strong forces of Liberal and Conservative thought. The more even they were the better the Government would be.

At the present time there were only a few men in Canada who had the courage to come out and champion the straight policy of Conservatives. Those men he respected. Others who, while nuturing Conservative opinion, attempted to continue in power by a system of name changing did not command his respect.

Still speaking to the younger folk, Mr. King again illustrated the fact that the present Government was not responsible. In this connection he referred to certain newspapers who described him as a "Croaking Crow with only one note—a general election."

"The reason I keep talking that way and will continue talking that way is that the rights of the people are being taken away by not having an election."

A warning was also extended to the farmers, in that one of the leaders of the U. F. O. coming in oppose the leader of the Liberals would look to the people of Canada as if war had been declared.

Such an impression would be far from true. The platform of the two were almost identical. As far as he was concerned, he would never say anything about the farmers.

"Who were the friends of the farmers? Who have fought the battles of the farmer? Who went down to defeat in 1911 fighting for the interests of the rural class? It was the Liberals, and I am going to be the last man to declare war on a Farmer group.

The meeting was held on the grounds of Mr. Walker Holborn and was attended by several hundred.

BIG CROWD AT AURORA HEARS LIBERAL CHIEF

Mackenzie King Will continue Fighting for the Farmers.

Aurora, Aug. 20.—Notwithstanding that this is the busiest season of the year for the people in rural districts, Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King has had record audiences in every place he has spoken in North York during the past two weeks. But the meeting here last night surpassed all others for enthusiasm.

It was Aurora's first public reception to Mr. King since his elevation to the leadership of the party. After he had been met at the station by the town band and a large number of citizens, a parade was organized through the town to the hall. Just behind the band rode Mr. King, accompanied by two returned soldiers of the town. Behind the Liberal leader again were about thirty cars, containing the Liberal workers of the riding, while the townspeople looked on from the sidewalks:

The hall, decorated especially for the occasion, was packed and many who were unable to get in, listened from the outside. As Mr. King entered, the audience rose and cheered him heartily, while the band played, "For he's a Jolly Good Fellow."

Mayor W. J. Bassett presided.

Appeal to Younger People.

Mr. King told his audience that in North York he had been dealing with the educational side of political questions. Because of the upheaval of war and because of the young people, who had not yet voted for the first time, it was becoming more and more necessary to show the difference between the party in power and those who were opposing them; the difference between a reactionary group and a progressive group. All big questions facing the Canadian public would have to be met by two groups who thought differently; those who wanted changes made and those who wished to retain the old order. And Mr. King appealed to the younger folk to become interested in one or the other.

The Speaker's announcement that as leader of the Opposition one of the first things he would do at the next session would be to again move for a general election, was greeted with cheers by the audience. But Mr. King said that it was quite possible that two years would elapse before another general election. For that reason the situation was more serious than perhaps most people realized. There was grave danger that the people would be deprived of free representative institutions. "Unless we are vigilant," he said, "we will lose them."

Fighting for the Farmers.

"The National Liberal and Conservative party will do everything in their power to entrench themselves in office," Mr. King continued. "I expect that my chief duty as Leader of the Opposition will be to see that in the redistribution of seats throughout the country the farmers are not cut out of their proper representation. Even if I were sure of defeat by a farmer—which I am not; quite the other way (cheers)—I would fight just as hard for the rights of the farmers as if I were returned at the head of the polls."

If the National Liberal and Conservative party had any followers in the audience last night they did not make themselves known. When Mr. King asked if there was one man present who thought that those in power should stay in a day longer, not one person accepted the invitation to stand up.

"Yet, Mr. Armstrong, your representative in Parliament voted against me last session when I moved for a general election," said Mr. King.

On behalf of the Women's Liberal Club of Aurora an address of confidence in the new chieftain was read to Mr. King by Mrs. Reith Whimster.

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"THE FRANCHISE BILL"

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Milton, Ontario
August 20, 1920.

THE FRANCHISE BILL

Restoration of Public Confidence Sought

In nothing were the foundations of constitutional government more completely subverted, during the period of the War, than in the setting aside of the old Dominion Elections Act, and substituting therefor the iniquitous War-time Elections Act. No Parliament returned under a measure of the kind could ever be regarded as representative of the will of the people. Interest, therefore, during the recent session centred more largely upon the new Franchise Act which the Government introduced than upon aught else.

As respects this measure the Opposition adopted the attitude of doing all in its power to help to restore public confidence in an instrument of government which, perhaps more than any other, had suffered during the course of the war. At the very outset, it was stated that if the Government evidenced the slightest desire to restore faith in our political institutions by introducing an Act which would help to reinspire confidence in the machinery under which our Parliament is made representative of the will of the people, the Opposition would be ready to forget and forgive the iniquities of the past, and co-operate in framing a measure which would help to establish faith in government and the machinery of government. To this end, the Opposition bent its energies throughout the entire session.

New Enactement Wholly Unnecessary

Though the consideration of the Franchise Bill occupied the time of Parliament for the greater part of the session, from one point of view its enactment was wholly unnecessary, and the time and money spent by Parliament in its consideration was simply so much in the way of additional outlay of public monies at a time when a regard for economy should have led to an avoidance of unnecessary legislation.

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Since 1898, there had been on the statutes of Canada the Dominion Elections Act. In 1906, it became part of the Revised Statutes of the Dominion. This Act was the one under which the elections of 1900, 1904, 1908, and 1911 were held. Under its provisions, both Liberal and Conservative administrations were returned to power. When the Conservative Government assumed office in 1911, and during the three years preceding the War, no thought of its repeal occurred to anyone, and no amendment was proposed in Parliament to any of its provisions. It was, in fact, never repealed; but in 1917 it was superseded, for the purposes of the elections of that year, by the War-time Elections Act. Some time previously, the Military Voters Act had been passed with reference to the taking of the votes of the soldiers overseas. At the time of the introduction of those measures, the present Prime Minister, Mr. Meighen, stated they were solely for the purposes of war-time elections, and that, for purposes of subsequent elections, a return would be made to the Dominion Elections Act. Later, in the session of 1919, the Government enacted a special by-Elections Act, which was amended at the second session of that year.

At the time these measures were enacted, it was understood that they were to be temporary in their application; it was never contemplated that an entirely new electoral law would be introduced in Parliament. To give the people of Canada all that was necessary in the way of electoral machinery, all the Government needed to do was in a single clause to repeal the War-Time Elections Act, also the Military Voters Act, which in any event had lapsed with the conclusion of the War; and the Dominion By-elections Act and its amendments, and proclaimed that thereafter the Dominion Elections Act, which had been temporarily superseded by these measures, would become operative again. This provision could have been supplemented by such amendments to the Dominion Elections Act as in the judgment of the Ministry and Parliament might have been necessary to give the wider application necessary through the conferring of the franchise upon women by the Act of 1918, and for any other purpose that might have seemed necessary and advisable.

Parliament would have been saved the time, and the country the enormous cost of enacting an entirely new law, the greater part of which, as subsequently transpired, was after all

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but a re-enactment of the old. That is equally important, through the familiarity acquired by several elections under the old law, the public would have had a clearer conception of the machinery under which subsequent elections are to be held. On the score, therefore, of being wantonly extravagant in the introduction of unnecessary legislation, and of playing fast and loose with well-established electoral machinery, the Government is to be condemned rather than commended for the enactment of the new Elections Act.

Effort to influence result of elections

through control of electoral machinery

Two reasons account for the Government's decision to introduce this new and unnecessary legislation; first, a desire to occupy the time of Parliament with an enactment which, by appearing to be of public importance, would help to conceal the absence of anything constructive in the Government's legislative programme; and, secondly, the desire so to alter the electoral machinery as to give to the Government a larger control of the electoral machinery at the time of the next general election than it could possibly have had under the old Dominion Elections Act. That both were actuating and determining motives, there can be no doubt. Fully four-fifths, if not more, of the Government's legislation during the session was in the nature of amendments or consolidations of legislation enacted at previous sessions, which had been in large part hastily drafted, ill-considered, or ill-conceived.

That the real motive of the Government was to secure a wider measure of control of electoral machinery than existed under the Dominion Elections Act, is apparent from the fact that one serious departure in the new law from the old is that which does away with the practice of utilizing municipal and provincial lists as the basis of the voters lists for federal purposes, and the substitution therefor of lists prepared for the most part and revised by the Government's own appointees or their nominees.

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Honest versus Corrupt Methods in Electoral Laws

Broadly conceived, there are two attitudes which any Government may assume in the enactment of electoral laws; one, that of keeping as largely as possible within its own control the whole electoral machinery; the other, just the opposite, namely that of retaining as little control as may be possible over the electoral machinery, and so devising the electoral machinery that in all its essential features its operation will be free of the possibility and even presumption of direction or interference by the powers that be. The former is the method of an administration which is not unwilling to resort to corrupt methods in the winning of elections, or of an administration which is unwilling to trust the people in the management of their own affairs, and which regards any measure as justifiable which will assure to those in office a continuance of the right to rule. The other is the attitude which trusts the people in the control of elections, as in all else, and which seeks so to frame electoral machinery as to inspire in their minds the utmost confidence in its non-partisan and honest character. The latter attitude I would call the Liberal attitude; the former, in so far as it distrusts or ignores the people's ability to manage their own affairs, is clearly Tory and autocratic.

Constitutional reasons demand the retention of the federal spirit as respects the Franchise

When the British North America Act was passed, and several of the provinces were united to form the Dominion of Canada, the Franchise for federal purposes in the several provinces was that of the provinces themselves, and the lists of voters utilized for electoral purposes were the provincial lists, prepared in accordance with the laws of the several provinces.

This system recognized the federal spirit of our constitution, which seeks to preserve provincial rights and to have regard in all essentials for provincial considerations. It would be an unwise development which would seek to thwart a national expression in any particular, and no one, therefore, would contend for a moment, that where there were obvious limitations in any provincial machinery, these limitations should

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be retained where matters of federal concern are at stake. On the other hand, the spirit of our constitution would seem to demand that, in as large a measure as is consistent with complete national expression, one should be made for federal purposes of machinery to which citizens of the Dominion are accustomed, and in which they have confidence for both municipal and provincial purposes. Where any departure is made from this general principle, good and sufficient reasons should certainly be apparent.

Efforts of Former Governments to Control Electoral Machinery

Those of the electors of this country who belong to the older generation will well remember the long and hard-fought battle over the franchise between the Tories and the Liberals in the years of Sir John A. Macdonald's administration. Up until 1885, the principle of accepting the provincial franchises and provincial voters' lists for federal purposes prevailed. Under this system, the provisions of the federal electoral law and the qualification requirements were well known to all. In the federal arena, advantage was afforded to neither party through the control of the electoral machinery at election times. In characteristically Tory fashion, however, the Government of Sir John A. Macdonald decided to ignore altogether the federal spirit of the constitution and to create machinery of its own for the preparation of the voters' lists and the control of the electoral machinery for federal purposes. It sought to abolish altogether the use of provincial voters' lists and to place in the hands of appointees of the Government, known at that time as revising barristers, the power to prepare all lists for the purposes of federal elections, and finally to determine who should be entitled to vote.

In vain did the Liberals of that day seek to prevent this high-handed and arbitrary method of a ministry perpetuating itself in office. For several days and nights - at that time the instrument of the closure had not yet been introduced - the Liberals kept Parliament in continuous session, in protest against this usurpation of the rights of a free people. To the extent of securing the right of an appeal from the revising barristers' decisions to county Court judges, success attended their efforts. The principle of having the voters' lists prepared by revising

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barristers, who in all instances were the Government's own appointees, was, however, maintained, and the lists for federal purposes continued to be prepared in this fashion until the Liberal Government, under Sir Wilfrid Laurier, was returned to power in 1896 and enacted, in 1898, the Dominion Elections Act, which restored the practice of using provincial lists as a basis of the voters' lists for federal purposes, and left the work of revision to permanent officials, from whom, in as large measure as possible, was removed all temptation to partisanship in the discharge of their duties.

The new Franchise Law re-enacts the Worst Features of Previous Legislation

The significance of the change in the electoral law as determined upon and effected by the new Franchise Act, in a word, is that it is a reversion to the old Tory methods against which the Liberal Party in 1895 contended so strenuously, through the substitution, for federal purposes, of lists prepared by the Government's own appointees, for lists municipallyand provincially prepared.

It will be remembered that the most vicious feature of the War-time Elections Act was the abandonment of lists municipally and provincially prepared, and the substitution therefor of lists finally prepared by enumerators appointed by the Government itself, or by some of its own appointees. Nothing at the time more shocked the moral sense of the electors than this control of the entire electoral machinery by partisan appointees of the Government. What was sought for by the administration, and what has been partially effected under the new law, is a return to this very system in the preparation of voters' lists by appointees of the Government. There is this difference only: instead of the Government's appointees being given the title of revising barristers, as in 1885, or the equally odious designation of enumerators, as in 1917, they are now to have the high-sounding and somewhat imposing name of Registrars.

In one sense, therefore, the battle over the Franchise, which consumed the greater part of the time of the last session, was a repetition of the parliamentary struggle of 1885, the Liberals at every possible turn seeking to have the electoral machinery so

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devised as to remove its control from partisan administration; the Government and its supporters, on the other hand, seeking and determined to make the measure of partisan control just as wide as the exposure of debate would stand.

It is true that the Government carried the day, as it knew it would before the measure was introduced. At the same time, the Bill which received the sanction of the Governor General was in many important particulars a very different measure from the one originally introduced. There were a very large number of amendments made to the original Bill in the course of its passage through the House of Commons, and a not inconsiderable number of these amendments were the outcome of suggestion, criticism, and debate on the part of the Opposition.

Liberal attitude toward Tory methods in control of electoral machinery similar to that of Drury Government

One other parallel may help to demonstrate the difference in attitude and point of view of the Opposition and the Government with respect to the fundamental principles on which the Franchise Act is based, Shortly before the Hearst Government made its last appeal to the people in the Province of Ontario, it abandoned the use of the provincial voters' lists as previously prepared, and introduced machinery for the preparation of its own lists by an army of enumerators. It was believed that if one thing above another would ensure the return of the Hearst administration, the preparation of voters' lists by its own nominees would contribute toward that end more certainly than aught else. Unfortunately for the Hearst administration, this among many other of its acts did not commend itself to the electorate. The Government had lost public confidence, and it was overwhelmingly defeated and ignominiously swept from power.

Mr. Drury had not been in office above a few months before his Attorney General announced that it was the intention of the new Government to scrap completely this Tory electoral machinery, and tp introduce an Act which would make provision for the preparation of voters' lists in a manner which would seek to restore public confidence in the method of conducting elections. This promise has since been made good, and we have now in the Province of Ontario an election law which makes provision for the annual preparation of municipal lists, subject to revision by judges of the county-court; which lists, under further revision by a non-partisan board prior to an election, become the lists on which the provincial elections are to be fought.

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Opposition sought to have Provincial Lists Recognized

Nothing could better illustrate the position contended for by the Liberals than the fact that, wherever under provincial legislation provision was made for the preparation of voters' lists, they sought to see that the lists as prepared in accordance with this machinery should be the lists to be used for federal purposes, subject only to such revision as might be necessary at the time of a general election to make the voters'lists in all respects accurate and complete, and in accord with the requirements of the federal franchise.

Acceptance by the Government of such a provision was urged by the Opposition broadly on three grounds; first, the obvious convenience and wisdom of uniformity in the electoral machinery of municipalities, provinces, and the Dominion; secondly, the avoidance of partisanship in elections, and thereby the greater security to the electorate and the greater confidence on their part in the electoral machinery; and, thirdly, the saving in money, and the avoidance of confusion at election times, through unnecessary duplication in the preparation of lists.

In provinces where there are no provincial lists, the custom of accepting outright the provincial machinery for federal purposes has proven amply sufficient and satisfactory in past years. The Opposition was quite prepared, however, to allow the provisions of the law as drafted to become operative in such cases.

Slight Modifications secured by the Opposition

One concession of importance the Opposition did succeed in securing from the government. As introduced, the Bill had proposed to accept as a basis of the lists for the federal elections the lists utilized at any provincial election, within the previous year. This period, through the efforts of the Opposition, was extended to two years, thereby increasing as a basis for federal purposes, the use of lists already known and prepared. If, therefore, an election should be held in Ontario any time before November, 1921, the lists used at the last Ontario elections will be made the basis of the lists for federal purposes.

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Another concession, of more significance to the Province of Ontario than to any of the other provinces, which was secured by the Opposition was the provision for the acceptance, at any period after the two years, as a basis of the lists for federal purposes, of the lists as prepared by the accessors for municipal purposes and confirmed by the county court judges under the provisions of the new Ontario law. To this extent there has been gained for the Province of Ontario, at least some known basis for the lists to be used in a general election, and some saving in the initial cost of the preparation of voters' lists.

The System of Enumeration Extremely Costly

Just what is involved by way of an expenditure of public funds through a system of conducting elections under the enumeration method, as contrasted with the method as heretofore adopted will be apparent from the figures of the following return respecting the cost of general elections for a number of years past:

1696	-	$ 197,103.35
1900	-	232,911.20
1904	-	307,995.60
1908	-	391,960.32
1911	-	307,353.85
1917	-	1,678,139.89

The figures for 1917 include the expenses of taking the soldiers' vote, which, however, represents only $231,313.09 of this amount.

The preparation of voters' lists under the enumeration system as adopted by the Hearst Government, in the Province of Ontario alone, mounted up into the hundreds of thousands of dollars. How incomplete and unsastifactory this system was, notwithstanding the enormous expense involved, was demonstrated from the fact that in the city of Ottawa alone it was found that some 8000 names of electors were omitted altogether from the lists and in the city of Toronto something like 25,000 names.

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Measure as introduced afforded many opportunities for fraudulent conduct at election times.

In the teeth of the Government's determination to keep the electoral machinery in its own hands, the Opposition fought resolutely to take from the enumerators many of the arbitrary and excessive powers with which, in the provisions of the Act as introduced, they had been endowed, and to circumscribe, in as effective a manner as possible, the many openings for fraudulent manipulations and practices which were only too apparent in the measure as introduced.

Open Voting in Rural Polls

Most glaring, perhaps, of all of the open doors to fraud which the law as drafted and presented to Parliament disclosed were the provisions that in rural districts, on the day of election the polls should open at six o'clock in the morning and remain open until eight at night, and that anyone, man or women, whether his or her name was on a list or not, could, by being present at the poll and demanding the right to vote, be given this right by the Deputy Returning Officer, by compliance with no condition other than willingness to take on oath as to being entitled to vote at that particular poll. Observe that this meant: Under the law as framed, the Government appoints the returning officers for the several constituencies. These appointees of the Government appoint-the several deputy returning officers and the poll clerks. Under the law as it stood, when introduced, any stranger could present himself or herself at an election booth in the dark of early morning, or at any time during the day, and be given a ballot simply by demanding it from one of those partisan officers, who would have the law before him as a justification for not refusing a ballott wherever the appliant was willing to take an oath as to being entitled to vote. Without any name being on the list, and despite all protests from any source, such person under the law could,be given a ballot, indistinguishable from any other, and deposit it in the ballot box along with all other ballots therein deposited. There was nothing in the law to prevent this practice being repeated from poll to poll by anyone ready to take the risks involved in committing perjury. It might be practised by one person at a hundred polls, or by a hundred persons at a single poll. So long as prepared to run the risks involved, their right to vote under the circumstances described could not be questioned or denied.

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So obviously wicked a provision as this was naturally fought by the Opposition with all its might. Knowing that men love darkness whose designs are evil, the Opposition sought, first of all to keep the hour of voting in the rural polls at what it has been in the past. They succeeded in effecting a change postponing the hour of the opening of the poll from six until eight in the morning.

Next, the Opposition endeavoured to prevent outsiders coming into any poll, and voting, by requiring not only that the oath administered to the person so presenting himself should include the declaration that he was a resident of the polling division, but that before a ballot could be given him by the Deputy Returning Officer another person, resident in the district and whose name appeared on the voters' lists as entitled to vote in the district should also be required to take an oath that the person applying for a ballot and declaring on oath his right to vote was known to him personally, was a resident of the polling division, and had a right to receive a ballot.

This much, but no more, was secured. It marks the extent of the change which the Opposition was able to obtain in securing the electors in rural polling divisions from fraud attendant upon the visits of itinerant perjurors. It is the sole protection now afforded in the law against the possible stealing of elections in numberless constituencies through perjury on the part of unscrupulous partisans or hired corruptionists. It is to be hoped that, so amended, the provision will afford a due security. There are, however, grave reasons for believing that, in the case of many out of the way polls, indifferently watched and safeguarded, it may prove inadequate. The electors themselves will have to be more vigilant then ever heretofore, for the law as it now stands gives that right of open voting in rural divisions to any individual, subject only to the precautions indicated.

Injustice to certain classes of voters through obligation of swearing

It is well known that many persons of all religious faiths - whether of the smaller sects or the more numerous bodies, and women in particular, weigh well the solemnity of taking an oath, and rather than endure the excitement attending or surrounding such a solemnity on election day, will forego altogether the right and duty of voting

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where it is accompanied with the obligation of taking an oath. How unfair the law as it stands is to this class of electors will be apparent the moment it is known that the enumerators, or registrars, as they are now called, make up the lists in rural areas and may put on or leave off whomever they please. It is well known that the members of many religious sects that regard most sacredly the solemnity of an oath are mostly liberal in their sympathies. The clause, therefore, requiring an oath to be administered before conceding the right to vote, wherever omissions of names from lists have occurred, is destined, as doubtless it was designed, to prejudice Liberal sympathizers to the advantage of their opponents.

At one stage in the debate, the Opposition almost succeeded in convincing the Government of the unwisdom of resorting to the system of enumerators or registrars for the preparation of the lists in rural districts, and of the wisdom of adopting altogether, in provinces where municipal and provincial lists are in existence, such lists for federal purposes, with the right of revision before a court of revision as provided for in urban centres. A conference was held between the Minister in charge of the Bill, the Hon. Hugh Guthrie, with two or three of his colleagues, and three or four representatives of the Liberal Opposition. Unanimous agreement was come to at this conference along the lines indicated, and amendments to the law drafted in accordance with this agreement were prepared by the official draftsman under direction of the Minister and were submitted to Parliament by the Minister himself. The moment, however, objection was raised by some of the members on the Government side to these amendments, the Minister refused to proceed further with their consideration, and the opportunity was lost of saving the country many hundreds of thousands of dollars through the unnecessary duplication of work in the preparation of voters' lists by registrars in our machinery e of elections. What is of greater concern, the opportunity was also lost of restoring public confidence, which under the War-Times Elections Act was lost, and which under this measure is sacrificed to no small degree.

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Arbitrary Police Powers Given to Registrars

A somewhat surprising provision in the law as introduced was the authority given registrars to appoint constables and to keep a posse of police in the vicinity of the polls, with the arbitrary right to arrest, upon mere verbal instruction, and with no requirement of oath or anything of the kind as to the discharge of their obligation in the observance of proper methods of proceeding. It looked as though the Government had sought to devise, through the open poll, not only a means of admitting any individual who might wish to cast a vote in support of its candidates, but to devise a system or terrorisation which would keep from the polls men or women who were known to be opposed to the administration. So palpably unprincipled was the provision that the Minister was obliged to withdraw it under the exposure and protests of the Opposition.

Attempt to leave right to fix polling subdivisions to arbitrary decision of partisan appointees.

Another clause in the law as drafted gave to the returning officers the right, to all intent and purposes, of making such polling subdivisions as they pleased, regardless altogether of following, for federal purposes, the polling subdivisions as marked out for provincial purposes. This was a power which had been introduced into the War-time Elections Act, and in the By-elections Act. As exercised, it had resulted in polls being located, in some instances, in spots wholly inaccessible to the majority of the voters, a thoroughly vicious practice, where, as it has been shown, the returning officers were all appointees of the Government.

The exposure of the frauds practised under this method during the elections of 1917, and in the recent Temiskaming by-election, caused the Government considerably to modify the clauses drafted, by requiring that where the polling subdivisions as arranged for provincial purposes were not followed, the returning officer should present in writing to the Chief Electoral Officer the grounds on which any departure from these divisions was made by him. There is nothing in the section as finally passed which wholly precludes the possibility of serious fraud. The cost that has been gained has been to give to a returning officer who seeks to be conscientious grounds sufficient as a defense against yielding to the pressure of party condidates so as to arrange the polling subdivisions as to give particular favour to one group of electors over another.

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Chances for fraudulent Pratices at Advance Polls

A new feature of the Act is the introduction of what is known as advance polls for certain classes of voters. As drafted, these polls were to be for railway employees, sailors, and commercial travellers. Under the law as it now stands, persons belonging to these classes may, on making the required declaration, cast their votes on any one of three days preceding that on which the election takes place, at centres designated in the Act, or to be subsequently designated by the Chief Electoral Officer in charge of the administration of the Act.

As originally drafted, this section was very loosely drawn. It left the custody of the ballot boxes in the hands of the returning officers appointed by the Government itself, without any good or sufficient provision to prevent tampering with the ballots or stuffing of the boxes in the intervals between the closing of the poll on one day and its opening on the next in the time preceding the general count. The Opposition are at once that these advance polls, conducted in the loose manner prescribed by the Act, and wholly in the hands of partisans of the Government, could, like the open voting at rural polls, be made a means in the hands of unscrupulous men of stealing elections in many constituencies. They sought, by exposing the manifest frauds to which the law as drafted laid the whole business open, to surround the casting of votes in these advance polls with such safeguards as would prevent at least the most flagrant kinds of abuse.

In this connection, they were able to secure requirements respecting the numbering of ballots, the sealing during the time of non-use of unused ballots, the proper sealing of ballot boxes, and the breaking of all seals in the presence of representatives of the different parties. They sought to restrict possible fraud by requiring the taking of an oath by electors who desired to avail themselves of the advantages of an advance poll, before the right of an advance poll would be conceded. This, however, was refused by the Government, and its refusal would seem to afford grounds for believing that the device of the advance poll is not intended solely for the convenience of the classes to whom it has been made to apply, but may have some bearing upon the winning of elections by corrupt methods.

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At one stage of the proceedings, the Minister in charge of the Bill sought to widen the scope of this provision se as to give the advantages of an advance poll to any person who might claim that his business or occupation required his absence, on the day of an election, from the polling subdivision to which he belonged. This seemed going too far in a wholly new venture, and through its efforts the Opposition was enabled to keep the rights of advance polls confined to the classed named in the Bill as originally framed.

Confusion in preparation of lists, with advantage to Government Candidates

Other departures from the old law to which strong exception was taken by the Opposition were the provisions which related to the limited time for the preparation of the lists, both in urban and rural centres. As the law now stands, practically none of its machinery is set in motion until after the proclamation for a general election has been issued. The day of nomination is fixed, not one week in advance of polling as formerly, but two weeks in advance, and it is within this two weeks' period that practically all the work of revision of lists, both in cities and urban districts, has to be carried on. The result is that, under the law as now framed, candidates and their friends who are not "in the snow" will find it almost impossible to receive any lists until within day or two of the polling.

Indeed, the Act would seem to contemplate, through the leeway it affords and the constingencies against which it fails to provide, that where it may suit the convenience of the partisan officers administering the law, there can be a complete failure of the production of lists to the candidates prior to theelection without any adverse consequence either to the officers responsible or to the outcome of theelection itself. The whole machinery in this particular introduces an element of confusion into the election, ata time when excitement is certain to be at the highest pitch, and does so in a manner calculated to be of advantage to the party controlling the machinery and distinctly prejudicial to the interests of all others.

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In cities, the practice of personal registration, with revision by judicial officers, is continued; but for the purposes of the Act all localities incorporated as towns or villages and having a population of 1000 or over are regarded as urban centres. The utmost vigilance on the part of candidates opposed to the Government and their supporters will be required under the new law to ensure registration in urban centres. The advantage is wholly with the Government candidate through his selection of the officers needed and their ability to ensure the placing upon the lists of those persons known to be among the supporters of the Government candidate.

Opposition seeks to avoid appointment of Partisan Returning Officers.

To alter in one important particular the partisan aspect of the machinery, as provided by the Act, the Opposition proposed an amendment that, instead of giving to the Government the power, under Order-in-Council, to appoint whomever they might wish as returning officers, which would mean the selection, in 99 out of 100 cases, of Government favourites, the returning officers should be chosen from a list of permanent officials in the several constituencies, whose certain tenure of office would at least be something of a guarantee that they would act impartially in the administration of the law and the appointment of registrars. It wss proposed, for example, that the selection of returning officers should be made from among persons coming within the classes of sheriff, town clerk, collector of customs, postmaster, recorder, and the like. This amendment still left to the Government the right of choosing as between individuals in these different classes, and where such persons were not available in a constituency, of making any choice they pleased. The Government, however, refused to entertain the amendment, and it was defeated. It held tenaciously to its determination to keep the electoral machinery in the hands of its own appointees.

Bill as drafted would have disfranchised thousands

It is difficult to know whether deliberate oversight or deliberate cunning was responsible for one provision in the Bill as introduced, which would have deprived hundreds of thousands of British subjects of their right to vote, and which mde the original measure as vicious in its disfranchising possibilities as the

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infamous War-Time Elections Act. This was the provision respecting naturalization with respect to the women of alien origin whomby marriage have become British subjects, and who should have all the rights accorded to persons of this class. The whole question is a very involved one, and was made doubly so by the intricacies of the legislation as drafted, and its relation to other federal and imperial enactments recently passed.

The Opposition brought out the circumstance that, under the law as drafted and presented to Parliament, the right to vote, while extended to some women who during the recent war may have shown no interest in patriotic or other movements, would be denied to the mothers of some of the young men who had sacrificed their lives overseas in the cause of their country. So glaring an injustice required only the exposure of the Opposition to cause the whole matter to be reopened and most carefully considered, The result was an amendment which, while not wholly satisfactory, still went a very long way to remove from persons of foreign origin who had become British subjects, obligations which might well be construed as indignities when required of one class of British subject, though not of another. The limitations and restrictions referred to were not confined to women of alien enemy origin, but were made equally applicable to women of French, Belgian, or other origin of the Allied and Associated Powers.

Throughout the discussion of this phase of the Act, the Liberal Opposition in Parliament fought vigorously for the recognition of that fundamental principle of Liberalism which recognized the obligations of Liberals to protect the weak from the strong, and to safeguard the rights of minorities. They fought equally valiantly for the upholding of the rights of British citizenship in a manner which would seek to unify and inspire with confidence all persons sharing citizenship under the British flag.

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The Attitude of the Parties on the Recall

Another strong assertion of the Liberal attitude was made in opposition to an amendment to the Act, proposed by one of the Government supporters (Mr. Tweedie of Calgary West), who sought to disqualify from a seat in the House of Commons any candidate who made himself a party tothe recall. The Liberal position, in a word, was that it was for the people themselves to decide whom they wished for their candidates; that so long as the conditions of candidature were known, if acceptable to the people and not obviously in violation of some right and proper principle of law, it was for the people to choose whom they wished, and not for the people's representatives in Parliament to deny them this liberty. So forcibly was the position of the Opposition asserted in this matter, that the mover of the amendment expressed his willingness to have it withdrawn. When denied this right by the unanimous consent of the House, his amendment, though strongly supported during the debate from the Government side, was ignominiously defeated.

Toleration sought in all things as an instrument of national unity

Liberalism seeks not only the protection of minority rights, but aims at toleration in all things, and at conciliation in whatever may serve to further concord and good-will as between races and classes composing our human society. When, therefore, in considering the provision in the Act under which power was given to the Chief Electoral Officer to issue the proclamation for a general election in the English language and also, in certain provinces, in the French language, and a suggestion was made that this provision be extended to confer discretionary powers upon the Electoral Officer to issue the proclamation in French as well as in English in any constituencies in which there was a large number of French-Speaking electors, the Liberal Opposition acquiesced in the suggestion and sought to have the Act so amended as to confer this discretionary power. The matter, as will be apparent, was a very small one, involving little or nothing in the way of public expenditure, but was of that character which goes far to reveal a spirit of good-will and an attitude of live and let live among people who are members of a common community. The Government, however, declined to accept the amendment.

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Simultaneous By-elections Advocated

Nothing in the record of the Unionist administration since the period of the War has been more glaring than the absolute indifference of the Government to the representation of constituencies in Parliament. While the War was on, advantage was taken of its existence to avoid by-elections by the assertion that it was undesirable to precipitate party conflicts at a time when men of all parties should be united in the prosecution of the War, However, when the War was over, constituencies were still kept without representation, and but for a bill introduced by one of the Liberal members in the fall session of 1919, which provided that a writ must issue for the filling of a vacancy in each and every constituency after a period of six months had elapsed from the time of the vacancy, it is doubtful if action would have been taken by the Government when itwas taken, to fill the sight vacancies which existed in the fall of 1919.

It will be recalled that in September 1919, writs were issued for by-elections in eight different constituencies. Owing to vacancies which subsequently occurred, writs were issued in February of the present year for vacancies in the constituencies of Temiskaming, Kamouraska & St. James (Montreal). Though at the time of these writs being issued a vacancy existed in the constituency, and the constituency was permitted to remain unrepresented throughout the entire session of Parliament. It is only this week , the very last of the six months limit, that a writ for the by-election has at last been issued.

Attention was repeatedly drawn, during the session, to the indifference on the part of the Government to a recognition of what is owing our representative institutions, and to the injustice being done the constituency in question; and upon the third reading of the Franchise Bill an effort was made by the Opposition to prevent the recurrence of like injustice and indifference in the future by requiring that, where vacancies were existing simultaneously in different constituencies they should be simultaneously filled. An amendment to this effect was moved, but was defeated. There are other vacancies, in Peterboro, Ont., and Yale, B.C. at the present time. Had the Liberal amendment been carried, it would not have been possible to delay further bringing on by-elections in these constituencies. The Opposition sought throughout the debateto advance the principles of representative and responsible government; the ministry, on its part, maintained a characteristic attitude throughout of reserving to the Government the power to do as it pleased, regardless altogether of the wished or interests of the constituencies concerned.

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Opposition seeks further publicity as means of avoiding corrupt practices at election times

In nothing, perhaps, is the nation more interested, in the matter of its electoral laws, then in the avoidance of corruption and the limiting of its possibilities at election time. Whilst the old law contained many provisions with this end in view, experience has made abundantly clear many of its shortcomings and limitations in this respect.

A fundamental principle of Liberalism, through its cardinal principle of trust in the people, is publicity at every convenient stage. Accordingly, whilst the Franchise Bill was under consideration, the Liberals sought not only to amend such features of the law as appearedto open the door to fraudulent or corrupt practices, but also sought, by constructive suggestion and amendment, to introduce such new features into the law as would prevent the recurrence of abuses which have become manifest at election times in the past.

One of the most important amendments moved in this connection was that proposed at an early stage in the debate by Mr. A. R. McMaster, M.P., prohibiting, first of all, as the law has been supposed to prohibit in the past, all contributions for political purposes from incorporated companies and associations; but requiring, in addition, that no contributions should be made from private sources, either on behalf of candidates generally or to individual candidates, without publication, within a fortnight, in some newspaper or in the "Canada Gazette", of the name of the person contributing, together with the amount contributed, and restricting the total amount which any individual might be permitted to contribute. This amendment, obviously in the interests of clean and fair-fought elections, was rejected by the Government.

Another amendment, in much the same spirit and even more necessary as a means of preventing the winning of elections by the use of large campaign funds on the part of special interests at election times, was that providing that, where money was paid by any corporation, firm, or individual, to any newspaper, magazine, or other publication, for the purpose of inserting advertisements, articles, cartoons, or the like, intended to influence the electorate during the period of an election, such published articles or advertisements should bear on their face the fact that they had been paid

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for out of funds other than those within the control of the newspaper or firm publishing the name, and should also bear on their face the name of the person, firm, or corporation by whom payment was being made.

Obviously, it is possible for large and powerful interests, if they wish to contribute in immense sums towards the success of any candidate or any party at election times, to pay, as has been their custom in the past,for the insertion of any quantity of paid matter in newspapers, magazines, or in the form of pamphlets. But knowing the origin or source of reading matter of the kind, the public is not infrequently led to believe that it is the expression of opinion of the journal or publication producing it. Were the public informed as to its source, and had the public knowledge of its being in the nature of paid campaign literature, the power of contributions of the kind to mislead and poison the springs of public opinion at the source would be materially restricted.

Though obviously in the public interest, and admitted by the Minister in charge of the Bill to be similar to legislation existing in other countries, the Government absolutely declined to consider this amendment, and it was defeated.

Where can be only one inference from the Government's action in this matter. It is a Government of the big interests, by the big interests, for the big interests, and it is naturally unwilling to give any place in the legislation of the country to a provision which in any way is calculated to render loss effective the assistance it hopes to secure in the winning of elections from those whom it is seeking to serve. So long as the people of the country are unable to prevent practices of the kind, so long will consumers hope in vain for the relief they seek from monopoly and privilege.

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Prejudicial delays planned in discussion of Franchise Bill in Parliament, to prevent possibility of amendment

One word might be said in conclusion, as to the manner in which the Government arranged for the discussion of the Franchise Act. The Speech from the Throne, announcing the Government's intention to introduce the Act, was made on February 28. The Bill received its first reading in the House of Commons on March 11, and its second reading on March 26. It passed into the committee stage on the day following, and remained in committee until June 26, a period of exactly three months. It was not given its third reading until Monday, June 29, at a time when Parliament was sitting Saturday afternoon and night, as well as on until two, three, and four o'clock in the morning on most of the nights of the week. It was known that Parliament in all probability would adjourn not later than Thursday, July 1, and that, to permit of adjournment by that date, time would have to be given for the consideration of the Bill by the Senate. It will therefore be seen how impossible it was for the Opposition to obtain, or indeed, to hope to obtain, any consideration for amendments upon the third reading of the Bill. The Government's plan was to make the measure part of one big drive in which importatn aspects of the Budget and the greater part of the Estimates would also be involved. No assembly regarding itself as in anysense of the word a deliberative assembly would have attempted to do business in such a fashion. From start to finish the method adopted was that of pressure amounting to Force, rendering impossible a proper application of reason or judgment to a measure of such vast national import.

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Toronto Star Aug" 21/20

D 4570 (1)

HON. W. L. M. KING FLAYS ELECTION LEGISLATION

Return to Pre-War Franchise Would Have Been More in Country's Interest.

MANY LOOPHOLES

In New Act for Sharp Practice on Part of the Government.

Special to The Star by a Staff Reporter.

Milton, Aug. 21.—A crowd of fully 2,000 people welcomed the Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King here last night and listened with deep attention to the Liberal leader's vigorous attack on the Government's Franchise bill and an outline of what the Liberal party is trying to accomplish in Canada.

Mayor E. F. Earl officially welcomed the distinguished guest as one of the great men of the day.

Mr. A. R. McMaster, K.C., M.P., of Montreal, made a strong appeal for cleaner politics. "The first thing for us to do to-day is to see that our political atmosphere is clean and pure," he said. "To accomplish that we must get rid of religious prejudice. Emphasize the things we have in common and put away the things that divide us," was his advice.

Mr. Meighen now wanted to make friends with Quebec, he said. "Oh, how I wish I were a cartoonist. I would have Quebec represented as a beautiful girl. Before her, as she sat in the field, I would have Mr. Meighen strumming a guitar and singing 'Oh, Quebec, I love thee. Wilt thou not marry me?' And then I would have Quebec say: 'Oh, Arthur, this is so sudden.'"

Predicts Government's Downfall.

Predicting the downfall of the Government now in power, Mr. W. D. Gregory, the Liberal candidate in Halton, said: "The Government coach is of no more use to Canada now. Its wheels are rattling. The passengers are leaving, believing that very soon it will turn over in the ditch."

Mr. King held his audience for nearly an hour and a half while he outlined his party's objection to the franchise bill and while he explained that the Liberals were first endeavoring to again make the House a deliberative assembly, in making Parliament representative and the executive responsible to the members, that the policy of the party was for rigid economy and for a "freer trade" resulting from a reduction of the tariff on the necessities of life and implements of production.

Mr. King said in part as follows:

"In nothing were the foundations of constitutional government more completely subverted, during the period of the war, than in the setting aside of the old Dominion Elections Act, and substituting therefor the iniquitous War Time Elections Act. No Parliament returned under a measure of the kind could ever be regarded as representative of the will of the people. Interest, therefore, during the recent session centred more largely upon the new Franchise Act which the Government introduced than upon aught else.

"As respects this measure, the Opposition adopted the attitude of doing all in its power to help to restore public confidence in an instrument of government which, perhaps more than any other, had suffered during the course of the war. At the very outset, it was stated that if the Government evidenced the slightest desire to restore faith in our political institutions by introducing an Act which would help to reinspire confidence in the machinery under which our Parliament is made representative of the will of the people, the Opposition would be ready to forget and forgive the iniquities of the past, and co-operate in framing a measure which would help to establish faith in government and the machinery of government.

New Enactment Unnecessary.

"Though the consideration of the Franchise Bill occupied the time of Parliament for the greater part of the session, from one point of view its enactment was wholly unnecessary, and the time and money spent by Parliament in its consideration was simply so much in the way of additional outlay of public moneys at a time when a regard for economy should have led to an avoidance of unnecessary legislation.

"Since 1898 there had been on the statutes of Canada the Dominion Elections Act. In 1906, it became part of the Revised Statutes of the Dominion. This Act was the one under which the elections of 1900, 1904, 1908, and 1911 were held. Under its provisions, both Liberal and Conservative administrations were returned to power. When the Conservative Government assumed office in 1911, and during the three years preceding the war, no thought of its repeal occurred to anyone, and no amendment was proposed in Parliament to any of its provisions. It was, in fact, never repealed; but in 1917 it was superseded, for the purposes of the elections of that year, by the War-Time Elections Act. Some time previously, the Military Voters Act had been passed with reference to the taking of the votes of the soldiers overseas. At the time of the introduction of these measures, the present Prime Minister, Mr. Meighen, stated they were solely for the purposes of war-time elections, and that, for purposes of subsequent elections, a return would be made to the Dominion Elections Act. Later, in the session of 1919, the Government enacted a special By-Elections Act, which was amended at the second session of that year.

"At the time these measures were enacted, it was understood that they were to be temporary in their application; it was never contemplated that an entirely new electoral law would be introduced in Parliament. To give the people of Canada all that was necessary in the way of electoral machinery, all the Government needed to do was in a single clause to repeal the War-Time Elections Act, also the Military Voters Act, which in any event had lapsed with the conclusion of the war; and the Dominion By-Elections Act and its amendments, and proclaimed that thereafter the Dominion Elections Act, which had been temporarily superseded by these measures, would become operative again. This provision could have been supplemented by such amendments to the Dominion Elections Act as in the judgment of the Ministry and Parliament might have been necessary to give the wider application necessary through the conferring of the franchise upon women by the Act of 1910, and for any other purposes that might have seemed necessary and advisable.

"Parliament would have been saved the time, and the country the enormous cost of enacting an entirely new law, the greater part of which, as subsequently transpired, was after all but a re-enactment of the old. On the score, therefore, of being wantonly extravagant in the introduction of unnecessary legislation, and of playing fast and loose with well-established electoral machinery, the Government is to be condemned rather than commended for the enactment of the new Elections Act.

Two Reasons for Decision.

"Two reasons account for the Government's decision to introduce this new and unnecessary legislation; first, a desire to occupy the time of Parliament with an enactment which, by appearing to be of public importance, would help to conceal the absence of anything constructive in the Government's legislative program; and, secondly, the desire so to alter the electoral machinery as to give to the Government a larger control of the electoral machinery at the time of the next general election than it could possibly have had under the old Dominion Elections Act. That both were actuating and determining motives, there can be no doubt.

"That the real motive of the Government was to secure a wider measure of control of electoral machinery than existed under the Dominion Elections Act is apparent from the fact that one serious departure in the new law from the old is that which does away with the practice of utilizing municipal and Provincial lists as the basis of the voters' lists for Federal purposes, and the substitution therefor of lists prepared for the most part and revised by the Government's own appointees or their nominees.

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Embodies Worst Features.

"The significance of the change in the electoral law as determined upon and effected by the new Franchise Act, in a word, is that it is a reversion of the old Tory methods against which the Liberal party in 1895 contended so strenuously, through the substitution, for Federal purposes, of lists prepared by the Government's own appointees, for lists municipally and Provincially prepared.

"It will be remembered that the most vicious feature of the War-Time Elections Act was the abandonment of lists municipally and Provincially prepared, and the substitution therefor of lists finally prepared by enumerators appointed by the Government itself, or by some of its own appointees. What was sought for by the administration, and what has been partially effected under the new law, is a return to this very system in the preparation of voters' lists by appointees of the Government under the name of registrars.

"It is true that the Government carried the day, as it knew it would before the measure was introduced. At the same time, the bill which received the sanction of the Governor-General was in many important particulars a very different measure from the one originally introduced.

For Fraudulent Conduct.

"In the teeth of the Government's determination to keep the electoral machinery in its own hands, the Opposition fought resolutely to take from the enumerators many of the arbitrary and excessive powers with which, in the provisions of the Act as introduced, they had been endowed, and to circumscribe, in as effective a manner as possible, the many openings for fraudulent manipulations and practices which were only too apparent in the measure as introduced.

Open Voting in Rural Polls.

"Most glaring, perhaps, of all of the open doors to fraud which the law as drafted and presented to Parliament disclosed were the provisions that in rural districts on the day of election the polls should open at six o'clock in the morning and remain open until eight at night, and that anyone, man or woman, whether his or her name was on a list or not, could, by being present at the poll and demanding the right to vote, be given this right by the deputy returning officer, by compliance with no condition other than willingness to take an oath as to being entitled to vote at that particular poll. Observe what this meant: Under the law as framed, the Government appoints the returning officers for the several constituencies. These appointees of the Government appoint the several deputy returning officers and the poll clerks. Under the law as it stood, when introduced, any stranger could present himself or herself at an election booth in the dark of early morning, or at any time during the day, and be given a ballot simply by demanding it from one of these partisan officers, who would have the law before him as a justification for not refusing a ballot wherever the applicant was willing to take an oath as to being entitled to vote. Without any name being on the list, and despite all protests from any source, such person under the law could be given a ballot, indistinguishable from any other, and deposit it in the ballot box along with all other ballots therein deposited. There was nothing in the law to prevent this practice being repeated from poll to poll by anyone ready to take the risks involved in committing perjury. It might be practised by one person at a hundred polls, or by a hundred persons at a single poll. So long as prepared to run the risks involved, their right to vote under the circumstances described could not be questioned or denied.

"The Opposition succeeded in effecting a change postponing the hour of the opening of the roll from six until eight in the morning.

"Next, the Opposition endeavored to prevent outsiders coming into any poll and voting, by requiring not only that the oath administered to the person so presenting himself should include the declaration that he was a resident of the polling division, but that before a ballot could be given him by the deputy returning officer another person, resident in the district and whose name appeared on the voters' lists as entitled to vote in the district should also be required to take an oath that the person applying for a ballot and declaring on oath his right to vote was known to him personally, was a resident of the polling division, and had a right to receive a ballot. This much, but no more, was secured.

Opposition Efforts Defeated.

"To alter in one important particular the partisan aspect of the machinery, as provided by the Act, the Opposition proposed an amendment that, instead of giving to the Government the power, under order-in-Council, to appoint whomever they might wish as returning officers, which would mean the selection, in 99 out of 100 cases, of Government favorites, the returning officers should be chosen from a list of permanent officials in the several constituencies, whose certain tenure of office would at least be something of a guarantee that they would act impartially in the administration of the law and the appointment of registrars. This amendment still left to the Government the right of choosing as between individuals in these different classes. The Government, however, refused to entertain the amendment, and it was defeated.

Drafted Bill Was Bad.

"It is difficult to know whether deliberate oversight or deliberate cunning was responsible for one provision in the bill as introduced, which would have deprived hundreds of thousands of British subjects of their right to vote, and which made the original measure as vicious in its disfranchising possibilities as the infamous War-time Elections Act. This was the provision respecting naturalization with respect to the women of alien origin.

"The Opposition brought out the circumstance that, under the law as drafted and presented to Parliament, the right to vote, while extended to some women who during the recent war may have shown no interest in patriotic or other movement, would be denied to the mothers of some of the young men who had sacrificed their lives overseas in the cause of their country. So glaring an injustice required only the exposure of the Opposition to cause the whole matter to be reopened and most carefully considered.

"Throughout the discussion of this phase of the Act, the Liberal Opposition in Parliament fought vigorously for the recognition of that fundamental principle of Liberalism which recognizes the obligations of Liberals to protect the weak from the strong, and to safeguard the rights of minorities.

Attitude of Parties on Recall.

"Another strong assertion of the Liberal attitude was made in opposition to an amendment to the Act, proposed by one of the Government supporters (Mr. Tweedie of Calgary West), who sought to disqualify from a seat in the House of Commons any candidate who made himself a party to the recall. The Liberal position, in a word, was that it was for the people themselves to decide whom they wished for their candidates; that so long as the conditions of candidature were known, if acceptable to the people and not obviously in violation of some right and proper principle of law, it was for the people to choose whom they wished, and not for the people's representatives in Parliament to deny them this liberty.

"An effort was made by the Opposition to prevent the recurrence of like injustices and indifference in the future by requiring that, where vacancies were existing simultaneously in different constituencies, they should be simultaneously filled. An amendment to this effect was moved, but was defeated.

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Guelph Mercury
August 21/20

D 4572

MILTON HEARS LIBERAL LEADER

Big Rally of Picnickers to Hear Leader of Federal Opposition

MILTON, Aug. 20.—Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King was given a royal welcome by the people of Milton in Victoria Park when he addressed a gathering of 2,200 people and explained the principles of Liberalism interest in contrast to Conservatives. Victoria Park was gaily hung with flags and bunting, and electric lights festooned the trees.

Passengers Leaving.

In a short address Mayor E. F. Earl welcomed Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King to Milton. "The Tory party coach is rattling, and the passengers are leaving it," stated W. D. Gregory in referring to the new party at Ottawa. "We need a new machine to run."

He stated that he had read Premier Meighen's speech, and declared that the Premier belonged to a past age.

In reference to the fact that William Lyon Mackenzie spent some time in Halton following the rebellion, and that no one, Liberal or Tory, would attempt to win the one thousand pounds reward offered for his head, the speaker pointed out that Halton now wished the great rebel's grandson to use his head to help Canada surmount her difficulties.

Following came A. R. McMaster, K.C., M.P., who made a strong plea for the banishing of religous and racial difference in Canada. Speaking for his Province of Quebec, he declared the people "pretty much of a muchness with the people of Ontario when vital questions arise on which we should be united."

The shipbuilding program, militia estimates and naval expenditures were denounced. The Government proposed, he said, to spend a further $20,000,000 on ships when it cost from $180 to $200 a ton to build them. Canada could get them cheaper elsewhere and freights were dropping.

In conclusion, he declared that Premier Meighen had waited until he was Premier and 46 years of age before stating his love for Quebec, while all his record showed his animosity toward that Province.

A short speech by W. J. Clements, Chairman of the meeting and President of the Halton Liberal Association, followed, and Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King was then presented with an address of Welcome on behalf of the Liberal Association, which was read by Dr. H. A. McColl.

Iniquitous Election Act.

Hon. Mr. King declared that in nothing were the foundations of constitutional government more completely subverted during the period of the war than in setting aside of the old Dominion Elections Act and substituting therefor the iniquitous War Times Election Act. No Parliament returned under a measure of that kind could ever be regarded as representative of the will of the people.

Mr. King referred to the fight put up by the Liberals in the past for decent election laws. He praised the quick work of Mr. Drury in getting a good election law in Ontario. In Ottawa the Liberals had sought to have the Provincial lists recognized. Some slight modifications had been made at the demand of the opposition. Mr. King showed the tremendous cost of enumeration showing that the cost of the lists in 1917 was three times that of 1911. Even then many names were left off. He also criticized the power given to partisan appointees at election times. The Opposition seeks to avoid the appointment of partisan election officers, he said.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

D 4573

22 Aug. 1920 Guelph

TARIFF POLICY AND LABOUR-
FARMER UNITY

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TARIFF POLICY FOR CONSUMER, PRODUCER LIBERALS' AIM--KING

Liberal Leader Warns Wellington Citizens To Guard Against Reactionary Forces Now Preparing To Withstand Sweep of Progressive Elements — Thousands Greet Chieftain On First Visit Since Taking Leadership.

GUELPH, Aug. 22.—Despite sultry weather and indications on all sides of a rapidly approaching storm, some 2,500 people gathered at the exhibition grounds on Saturday afternoon to hear Hon. William Lyon Mackenzie King, leader of the Liberal party. Although the majority of those present were from the city, the audience included representative men from all parts of Wellington County, many of whom had come several miles, and but for the fact that the farmers are taking advantage of every hour of daylight to gather in their bountiful harvest, the crowd would have assumed much larger proportions.

But Mr. King's reception on the occasion of his first visit here since his elevation to the leadership of the Liberal party was a whole-hearted one, and his able address was listened to with rapt attention. In a clear and concise manner he explained the difference between the autocratic government which clings to power at Ottawa without consulting the wishes of the people, and the forces of Liberalism, which are fighting the battles of the people and are endeavoring to advance a policy of progressiveness which will take Canada successfully through the period of reconstruction.

Become More Necessary.

"It was becoming more and more necessary," said Mr. King, "to show the difference between the party in power and those who were opposing them, the difference between a reactionary group and a progressive group. All big questions facing Canada would have to be met by two groups, wh. thought differently, those who wanted changes made and those who wished to retain the old order." He urged a larger representation of both Farmers and Labor in the House. "But," said he, "let them go as representatives of the people of Canada and not in the interests of any group; in this way we will build up a great Canada."

Frequently Applauded.

Mr. King spoke for over an hour, being frequently applauded. He contrasted the democratic methods whereby the Labor party, U. F. O. and Liberals had framed their platforms and chosen their leaders, with the autocratic methods used by the present Government. He pointed out that the real struggle today was between the democratic forces on one hand and autocracy on the other. In this connection he said: "Standing today at a distance of a year from that great political gathering the National Liberal convention, we are perhaps in a better position now than then to judge of its significance, not only as an outstanding incident in the history of Canadian Liberalism, but also as one of those graphic and realistic happenings which serve to reveal the democracy of aim and method inherent in Liberalism, as contrasted with the autocracy of its opposing froce, whether designated Toryism, as of old, or disguised under the name of Unionism, or that of its latest hybrid variety, the so-called National Liberal and Conservative party."

Continuing, Mr. King stated that the unfortunate and really dangerous aspect of the political situation in Canada today is that the force which in reality is Tory, is keeping itself united, though hidden, under the guise of an ever-changing name, whereas the forces that are real Liberal forces, instead of being united in one broad forward movement, which could sweep Toryism off its feet for another generation, are being weakened through the maintenance of futile divisions, some of them old, some of them new, but each seeking special emphasis for itself at the expense of the good which all have in common.

Railway Legislation.

Mr. King dealt at length with the Grand Trunk Railway legislation, and said that the Government stated in the plainest terms that it would permit no alteration whatever in the wording or terms of the agreement, except such as of its own accord it cared to introduce. The speaker also told of the efforts made by himself and followers in Parliament to secure for the employees of the G. T. R. and their families the pension rights of which many of them had been deprived since the strike of April, 1911. He showed how arbitrary the Government had been in refusing to permit any provision to be added to the contract which would secure these rights to the employees. They were ready enough to consider the company's shareholders in England, but were unwilling to be equally considerate of the rights of Canadian workingmen.

Mr. King concluded his speech by briefly outlining the Liberal policy in the matter of tariff, which he said would be a tariff for the consumer and the producer, and not a tariff to further the interests of combines, monopolies, or of any special or privileged class. He appealed to all the democratic forces to unite in opposition to the autocratic and privileged groups that were usurping power and controlling the affairs of the Government in Canada today.

Denounces Strife.

A. R. McMaster, K.C., M.P., of Broome, Quebec, made a strong plea for the removal of religious and racial strife. When this was done, he contended, the political life of Canada would be healthy, wholesome and sound. It should be the privilege of everyone in Canada to learn two languages, and it was only in certain parts of the country where this was not desired. It did not matter in what language a person expressed himself, as long as he thought "Canadian."

Mr. McMaster characterized the financial condition of Canada at the present time as appalling, and the estimates at the last session of Parliament were so great that even the present cabinet did not have the audacity to bring them all down at once, but presented them in three installments, the total being nearly $632,000,000. He compared this with the last year before the Liberal party went out of power, at which the estimates for ordinary expenses of the country were less than $100,000,000.

Notwithstanding the fact that the net debt of Canada today was $2,273,000,000, or $267 per head for every man, woman, and child in the country, the Government wished to spend millions on military barracks and for the militia. "In heaven's name, who are they preparing to fight now?" he asked.

Armies Provoke War.

He contended that the recent world struggle had proven that great standing armies had provoked war more than they had preserved peace, and that the Canadian and American plan, which allowed a frontier of 3,000 miles without a sentry, was safer for humanity than the plan of the present Government to spend huge sums for the erection of military barracks and the upkeep of a standing army. He did not believe that Hon. Hugh Guthrie, member for South Wellington, represented the views of the riding when he told a Kingston audience a few days ago that he would ask Sir Henry Drayton for $2,000,000 with which to build barracks at Kingston. "Are you going to stand for such abominable and wicked nonsense?" he asked, and was answered with cries of "No, no!" In conclusion, Mr. McMaster stated that the U. F. O. and Liberals wanted the present Government at Ottawa to be kicked out just as soon as possible, and if they stood together this could be accomplished at an early date.

Presents Address.

Just before Mr. King spoke, Chairman Auld read an address to him in which he was congratulated on his appointment to the leadership of the Liberal party, and assuring him of the confidence and support of the Liberals of South Wellington.

Previous to the meeting in the exhibition grounds, Mr. King was the guest at a luncheon held in the Y. M. C. A., which was attended by many Liberals prominent throughout the county. Mr. Fraser Auld, president of the South Wellington Liberal Association, presided at the open-air meeting.

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SAYS MEIGHEN LEADS A GROUP OF AUTOCRATS

Liberal Chief Makes Strong Plea for Democratic Government

ATTACKS G.T.R. DEAL

Hon. Mr. King Given Rousing Reception at Guelph Meeting

(Special Despatch to The Globe.)

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Mr. McMaster was the first speaker. He referred briefly to the conditions which exist at the present time as regards the political situation in Canada. He begged his hearers to forget racial feeling. He expressed the hope that all language difficulties would be wiped out. He dealt at some length with financial matters, and charged the present so-called Union Government with extravagance. He stated that the estimates brought down during the last session amounted to over $600,000,000, and that much of this expenditure was altogether unnecessary and uncalled for. The estimates involved an expenditure of $74 per head of the population, and, in view of the fact that the country's debt amounted to $267 per head, this, he declared, was too heavy a burden.

Hits Standing Armies.

Mr. McMaster criticized the proposed expenditure in the Militia Department, claiming that, the war being over, the proposed expenditures were unnecessary. He held that great standing armies provoked war. The amount to be spent for naval purposes, he also claimed, was too great, and declared that the final naval policy of the country should be decided only by the electorate.

He accused the Conservative party of having changed its name to suit its purposes and aims, and made a strong appeal to the Liberals not to allow their forces to be divided.

The Liberal Leader received an enthusiastic reception. He reminded his hearers that they had a great task before them, that of reconstruction following the great upheaval of the past few years caused by the war, and it was a task which must be entered upon with energy and zeal. One of the first things they must do was to get back to the forms and usages of good government, which had been badly shattered. It was one of the duties of the Liberal party to try and restore democracy to the people of Canada, instead of the autocracy at present prevailing. He expressed the opinion that, in view of the fact that the present Unionist group had done pretty much as it pleased since coming into power, it was finding it rather irksome to give up the autocratic methods which it had come to consider as the proper means of conduct in affairs of State.

A Group of Autocrats.

He could not help but feel that the present form of government was antagonistic to both of the old political parties, but was made up of a group of autocrats who wanted to usurp the powers and privileges of the people.

Hon. Mr. King severely criticized the manner in which the present Government selected its Leaders and carried on the business of the country, claiming that the people should be first consulted. He pointed out that when the Labor party wanted a Leader it put the matter up to the Labor delegates in convention, and the U.F.O. did the same. This was the democratic way, and the same method was adopted by the Liberal party at its convention in Ottawa. The delegates selected the platform, and also who should be their Leader. He contrasted this with the announcement made recently, without consulting anybody but the members of the Executive Council, of the appointment of a new Prime Minister, a new platform and a new party.

He stated that this new party, the National Liberal and Conservative party, did not stand for anything, but was just "hogging the middle of the road." This he declared to be autocracy in its worst form. As Liberals, they were endeavoring to have the country ruled by a Government representative of the whole people. They had tried to bring this about in Parliament, but had been defeated. One of those to vote it down was the present member for South Wellington.

Attacks G.T.R. Deal.

Hon. Mr. King attacked what he termed the "usurpation of the rights of the Executive by the Unionist Government," and referred particularly to the acquisition of the Grand Trunk Railway, dealing with the contract at some length, and expressing the opinion that before this was finally ratified the taxpayers should have been given the privilege of expressing their opinion on it, as the shareholders in England had done.

He characterized the appointment of a Canadian representative at Washington, involving an expenditure of $80,000 a year, as an autocratic and dangerous move; found fault with the acceptance, without consulting the people, of five ships from Great Britain, involving an outlay of $20,000,000 for their maintenance, and stated that this money would be better expended had it been given to the men who fought overseas. He also criticized the action of the Minister of Militia in asking for millions of dollars with which to build military barracks, stating that such measures as this should be stopped.

Must Revise Tariff.

In closing his address, Hon. Mr. King dealt briefly with the tariff question and taxation. He referred to the enormous public debt, and stated that in order to meet all the requirements of the country all methods of taxation would have to be adopted. The tariff must be revised for revenue purposes, but not for the benefit of any particular group. The high cost of living could only be reduced by producing, and raw materials must be made easier to obtain. He declared the Liberal policy was a tariff in the interests of both the consumer and producer, and not for special classes.

He pleaded for a Government which would include more farmers, more labor men, and more of all classes. Only thus could a strong nation be built up.

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Guelph Mercury
August 23 20

D 4577

LIBERAL LEADER LUNCHEON GUEST

Many Supporters Greet Hon. Mackenzie King at Y.M.C.A. Saturday

Prior to the big Liberal meeting at the Exhibition grounds on Saturday afternoon, Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King and Mr. A. R. McMaster, K.C., M.P., of Montreal, were the guests at a luncheon held in the Y.M.C.A., given by the Executive Committee of the South Wellington Liberal Association. Owing to the restricted accommodation at the Y. it was impossible for the committee to issue invitations, other than the announcement that it would be held, but notwithstanding this, ardent supporters of Mr. King from various points crowded the dining room to welcome the Liberal Leader. The committee were particularly pleased to have present a large number of ladies. Following the luncheon short addresses were delivered by Mr. King and Mr. McMaster, who were introduced by President Auld, of the Liberal Association in the riding, who presided. In the course of his remarks Mr. King stated that on every side he saw encouraging signs for a return of a Liberal Government.

Among those who attended the luncheon were: A. Fraser Auld, Hon. Mackenzie King, A. R. McMaster, K.C., M.P.; Mr. and Mrs. Udney Richardson, Elora; J. I. McIntosh, Ald. Howard, D. Little; A. Egener, Waterloo; Reeve Cameron, Guelph Township; J. W. Oakes; A. Haydon, Ottawa; W. N. Munro, Palmerston; Miss Phyllis Higinbotham, Lethbridge; Norman C. Wallace, Laura Foster, Edith L. Carter, Samuel Carter, G. F. Bibby, W. E. Buckingham, Miss Phebe Stewart, J. G. Reid, Mrs. N. C. Wallace, G. H. Jackson, Miss Jessie Hill, Alex. Stewart, G. A. Wallace, A. McNiven; E. M. Davidson, Elora; R. G. McOwen, W. A. Kennedy, A. A. Black, R. L. McKinnon; C. D. McGregor, Fergus; Dr. A. and Mrs. Mackinnon, Mr. and Mrs. Allan Gibson, Mrs. C. G. Little; J. H. King, Morriston; Ald. Wing and G. M. Yates.

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Globe August 23 20

D 4578

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CANADA

Mail & Empire
August 23/20

D 4579

LIBERAL LEADER SPEAKS IN GUELPH

Advocates Direct Taxation and Revision of the Tariff.

Special to The Mail and Empire.

Guelph, Aug. 22.—Hon. W.. L. Mackenzie King and Mr. McMaster, M.P. for Brome, Que., paid a visit to Guelph on Saturday afternoon, and after being the guests of the South Wellington Liberal Association, addressed a gathering in the Exhibition Park, some of whom were no doubt attracted by a baseball match, which was put on as a sort of a preliimnary curtain raiser. On his arrival at the grounds the Libera leader was greeted by Mr. Frase Auld, president of the association who read an address of welcome and congratulation on his selection a leader, to which Mr. King replied briefly, stating amongst other things that Guelph was no stranger to him as he was raised within a few miles of it and had often come into town when a boy.

In his address the Liberal leade covered some fo the ground deal with in his speeches elsewhere throughout the country, claiming that one of the issues before the people was that of autocracy as against democracy. He dealt lightly with the war record of the Government, criticized the proposed military expenditures, and again stated clearly that it was not a question of free trade, but of tariff revision and the employment of some degree of direct taxation to raise the revenue required.

Mr. McMaster dealt with finances, the hugeness of the demand calling forth his disapproval, though he singled out none for condemnation except that for new barracks, which he thought unnecessary now that the war is over.

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26 Aug. 1920 Renfrew

THE FARMERS' MOVEMENT AND
THE LIBERAL PARTY

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Citizen August 27/20 D 4581 (1

LIBERAL LEADER AT RENFREW MAKES PLEA FOR LABOR AND FARMERS TO JOIN TOGETHER

MACKENZIE KING IN ADDRESS AT TOWN RENFREW

Effort for Unity Made by the Opposition Leader in His Speech at Renfrew.

(Special to The Citizen).

RENFREW, Aug. 26. — Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, leader of the federal opposition, received a wildly enthusiastic welcome here tonight, and he gave a characteristic fighting speech. Fully 2,000 people thronged the Armories and many could not gain admittance.

He made a strong appeal to both labor and farmers to enter politics, but not to enter as a class, because he said if one class gained ground jealousy would be engendered which would prove disastrous to both. He invited both parties to join forces with the Liberals, who, he said, were real democrats and ready to put into effect the lessons which the war had taught.

He dealt at length on the attitude of the prime minister in describing all democrats and socialists who disagreed with him as wreckers and destroyers. He advocated tariff reform, which, he said, was the only solution to the paying of the huge national debt, and described as dishonest, people who talked free trade at this stage of Canada's history.

"The country is honeycombed with combines at the present time," he said, "and the government, instead of trying to combat them are playing into their hands." He also strongly criticized a party which changed its name, policy and premier, without reference to the people of the country. Surely, he stated, no one could allege they were being governed by the people.

Other interesting addresses were also given by Mr. Jos Archambault, K.C., M.P., Chambly Vercheres, and Mr. A. R. McMaster, M.P., Brome, who attacked the Union government for its autocratic policy.

Mr. King Welcomed.

The Liberal leader was given a rousing reception on arrival here. Hundreds of people thronged the depot and streets in the vicinity. Mayor A. N. Moss extended an official greeting and a delegation of the South Renfrew Liberal Association also met him.

Headed by the Citizen's and Renfrew pipe band, Mr. King followed in an automobile and was loudly cheered by the spectators lining the streets en route.

Fully 2,000 people from Renfrew and district thronged the Armory and cheered the leader of the opposition to the echo as he took his seat on the platform.

Mr. David Barr, sr., occupied the chair and in introducing the speakers, stated the audience was the largest ever assembled in Renfrew.

Mayor A. N. Moss said it seemed strange that he, as a Conservative, should be addressing a Liberal meeting, but he did it as representative of the town. He read an address of welcome from the citizens to Mr. King, stating that all felt sure he would faithfully serve the country if his party were returned to power. Mr. E. D. Osbourne, president of the Liberal Reform Association, also presented an address from the Liberal Association of South Renfrew.

Mr. King's Thanks.

Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, who received a great ovation thanked the meeting for the enthusiastic welcome. No man lived a real and full life unless he took an interest in political life, he said. The highest form of citizenship was toleration and moderation, and he felt proud that the mayor of Renfrew, a Conservative, had written the address which was presented him that evening.

"We are in Canada getting down to real democratic principles," he said, "and Toryism which is the reverse of toleration now belongs to a past century."

They owed much to the life long service of the late Sir Wilfrid Laurier, who always put to one side differences and thought of the things that Canadians had in common. Canadian people were now becoming one not only in National ideas, but in feeling.

He spoke at length of the essential differences between the Liberal and autocratic or Tory line of thought. The result of the war was that the heart of humanity was stirred to its depth and at this moment there was rising different movements of that unrest not many years ago. Although we hardly understand them. It was found that current making themselves for a fuller and brief life. The labor and farmer movements were ut an expression of Liberalism in its truest form. The work of Liberalism is to gather those who are out for a democratic government. Those who are out for a better life as the returned soldiers. These were things that Liberalism was trying to gather together to sweep like an ocean over the land and give much needed improvements.

The labor movement was formed to represent every branch of labor and give expression of labor all over the country. This was truly democratic. The farmer movement came into being in a similar way. They started with the people themselves.

Holds Comparison.

He compared the way the Liberal party was started. They set out views as they saw them for the reconstruction of society, and kept on making amendments to better the people.

Liberalism, he said, placed its trust in the people. They talked about governments by the people, but the people had not had a say in the returning of the present government and the Liberals were out to remedy this.

Where did the new party name come from and where did the leader come from? Was there one present who could say they had a voice on either question? And if they called it government by the people. From one end of Canada to the other no one had a word to say as to the naming of the party, policy or premier, except the men in power themselves.

Any group of men able to draw to their side the strong financial parties and combinations and give and accept favor between each other, then it was invisible government. They represent not the will of the many but the desire of the few. They have felt justified to resort to any means to hold the reins of office.

Forces of Democracy.

On the other hand there was the democratic forces insisting on being heard. Liberalism stands for an attitude of progress and conservativism of keeping things pretty much as they are. At the present time the country had been seized by an autocratic combination, who are holding office against the wishes of the people of the country.

Mr. Meighen had spoken of Bolshevists, Socialists, Sovietists, and all were wrong because they did not see eye to eye with himself. He described them all as wreckers and destroyers of society.

It was for the people to chose who were the wreckers and destroyers, however, and Mr. Meighen should go to the country and let them chose.

Mr. Meighen sought to claim credit for the work of the Union government, but there was but few of the cabinet left and it was difficult to see why he should claim credit.

Resigned Ministers.

Many of the ministers had resigned because they stated they were there for the period of the war and they had finished their work. Still Mr. Meighen claimed credit for what had been done by these men who, on resigning, stated they had finished their work. Mr. Meighen took the remnants, and added others, and desired to hold office for another two years, he was able to do this by serving big strong financial concerns.

The farmers at the present time, he continued, were trying to get representatives in the house of commons, and he would like to see them there, but not as a party or group.

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In the same way he would like to see Labor men chosen to represent industrial centers, but not as a representative of a class, rather as the representatives of all classes. First and foremost as a citizen, but having special knowledge of the particular calling or class to which they belong.

Just as sure as success attends the movement of any class it would form jealousy from every other class. Instead of having a united country we will have a divided country. We will have town divided against the country. This kind of party talk is the work of mischievous politicians to try and get class creed and race fighting against each oter.

People, he said ,are no longer interested in the past, but in the present and future. All that Mr. Meighen had spoken of regarding the present was that anyone who did not believe him and agree with him was a wrecker and destroyer. So far as the tariff was concerned, beyond making it apparent that he is going to work in the interest of financial groups, he has made no sign that there was going to be a change.

"We say that tariff is going to be necessary for some time to come in this country. The government can try and raise the enormous debt by direct taxation, by luxury tax, but they would defeat their own end. You must raise money from customs. Don't think it honest to talk free trade at the present time, no matter what our principles have been about free trade between countries. Tariff can be arranged to serve the interest of the consumer and producer, rather than the interests of privileged groups. Reductions should be made on the necessaries of life."

What the people wanted, said Mr. King, was a solution to these problems. The high cost of living was due to a great degree to the special interests getting considerations they have no right to do.

The speaker referred at length to the Murdock charges. Mr. Murdock had proved there were combinations interlocking all over the country to bleed the people. Surely the government ,if sincere, it would have looked into these charges.

What was needed was more interest in humanity and less in material gain. This was what the Liberals were out to give the country, and invited all to share to make a success of the matter in hand.

Anticipates Much.

Mr. Joseph Archambault, K.C., M.P., of Chambly Vercheres, stated it would not be long before his distinguished political chief would be the first minister of the country, for an election was close at hand; the country demanded a change. He paid great homage to the statesmanship and personal qualities of Mr. King.

The aggregation with the weathercock name, would soon be ousted from the Capital. The present government, he said, was elected by fraud and did not represent the people. He referred to the extravagance and autocracy of the administration, which he stated, had been even attacked by members on the government side. Mr. Meighen, in his recent speech, asks the province of Quebec not to remain isolated. That was a lofty ideal for which the Liberal party had always stood. It was strange Hon. Mr. Meighen should advocate this, for he was the father of the race cry of 1917, when he asked the remainder of Canada to put their face against the people of Quebec.

Mr. Meighen and his financial ring of Toronto stand for high protection, but the premier's new love, Quebec, stood for a moderate tariff. If Mr. Meighen were anxious that Quebec be not isolated, he would go to the country at once, then Quebec would be isolated no longer, for she would vote the way the remainder of the country would.

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D 4583 [redacted]

Renfrew 'MERCURY' Aug. 27, 1920

RENFREW RESIDENTS UNITE IN WELCOME TO LIBERAL LEADER

Hon. Mackenzie King, on Behalf of Town, Is Presented With Address by Mayor Moss and Reception Committee of Council.

Hon. Mackenzie King, leader of the Liberal party in the Dominion, accompanied by A. R. McMaster M.P. of Brome. and Joseph Archambeault, M.P. of Chambly and Vercheres arrived in town at 6.40 Thursday night by C.P.R. train from the east. The stirring strains of music from the Citizens' and Kilties band greeted the distinguished party upon their arrival, but there was no attempt at a formal reception at the depot, although Mr. King and his associates were warmly welcomed to Renfrew by Mr. I. E. Pedlow, M.P., Mayor Moss, and other civic officials and prominent Liberals.

The visitors at once proceeded to the Hotel Renfrew, where they were entertained at dinner by representatives of the town and officers of the South Renfrew Liberal Association.

The invited guests included the members of the local Liberal executive, the officers of the municipal Liberal Association in the riding and representatives of the press throughout the district. There were also several leading Liberals from Pembroke.

The time was limited as the public meeting in the drill hall was billed to start at 7 o'clock and this arrangement left less than an hour for the dinner. A few minutes before 8 o'clock a long procession of autos started for the drill hall, with the car containing Mr. King in the lead. When the hall was reached and the audience had found seats Mayor Moss stepped to the platform and on behalf of the citizens of the town of Renfrew, without regard to politics, read to Mr. King the following address of welcome:

The Mayor's Address.

To the Hon. Mackenzie King.

Honorable Sir: In extending to you a welcome to the town of Renfrew, we want you to believe the welcome to be a whole-souled one, and we know that we are expressing the sentiment of the whole town, and wish to say we feel honored at your coming amongst us. We wish to extend to you the right hand of fellowship and give you such a courteous welcome that you will have your visit to Renfrew one of your many pleasant recollections.

We are pleased to know that you are a young man and that you aspire to govern a practically young country, and while we may not all see eye to eye on public affairs, yet we believe that whether you are destined to be the country's first Minister or be the Leader of the Opposition, that you will give your best intelligence and energy to the best interests of this beloved Canada of ours, and we feel sure such energy will be used in the best interests of the people you have sworn to serve.

Wishing you health and strength to carry on the many duties which do, and will devolve on you, and bespeaking for you every courtesy while here, (for which the town is justly noted), we beg to express the hope that you may be spared to serve your country and her people for years to come, and that after your years of service you may enjoy the proud distinction of your worthy predecessor who was universally respected by all parties and creeds.

Signed on behalf of the town of Renfrew.

H. N. MOSS, Mayor,
C. J. MURPHY,
W. P. ALLUM,
Reception Committee.

After Mr. King had made a suitable reply, President E. D. Osborne of Arnprior, the new head of the South Renfrew Liberal Association, also read an address, welcoming the leader on behalf of his supporters in the riding.

Mr. David Barr, one of the oldest Liberals not only in Renfrew, but in the Ottawa Valley, was the chairman of the evening, and few men know more of the history of the party, local or otherwise, than he, no man, it may be added, has brighter hopes of the future of Canadian Liberal principles. After Mr. Barr's address the meeting began, Messrs. McMaster and Archambeault being the first of the visitors to address the audience. Mr. King, following his usual custom on such occasions, spoke nearly two hours and never lacked an attentive hearing.

The rural districts were well represented in the gathering, while Arnprior sent a large contingent. Secretary E. A. Wright had the Kilties' band go to that town Thursday afternoon to advertise the meeting with their music. Hundreds of hand bills were distributed and this piece of enterprise had a marked effect upon the attendance.

Biographical Sketch.

As the ages of politicians are reckoned Hon. Mackenzie King is still a young man and this is the age when great things are expected of and the heavier burdens are placed on the shoulders of men other than veterans. Mr. King was born in Kitchener in 1874, his father having been a lawyer of note in that town. Mr. King's mother was the youngest daughter of the late William Lyon Mackenzie, M.P., who played so prominent a part in the stirring events of this country. The late Mr. Mackenzie was hounded as a traitor in those stormy days, he was hunted like a wild animal from pillar to post, a price was set on his head and he was forced to fly his adopted country. A great deal of water has run under the bridges since 1837. The spirit of the people has changed. It is admitted now that the man denounced as a rebel in 1837 was really unselfishly devoted to the interests of the Canadian people, that he was in short one of those truly loyal subjects who will neither advise nor quietly submit to any arbitrary measures. Out of the uprising led by Mr. Mackenzie has come responsible government and many other temporal blessings to the Canadian people. What was regarded as a rebellion in those days was really a revolution as the purpose in view was finally achieved, what the discontented party asked for was at last conceded. These concessions probably would have come eventually but there is no doubt that Mackenzie and his followers did much to hasten their arrival. The men who aided Mackenzie in his flight in 1837, who gave him shelter as he made his danger-beset way from place to place, were subject to arrest and imprisonment. Today the descendants of such men prize as an honorable family record the part their grandparents took in one of the most exciting chapters of Canadian history.



Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King.

Mr. King was educated at Toronto University. He has always taken a keen interest in labor and was Canada's first Minister of Labor, being appointed in 1909, was author of the Industrial Disputes Act while in office, helped to settle some serious railway disputes, among which was the famous strike of the Grand Trunk employees.

Mr. King was defeated in the landslide of 1911 and was for a time on the staff of the Rockefeller Foundation as director of industrial relations in the investigations carried out by that body in 1914. He was elected Liberal leader at the party convention held in the summer of 1919 at Ottawa. He is acknowledged to be one of the best speakers before the Canadian public today.

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'CITIZEN' Aug. 27, 1920

LIBERAL LEADER AT RENFREW MAKES PLEA FOR LABOR AND FARMERS TO JOIN TOGETHER

MACKENZIE KING IN ADDRESS AT TOWN RENFREW

Effort for Unity Made by the Opposition Leader in His Speech at Renfrew.

(Special to The Citizen).

RENFREW, Aug. 26. — Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, leader of the federal opposition, received a wildly enthusiastic welcome here tonight, and he gave a characteristic fighting speech. Fully 2,000 people thronged the Armories and many could not gain admittance.

He made a strong appeal to both labor and farmers to enter politics, but not to enter as a class, because he said if one class gained ground jealousy would be engendered which would prove disastrous to both. He invited both parties to join forces with the Liberals, who, he said, were real democrats and ready to put into effect the lessons which the war had taught.

He dealt at length on the attitude of the prime minister in describing all democrats and socialists who disagreed with him as wreckers and destroyers. He advocated tariff reform, which, he said, was the only solution to the paying of the huge national debt, and described as dishonest, people who talked free trade at this stage of Canada's history.

"The country is honeycombed with combines at the present time," he said, "and the government, instead of trying to combat them are playing into their hands." He also strongly criticised a party which changed its name, policy and premier, without reference to the people of the country. Surely, he stated, no one could allege they were being governed by the people.

Other interesting addresses were also given by Mr. Jos Archambault, K.C., M.P., Chambly Vercheres, and Mr. A. R. McMaster, M.P., Brome, who attacked the Union government for its autocratic policy.

Mr. King Welcomed.

The Liberal leader was given a rousing reception on arrival here. Hundreds of people thronged the depot and streets in the vicinity. Mayor A. N. Moss extended an official greeting and a delegation of the South Renfrew Liberal Association also met him.

Headed by the Citizen's and Renfrew pipe band, Mr. King followed in an automobile and was loudly cheered by the spectators lining the streets en route.

Fully 2,000 people from Renfrew and district thronged the Armory and cheered the leader of the opposition to the echo as he took his seat on the platform.

Mr. David Barr, sr., occupied the chair and in introducing the speakers, stated the audience was the largest ever assembled in Renfrew.

Mayor A. N. Moss said it seemed strange that he, as a Conservative, should be addressing a Liberal meeting, but he did it as representative of the town. He read an address of welcome from the citizens to Mr. King, stating that all felt sure he would faithfully serve the country if his party were returned to power. Mr. E. D. Osbourne, president of the Liberal Reform Association, also presented an address from the Liberal Association of South Renfrew.

Mr. King's Thanks.

Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, who received a great ovation thanked the meeting for the enthusiastic welcome. No man lived a real and full life unless he took an interest in political life, he said. The highest form of citizenship was toleration and moderation, and he felt proud that the mayor of Renfrew, a Conservative, had written the address which was presented him that evening.

"We are in Canada getting down to real democratic principles," he said, "and Toryism which is the reverse of toleration now belongs to a past century."

They owed much to the life long service of the late Sir Wilfrid Laurier, who always put to one side differences and thought of the things that Canadians had in common, Canadian people were now becoming one not only in National ideas, but in feeling.

He spoke at length of the essential differences between the Liberal and autocratic or Tory line of thought. The result of the war was that the heart of humanity was stirred to its depth and at this moment there was rising different movements of that unrest not many years ago. Although we hardly understand them. It was found that current making themselves for a fuller and brief life. The labor and farmer movements were ut an expression of Liberalism in its truest form. The work of Liberalism is to gather those who are out for a democratic government. Those who are out for a better life as the returned soldiers. These were things that Liberalism was trying to gather together to sweep like an ocean over the land and give much needed improvements.

The labor movement was formed to represent every branch of labor and give expression of labor all over the country. This was truly democratic. The farmer movement came into being in a similar way. They started with the people themselves.

Holds Comparison.

He compared the way the Liberal party was started. They set out views as they saw them for the reconstruction of society, and kept on making amendments to better the people.

Liberalism, he said, placed its trust in the people. They talked about governments by the people, but the people had not had a say in the returning of the present government and the Liberals were out to remedy this.

Where did the new party name come from and where did the leader come from? Was there one present who could say they had a voice on either question? And if they called it government by the people. From one end of Canada to the other no one had a word to say as to the naming of the party, policy or premier, except the men in power themselves.

Any group of men able to draw to their side the strong financial parties and combinations and give and accept favor between each other, then it was invisible government. They represent not the will of the many but the desire of the few. They have felt justified to resort to any means to hold the reins of office.

Forces of Democracy.

On the other hand there was the democratic forces insisting on being heard. Liberalism stands for an attitude of progress and conservativism of keeping things pretty much as they are. At the present time the country had been seized by an autocratic combination, who are holding office against the wishes of the people of the country.

Mr. Meighen had spoken of Bolshevists, Socialists, Sovietists, and all were wrong because they did not see eye to eye with himself. He described them all as wreckers and destroyers of society.

It was for the people to chose who were the wreckers and destroyers, however, and Mr. Meighen should go to the country and let them chose.

Mr. Meighen sought to claim credit for the work of the Union government, but there was but few of the cabinet left and it was difficult to see why he should claim credit.

Resigned Ministers.

Many of the ministers had resigned because they stated they were there for the period of the war and they had finished their work. Still Mr. Meighen claimed credit for what had been done by these men who, on resigning, stated they had finished their work. Mr. Meighen took the remnants, and added others, and desired to hold office for another two years, he

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was able to do this by serving big strong financial concerns.

The farmers at the present time, he continued, were trying to get representatives in the house of commons, and he would like to see them there, but not as a party or group. In the same way he would like to see Labor men chosen to represent industrial centers, but not as a representative of a class, rather as the representatives of all classes. First and foremost as a citizen, but having special knowledge of the particular calling or class to which they belong.

Just as sure as success attends the movement of any class it would form jealousy from every other class. instead of having a united country we will have a divided country. We will have town divided against the country. This kind of party talk is the work of mischievous politicians to try and get class creed and race fighting against each oter.

People, he said ,are no longer interested in the past, but in the present and future. All that Mr. Meighen had spoken of regarding the present was that anyone who did not believe him and agree with him was a wrecker and destroyer. So far as the tariff was concerned, beyond making it apparent that he is going to work in the interest of financial groups, he has made no sign that there was going to be a change.

"We say that tariff is going to be necessary for some time to come in this country. The government can try and raise the enormous debt by direct taxation, by luxury tax, but they would defeat their own end. You must raise money from customs. Don't think it honest to talk free trade at the present time, no matter what our principles have been about free trade between countries. Tariff can be arranged to serve the interest of the consumer and producer, rather than the interests of privileged groups. Reductions should be made on the necessaries of life."

What the people wanted, said Mr. King, was a solution to these problems. The high cost of living was due to a great degree to the special interests getting considerations they have no right to do.

The speaker referred at length to the Murdock charges. Mr. Murdock had proved there were combinations interlocking all over the country to bleed the people. Surely the government ,if sincere, it would have looked into these charges.

What was needed was more interest in humanity and less in material gain. This was what the Liberals were out to give the country, and invited all to share to make a success of the matter in hand.

Anticipates Much.

Mr. Joseph Archambault, K.C., M.P. of Chambly Vercheres, stated it would not be long before his distinguished political chief would be the first minister of the country, for an election was close at hand; the country demanded a change. He paid great homage to the statesmanship and personal qualities of Mr. King.

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Renfrew Journal
September 2,1920

HON. M

Lake Dore on Sunday.

Mrs. R. A. C. Henry and children, of Ottawa, spent a few days of last week at the home of Mrs. W. S. Coleman.

Mr. and Mrs. A. H. McLung left last week for the West.

medicine without relief and thought I would never be able to walk again.

One day while lying in bed, *I read about "Fruit-a-tives"* the great fruit medicine; and it seemed just what I needed, so I decided to try it.

Leader of the Opposition Delivers Brilliant Academic Address at Meeting of Renfrew County Liberals--Joseph Archambault K.C., M.P., and A. R. McMaster, M.P., Also Speak.

Conservative Mayor Moss Voices Citizens' Welcome to Liberal Leader

We are devoting a good deal of space in this issue to the report of the Liberal meeting of last Thursday, as we believe our readers are interested in the discussion of the affairs of the country by the political leaders, so we do not waste much time in the introduction. The meeting must be described as a great success, probably the audience numbered close to -2,000. Hon. Mr. King and his party had reason to be proud of the reception they received. The welcome to the leader of the Opposition was hearty and spontaneous, and was by no means confined to his political followers. Indeed the good will expressed by the whole community was fittingly crowned when staunch Conservative Mayor Moss read and presented Mr. King with an address of welcome, an excellent illustration of the tolerance and good feeling which exists between the political parties within our gates.

Mr. King and party were enthusiastically received at the C. P. R. station, both by Citizens' and Pipe Band being present to do him honor as well as representatives of the Town Council, members of the Liberal Association and many other prominent Liberals and citizens.

A banquet was given in Hotel Renfrew, which must have given the distinguished visitors a good impression of the town for a start, by the Liberal Association, the invited guests including the officers of the local and Riding Liberal Associations, several leading Liberals from outside places, and the Press of the County, and of course Mr. I. E. Pedlow, the member.

At the Drill Hall the chair was taken by Mr. David Barr, Sr., now past his eightieth birthday, and an excellent chairman he made.

We might just draw attention in passing to the eulogistic expressions which were uttered by all three speakers on the many excellent qualities of Mr. Pedlow.

Mr. McMaster said he is a good member, always on the job early and late, and is not in the House to advance any special interest, but, as he sees it, to advance the interests of the Canadian people. We regretted that Mr. McMaster did not have more time for his speech, but a Renfrew audience knows from experience of what Mr. McMaster is capable.

Mr. Barr, in his opening remarks, said:

"Through the courtesy of the Liberal Association of South Renfrew, I am here before you to-night, and I assure you I feel it a great honor to have the privilege of looking upon this vast assembly, the largest ever I faced in this my native town. In coming here to-night to perform the duties of Chairman of this meeting I would hardly be asked to give a Chairman's address, but I have the privilege, of course, of saying a few words, and in doing so the first that comes to my memory and to my thoughts is how pleased I am to see so many of the young people present at this meeting. I tell you boys and girls, I remember, and I am a pretty old man now you see, but I remember from the time I was two years and nine months old, and now the youngest of you here will probably remember this night when you are four score years as I am. You will think of this meeting and think of the old man who stood up on the shaky old boards to govern this large body of Renfrew people.

I will not take up your time trying to make any address, but I was pleased when I came down town to-day, to see a notice up on one of the posts, issued by the Mayor of the Town. I have been long enough in the town to have a pretty good idea of the feelings of the people on political matters, and it was a great pleasure to see the Mayor's name at the foot of a notice asking the people to aid in giving the use of their cars for bringing the visitors up. It showed that although we sometimes don't think alike in political matters, we, as citizens could join together to welcome and listen to an address from any eminent person or persons on questions of the day." (applause).

Mayor Moss, who was the next speaker, said:

"In the first place I want to thank the Executive of the Liberal party of the Riding of South Renfrew for asking me to draft an address to present to our Honored Guest. They have never asked what that address contained. I wrote it myself as it appealed to me as a fair man representing a fair minded people, and as Mr. Barr has intimated, it seems strange possibly to see Harry Moss addressing a Liberal meeting." (applause).

The Mayor then read and presented the following address to Mr. King:

Renfrew, Ontario, Aug. 26, 1920.
The Hon.. McKenzie King.
Honorable Sir:—

In extending to you a welcome to the Town of Renfrew, we want you to believe the welcome to be a whole-souled one, and we know that we are expressing the sentiment of the whole Town, and wish to say we feel honored at your coming amongst us. We wish to extend to you the right hand of fellowship and give you such a courteous welcome that you will have your visit to Renfrew one of your many pleasant recollections.

We are pleased to know that you are a young man and that you aspire to govern a practically young country, and while we may not all see eye to eye on public affairs, yet we believe that, whether you are destined to be the country's first Minister or be the Leader of the Opposition, that you will give your best intelligence and energy to the best interests of this beloved Canada of ours, and we feel sure such energy will be used in the best interests of the people you have sworn to serve.

Wishing you health and strength to carry on the many duties which do, and will devolve on you, and bespeaking for you every courtesy while here, for which the Town is justly noted, we beg to express the hope that you may be spared to serve your country and her people for years to come, and that after your years of service you may enjoy the proud distinction of your worthy predecessor who was universally respected by all parties and creeds.

Signed on behalf of the Town of Renfrew.

Reception Committee.
H. N. Moss
Mayor.
C. J. Murphy
W. P. Allum.

Mr. E. D. Osborne of Arnprior, President of the Liberal Association of South Renfrew read an address of welcome and appreciation to Mr. King from the South Renfrew Liberal Association, after which the Chairman called on Mr. Archambault.

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Mr. Archambault.

Mr. Joseph Archambault first addressed the meeting in French and then continuing in English, said:

"I am here to-night because I thought it would be a splendid opportunity to publicly pay my respects to my distinguished leader, the Hon. Wm. Lyon McKenzie King, for his high character and his statesmanship, which qualities are necessary for leaders of great bodies in the Dominion. I thought also that it would be aspledid opportunity to come and give a little help to my good, honest, hard-working colleague—Mr. Pedlow, your member for South Renfrew, and to tell you the truth, I was eager to meet the stalwart Liberals of South Renfrew who did their duty in 1917, and who I am sure when the aggregation which is now at Ottawa, the aggregation that I will call the aggregation with the weather cock name, decide to bring an election, will again unfurl the Liberal banner and join the best of the Dominion of Canada in ousting the present Government. (applause). You will see, I am sure, with the rest of the Dominion, that the people of this country have long realized that the present Government is not representative of the people. They were elected by fraud; everyone knows that they were elected through the War Time Elections Act, which deprived hundred and hundreds of citizens who had a vote, through the Military Voters' Act, which had some good features in giving votes to the bona fide soldiers and to the relatives of soldiers, but which was used by this Government to defraud the people of Canada of their will at the poll.

Mr. Archambault went on to speak of the effect of the placing of the soldiers' votes in his own and other constituencies, by which means he said fourteen members elected by the civil vote had been deprived of their seats in the House. He also referred to the tremendous increase in the Dominion noational debt and continued.

The Hon. Mr. Meighen and Mr. Godfrey and his friend who are now touring the country, said that the past administration should not be looked into. Why there was an editorial in the Montreal Gazette of to-day, which says the electors should not look into the past performances, they should look into the promises of the future. All the evils of the Tory administration from 1911 to 1917 and the Union Government from 1917 to 1920, according to these gentlement, should not be looked into, because there is a new baby born—there is the National Liberal Conservative party, and the Hon. Mr. Meighen is candid enough to believe that intelligent electors of this country will not take into account the misdeeds of the other Government, but will look into the record of the new born baby. I am sure, Mr. Chairman, that when next election comes, the Liberals of Canada will first look into the record of the Tory administration from 1911 to 1917, then into the administration of the Union Government from 1917 to 1919 and if they cannot find enough in these two records to send the Government where Bill Johnston went, they will then look into the record of the new born baby—the National Liberal Conservative Party.

Mr. Meighen in the same speech at Stirling took a strange attitude. He has talked about the unity of the different races in this country, he has spoken about the mutual concessions and mutual respect that each race should have for the other, and he has prayed the Province of Quebec not to remain isolated. The first part of these remarks, Mr. Chairman, contained lofty ideals, commendable ideals, but they were expressed by other people in this country before Mr. Meighen, by our regretted Leader Sir Wilfrid Laurier before he entered political life, when he delivered an address at his College at McGill, in his boyhood. He asked the people of Canada, all the different races of Canada, to unite in mutual respect and consideration for each other. The Liberal party has always stood for such a principle. But at a big gathering in the month of August, 1919, at Ottawa, there was a resolution passed claiming mutual respect and concessions, these are the exact words 'for the different races, and equality between the different races,' and it is strange that the Hon. Mr. Meighen has changed his mind so quickly: why he is the one who is the father of the race cry in 1917, Mr. Meighen is the one who practically created this racial strife in 1917, when he tried to ally all English speaking citizens of this country against the French speaking citizens."

Speaking of the tariff Mr. Archambault said that Quebec was neither a free trader nor a high protectionist, but was in favor of a moderate tariff.

Hon. Mackenzie King.

Mr. King, who was enthusiastically received, spoke as follows:

"It has been my privilege during the last three weeks to address some 15 or 16 different meetings in different parts of this Province, and while in some of the larger centres there have been gatherings that were larger than the one I am speaking to at this moment, I doubt that if in any centre that it has been the privilege of myself and my colleagues to speak, there has been an audience more generally representing all classes in the community and showing a better spirit than the audience here to-night.

I think all of us who really appreciate what it means to have Mr. Barr in the chair this evening, will recall the circumstances that we had presiding on this occasion a gentleman whose mother was an infant in arms on the battle field of Waterloo at the time Napoleon was defeated. When you think of the two greatest wars in history, the war we have just passed through, and the war that preceded it by a century, of having had a mother who was on that battle field as an infant when that great war was taking place, two generations covering more than a century, and covering great periods of change in the world's history, we are indeed to be congratulated, Sir, not only in having you as Chairman, but on having one who can speak as you spoke with such feeling of what it it to be a citizen in the truest sense of the word, spending the golden glow of the years of life amid political battles and enthusiasm. We trust time and care will deal gently with you and many years spared you to continue your part.

I am reminded this evening, ladies and gentlemen, not only by the words of your Chairman but also by the words of your worthy citizen, Mayor Moss, of a very old political maxim which I learned during my College days, which is one handed down to us from the days of the Greeks, it is a saying of Aristotle—"Every man is born to be a citizen," and that was the view the Greeks had of life at the time Greek culture was supposed to represent all that was finest and best. The conception the Greeks had at that time was that no man was really living his full life, who did not share in the business of citizenship in the very largest sense of the word. Some feel that taking an interest in business, an interest in church affairs, or some lodge is enough, but these things to the view of the Greeks at the time of their greatest development, would seem but a limited part of life, no man living a full and complete life unless he was taking part in the affairs of his country as a citizen. We have in the person of our Chairman this evening a fine example of what citizenship may mean through the years. On the other hand, in listening to the exceedingly generously worded address read by your Mayor, I have thought of the truth of that maxim in another way, in that he has shown to us what is highest, that is, toleration, moderation in all things. It is indeed no small compliment to be presented on visiting your city, not only with an address, but to have it come from one who has told us that he has been a life-long Conservative, written with his own hand and which has not been censored. censored.

There is a great distinction, ladies and gentlemen, between 'Conservatism and Toryism,' which I shall probably try to enlarge upon a little later in the evening.

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Volume D 8

PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Renfrew Journal
September 2,1920

D 4586

HON. MACKENZIE KING AT RENFREW

Leader of the Opposition Delivers Brilliant Academic Address at Meeting of Renfrew County Liberals--Joseph Archambault K.C., M.P., and A. R. McMaster, M.P., Also Speak.

Conservative Mayor Moss Voices Citizens' Welcome to Liberal Leader

We are devoting a good deal of space in this issue to the report of the Liberal meeting of last Thursday, as we believe our readers are interested in the discussion of the affairs of the country by the political leaders, so we do not waste much time in the introduction. The meeting must be described as a great success, probably the audience numbered close to -2,000. Hon. Mr. King and his party had reason to be proud of the reception they received. The welcome to the leader of the Opposition was hearty and spontaneous, and was by no means confined to his political followers. Indeed the good will expressed by the whole community was fittingly crowned when staunch Conservative Mayor Moss read and presented Mr. King with an address of welcome, an excellent illustration of the tolerance and good feeling which exists between the political parties within our gates.

Mr. King and party were enthusiastically received at the C. P. R. station, both by Citizens' and Pipe Band being present to do him honor as well as representatives of the Town Council, members of the Liberal Association and many other prominent Liberals and citizens.

A banquet was given in Hotel Renfrew, which must have given the distinguished visitors a good impression of the town for a start, by the Liberal Association, the invited guests including the officers of the local and Riding Liberal Associations, several leading Liberals from outside places, and the Press of the County, and of course Mr. I. E. Pedlow, the member.

At the Drill Hall the chair was taken by Mr. David Barr, Sr., now past his eightieth birthday, and an excellent chairman he made.

We might just draw attention in passing to the eulogistic expressions which were uttered by all three speakers on the many excellent qualities of Mr. Pedlow.

Mr. McMaster said he is a good member, always on the job early and late, and is not in the House to advance any special interest, but, as he sees it, to advance the interests of the Canadian people. We regretted that Mr. McMaster did not have more time for his speech, but a Renfrew audience knows from experience of what Mr. McMaster is capable.

Mr. Barr, in his opening remarks, said:

"Through the courtesy of the Liberal Association of South Renfrew, I am here before you to-night, and I assure you I feel it a great honor to have the privilege of looking upon this vast assembly, the largest ever I faced in this my native town. In coming here to-night to perform the duties of Chairman of this meeting I would hardly be asked to give a Chairman's address, but I have the privilege, of course, of saying a few words, and in doing so the first that comes to my memory and to my thoughts is how pleased I am to see so many of the young people present at this meeting. I tell you boys and girls, I remember, and I am a pretty old man now you see, but I remember from the time I was two years and nine months old, and now the youngest of you here will probably remember this night when you are four score years as I am. You will think of this meeting and think of the old man who stood up on the shaky old boards to govern this large body of Renfrew people.

I will not take up your time trying to make any address, but I was pleased when I came down town to-day, to see a notice up on one of the posts, issued by the Mayor of the Town. I have been long enough in the town to have a pretty good idea of the feelings of the people on political matters, and it was a great pleasure to see the Mayor's name at the foot of a notice asking the people to aid in giving the use of their cars for bringing the visitors up. It showed that although we sometimes don't think alike in political matters, we, as citizens could join together to welcome and listen to an address from any eminent person or persons on questions of the day." (applause).

Mayor Moss, who was the next speaker, said:

"In the first place I want to thank the Executive of the Liberal party of the Riding of South Renfrew for asking me to draft an address to present to our Honored Guest. They have never asked what that address contained. I wrote it myself as it appealed to me as a fair man representing a fair minded people, and as Mr. Barr has intimated, it seems strange possibly to see Harry Moss addressing a Liberal meeting." (applause).

The Mayor then read and presented the following address to Mr. King:

Renfrew, Ontario, Aug. 26, 1920.
The Hon.. McKenzie King.
Honorable Sir:—

In extending to you a welcome to the Town of Renfrew, we want you to believe the welcome to be a whole-souled one, and we know that we are expressing the sentiment of the whole Town, and wish to say we feel honored at your coming amongst us. We wish to extend to you the right hand of fellowship and give you such a courteous welcome that you will have your visit to Renfrew one of your many pleasant recollections.

We are pleased to know that you are a young man and that you aspire to govern a practically young country, and while we may not all see eye to eye on public affairs, yet we believe that, whether you are destined to be the country's first Minister or be the Leader of the Opposition, that you will give your best intelligence and energy to the best interests of this beloved Canada of ours, and we feel sure such energy will be used in the best interests of the people you have sworn to serve.

Wishing you health and strength to carry on the many duties which do, and will devolve on you, and bespeaking for you every courtesy while here, for which the Town is justly noted, we beg to express the hope that you may be spared to serve your country and her people for years to come, and that after your years of service you may enjoy the proud distinction of your worthy predecessor who was universally respected by all parties and creeds.

Signed on behalf of the Town of Renfrew.

Reception Committee.
H. N. Moss
Mayor.
C. J. Murphy
W. P. Allum.

Mr. E. D. Osborne of Arnprior, President of the Liberal Association of South Renfrew read an address of welcome and appreciation to Mr. King from the South Renfrew Liberal Association, after which the Chairman called on Mr. Archambault.

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CANADA

Mr. Archambault.

Mr. Joseph Archambault first addressed the meeting in French and then continuing in English, said:

"I am here to-night because I thought it would be a splendid opportunity to publicly pay my respects to my distinguished leader, the Hon. Wm. Lyon McKenzie King, for his high character and his statesmanship, which qualities are necessary for leaders of great bodies in the Dominion. I thought also that it would be asplendid opportunity to come and give a little help to my good, honest, hard-working colleague—Mr. Pedlow, your member for South Renfrew, and to tell you the truth, I was eager to meet the stalwart Liberals of South Renfrew who did their duty in 1917, and who I am sure when the aggregation which is now at Ottawa, the aggregation that I will call the aggregation with the weather cock name, decide to bring an election, will again unfurl the Liberal banner and join the best of the Dominion of Canada in ousting the present Government. (applause). You will see, I am sure, with the rest of the Dominion, that the people of this country have long realized that the present Government is not representative of the people. They were elected by fraud; everyone knows that they were elected through the War Time Elections Act, which deprived hundred and hundreds of citizens who had a vote, through the Military Voters' Act, which had some good features in giving votes to the bona fide soldiers and to the relatives of soldiers, but which was used by this Government to defraud the people of Canada of their will at the poll.

Mr. Archambault went on to speak of the effect of the placing of the soldiers' votes in his own and other constituencies, by which means he said fourteen members elected by the civil vote had been deprived of their seats in the House. He also referred to the tremendous increase in the Dominion noational debt and continued.

The Hon. Mr. Meighen and Mr. Godfrey and his friend who are now touring the country, said that the past administration should not be looked into. Why there was an editorial in the Montreal Gazette of to-day, which says the electors should not look into the past performances, they should look into the promises of the future. All the evils of the Tory administration from 1911 to 1917 and the Union Government from 1917 to 1920, according to these gentlement, should not be looked into, because there is a new baby born—there is the National Liberal Conservative party, and the Hon. Mr. Meighen is candid enough to believe that intelligent electors of this country will not take into account the misdeeds of the other Government, but will look into the record of the new born baby. I am sure, Mr. Chairman, that when next election comes, the Liberals of Canada will first look into the record of the Tory administration from 1911 to 1917, then into the administration of the Union Government from 1917 to 1919 and if they cannot find enough in these two records to send the Government where Bill Johnston went, they will then look into the record of the new born baby—the National Liberal Conservative Party.

Mr. Meighen in the same speech at Stirling took a strange attitude. He has talked about the unity of the different races in this country, he has spoken about the mutual concessions and mutual respect that each race should have for the other, and he has prayed the Province of Quebec not to remain isolated. The first part of these remarks, Mr. Chairman, contained lofty ideals, commendable ideals, but they were expressed by other people in this country before Mr. Meighen, by our regretted Leader Sir Wilfrid Laurier before he entered political life, when he delivered an address at his College at McGill, in his boyhood. He asked the people of Canada, all the different races of Canada, to unite in mutual respect and consideration for each other. The Liberal party has always stood for such a principle. But at a big gathering in the month of August, 1919, at Ottawa, there was a resolution passed claiming mutual respect and concessions, these are the exact words 'for the different races, and equality between the different races,' and it is strange that the Hon. Mr. Meighen has changed his mind so quickly: why he is the one who is the father of the race cry in 1917, Mr. Meighen is the one who practically created this racial strife in 1917, when he tried to ally all English speaking citizens of this country against the French speaking citizens."

Speaking of the tariff Mr. Archambault said that Quebec was neither a free trader nor a high protectionist, but was in favor of a moderate tariff.

Hon. Mackenzie King.

Mr. King, who was enthusiastically received, spoke as follows:

"It has been my privilege during the last three weeks to address some 15 or 16 different meetings in different parts of this Province, and while in some of the larger centres there have been gatherings that were larger than the one I am speaking to at this moment, I doubt that if in any centre that it has been the privilege of myself and my colleagues to speak, there has been an audience more generally representing all classes in the community and showing a better spirit than the audience here to-night.

I think all of us who really appreciate what it means to have Mr. Barr in the chair this evening, will recall the circumstances that we had presiding on this occasion a gentleman whose mother was an infant in arms on the battle field of Waterloo at the time Napoleon was defeated. When you think of the two greatest wars in history, the war we have just passed through, and the war that preceded it by a century, of having had a mother who was on that battle field as an infant when that great war was taking place, two generations covering more than a century, and covering great periods of change in the world's history, we are indeed to be congratulated, Sir, not only in having you as Chairman, but on having one who can speak as you spoke with such feeling of what it it to be a citizen in the truest sense of the word, spending the golden glow of the years of life amid political battles and enthusiasm. We trust time and care will deal gently with you and many years spared you to continue your part.

I am reminded this evening, ladies and gentlemen, not only by the words of your Chairman but also by the words of your worthy citizen, Mayor Moss, of a very old political maxim which I learned during my College days, which is one handed down to us from the days of the Greeks, it is a saying of Aristotle—"Every man is born to be a citizen," and that was the view the Greeks had of life at the time Greek culture was supposed to represent all that was finest and best. The conception the Greeks had at that time was that no man was really living his full life, who did not share in the business of citizenship in the very largest sense of the word. Some feel that taking an interest in business, an interest in church affairs, or some lodge is enough, but these things to the view of the Greeks at the time of their greatest development, would seem but a limited part of life, no man living a full and complete life unless he was taking part in the affairs of his country as a citizen. We have in the person of our Chairman this evening a fine example of what citizenship may mean through the years. On the other hand, in listening to the exceedingly generously worded address read by your Mayor, I have thought of the truth of that maxim in another way, in that he has shown to us what is highest, that is, toleration, moderation in all things. It is indeed no small compliment to be presented on visiting your city, not only with an address, but to have it come from one who has told us that he has been a life-long Conservative, written with his own hand and which has not been censored. censored.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Renfrew Mercury
Sept" 3/20

D 4588

THE BIG MEETING LAST WEEK.

Hon. Mackenzie King, the eloquent young leader of the Federal Liberal party, at the meeting in the local Armories last week, brought a new political message to the people of South Renfrew, to the old-time voters, to the newly enfranchised women of the riding and to the growing boys and girls whose political opinions are yet in the formative stages. Mr. King's address was bright with a healthy optimism. He sees no danger to humanity or to the institutions of the country in the different movements that have so upset the old order of things. With choice phrase he describes these various movements as the expression of the desire in the souls of men for the fuller and better life.

There is not a thinking man under the sun today who deep down in his being does not realize that there are better things in life than humanity has ever found, that there are greater tasks to do than man has ever done, heights to be attained that he has never yet even attempted to climb. In days of old when man wished to assert his rights or better his condition, he armed himself and went out seeking the blood of those whom he imagined kept him from his own. The unrest of today may be a continuation of the spirit of uneasiness that was developed during the war, but the methods proposed for achievement are vastly different. Last October witnessed a complete revolution in Canada when old established political institutions were overthrown, when entirely new and untried hands seized the tiller of State and all this without unseemly conflict and without the striking of a blow. If the Labor men and the Farmers of Canada are in the Federal field now with a wider revolution as their objective the only weapon they propose to employ is the ballot. Why then worry about Bolshevism, why characterize as wreckers and destroyers all those who presume to differ in opinion from the powers that exist at the moment?

The platform of the Labor men, of the Farmers and the Liberals are practically identical in all essentials. They differ only in minor details. The three parties by coming together could reach harmonious unity without the surrender of a single important principle. Not even the most rabid Tory partisan is likely to go the length of asserting that the Liberal platform as it existed before the war or as it was rebuilt at the Ottawa convention last summer, contains anything to endanger either the moral or the economic future of the country or Canada's connection with the Empire. The farmers and the workingmen with platforms practically identical can be regarded with the same consideration.

If the workingmen and the farmers of Canada believe that they have been neglected in the past and that their rights have been ignored, if they have made common cause against the party that has controlled the affairs of Canada, with the exception of two comparatively brief intervals of Liberal rule, ever since the days of Confederation, why not go a step further as Mr. King suggests and join forces with the party with whose platform they are in practical accord? Mr. King has shown them by unanswerable argument that by standing apart they are simply lessening their own chances of success and making the way easier for the very party they are so anxious to overthrow.

Perhaps the division of the country into groups has been the natural outcome of conditions that have existed so long. The various elements represented simply rose up to assert themselves. Their action has already borne results to their benefit. Farmers and workingmen are being wooed by the old parties as never before, but the Government now in power simply repels them by its overtures of peace. Nothing that the National Liberal Conservative party can do, nothing that it can promise the farmers of Canada or the workingmen, can gain the confidence of either, who have not forgotten the long list of broken pledges to the discredit of the rechristened organization.

Workingmen and farmers today are forces to be reckoned with. No Liberal candidate in the next election can hope for success if he is openly and avowedly hostile to the Farmers' movement or if any of his suppporters go about the riding declaring that the workingmen are neither needed nor desired in the Liberal party.

The ideal Government is one in which every element in the community has a voice by actual representation. The curse of this country in the past has been a top-heavy and one-sided parliamentary membership caused by a preponderance of lawyers. Labor men are entitled to send members to Parliament and the same is true of the farmers. But by grasping at too much they are likely to lose all. If their several or united ambition is to secure absolute control they will simply drive opposing forces into an active combination against them.

The meeting in the Armories last week shows more than anything else the remarkable growth in the spirit of moderation and toleration that is fast spreading in the country. Even the old timers are beginning to see things from a new angle. The methods of the speakers are different, too. There is none of the old vituperative abuse of the other side. The orator who lambastes his opponents and monopolizes for his own party all the wisdom under the sun has had his day. The minds of men are "widening by the process of the suns." The audience of a modern political gathering is orderly. The man who shouts dissent, interrupts and utters raucous catcalls is heard no more.

The joint political meeting, too, has passed into history, the gathering at which the opposing candidates on the same platform belabored each other with oratorical gloves padded with feathery persiflage. Such exhibitions always delighted a certain element, but so would the performance even today of two experts in fisticuffs. Still no vital purpose in the economy of earth would be served, no educational goal would be attained.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
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Renfrew Mercury 19-D 4589 Re B.C. Campaign Speech

HON. MACKENZIE KING URGES FARMER AND LABOR MAN TO JOIN FORCES WITH THE LIBERAL PARTY

Liberal Leader in Stirring Address at Renfrew Armories on Thursday Evening of Last Week Says That By Pulling Apart From Party Whose Principles Are Identical These Groups Are Simply Making Success Possible For Unpopular Union Government

REPLIES TO RECENT ADDRESSES BY PREMIER

Says Latter is Attempting to Trade on Credit Stolen From Union Government, the Most Distinguished Members of Cabinet Having Resigned—Unionist Party, With New Name, Leader and Platform, Has No Longer Mandate to Carry On But Should Resign

GRATIFIED BY HIS RECEPTION IN RENFREW

Hon. Mackenzie King does not fail to note the signs of the times. He sees evidence of the fact that the world is growing in that spirit of broadmindedness and toleration of which the late Sir Wilfrid Laurier was so able an exponent. Canadians are having more regard for the opinions of each other even if these be directly opposite to their own. And Mr. King carried away from Renfrew after the big meeting in the armories on Thursday night of last week, the pleasing impression that one of the outstanding and original disciples of the new cult is Mayor Moss of this town.

When the members of the Liberal executive committee asked Mayor Moss to prepare an address of welcome to Mr. King they left the matter entirely to himself, having unbounded confidence in his public spirit and sense of fairness. There was neither dictation nor suggestion, as to what should be said. The address was uncensored. But Mayor Moss, a life-long Conservative, a fact which he admits in private without apology and boldly proclaims from the public platform, proved himself big enough for the task and rose to his opportunity. The address which he presented was vital with the broad-minded principles of good will, a credit alike to the author and to the town of which he is chief magistrate. Mr. King probably never had such an experience before and his graceful words of appreciation, so generously conceived and handsomely spoken, should linger with the Mayor and the residents of Renfrew as a pleasant memory.

But the mayor went further. He issued over his own official signature an appeal to the people to give the distinguished visitor a rousing welcome in keeping with the town's reputation for hospitality and the response was all that any man could ask for. The reception was non-partisan from beginning to end and men and women who do not agree with the policies of the Liberal party were a unit in bidding the visitors welcome and listened to the addresses with rapt attention, often joining in the frequent bursts of applause. Mr. King's address was an education to the young people especially, clearly defining as it did the difference between the principles of Liberalism and old time Toryism, between progressive thought and stagnation or reactionary movement. His evident sincerity lends power to his language. He is a man who believes that there are still better things in store for humanity and his mission in life is to attain the ideal.

It was a representative audience, the 2,000 or more people who gathered in the drill hall. There were octogenarians there, men who have been the heroes of many a rough and tumble political battle in the past and who often discomfitted, perhaps, were never discouraged. The newly enfranchised women voters were out in force and the rising generation, the hope of Liberalism in the future, were scattered all through the gathering, a fact that Mr. King did not fail to note and appreciate.

The meeting was as orderly as it was enthusiastic. When Mr. King entered the hall after the auto parade, the vast audience rose to their feet and filled the auditorium with their cheers. It was the Liberal leader's first appearance at a Renfrew political gathering and the least that can be said is that he leaves a favorable impression behind him. His address was eloquent and interesting. His logic was masterly and unanswerable. Mr. King is skilled in every legitimate weapon of debate but never descends to innuendoes or personalities. The javelin has no place in his equipment. Not one word was spoken by him last Thursday night that could by an possibility arouse the resentment of the most thin-skinned partisan.

Arrangements in Drill Hall.

The arrangements of the drill hall were convenient and the decorations in excellent taste. A platform had been erected on the south side of the building. The floor was covered with carpets and the posts that supported the canopy over the dias were draped with the national colors. Occupying a prominent place above the platform was a large portrait of Mr. King. Festoons of flags were displayed on the walls on all sides and in the rear of the room, so that it could be read by those on the platform was an inscription: "Welcome to our Leader." The Citizens' Band rendered their usual excellent music as Mr. King entered the hall. There were representatives from all over the riding and from Pembroke and other points in North Renfrew. Those on the platform besides Chairman Barr and Messrs. King, Archambeault and McMaster, were Messrs. I. E. Pedlow, M.P.; J. E. Thompson, ex-President of the Liberal Association; Mayor Moss, Frank Cahill, M.P. of Pontiac county, and E. D. Osborne, new president of the Liberal Association.

Chairman Barr's Address.

There was genuine applause when Mr. David Barr, the veteran warhorse of the Liberal party, climbed upon the platform, and this was renewed when he stepped to the front later to open the meeting, which he did with a vitality that belied the 80 years that he has spent on earth.

"As he choice of the Liberal Association," said Mr. Barr, "I am here to act as chairman and I assure you I feel it a great honor to be looking over this vast audience, the largest I have ever seen in this building. As chairman I have the privilege of saying a few words. In doing so I must say how pleased I am to see so many young people here. The youngest here tonight will always think of the old man on these shaky boards, who is here to govern this large audience just as I can remember the first political meeting which I attended when I was less than three years old.

"I saw in windows in town a card issued by Mayor Moss. It gave me great pleasure to see the Mayor's name at the foot of the card, asking the citizens to turn out with their cars. It shows that even though the mayor has not always agreed with us on political matters he was ready to welcome a distinguished citizen to Renfrew. I will now call upon the Mayor to read an address of welcome to Mr. King.

The Mayor's Address.

Mayor Moss before reading the address made a short speech. He thanked the executive of the Liberal Association for asking him to prepare an address to Mr. King. None of the executive had asked to see what the address contained. He made it himself after his own ideas. Then the Mayor told a story of local interest which fairly convulsed the audience. Some years ago he went into the upper country to build a bridge and asked Mr. David Craig to accompany him. Mr. Craig took his gun, intending to spend the time hunting. He found the forest lonely and, tiring of the sport, asked leave to join the workmen. Mr. Craig worked faithfully for two days and when the job was completed the mayor put him on the payroll at $2 a day. The volunteer worker did not want to take the money but the mayor insisted and finally Mr. Craig consented, but with the words, "Moss, that is the first Tory money I ever got in my life."

"This is the first time," continued the Mayor, "that I have ever addressed a Liberal meeting. I am going to read that address now. If it meets with your approval I want you to let me know that it does so.

There was no doubt as to the unqualified favor with which the audience regarded the address. The applause which broke out at the con-

(Continued on Page Six)



RENFREW BOY MEETS MACKENZIE KING

On left is J. D. McGregor, a farmer and life-long resident of Trafalgar township, who accompanied the Liberal leader on the latter's visit to that section to point on sixteen-mile creek, near Oakville, where William Lyon Mackenzie endeavored to cross when pursued by Loyalist troops during the rebellion of 1837. Mr. McGregor narrated a number of sensational episodes in connection with the flight, and introduced Hon. Mr. King to twelve-year-old Ralph Kelly McGregor, in centre, great-grandson of Squire Triller, who kept the rebel leader in hiding while his seven beautiful daughters entertained the four Loyalist soldiers who had been sent to search the Triller house, and kept them from carrying out their orders. To the right is Hon. W. L. M. King, listening intently as Mr. McGregor related the incident.

The Mr. McGregor in the above picture, well known to Ontario newspaper readers as the writer of special articles in The Toronto Sunday World and other publications over the pen name of Rob Roy, is a brother of Mr. Alex. McGregor of The Renfrew Mercury staff. The boy Ralph is the only child of the latter. He has spent the school vacation on his uncle's farm in Halton county. His mother, Mrs. McGregor, is the youngest daughter of the eldest of the seven sisters above referred to and who afterwards married Isaac Kelly of Ancaster, where she resided at the time of her death many years ago. When Mr. King learned the lineage of the juvenile member of the party he approached him with the words, "Let us shake on that, son."



In left-hand top corner is residence of W. D. Gregory, first house east of Oakville, on south side of the highway, where Hon. W. L. M. King lunched recently in the room in which his distinguished grandfather, William Lyon Mackenzie, hid during the rebellion of 1837. The house was built in 1832 by George Briggs, and two front rooms are in almost the original condition, although the exterior has been covered with stucco and plaster. To the right is Hon. W. L. M. King, smiling as he said good-bye to three old residents who had escorted him over the historic ground and pointed out most interesting details. Below are Hon. W. L. M. King and the three old residents: Major John Kaiting, Mr. John Bigger, and Mr. J. D. McGregor. To the right is the old Philip Triller residence, where the rebel leader was successfully secreted while the seven beautiful Triller daughters entertained four loyalist soldiers and kept them from searching the house. The Mr. Triller who owned this house and who was the grandfather of Mrs. Alex. McGregor of Renfrew, was the son of a United Empire Loyalist who was driven out of Pennsylvania by the American revolutionists.

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HON. MACKENZIE KING'S MEETING IN ARMORIES

(Continued from Page One)

clusion of the reading was sufficient approval.

Address From Association.

President E. D. Osborne of Arnprior then read an address to Mr. King on behalf of the Liberal Association of South Renfrew.

Spoke in French.

When Joseph Archambault, M.P. for Chambly and Vercheres, had been introduced by Chairman Barr he asked the privilege of speaking for a short time in French to those in the audience who understood that language. There was a thrill in his words and gestures as he talked in the language of his compatriots that held the attention even of those who could not understand a word of what he was saying. He proved himself, however, just as fluent when he resumed his address in English and caught his audience at the start with the story of a friend of his who gave a variety of reasons why he did not propose to attend a public dinner, the last and chief of which was that he had not been invited. Mr. Archambault said he had been invited to Renfrew and that he was pleased to have the opportunity to meet the stalwart leaders of the riding who had done their duty so nobly in 1917. He believed that the electors of Renfrew county would again unfurl the Liberal banner and join the rest of the Dominion in the ousting the present Government, a Government that was not representative of the people, that had been elected by fraud, by the use of the War-time Election Act, and the manipulation of the soldiers' vote.

Mr. Archambault told of the efforts that were made to defeat him in his own constituency in 1917 when his opponent was Speaker Ranville, who was a Nationalist in 1910, going about the country telling the people that the Canadians owe nothing to Britain. Mr. Ranville feared defeat from the start. Trying to save himself he went to the barracks where the soldiers were quartered and told them to vote not in the ridings from which they came but in Chambly-Vercheres. They were instructed to vote where their votes were needed and not to waste their votes. On election day a soldier who when asked by the returning officer where he wanted to vote could not pronounce the name of Mr. Archambault's constituency, but was obliged to go to the door to ask the official on duty there and to shout out the name lest he forget it while returning to the ballot box. The soldiers had been drilled not by the military formula "right, left," but instead the words "Chambly-Vercheres" were used to keep them up to their political duty.

Mr. Archambault declared that he had proved all his charges of irregularities in the election before Judge MacLennan and that the Judge had admitted that he had proved them, but declared that there had been no perjury because the voters interested had been actuated by patriotic motives and wished to vote for the only party that wanted to win the war.

The speaker claimed that the Union Government no longer had a lease of power. Fourteen men elected by the civil vote in 1917 and defeated by the ballots of the soldiers would, if in the House, wipe out the Government majority that sometimes was as low as two votes. He ridiculed Premier Meighen's newly acquired love for the French race and his new propaganda in favor of racial harmony. All the premier is after, said the speaker, is the support of Quebec.

Mr. Archambault advised the audience to look into the record of the Conservative Government from 1911 to 1917 when they go to vote at the next election. If that is not sufficient then examine the record of the Union Government. If more evidence is lacking investigate the National Liberal Conservative party's issues. However, Mr. Archambault believes the third stage of the inquiry will never be reached.

Some of the speaker's reasons for asking for the overthrow of the Government are that it is extravagant and autocratic, insisting as it does in governing the country by orders in council. He predicted the defeat of the Government in his own province by an overwhelming majority. Quebec would refuse to be the goat by helping Mr. Meighen out. He closed his address with a complimentary reference to the new Liberal leader and an eloquent eulogy of Sir Wilfrid Laurier.

Mr. King's Address.

Mr. King prefaced his address with graceful local reference. He had recently, he said, addressed 15 or 16 meetings in Ontario but he never in all his tour faced a more representative gathering. He was surprised indeed at the size of the meeting. It was an honor, too, to have such a man as chairman, a man who had taken part in many political battles and though often defeated had never lost faith, a man whose mother had been an infant in arms on the fields of Waterloo when Napoleon was defeated. Two generations thus covered more than a century and connected two of the most important events in history, the war with Napoleon and the recent Great War. "I hope," continued Mr. King, turning toward Mr. Barr, "that time will deal gently with you and that you will be spared many, many years."

Mr. King also complimented Mayor Moss upon his address, which, although prepared by a life-long Conservative had yet escaped the Conservative censor. That was good evidence of the new spirit of toleration of the opinion of others. He said he genuinely appreciated the address presented on behalf of the people of Renfrew and so generously worded by Mayor Moss. He also thanked President Osborne for his address and Mr. Pedlow for the faithful support he had always given him in Parliament. He was thankful, too, to Messrs. Archambault and McMaster who had come from Quebec to help him and was certain that their speeches would do much to bring about that racial unity that Sir Wilfrid Laurier had always advocated. Canada is one country and can be kept so by overlooking the differences between race and creed and thinking only of the essentials.

Party Differences Defined.

Mr. King for the benefit of the large number of young people in the audience then clearly defined the difference between the two political parties, the one representing the liberal and the other the autocratic type of mind.

The war had upset the universe. It bred strikes, and "the destruction of life, property and morals. Only by degrees were we settling down to ordinary affairs again. The ocean after a storm takes a long time to resume its peaceful level. The heart of humanity is like that. The different movements now going on in the world are but a continuation of the unrest caused by the war. Democratic forces are at work everywhere. Some of us are afraid of them, but in the last analysis these new movements are but an expression of the desire in the souls of men for the fuller and better life. The Labor movement shows the new aspirations of the multitude of men to raise themselves to a higher plane. The Liberal party today, while it does not stand for any particular class, takes up the cause of Labor, of the soldiers, of the farmers, and the women of Canada. These are the elements that Liberalism hopes to weld together into one force.

When the workingmen and the farmers desired to form parties of their own they proceeded in true democratic fashion. They called conventions of representative delegates. They chose leaders and sought to have their candidates elected to Parliament or Legislature.

The Liberal party called a convention in Toronto in 1893. The late chieftain was leader then and he wanted to hear the opinions of the people. That convention endorsed his leadership, a new platform was adopted and that platform was adhered to.

The war broke up political institutions and divided men but when the war was over Liberals all over the country were asked to send their delegates to Ottawa last year and the result was the largest political gathering ever held in Canada.

For three days that convention discussed public questions of all kinds. All shades of opinion were represented. When it came to the choice of a leader that leader was chosen by ballot. Every man and woman had a chance to vote. Everything was truly democratic and that is the fundamental Liberal method of doing business. There can be no government by the people when the government at Ottawa is not representative of the people.

"Had any one in this audience," asked Mr. King, "had a voice in framing the platform that has been announced by the National Liberal Conservative party or a voice in choosing a leader? Not one. It is the same all over the country. And yet the people are being governed by that Administration that has come into being so mysteriously."

Mr. King then explained how Union Government had been formed for war purposes. It had every power and privilege. Its every act was approved. The leaders of that Government got together and forced upon the people a new leader, a new platform and a new name for the party, a Government that does not represent the masses but the privileged few.

Mr. King declared that the new Liberal-Conservative party stood for an impossible combination. "Ask Mayor Moss," he said, "if Grit and Tory are the same, and Grit and Tory are but other names for Liberal and Conservative. Why Mayor Moss would not stand for such a combination for a minute. As well might you talk of a black and white party, a hot and cold party, or a wet and dry party. The Government has no right to hold office as Liberals or as Conservatives as neither party would consent."

Replies to Premier Meighen.

In recent addresses, continued Mr. King, Premier Meighen had called the new party the party of progress, the party in the middle of the road, the law and order party, and any who do not believe in it are outcasts. That is the old autocratic idea that only the few can be right.

"All the people here," continued Mr. King, "do not see eye to eye with the new party and yet Premier Meighen says that all who do not are wreckers and destroyers of human society. If the National Liberal Conservatives are a new party with a new leader and a new party it has no right to hold office but should make way for a general election. It has no right to assume that it has a right to exist because it is a successor of the Union Government because that Government really has passed away. Sir Robert Borden has resigned, Sir Thomas White, Crerar, Carvell, MacLean, Rowell, Sevigny and Birrell, have all left the Cabinet. Premier Meighen cannot claim credit for what they have done. Three other members of the Cabinet were never elected by the people but were appointed to the Senate. One of these is the Minister of Labor. Another is Mr. Blondin who was defeated by thousands of votes in two constituencies in 1917. He cannot represent the people. The Government is composed of men who wish to hang on to office, men who are in the centre of the big interests."

Mr. King said he would like to see Labor men elected to Parliament, but as representatives of industrial centres rather than of any one class. He would, too, like to see farmers sent to Parliament. He showed how when one particular class get together in a group they arouse the opposition of everybody outside of that group. If the Catholics, the Protestants, or the French would say they are going to run the country there would be trouble. The splitting up of the progressives into groups only tends to increase the opportunity of the present reactionary government to again get into power.

Another reason given by Mr. King why there should be a general election was that the Government during war time had become autocratic and extravagant. They had been given everything they wanted. They did everything they pleased. They got into the habit of governing by order in council and still wanted to do so and so long as they are in power they will conduct business like that. They had spent two billions during the war and had become so accustomed to handling vast sums of money that they even came to think in terms of millions, and could hardly get down to hundreds of thousands, whereas the people would like a government that could think of how to save mere hundreds. The people should demand that Mr. Meighen and his ministers resign and let new men take their places.

People, he said, are no longer interested in the past, but in the present and future. All that Mr. Meighen had spoken of regarding the present was that anyone who did not believe him and agree with him was a wrecker and destroyer. So far as the tariff was concerned, beyond making it apparent that he is going to work in the interest of financial groups, he has made no sign that there was going to be a change.

"We say that tariff is going to be necessary for some time to come in this country. The government can try and raise the enormous debt by direct taxation, by luxury tax, but they would defeat their own end unless they applied the new tax gradually. You must raise money from customs. I don't think it is honest to talk free trade at the present time, no matter what our principles have been about free trade between countries. The tariff can be arranged to serve the interest of the consumer and producer, rather than the interests of privileged groups. Reductions should be made on the necessaries of life and on all implements used in the work of production."

What the people wanted, said Mr. King, was a solution to these problems. The high cost of living was due to a great degree to the special interests getting considerations they have no right to do.

The speaker referred at length to the Murdock charges. Mr. Murdock had proved there were combinations interlocking all over the country to bleed the people. He had stated that the country was honeycombed with combines. Surely the government, if sincere, would have looked into these charges. Everyone was vitally interested in the high cost of living. Many people could not put up fruit this year because of the high cost of fruit and sugar due to packers' combines and sugar combines. It was a serious matter when the necessities of life were so high in price that housewives could not prepare for the winter.

What was needed was more interest in humanity and less in material gain. This was what the Liberals were out to give the country, and invited all to unite to make a success of the matter in hand.

As illustrating the necessity of co-operation Mr. King said that the German hosts advanced almost to the gates of Paris and kept advancing so long as the different Allied nations fought as separate units. That advance was stopped when all the entente powers were united under Marshal Foch. The peroration of his address was probably one of the finest pieces of oratory ever heard in Renfrew.

Mr. A. R. McMaster.

It was nearly eleven thirty when Mr. King stopped speaking, and a number of people started to go out. The ringing tones of the Big Man from Brome, however, quickly arrested their attention as he rose to acknowledge the chairman's introduction.

"Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen," he said, "I know the hour is late, but if you will be seated I will promise not to detain you for more than a quarter of an hour. I am glad to be here at the invitation, and in support of, my friend, Isaac Pedlow. I am glad to be a friend of his. He is a real good fellow—one-half backbone and the other half Grit. I know his record in the House where he has always been active and conscientious in the discharge of his duty. I had breakfast with him every morning during the session, and when you have breakfast with a man you get to know him pretty well. We are pretty good friends, and we are both new members. We were both sent to Parliament for the first time in December 1917, and we were both elected—not selected. I want to tell the people of Renfrew that Isaac Pedlow is on the job early and late. He is a good member of Parliament. He is not there to advance his own interests or the interests of any special group. He is there to represent all the people. The people of South Renfrew are good people and deserve a good representative."

"South Renfrew," continued the speaker, "is like a miniature Canada. In this riding one has to have the proper attitude of mind to allow Catholic and Protestant, French, Poles, English and other nationalities to march hand in hand and side by side with one common end in view.

"Let's pull down the blinds over the last election," said Mr. McMaster. "But we are going to have another election soon and the women are going to have the vote. When that election comes a Liberal Government is going to be returned. The Liberals, he said, would try to have the election fought out without reference to race or creed. In 1911 the election was supposed to be fought on the reciprocity issue, but in Quebec the Conservative cry was raised against Laurier that he was controlled by his Protestant ministers and in Ontario they urged voters to vote against Lourier because he was a Papist, evidently forgetting that one of their own former Prime Ministers, Sir John Thompson, was also a Roman Catholic. In a Democratic country people get the sort of government they deserve. The voters elect the Government and if they don't get good Government they have themselves to blame. Turning his attention to the New National Liberal and Conservative Government, Mr. McMaster said Mr. Meighen had nailed the flag of protection to his craft, and yet he has added to his Cabinet, Mr. Spinney, who said in Parliament, no later than last session, that he was a strong Free Trader. Some farmers, said Mr. McMaster, say that the Liberal party is not to be trusted. Mr. Crerar was a friend of his and so far as he could see the platform of Mr. Crerar and his farmer friends was very much like the Liberal platform — in fact they were almost identical. Turning to the leadership of the Liberal party, the speaker mentioned the names of some of the great leaders—Brown, McKenzie, Blake, Mowat, Laurier, and said that as he looked at the grandson of William Lyon Mackenzie who was leading the Liberal party today, he had no reason to feel ashamed of the faith that was in him. William Lyon Mackenzie, concluded the speaker, almost lost his life in his efforts to rid this country of the Family Compact. There is a family compact in Canada today, and the grandson of William Lyon Mackenzie is going to upset it and lead the Liberal hosts to victory at the next election, after which the present Government will be allowed to retire to private life.

The meeting was brought to a close with cheers for the chairman and Hon. Mr. King.

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29 Aug. 1920 Brockville

"SOME OUTSTANDING FEATURES
OF THE LIBERAL PLATFORM"

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D 4532

Notes for Speech
at
BROCKVILLE, ONTARIO
August 28th, 1920.

SOME OUTSTANDING FEATURES

OF THE LIBERAL PLATFORM

1. The right of the people to govern themselves

(a) Representative Parliament.

(b) Responsible Ministry.

To obtain that right, need for a general election, and fair, non-partisan electoral machinery.

2. The supremacy of Parliament and the restoration of time-honoured constitutional customs, practices and usages:

An end to Government by Secret Councils and Orders-in-Council.

3. Rigid Economy and Retrenchment:

In public expenditures.

In public appointments.

Get rid of ministers accustomed to war outlays and who have war habit of mind.

4. Reduction of War Debt and High Cost of Living:

End of profiteering

War-time fortunes to pay off debt.

Revision of Tariff.

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5. Downward Revision of Tariff:

In.interests of Consumers and Producers.

Canada to-day in hands of invisible govt.

of big interests.

6. Return to Peace Policies, with generous recognition of returned soldiers and dependents:

Complete demobilization

Reduce military, police, & naval outlays

Police at Ottawa objecting to drill

No more barracks.

Encourage production:

People on land - Immigration - Labour

Assist returned men

7. Open Diplomacy and Increased Publicity in all Public Affairs:

Washington Representative

Merchant Marine

Canadian National Railways

8. Recognition of human considerations as greater than material

Life more than wealth.

Health more than dividends

Happiness and contentment.

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9. Canadian Unity:

Conciliation between races, classes, and sections.

Union of the progressive forces.

Guthrie: Old-line Liberals - of type ready to sacrifice all Liberal principles for sake of office.

Old-time Liberals) recognizing their
New-time Liberals) common interests.

10. Liberal Party looks to the Future - not to the Past.

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Moose Jaw Evening Times
City " 21/20

D 4595

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GOVERNMENT WITH PEACE ATTITUDE OF MIND NEEDED.

Addressing a meeting at Brockville Saturday afternoon, Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, leader of the Liberal Opposition in the Federal House, made a strong bid for the rallying of Farmers and Labor to the ranks of the Liberal party on the plea that it would be better for democratic forces of all classes and shades of opinion to unite against the reactionary Toryism of Premier Arthur Meighen and his supporters.

In laying down the Liberal platform, Mr. King stressed his claim that the Liberal party alone stands for the right of the people to govern themselves. He contended that at the present time there is neither a representative Parliament nor a responsible Ministry.

Referring to the presence of Hon. Jacques Bureau on the platform, the Hon. Mackenzie King spoke of the help he had lately received from Quebec members in his campaign and added that he had heard there was to be a society formed for the better understanding of the two provinces.

From this Mr. King went on to speak of the war services that had been rendered by French-Canadian members and Liberal members or their sons, mentioned several by name, explaining as he did so, because some of them who read the perorations of Premier Meighen might think that the Union Government alone had saved the country.

"In my opinion it is the worst of taste in any man, especially the one who calls himself the first citizen of this country, to try to monopolize the honor of having saved the country in the war. The Liberal party seeks to see that these sacrifices are not all in vain."

Mr. King stated that the only hope was a new parliament with a ministry composed of men who had not the war habit, but the peace habit of mind for carrying out peace policies.

Mr. King added to his programme of tariff policy, which would be in the way of downward revision, peace policies for the encouragement of industry and the promotion of good relations between employers and employees and open diplomacy.

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D 4596

27 Sept. 1920

Victoria, B.C.

THE RESTORATION OF
PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT

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D 4597

SPEECH

Delivered At Victoria, B.C.,

September 27, 1920.

This is a period of transition. We are at the moment witnessing a change from an old order to one that is new, and as yet to be determined. The shock of war stirring the world's soul to its very depths revealed to our mental vision the shattered image of a social and industrial civilization that was full of injustice, a civilization based all to exclusively on a love for material gain and material power. We are now where as a nation we are called upon to make a choice that will determine our destiny. It is for us to decide whether the new order shall be little more than a return to the old with all its worship of material wealth and material power and its relative indifference to human worth and human well-being; or whether it will be an order worthy of the sacrifices of the heroic dead, and the services of those who on land and sea have endured all manner of hardship and peril to preserve the liberties and freedom that we still enjoy.

Much was said throughout the war of the interdependence of all classes in our society, of the social significance of the worker in the mine, on the farm and in the factory, of the services of those engaged in the great agencies of transportation and communication on land and water, of the self-sacrifice and silent endurance of women, and of the equality of the trenches. All this

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was to mark the beginning of a new epoch in the world's history, when social justice and human equality were to become our watchwords. What has become of all this new hope and aspiration aroused amid the sacrifices and stern realities of war? Is the outlook what we expected it to be? It seems to me we have already begun to drift in the opposite direction. Are we nearer standards of social justice and human well-being than we were before the war?

I fear greatly that the social gulf has been widening rather than contracting as a consequence of the war, that we have many rich who are richer, and many poor who are poorer, as a consequence of the conditions which war and the aftermath of war have helped to bring about; that the struggle is harder rather than less difficult for the average family than it was prior to the war, that despite the raises in wages with rates and rents and prices rising continuously as they have been doing on every side and in all directions, the lot of the average worker, of the average clerk and professional man and woman, of the average person of limited income and means is far from being as contented or as free from concern as it was no less than six years ago. On the other hand we have evidence not less striking of wealth in abundance, of individual fortunes larger in numbers than at any time theretofore in the history of our Dominion.

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Do not imagine that I am seeking to decry wealth or the services to human well-being which wealth rightly accumulated and equitably distributed is capable of rendering. I am only noting a tendency which is all too apparent and which cannot continue indefinitely without consequences prejudicial if not disastrous to our future as a nation. Wealth is the necessary material foundation of our civilization, but the end of civilization is not mere increase and accumulation of wealth; it is the enrichment of womanhood and the perfection of manhood.

What was it that the nation said to those brave men who left their homes and kin and country to overthrow the menace of Prussian imperialism and to preserve liberty to Mankind; what was the note that cheered them in their vast endeavour, the hope that inspired them in action. It found many expressions during the war, but here is one as perfect as any that appeared.

"Here - or hereafter- you shall see it ended,
"This mighty work to which your souls are set;
"If from beyond- then, with the vision splendid,
"You shall smile back and never know regret.

There was the pledge we gave at the time to the men who saved our civilization. Now that they have done their part are we going to be recalcitrant in doing ours?

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"That mighty work", do we realize that it was? Was it merely the overthrow of Prussian militarism, that was sought, or was it the preservation of human liberties and the widening of the bounds of human freedom. The forces that were at work between the nations in that great struggle, are at work today in our own social and industrial order. The forces of might and greed and power on the one hand, and the forces of ampler freedom on the other. The question of questions in Canada today, the question which every man and woman must answer at the peril of all that makes for noblest manhood and truest womanhood is to which of these great contending forces in our social organization he intends to belong. Are you going to take your stand with the reactionaries who are prepared to resist all change, who seek in political warfare to raise the old material standards and shibboleths, who describe as wreckers and revolutionaries all who differ from them in aim or opinion, or do you wish to be among those who would realize the "Vision Splendid" of those brave sons of Canada, who with other of the heroic dead, fought and suffered and died that freedom might become in increasing measure the portion of all classes comprising our common humanity.

I hope I do not claim too much for the party to which I have the honour to belong when I say that, however many our limit-

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ations may be, however far short we may come of the goal towards which we strive, the aim of Liberalism in Canada today is to seek the realization of that larger freedom in our social, political, industrial, fiscal, religious and personal life, which constitutes the basis of a social order that places human well-being above material gain, and regards human life as of vastly more concern than wealth. How as a political party we hope to realize this high ideal in practice, let me proceed to illustrate by reference to the platform, principles and policies of the Liberal Party.

The necessary first step is to restore, to get back as much as possible, what of our freedom was lost by the war. War is destructive not only of men and materials, it is destructive equally of morals and institutions. Our political institutions have suffered along with the rest. We have lost much of the freedom in matters pertaining to government, and in the way of self-government, which we possessed prior to the war. The rights of the people in matters of government have been usurped, are being usurped at the present time. By a Parliament that is not representative of the will of the people and by a ministry that has become indifferent to Parliament and its rights. What is needed today as the foundation of all else is to restore the control of the people over Parliament and to restore the control of Parliament over the Executive.

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All that has been attained by what we call self-government, representative government and responsible government, represents the high water mark of achievement in political control by the people over their own affairs, the strongest bulwark of their freedom and the surest guarantee of their peace, prosperity and progress. These are the most sacred inheritances we have from the past. These are the time honored institutions that have suffered owing to the reactionary methods adopted during the period of war. Customs, usages, practices intended to preserve our representative government, and the responsible character of its ministry, have one by one temporarily been set aside, then one by one been ignored until today, on the part of the administration, there is open defiance of the most fundamental of those considerations which lie at the root of freedom in matters of political control. The work of Liberalism must be first and foremost that of seeking to re-establish on firm and enduring foundations, and in wider compass than has hitherto been known, all those institutions, customs, practices and usages in our parliamentary system, and matters pertaining to government, which comprise the charter of freedom we possessed prior to the commencement of the war.

I need not remind this audience or the country that the representation in the present Parliament is the result, not of any

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free expression of the will of the people, given with reference to the questions of the day, but that it is the product of the War Measures Act, and the War Time Elections Act, the latter as indefensible and iniquitous a piece of legislation as was ever framed by a ministry, and made possible only through the exigencies of war.

But leaving aside altogether the manner in which Union Government was brought into being and was returned to office in the elections of 1917, and assuming for the moment that the whole transaction was bona fide and altogether in the interests of the people of Canada and of the British Empire at the time, is there anything in the circumstance of the formation of Union Government which justifies the assumption of office and proposed retention of power by the present Meighen administration. As respects the new administration, it can conceivably be only one of two possible things; either it is, as it purports to be, an entirely new administration, with a new name, a new leader and a new platform; or it is simply the old Unionist administration, disguised under a new name, led by a new leader, and holding out to the public the pretence of a new platform.

Take whichever alternative one will, is there aught in it to justify the continuance in office of this administration? If it is a wholly new administration, it must be perfectly clear that it has received no mandate whatever from the Canadian people. It has submitted no policy for their approval. It has received no endors-

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ation of any kind. It has afforded the electors no opportunity of expressing their willingness to have it manage the affairs of this country. If it is a new administration, then by every canon of constitutional procedure and practice, it has usurped in their entirety the rights of popular self-government upon which all our political liberties are founded.

If, on the other hand, it is not, as its new name, new leadership, and new platform would lead the country to suppose, a new administration, but is simply a remnant of the old Unionist administration, clinging to office only for the sake of power and patronage - then it is not less a usurper, for the Unionist administration, both for the purposes for which it was formed and in the personal of its original membership, has long ceased to exist or to retain any of the confidence which at any period of its existence it ever enjoyed.

In support of these statements, I shall not ask you to accept any representations of mine, nor, indeed, representations of any kind other than those of the Unionist cabinet itself and the members composing it.

Take, first of all, the personnel of the cabinet as originally formed, and which helped to give to it at the time the semblance at least of a Unionist administration. Barely half of the original government now remains. Those who have resigned are Sir Robert Borden, Sir Thomas White, Mr. Crerar, Mr. Carvell, Mr. Maclean

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General Newburn, Mr. Rowell, Mr. Crothers and Mr. Burell. Mr. Cochrane has died. Thus the Union government as returned to power in 1917 has lost its Prime Minister, its President of the Privy Council, its Minister of Finance, its Minister of Agriculture, its Minister of Public Works, its Minister of Militia and Defence, its Minister of Labour; and new men have been appointed to fill these positions. Through the resignations of Mr. Crerar, Mr. Rowell, General Newburn, Mr. Carvell and Mr. Maclean, it has lost altogether its character of a Union government, or its semblance to such.

It is to be remembered that, of what remains of the original cabinet, three of the members - Sir James Lougheed, Minister of Soldiers Civil Re-establishment; Hon. Gideon Robertson, Minister of Labour; and Hon. P.E. Blondin, Postmaster General - are members of the Senate, and have never received the endorsation of any portion of the electorate in a single constituency. As a matter of fact, the Hon. P. E. Blondin, the Postmaster General, the only one of the three to contest a constituency in 1917, and who, in order to ensure his election, ran in to different constituencies, was defeated in both: in one by a majority of 1,247 and in the other by a majority of 6,623, or a vote of 7,095 to 472. By the widest stretch of the imagination, these gentlemen cannot be regarded as in any sense of the word members of a ministry that is representative of the popular will, nor can any of the original members clinging on to office under cir-

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cumstances of such dismemberment be regarded as representative of any will but their own.

The only effective means of restoring to the people the control over Parliament, which is their inherited right, and of freeing Canada from the baneful influence of the control of its political affairs by the present autocratic administration is that which a general election affords. Bye-elections are of no account in giving expression to the will of the people as a whole. Insofar as the popular will has found any expression in bye-elections, it has all been in the direction of indicating that the government has lost the confidence of the people in the different constituencies. True ministers have been returned, but in every instance by reduced majorities. Where as in the Maritime provinces there has been no cabinet representation for a long period of time, and the government has declared its intention of retaining office for a period of two years longer, it is not surprising that with all the prestige and power which office brings, the people should feel a desire to have some representation, rather than to be without any representation whatever in the councils of the nation, for that length of time. The election of members to Parliament in the filling of vacancies created, not by the government in strong and sure constituencies, but by circumstances of vote is a truer test. Judged from this standard it can be said that practically without exception, in every

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bye-election there has been since the old Union government was formed, the voice of the people has been solidly against the administration. Not only has it lost the confidence of the people, as evidenced by the bye-elections, but even before the present Meighen government was formed, it had lost in large measure the support of the press which had helped to bring it into being. The government's following in Parliament has steadily lessened till it is now precarious beyond words. Every province of the Dominion, moreover, has declared against a reactionary toryism of a kind for which the present government stands. Judged by every canon of parliamentary government, it is a usurper of the people's rights in matters of government; it is the government not the people who are Bolsheviats. If we would avert the dangers of Bolshevism which the ministry pretends to perceive in this country, a beginning will have to be made by the government itself, and those in high places who have usurped the rights of the people must be made to restore those rights at the earliest possible day.

But not only must the control of the people over Parliament be restored, the supremacy of Parliament itself must be re-asserted. That supremacy has been lost during the war. The Executive left largely to itself in the administration of people's affairs has become autocratic and indifferent to the wishes of the people's representatives. How far the administration has gone by way of ignoring

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Parliament and carrying on the government of the country by executive order might be illustrated by innumerable acts. One or two significant illustrations may be sufficient to indicate just how far the government has been prepared to ignore Parliament in matters of supreme concern to the people of the Dominion.

Take, first of all, the largest single financial transaction in the history of Canadian Parliament: the acquisition of the Grand Trunk Railway System by the Government of Canada. This matter relates itself not only to the last session of Parliament, but also to the one preceding it. If there ever was a measure over which the people's representatives should have had complete supervision from start to close, it was that which embodied the terms and conditions surrounding this enormous transaction. Not only were the people's representatives entitled to the right to pass upon all phases of the transaction, but any due appreciation of the rights of the people would have reserved to the people themselves the right of passing, at a general election, upon a policy so far-reaching as that involved in the control or ownership and operation by the state of a national railway system.

Not only did the administration deny to the people of Canada any opportunity of passing upon the policy of government ownership and operation involved in this transaction; but they gave neither to the people nor to their representatives in Parliament the slightest intimation that they themselves were contemplating any such transaction

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until the matter had been all but consumated. In vain did the Opposition try to reserve to Parliament the right which was reserved to the Grand Trunk shareholders, of passing upon the agreement between the Government and the Company before its final acceptance by both parties. The Government, led by the present Prime Minister, were ready to concede to bondholders in Britain rights and privileges which they wholly denied to the taxpayers of Canada, an attitude which, having regard for the magnitude of the transaction, should have caused the present Prime Minister to forfeit forever his right to the confidence of the Canadian people, and to stamp him forever as arbitrary and autocratic in the administration of public affairs.

What the Opposition prophesied would happen did happen. The agreement was drafted between the government and the Grand Trunk Railway Company, and was submitted to the shareholders of the Company in London and passed upon by them without any expression from the people's representatives in the Canadian Parliament. Then it was discovered that the whole transaction had been consummated with such haste that errors had arisen in the agreement as drawn, and grave doubts having been cast upon the legality of the procedure in certain particulars, the Government were obliged at thetlast session to bring the agreement again into Parliament and to introduce a bill to correct certain errors and to ratify the agreement as drawn.

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When the Bill relating to the acquisition of the Grand Trunk Railway came before Parliament in the second session of 1919, representatives of the Railroad brotherhoods had petitioned the Prime Minister and Minister of Labour to see that the pension rights of certain of the employees of the Grand Trunk Railway Company were definitely secured in any agreement which might be made. They might as well have spared themselves the trouble of making any representations, for the Government ignored them altogether. Knowing the justice of the demands of these employees of the Company, and the long injustice to which they had been subjected through a failure on the part of the Company to carry out its original obligations, I proposed in Parliament an amendment to the Bill which, had it been accepted, would have settled and established once and for all the pension rights and claims of the employees, which they have been denied for some ten years past. The government decided to refuse even to entertain the proposal, and the amendment was defeated.

This acquisition of an entire railway system under an agreement to which the people's representatives in Parliament were denied the right of any real voice of approval or amendment, is about as glaring an example of autocratic control by an Executive, and the ignoring of Parliament, as the annals of any legislative assembly in the world will disclose. So far as I know, its only parallel in recent Canadian history is that afforded by the determination of the present Prime Minister and his colleagues to carry on the business

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of the country for another two years, regardless altogether of constitutional right or the popular will.

Scarcely less autocratic has been the Government's procedure in the expenditure of seventy millions of the people's money in the creation of a merchant marine. Seventy millions not very long ago would have been regarded as a sum sufficient to carry on the entire government of the Dominion. It would have all but met the entire outlay on account of ordinary expenditure in the government of Canada in each of the last years of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's administration. No ministry would have ventured to award contracts of one tenth or one hundredth of this sum without in the first instance coming to Parliament for authority so to do. Not so any administration of which the Prime Minister has been a member. Questioned in Parliament at the last session concerning their action, the ministry announced that the contracts for all the ships required for the Canadian merchant marine, some sixty or seventy in all, had been awarded, every one, by Order in Council, without in a single case any authority from Parliament, and without, in any case, calling for tenders for the awarding of contracts. All Parliament was asked to do was to vote the money necessary to pay the shipbuilding concerns to which these contracts were awarded.

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management, an attitude wholly new, arbitrary, and autocratic, in government owned and operated enterprises.

There is only one means of remedying autocratic behaviour of the kind on the part of a ministry that has become virtually irresponsible, and that is its entire elimination and its replacement by an Executive with a due sense of its responsibility to Parliament.

Passing now from the matter of political control and administration, and coming to the most important of the problems in our national economy, it must be apparent to one and all that if we are to win in any measure that new order of social equality and human well-being which it should be the highest object of government to further, we must meet in some effective way the problem of the high cost of living, which is affecting so adversely the great masses of the people throughout the country. It is perfectly true that the high level of prices owes its origin in part to world conditions which are beyond the control of any single country and which time alone will remedy. It is equally true, on the other hand, that there causes operating within our own borders which are capable of being removed and, if eliminated, would do much to bring about an order of greater equality and justice. Rigid retrenchment of public expenditures and economy in the administration of our national affairs is the first requirement in this connection.

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Here was open defiance, not only of Parliament, but of the law of the land, which provides that in all expenditures exceeding a certain amount, tenders must first be called and contracts awarded to the lowest tenderer. At first, the Minister of Marine was inclined to dispute the existence of such a law. With the aid of the Minister of Justice, he and his colleagues subsequently took refuge under the pretext that the awarding of the contracts in the manner described was in the nature of a war measure, to save the country from unrest arising out of the unemployment of returned soldiers - a poor kind of compliment, indeed, to the men who have fought overseas, but the kind of excuse wholly in keeping with the Government's readiness, when its own ends can be served by so doing, to shield its limitations under the guise of patriotism, even at the expense of the soldiers.

The indifference of the Executive to the rights of Parliament and of the people did not stop even at this point. Questioned as to the extent and nature of many expenditures in connection with the merchant marine, the Minister bluntly refused to give Parliament many of the details asked for, putting forward the pretext that an incorporated Company controlled its affairs, and it was for the company to say what publicity, if any, should be given to its business transactions The Hon. Dr. Reid, Minister of Railways and Canals, took precisely the same position with regard to the Canadian National Railways and their

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Increased taxation, from whatever cause it may arise, means inevitably an increase in the cost of living to the masses of the people; even if placed upon the shoulders of those best able to bear it, it is almost certain that sooner or later the incidence of the burden will be shifted on to the back of the great body of consumers.

To understand the scope and extent of the problem with which the country is faced in this connection, it is necessary to consider the position of our finances and to observe the extent to which the country is burdened with a public debt the interest of which is a necessary first charge upon the treasury of the country.

In 1910-11 the public net debt was a little over $340,000,000; today it is over $2,273,000,000; in other words, in nine years, it has increased over $ 1,930,000,000 or from $45 per head of population to $283.

In 1910-11 the annual interest charge on the public debt was $12,500,000 or $1.67 per head of population; today the annual interest charge is about $140,000,000 or $17.50 per head of population, an increase of 11 times in 9 years, equalling $87.50 per family of five. Just how enormous this obligation is may be appreciated when it is pointed out that in the last year of the Liberal administration, 1910-11 the total expenditure for the government of Canada on Consolidated Fund amounted in all to $87,774,000, and the total expenditure on Consolidated and Capital accounts combined, including railway subsidies, and all other charges, amounted to $122,861,000. Here is an annual

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obligation on public debt alone greater than the total expenditure of government during any year of the Liberal administration.

The total estimated expenditure for the present year, will amount, according to the estimates presented to Parliament, to over $611,000,000. The Finance Minister informs us that the outlay for all purposes, apart from war, will total $536,000,000. This amount includes, however, $148,900,000, on account of Soldiers Land Settlement loans, loans to C.N.Ry, railway equipment, loans to provinces for housing and for shipbuilding programme, all of which are alleged to be in the nature of investments. It leaves, however, an amount for ordinary expenditure out of Consolidated Fund of over $349,000,000.

All this money must be raised by taxation in one form or another, but not only must money for current expenditure be raised in this manner, if we are ever to lessen our public debt, money must also be raised for the purpose of reducing the colossal total. Under the circumstances there is necessity for economy in administration such as has never existed in the Dominion before.

One of the strongest reasons for a change in the personnel of the administration in this country is the circumstance of the men who are administering the affairs of Canada today becoming so accustomed during the war in dealing in millions of dollars that expenditures involving thousands are beneath their consideration. They have

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acquired the war habit of mind, and can never be expected to view with other than impatience any restraint upon the exercise of their own free will.

Without any reference whatever to war expenditure one might cite such instances of extravagance as the extra session of Parliament in 1919, which was wholly unnecessary, and which the country over 1½ millions of dollars; the time consumed by Parliament during the last session on the consideration of a new electoral law, which was also unnecessary save for the purpose of giving to the present Administration a completer control of the electoral machinery and the preparation of Voters Lists than existed under the old Dominion Elections Act, which might well have been restored with such amendments as necessary to make it more complete in some particulars.

Reference might be made to the innumerable commissions on all sorts of subjects, which are costing the country millions of dollars, and the appointments to the Civil Service running into thousands, notwithstanding the lessened obligations of the time of Peace. I shall direct attention only to one class of expenditure which at this particular moment would seem to be wholly indefensible, namely, the enormous sums they spent for Military and Naval purposes before the work of demobilization of Military and Naval Forces is finished.

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In the Estimates of the present year the Government is asking Parliament the sum of $38,730,400 to complete the work of demobilization. In addition to this there is being asked the sum of 22,589,928 for the combined purposes of Militia and Defence, Naval Service, Mounted Police and Air Service; in other words an expenditure on these accounts alone of over one fourth of the total cost of Government in Canada in the last years of the Liberal Administration. It would almost seem that Canada was preparing for War rather than emerging from a great struggle that has been successfully won. So much has the war fever come to control the minds of the present Ministry that there are grave dangers of the introduction into this free country of the old European system of standing Military and Police forces instead of the freedom from militarism which our times demand. What is needed is not increased outlays for War purposes but increased production to help meet the vast obligations which War has imposed.

That brings me to the policy of the Liberal Party as respects the revision of the Tariff.

We believe that the time has come indeed that it is already long passed when a downward revision of the Tariff is necessary. In this revision we believe that there should be substantial reductions of the duties on the necessaries of life; in other words on those

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articles which go to make the food, the clothing, the shelter of the Canadian people; that certain specific articles required for the purposes of consumption and other articles essential to production should be placed upon the free list, and that in regard to the instruments of production in the basic industry of agriculture, mining, lumbering, and fishing there should also be a substantial reduction of duties. It is not a question fo free trade or protection. With the revenue which to be required for years to come to meet the large interest payments on public debt, the obligations to our Returned Soldiers in the way of Pensions and in other respects, as well as to carry on the work of Government in Canada— resort as we may to direct taxation of incomes and of business profits which is also a part of the Liberal policy; tax as we will all luxuries which is another plank in the Liberal platform— there will still be required for purposes of revenue large sums of money which of necessity will have to be raised by indirect taxation through a Custome Tariff. In revising the Tariff to this end, care will be taken of the position and needs of all the industries in our country; but such Tariff as may be necessary in this connection will be, under Liberal policy, a Tariff for consumers and producers and not a Tariff to further the interests of

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combines, monopolies, or of any special or privileged classes. Let me point out such a Tariff is not only in the interests of the people of the rural parts, but also of interest to city dwellers; such a Tariff is not only in the interests of the working men, but in the interest of employers; moreover such a Tariff is doubly necessary in the absence of any protection to consumers by the abolition of the Combines Investigation Act and the demoralization of the Board of Commerce, the function of which was to be primarily that of protecting the consumers against the evils of profiteering.

We need also more effective machinery to grapple with the evil of profiteering. There is no gainsaying the fact, indeed it has been shown by the Government's own investigations, that there are many individual industries in this country which during the war were reaping and which ever since the War have been reaping enormous profits at the expense of the people of Canada. Today there is no actual machinery tocope effectively with this evil. The work commenced by the Liberal Party when in office in the investigation of combines, mergers, trusts and monopolies which helped to enhance prices to the detriment of consumers will be continued if the Liberal Party should again be returned to power; it will be made the first and foremost feature of its endeavour on behalf of the people of this country.

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We need to be reminded in all that pertains to industry that there are four parties necessary to its successful prosecution. Capital is necessary, management is necessary, labour is necessary, but the community is also necessary. There has been too much oversight of the contribution made by the community to the other parties to industry and too little regard for the return to which the community is entitled therefor. What is needed in Canada today is some machinery of Government which will make the return to capital in the shape of profits, and the return to management in the shape of salaries just as public as the return to labour in the shape of wages. There are a class of evils which publicity is more effective in curing than penalty. Greed, waste and extravagance are of this class. We must seek to protect the consuming public of this country, whether it be as respects prices of commodities, or railway, telephone, telegraph and express rates, rents of houses and buildings against exactions which are wholly unwarranted by existing conditions. That is the kind of protection that is most needed in Canada today: it is the protection which the Liberal Party intends if possible to secure for the consuming public.

And that brings me to the necessity in connection with the readjustment of our social order of a wider recognition of the rights of labour to representation in the shaping and control of industrial

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policies. If we stop to consider the cause of most of the industrial evils of our day, we will find that they are due to an effort on the part of some one of the four parties to industry to gain a monopoly of control in the direction and management of industry and the shaping of industrial policies. The natural reaction from a monopoly of control on the part of capital such as it has existed too often in the past, is an effort to gain monopoly of control on the part of labour, which is resulting in some countries today in the establishment of Soviet Governments, with consequences as disastrous to labour as to the other parties and industry. What is demanded is not monopoly of control by any one party but joint control by all parties concerned, by Labour as well as Capital and by the community as well as by Labour, Capital and Management.

The Liberal Party has given concrete expression to this policy in a demand which found expression in a Resolution moved in the House of Commons some years ago by Mr. Lapointe to the effect that Labour should be given representation on the Board of Directors of the Canadian National Railways. We believe that if Labour is as necessary to the successful running of our railways as is Capital

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or Management, that Labour is entitled to its place on the Board of Directors where its voice can be heard and where it may be in a position most effectively to safeguard its own and the public interest against inefficiency and extravagance in management, and the exploitation of the public through charges and rates, the benefit of which accrue to one party only and not to all concerned. We believe that Parliament should be truly representative in character that it should include representatives from all classes in a community, not as representative of a class but as citizens possessing a special knowledge in important departments of our complex social and industrial life. Similarly we believe that in industry all the parties contributing whether in the form of investment of their capital of their labour, whether of hand or of brain, should likewise be represented in the control of the industries to which their contributions are made. As we come to system of Government in the state that is truly representative, and evolve a system of Government in industry that is likewise equally representative, we will solve without fear of prejudice to any class the political social and industrial problems of our day.

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Passing from industrial relations, let me say a word as to the attitude of the Liberal Party on inter-imperial and inter-national relations. Here again we stand on the firm foundation of complete autonomy in matter of self-government of concern to our Dominion. We believe that the British Empire of which we are a part, not less than the Dominion which is ours, will grow in strength and useful service to the world, as we avoid the dangers of centralization, and strengthen the bonds of conference and cooperation in all that is a matter of mutual concern. Above all do we believe that in inter-imperial and inter-national relations there must be the most open diplomacy. The floor of our Parliament and not the round table of our Cabinet Councils is the place in which all matters in the nature of understandings and treaties between Canada and the Mother Country and Canada and other parts of the British Empire, and Canada and other nations, must be worked out and agreed to. We take strong exception to such action as that which we have witnessed within the past Session of Parliament of the Canadian Government accepting from the British Government without any reference to....

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to Parliament a cruiser, the torpedoe boat destroyers and submarines; and the establishment equally without reference to Parliament of the post of Minister of Plenipotentiary at Washington. If these are necessary and desirable ends, and I am not raising a question on that point, they should be arrived at by consent of Parliament in the first instance and not by the action of Cabinet Ministers in secret council, making contracts in the first instance and then coming to Parliament for appropriations which they seek to defend on the grounds of national honour.

Finally we believe that in matters of Government, attitude is all important, that if Canada is to be a happy contented, prosperous, and united country that will only be effected by the establishment of the utmost confidence in the relations that exist in our national economics.

It must be remembered that whilst War may serve to bring forth all that is finest in the character of the people, to manifest latent heroism and noble capacity for sacrifice War itself is a hateful and devilish thing, and the spirit that War breeds is hateful and devilish. That spirit unfortunately continues to lurch in all sorts of places both prominent and obscure. It is in the creation of a new spirit of a new attitude that Liberalism as I read its obligations to present day

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day problems will find its most important task. The substitution of good will for all that has been making for ill will in the various phases of our national life. The Liberals who stood with Laurier in 1917 if they are to be true towards the first principles of Liberalism, must be as ready to accord sincerity of purpose to those who differed from them as they are to demand a like attitude toward themselves.

And this leaves me to speak of the east and the west of our wide dominion, and of all the vast intervening space of British Columbia with its wonderful diversified resources, of the prairie province with their vast agricultural wealth, of Ontario and Quebec and the Maritime Provinces with their rural as well as urban populations and their enterprising manufacturing and commercial developments. Is the splendid unity of our great country to be imperilled by a conflict of policies related primarily to geographical areas or particular interest, of are we to carry into the shaping of our national policies the same noble spirit of some sacrifice on the part of each, and willing co-operation on the part of all by which alone the war was won. Shall it be of a class or of the well being of the whole community? Shall it be Canada First, as it was with the men who gave their lives with thought of naught, save the honor of their country and their duty before God?

If...

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If it is this larger, this nobler ideal, we must have in our Federal political party large enough, broad enough, toleration enough to carry forward such a policy of national unity. It cannot be a Manufacturers party, for that will never suit the farmers or consumers; neither can it be a farmers' party for that too in the long run will raise powerful combination against itself which will serve to divide east and west, to set the cities and towns and villages over against the farming communities, and the rural districts over against the urban. Neither can it be a labor party, for that means the organization sooner or later of a capitalist party, and added strife in industrial relations, rather than the working out of some system of joint control, by which alone the problems of industry are to be solved. Least of all, is it likely ever to be a war veterans' party. The war veterans themselves have been the first to repudiate any thought of the kind, that would be introducing into this new world the old time conflicts between the army and the civil authorities, which takes us back to the days of Cromwell, and a condition of society which our citizen soldiery would be the first to deplore. No, it cannot be a party of any class, of any creed, of any race, or of any special interest. It

must...

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must be a party representative of all the interests of the nation and reflecting in its composition the many sided elements of our national life.

With the Liberal forces at work in Canada today among the farmers, in the rural communities, among labour in the cities and towns, among the returned soldiers and among that great body of Canadian citizenry, men and women alike, who apart from class affiliations of associations are thinking and praying and striving for the dawn of that better day which the sacrifices and privations of war were to usher in, there is nothing to withstay ultimate and speedy victory in the triumph of Liberal ideas and policies except a failure on the part of those who are opposed to a common enemy, to cooperate in a spirit that has regard primarily for the good of all.

Let these forces unite in the interests that are common to all and ultimate victory to all that is progressive and best in our national life will be definitely assured.

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Victoria B.C. Sept 27/20

Victoria Colonist (Conn)

D 4628

Liberal Chieftan Addresses Victorians

Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, Opposition Leader, Makes First Speech of Western Tour at Arena— Outlines Policies of His Party on Canada's Affairs.

Addressing a crowd of more than 3,000 persons in the Arena last night, Hon. William Lyon Mackenzie King, leader of the Canadian Liberal party, commenced a speaking tour that will take him to nearly all the important centres of population in Western Canada.

Mr. King spoke for about an hour and during that time made a pretty thorough review of Canadian political and national affairs, running the gamut of domestic problems and closing with a declaration of the Liberal policy on inter-Imperial and international issues. Other speakers were Premier Oliver, Mr. William Duff, M.P., and Mr. Ernest Lapointe, M.P.

He made a spirted attack on the Unionist administration, charging it with neglect of the rights of the masses and holding up the Meighen Government as "the real Bolsheviks of Canada," whose continued tenure of power at Ottawa in the face of evident unpopularity was bound to bring about a serious reaction among those who were convinced that their voice was ignored in the nation's law-making assemblies.

The audience could not be described as an enthusiastic one, but it evidenced keen interest in the speeches. Long before the meeting was over, however, people began to leave the auditoriurm. There was no prolonged applause.

Mr. W. M. Ivel, president of the Victoria Liberal Association, was in the chair, and prominent Liberals, including Premier Oliver and nearly all members of the Provincial Cabinet occupied chairs on the platform.

"What is needed today as the foundation of all else is to restore the control of the people over parliament and to restore the control of parliament over the executive," declared Mr. King. He claimed that the Meighen cabinet could not "by the wildest stretch of the imagination," be called representative of the popular will.

The Liberal chieftain assailed the Government for denying to the people of Canada any opportunity of passing upon the policy of government ownership, particularly as applied to the railroads. He charged the Government with autocratic dealings in connection with the creation of the Dominion Government Mercantile Marine.

Assails Government

He criticized the Government's financial policy and claimed that the ministers could not cast off "the war habit" of dealing in big figures and neglecting the smaller items. He alluded to copious examples of "wholly unnecessary extravagance." He doubted if the Government was doing its utmost to curb profiteering and bring down the cost of living.

Regarding the tariff, he said that the Liberal party stood for substantial reductions of the duties on the necessaries of life and the creation of a free list on essential products, as well as reduction of duties on materials used by the country's basic

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industries. In the effort to appease the demands of capital and labor, what Mr. King referred to as "the rights of the community" had been overlooked. He stood for wider recognition of the rights of labor to share in the management of industry.

"Open diplomacy" was the first essential in Canada's international relations, he declared, and he voiced strong objection to the Government's recent acceptance of battleships from the Admiralty.

Before the speakers arrived a musical programme was given by the G.W.V.A. band.

Mr. William Ivel's speech, in which he welcomed the visiting statesman to the city and thanked those in the audience for their support, was brief.

"In these days of reaction and reconstruction," he said, "it is fitting to hear at first hand about Liberal policies from those who will carry them out. At no period in the history of Canada was there a greater need than at present for the people to be versed in national affairs. This is your Canada and my Canada. Canada is what we make it, and it is our duty to develop a national conscience, making it for the common good of the people today and those who follow us."

Premier John Oliver commenced his address with an allusion to the Liberal strength manifested in the Provincial Governments of Canada. "Whatever mixup there may have been in our political and national life," he said, "it is a fact that today eight out of nine Provinces have Liberal Governments, and not in one of them has reactionary Toryism secured a foothold."

Mr. Oliver referred to Mr. King as "the grandson of that great old patriarch, William Lyon McKenzie, who for two generations past was held in veneration by the Liberals of Canada as a man prepared to go down to the death in defence of the principles of right and liberty."

"In the person of the present chieftain of the Liberal party," said the Premier, "we have a man who is actuated by the example of his illustrious grandfather and the traditions of a great party, who is prepared in leading the standard of Liberalism to add lustre to his family name and the record of his political group."

He pointed to the selection of Mr. King by the Rockefeller Institute to investigate labor questions some years ago, and he said that no man in Canada today was better equipped to meet the industrial problems confronting the nation than the Liberal leader. He said that Mr. King had been chosen as the standard-bearer of Liberalism at the party's greatest convention after the coolest deliberation and not in a moment of excitement that might have led to a stampede. "Mr. King has the support without reservation of Liberals all over Canada," he declared. Mr. King is not an apostle of a new Liberalism, but a new apostle of the old Liberalism, founded on the principle of 'Do unto others as you would that they should do unto you'—the taproot of Liberalism, put forward by the Saviour of Mankind."

Turning to Mr. King, Mr. Oliver shook the Liberal leader's hand and extended to him a welcome on behalf of the people of British Columbia.

Mr. William Duff, M.P.

Mr. William Duff, M.P. for Lunenburg, N.S., since 1917, in business a shipbuilder, devoted most of his speech to an arraignment of the present Federal Government's administration of fisheries and its mercantile marine policy. He charged that Hon. C. C. Ballantyne, Minister of Marine and Fisheries, was incompetent to hold office.

"We in Nova Scotia have many interests similar to yours in British Columbia," said Mr. Duff. "I extend to you tonight the greetings of the Liberals of Nova Scotia, and I express to you their hope that you will join them in their protest against the continuance in power of the present Government."

Mr. Duff criticized the Government for subordinating fisheries by coupling their administration with the Department of Marine, later further augmented by the addition of naval affairs. These departments, he contended, should have been maintained separately under separate deputy ministers.

The Fishing Industry

Mr. Duff charged that under the control of the present Government no progress had been made by Canada's fishing industry. The value of the British Columbia salmon output had increased, he said, but it was not an increase in volume of catch. Mr. Ballantyne had promised, as a result of criticism in the House of Commons, to reorganize the department. Instead, he had made "a shuffle" by simply placing naval affairs under a separate deputy head, but leaving fisheries and marine affairs in the same condition as before. "That was all he did, and, with all due respect to Mr. Ballantyne, that's all he knew how to do," said Mr. Duff, who slated Mr. Ballantyne also for appointing a preacher as inspector of fisheries for the Maritime provinces.

The Ship Programme

Mr. Duff said that Parliament had voted $70,000,000 to be spent on the ship programme on the understanding that all outlays of over $5,000 should be made under contract, yet in the expenditure of the entire appropriation, he said, not a single tender had been submitted. Here was an act, he declared, that was not only in contempt of Parliament, but in contempt of the people of Canada.

Mr. Duff also assailed Mr. Ballan-

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tyne regarding the recent $20,000,000 ship subsidy legislation. He said the Minister, when asked to give details respecting the financial end of the programme, had hesitated and then finally gave out figures showing a return in the bank nearly half of what he had first announced in the House. Instead of the $1,500,000 he had spoken of, there was actually only $800,000, said Mr. Duff.

Mr. E. La Pointe

Mr. Ernest La Pointe aroused a laugh from his hearers when he recalled a recent remark by a Conservative leader in Sherbrooke to the effect that Liberals were extinct down there. "Those who were killed seemed to enjoy good health," said Mr. La Pointe.

He said that the Unionist victories in the East recently had been achieved by men who were better versed in salesmanship than statesmanship. Referring to the election here of Hon. Dr. Tolmie, Minister of Agriculture, he said: "I have nothing against Dr. Tolmie. He is a nice gentleman. The only thing I can say is that he keeps bad company, I hope not for long. One must have a long spoon to take supper with the devil."

New Fiscal Policy

Mr. La Pointe made a slashing attack on the Government for proceeding at this time with the formation of a new fiscal policy. He charged that the Government was pursuing a two-faced course by sending a tariff commission through the country while Mr. Meighen had given intimation that the fiscal programme had been already settled.

"In 1917 the people of Canada and Canadian soldiers overseas voted for the Government and not for individuals," he continued. "Yukon soldiers voted before a candidate had been nominated. Is it right to the soldiers of Canada who voted under such special circumstances for the Government so elected on a single issue to draw up a fiscal policy?"

Without the soldiers' vote in 1917, claimed the speaker, the Government's majority would not exist today, and he named the following members who would not have been elected by the civilian vote alone: Nicholson and McIsaac, in Prince Edward Island; Butts and Douglas, McGregor, Rhodes, Tremaine, in the Maritime Provinces; Harrison, in Nipissing; McBryan, in Essex; Steele, in Perth, and Oliver and Thompson, in Alberta and the Yukon, and Griesbeck in Manitoba.

The Imperial Conference

He referred to the forthcoming Imperial Conference and asked what right had the present Government to voice the views of a united Canada?

"Why don't Canadians measure up to the standard of British statesmanship?" he asked. "We are told that a general election would cause disorder. An election is not rebellion. Often it means prevention of rebellion."

There is no disorder in simply taking the vote of the people," he went on, "but I am not here to say that disorders do not follow in the wake of the refusal of a despotic government to test the will of the country."

Mr. La Pointe ridiculed what he characterized as an effort on the part of Mr. Meighen and his followers to form a party all-embracing in its political affiliations. A hyphenated party was the result. A party which stood for all anyone might wish, "and that means nothing at all," he added.

The speaker likened Mr. Meighen's Unionist proclivities to the effort of the Hapsburg dynasty to extend its influence by marrying its heirs into the royal families of growing States. "This matrimonial policy of the Unionists was adopted for want of a better one. We were once defeated by it when Sir Robert Borden and the Nationalists of Quebec were united. But the marriage was not very happy. The Nationalist wife has proved to be ill-tempered and decidedly grumbling. The Tory party will fall like the House of Hapsburg fell, in spite of its marriages and perhaps on account of them. Franz Josef died and Sir Robert Borden resigned without witnessing the disaster that was to follow, but Mr. Meighen is sure to share the fate of Ferdinand.

East vs. West

Mr. Lapointe charged that, because the old racial issue was dead, Mr. Meighen was now seeking to build up cause for dissension between East and West, based on the economic and geographical differences between the two sections. He scored the Government for what he called a practice of labelling all its opponents Bolshevists, I.W.W.'s or Jacobites. He claimed that the Liberal party under Laurier was responsible for awakening Canada from its sleep and had never earned the charge of being wreckers, as had been declared by its adversaries.

"The great need of Canada is national unity. Canada is a difficult country to govern because it is so vast and embraces so many different conditions. I stand here as a son of Quebec. In every drop of my blood I am a descendant of those heroic sons of France who came to a new country and helped to lay the foundation of the Canada today. But still I am proud to be known as a Canadian, and my loyalty to my country knows no territorial limitations. British Columbia is a part of my native land, and I feel as much at home here as I do in the Province of my birth.

"We cannot attain true unity while political and national conditions are as they are at present," he concluded. "Canadian statesmanship must find a true union rather than disunion. Laurier is still with us today, and so long as his soul and spirit guide us we shall remain the party of order and national harmony."

The meeting closed with the singing of the National Anthem and cheers for Mr. King.

Mr. King spoke as follows:

Period of Transition

"This is a period of transition. We are at the moment witnessing a change from an old order to one that is new, and as yet to be determined. The shock of war, stirring the world's soul to its very depths, revealed to our mental viison the shattered image of a social and industrial civilization that was full of injustice, a civilization based all too exclusively on a love for material gain and material power. We are now where as a nation we are called upon to make a choice that will determine our destiny. It is for us to decide whether the new order shall be little more than a return to the old with all its worship of material wealth and material power and its relative indifference to human worth and human well-bing; or whether it will be an order worthy of the sacrifices of the heroic dead, and the services of those who on land and sea have endured all manner of hardship and peril to preserve the liberties and freedom that we still enjoy.

"Much was said throughout the war of the interdependence of all classes in our society, of the social significance of the worker in the mine, on the farm and in the factory, of the services of those engaged in the great agencies of transportation and communication on land and water, of the self-sacrifice and silent endurance of women, and of the equality of the trenches. All this was to mark the beginning of a new epoch in the world's history, when social justice and human equality were to become our watchwords. What has become of all this new hope and aspiration aroused amid the sacrifices and stern realities of war? Is the outlook what we expected it to be? It seems to me we have already begun to drift in the opposite direction. Are we nearer standards of social justice and human well-being than we were before the war?

"I fear greatly that the social gulf has been widening rather than contracting as a consequence of the war, that we have many rich who are richer, and many poor who are poorer, as a consequence of the conditions which war and the aftermath of war have helped to bring about; that the struggle is harder rather than less difficult for the average family than it was prior to the war; that despite the raises in wages, with rates and rents and prices rising continuously as they have been doing on every side and in all directions, the lot of the average worker, of the average clerk and professional man and woman, of the average person of limited income and means, is far from being as contented or as free from concern as it was no less than six years ago. On the other hand we have evidence not less striking of wealth in abundance, of individual fortunes larger in numbers than at any time heretofore in the history of our Dominion.

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"Do not imagine that I am seeking to decry wealth or the services to human well-being which wealth rightly accumulated and equitably distributed is capable of rendering. I am only noting a tendency which is all too apparent, and which cannot continue indefinitely without consequences prejudical if not disastrous to our future as a nation. Wealth is the necessary material foundation of our civilization, but the end of civilization is not mere increase and accumulation of wealth; it is the enrichment of womanhood and the perfection of mankind.

"What was it that the nation said to those brave men who left their homes and kin and country to overthrow the menace of Prussian imperialism and to preserve liberty to mankind? What was the note that cheered them in their vast endeavor, the hope that inspired them in action? It found many expressions during the war, but here is one as perfect as any that appeared:

" 'Here—or hereafter—you shall see it ended,
This mighty work to which your souls are set;
If from beyond—then, with the vision splendid,
You shall smile back and never forget.'

"There was the pledge we gave at the time to the men who saved our civilization. Now that they have done their part are we going to be recalcitrant in doing ours?

The War's Work

" 'That mighty work,' do we realize what it was? Was it merely the overthrow of Prussian militarism that was sought, or was it the preservation of human liberties and the widening of the bounds of human freedom? The forces that were at work between the nations in that great struggle are at work today in our own social and industrial order. The forces of might and greed and power on the one hand, and the forces of ampler freedom on the other. The question of questions in Canada today, the question which every man and woman must answer at the peril of all that makes for noblest manhood and truest womanhood is to which of these great contending forces in our social organization he intends to belong. Are you going to take your stand with the reactionaries who are prepared to resist all change, who seek in political warfare to raise the old material standards and shibboleths, who describe as wreckers and revolutionaries all who differ from them in aim or opinion, or do you wish to be among those who would realize the 'Vision Splendid' of those brave sons of Canada, who with other of the heroic dead, fought and suffered and died that freedom might become in increasing measure the portion of all classes comprising our common humanity?

"I hope I do not claim too much for the party to which I have the honor to belong when I say that, however many our limitations may be, however far short we may come of the goal towards which we strive, the aim of Liberalism in Canada today is to seek the realization of that larger freedom in our social, political, industrial, fiscal, religious and personal life, which constitutes the basis of a social order that places human well-being above material gain, and regards human life as of vastly more concern than wealth. How as a political party we hope to realize this high ideal in practice, let me proceed to illustrate by reference to the platform, principles and policies of the Liberal party.

"The necessary first step is to restore, to get back as much as possible, what of our freedom was lost by the war. War is destructive not only of men and materials, it is destructive equally of morals and institutions. Our political institutions have suffered along with the rest. We have lost much of the freedom in matters pertaining to government, and in the way of self-government, which we possessed prior to the war. The rights of the people in matters of government have been usurped, are being usurped at the present time, by a Parliament that is not representative of the will of the people and by a ministry that has become indifferent to Parliament and its rights. What is needed today as the foundation of all else is to restore the control of the people over Parliament and to restore the control of Parliament over the Executive.

Political Control

"All that has been attained by what we call self-govenrment, representative government and responsible government, represents the high water mark of achievement in political control by the people over their own affairs, the strongest bulwark of their freedom and the surest guarantee of their peace, prosperity and progress. These are the most sacred inheritances we have from the past, these are the time-honored institutions that have suffered owing to the reactionary methods adopted during the period of war. Customs, usages, practices intended to preserve our representative government, and the responsible character of its ministry, have one by one temporarily been set aside, then one by one been ignored until today, on the part of the administration, there is open defiance of the most fundamental of those considerations which lie at the root of freedom in matters of political control. The work of Liberalism first and foremost is that of seeking to re-establish on firm and enduring foundations, and in wider compass than has hitherto been known, all those institutions, customs, practices and usages in our parliamentary system, and matters pertaining to government, which comprise the charter of freedom we possessed prior to the commencement of the war.

"I need not remind this audience or the country that the representation in the present Parliament is the result, not of any free expression of the will of the people, given with reference to the questions of the day, but that it is the product of the War Measures Act, and the War Time Elections Act, the latter as indefensible and iniquitous a piece of legislation as was ever framed by a ministry, and made possible only through the exigencies of war.

"But leaving aside altogether the manner in which Union Government was brought into being and was returned to office in the elections of 1917, and assuming for the moment that the whole transaction was bona fide and altogether in the interests of the people of Canada and of the British Empire at the time, is there anything in the circumstance of the formation of Union Government which justifies the assumption of office and proposed retention of power by the present Meighen administration? As respects the new administration, it can conceivably be only one of two possible things: either it is, as it purports to be, an entirely new administration, with a new name, a new leader and a new platform; or it is simply the old Unionist administration, disguised under a new name, led by a new leader, and holding out to the public the pretence of a new platform.

"Take whichever alternative one will, is there aught in it to justify the continuance in office of this administration? If it is a wholly new administration, it must be perfectly clear that it has received no mandate whatever from the Canadian people. It has submitted no policy for their approval. It has received no endorsation of any kind. It has afforded the electors no opportunity of expressing their willingness to have it manage the affairs of this country. If it is a new administration, then by every canon of constitutional procedure and practice, it has usurped in their entirety the right of popular self-government upon which all our political liberties are founded.

Political Criticism

"If, on the other hand, it is not, as its new name, new leadership, and new platform would lead the country to suppose, a new administration, but is simply a remnant of the old Unionist administration, clinging to office only for the sake of power and patronage—then it is not less a usurper, for the Unionist administration, both for the purposes for which it was formed and in the personnel of its original membership, has long ceased to exist or to retain any of the confidence which at any period of its existence it ever enjoyed.

"In support of these statements, I shall not ask you to accept any representations of mine, nor, indeed, representations of any kind other than those of the Unionist Cabinet itself and the members composing it.

"Take, first of all, the personnel of the cabinet as originally formed, and which helped to give to it at the time the semblance at least of a Unionist administration. Barely half of the original Government now remains.

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Those who have resigned are Sir Robert Borden, Sir Thomas White, Mr. Crerar, Mr. Carvell, Mr. Maclean, General Mewburn, Mr. Rowell, Mr. Crothers and Mr. Burrell. Mr. Cochrane has died. Thus the Union Government as returned to power in 1917 has lost its Prime Minister, its President of the Privy Council, its Minister of Finance, its Minister of Agriculture, its Minister of Public Works, its Minister of Militia and Defence, its Minister of Labor; and new men have been appointed to fill these positions. Through the resignations of Mr. Crerar, Mr. Rowell, General Mewburn, Mr. Carvell and Mr. Maclean, it has lost altogether its character of a Union Government, or its semblance to such.

"It is to be remembered that, of what remains of the original cabinet, three of the members—Sir James Lougheed, Minister of Soldiers' Civil Re-establishment; Hon. Gideon Robertson, Minister of Labor, and Hon. P. E. Blondin, Postmaster-General—are members of the Senate, and have never received the endorsation of any portion of the electorate in a single constituency. As a matter of fact, the Hon. P. E. Blondin, the Postmaster-General, the only one of the three to contest a constituency in 1917, and who, in order to ensure his election, ran in two different constituencies, was defeated in both; in one by a majority of 1,247 and in the other by a majority of 6,623, or a vote of 7,095 to 472. By the wildest stretch of the imagination, these gentlemen cannot be regarded as in any sense of the word members of a ministry that is representative of the popular will, nor can any of the original members clinging on to office under circumstances of such dismemberment be regarded as representative of any will but their own.

Control Over Parliament

"The only effective means of restoring to the people the control over Parliament, which is their inherited right, and of freeing Canada from the baneful influence of the control of its political affairs by the present autocratic administration is that which a general election affords. By-elections are of no account in giving expression to the will of the people as a whole. In so far as the popular will has found any expression in by-elections, it has all been in the direction of indicating that the Government has lost the confidence of the people in the different constituencies. True, ministers have been returned, but in every instance by reduced majorities. Where, as in the Maritime Provinces, there has been no cabinet representation for a long period of time, and the Government has declared its intention of retaining office for a period of two years longer, it is not surprising that with all the prestige and power which office brings, the people should feel a desire to have some representation, rather than be without any representation whatever in the councils of the nation, for that length of time. The election of members to Parliament in the filling of vacancies created, not by the Government in strong and sure constituencies, but by fatal circumstances is a truer test. Judged from this standard it can be said that practically without exception, in every by-election there has been since the old Union Government was formed, the voice of the people has been solidly against the administration. Not only has it lost the confidence of the people, as evidenced by the by-elections, but even before the present Meighen Government was formed, it had lost in large measure the support of the press which had helped to bring it into being. The Government's following in Parliament has steadily lessened till it is now precarious beyond words. Every province of the Dominion, moreover, has declared against a reactionary Toryism of a kind for which the present Government stands. Judged by every canon of parliamentary government, it is a usurper of the people's rights in matters of government; it is the Government not the people who are Bolshevists. If we would avert the dangers of Bolshevism which the ministry pretends to perceive in this country, a beginning will have to be made by the Government itself, and those in high places who have usurped the rights of the people must be made to restore those rights at the earliest possible day.

"But not only must the control of the people over Parliament be restored, the supremacy of Parliament itself must be reasserted. That supremacy has been lost during the war. The executive, left largely to itself in the administration of the people's affairs has become autocratic and indifferent to the wishes of the people's representatives. How far the administration has gone by way of ignoring Parliament and carrying on the government of the country by executive order might be illustrated by innumerable acts. One or two significant illustrations may be sufficient to indicate just how far the Government has been prepared to ignore Parliament in matters of supreme concern to the people of the Dominion.

Acquisition of G. T. R.

"Take, first of all, the largest single financial transaction in the history of Canadian Parliament: The acquisition of the Grand Trunk Railway system by the Government of Canada. This matter relates itself not only to the last session of Parliament, but also to the one preceding it. If there ever was a measure over which the people's representatives should have had complete supervision from start to close, it was that which embodied the terms and conditions surrounding this enormous transaction. Not only were the people's representatives entitled to the right to pass upon all phases of the transaction, but any due appreciation of the rights of the people would have reserved to the people themselves the right of passing, at a general election, upon a policy so far-reaching as that involved in the control or ownership and operation by the State of a national railway system.

"Not only did the administration deny to the people of Canada any opportunity of passing upon the policy of Government ownership and operation involved in this transaction; but they gave neither to the people nor to their representatives in Parliament the slightest intimation that they themselves were contemplating any such transaction until the matter had been all but consummated. In vain did the Opposition try to reserve to Parliament the right which was reserved to the Grand Trunk shareholders, of passing upon the agreement between the Government and the company before its final acceptance by both parties. The Government, led by the present Prime Minister, as ready to concede to bondholders in Britain rights and privileges which they wholly denied to the taxpayers of Canada, an attitude which, having regard for the magnitude of the transaction, should have caused the present Prime Minister to forfeit forever his right to the confidence of the Canadian people, and to stamp him forever as arbitrary and autocratic in the administration of public affairs.

"What the Opposition prophesied would happen did happen. The agreement was drafted between the Government and the Grand Trunk Railway Company, and was submitted to the shareholders of the company in London and passed upon by them without any expression from the people's representatives in the Canadian Parliament. Then it was discovered that the whole transaction had been consummated with such haste that errors had arisen in the agreement as drawn, and grave doubts having been cast upon the legality of the procedure in certain particulars, the Government was obliged at the last session to bring the agreement again into Parliament and to introduce a bill to correct certain errors and to ratify the agreement as drawn.

"When the bill relating to the acquisition of the Grand Trunk Railway came before Parliament in the second session of 1919, representatives of the railroad brotherhood had petitioned the Prime Minister and Minister of Labor to see that the pension rights of certain of the employees of the Grand Trunk Railway Company were definitely secured in any agreement which might be made. They might as well have spared themselves the trouble of making any representations, for the Government ignored them altogether. Knowing the justice of the demands of these employees of the company, and the long injustice to which they had been subjected through a failure on the part of the company to carry out its original obligations, I proposed in Parliament an amendment to the bill which, had it been accepted, would have settled and established once and for all the pension rights and claims of the employees, which they have been denied for some ten years past. The Government decided to refuse even to entertain the proposal, and the amendment was defeated.

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"This acquisition of an entire railway system under an agreement to which the people's representatives in Parliament were denied the right of any real voice of approval or amendment, is about as glaring an example of autocratic control by an executive, and the ignoring of Parliament, as the annals of any legislative assembly in the world will disclose. So far as I know, its only parallel in recent Canadian history is that afforded by the determination of the present Prime Minister and his colleagues to carry on the business of the country for another two years, regardless altogether of constitutional right or the popular will.

Merchant Marine

"Scarcely less autocratic has been the Government's procedure in the expenditure of seventy millions of the people's money in the creation of a merchant marine. Seventy millions, not very long ago, would have been regarded as a sum sufficient to carry on the entire government of the dominion. It would have all but met the entire outlay on account of ordinary expenditure in the government of Canada in each of the last years of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's administration. No ministry would have ventured to award contracts of one-tenth or one-hundredth of this sum without in the first instance coming to Parliament for authority so to do. Not so any administration of which the Prime Minister has been a member. Questioned in Parliament at the last session concerning their action, the ministry announced that the contracts for all the ships required for the Canadian merchant service, some sixty or seventy in all, had been awarded, every one, by order-in-council, without in a single case any authority from Parliament, and without, in any case, calling for tenders for the awarding of contracts. All Parliament was asked to do was to vote the money necessary to pay the shipbuilding concerns to which these contracts were awarded.

"Here was open defiance, not only of Parliament, but of the law of the land, which provides that in all expenditures exceeding a certain amount, tenders must first be called and contracts awarded to the lowest tenderer. At first, the Minister of Marine was inclined to dispute the existence of such a law. With the aid of the Minister of Justice, he and his colleagues subsequently took refuge under the pretext that the awarding of the contracts in the manner described was in the nature of a war measure, to save the country from unrest arising out of the unemployment of returned soldiers—a poor kind of compliment, indeed, to the men who have fought overseas, but the kind of excuse wholly in keeping with the Government's readiness, when its own ends can be served by so doing, to shield its limitations under the guise of patriotism, even at the expense of the soldiers.

"The indifference of the executive to the rights of Parliament and of the people did not stop even at this point. Questioned as to the extent and nature of many expenditures in connection with the merchant marine, the Minister bluntly refused to give Parliament many of the details asked for, putting forward the pretext that an incorporated company controlled its affairs, and it was for the company to say what publicity, if any, should be give n to its business transactions. The Hon. Dr. Reid, Minister of Railways and Canals, took precisely the same position with regard to the Canadian National Railways and their management, an attitude wholly new, arbitrary and autocratic, in government-owned and operated enterprises.

"There is only one means of remedying autocratic behavior of the kind on the part of a ministry that has become virtually irresponsible, and that is its entire elimination and its replacement by an executive with a due sense of its responsibility to Parliament.

National Economy

"Passing now from the matter of political control and administration, and coming to the most important of the problems in our national economy, it must be apparent to one and all that if we are to win in any measure that new order of social equality and human well-being which it should be the highest object of government to further, we must meet in some effective way the problem of the high cost of living, which is affecting so adversely the great masses of the people throughout the country. It is perfectly true that the high level of prices owes its origin in part to world conditions which are beyond the control of any single country and which time alone will remedy. It is equally true, on the other hand, that there are causes operating within our own berders which are capable of being removed and, if eliminated, would do much to bring about an order of greater equality and justice. Rigid retrenchment of public expenditures and economy in the administration of our national affairs is the first requirement in this connection.

"Increased taxation, from whatever cause it may arise, means inevitably an increase in the cost of living to the masses of the people; even if placed upon the shoulders of those best able to bear it, it is almost certain that sooner or later the incidence of the burden will be shifted on to the back of the great body of consumers.

"To understand the scope and extent of the problem with which the country is faced in this connection, it is necessary to consider the position of our finances and to observe the extent to which the country is burdened with a public debt, the interest of which is a necessary first call upon the treasury of the country.

"In 1910-'11 the public net debt was a little over $340,000,000; today it is over $2,273,000,000; in other words, in nine years, it has increased over $1,930,000,000, or from $45 per head of population to $283.

"In 1910-'11 the annual interest charge on the public debt was $12,500,000, of $1.67 per head of population; today the annual interest charge is about $140,000,000, or $17.50 per head of population, an increase of 11 times in 9 years, equalling $87.50 per family of five. Just how enormous this obligation is may be appreciated when it is pointed out that in the last year of the Liberal administration, 1910-1911, the total expenditure for the Government of Canada on Consolidated Fund amounted in all to $87,774,000, and the total expenditure on the Consolidated and Capital accounts combined, including railway subsidies, and all other charges, amounted to $122,861,000. Here is an annual obligation on public debt alone greater than the total expenditure of government during any year of the Liberal administration.

The total estimated expenditure for the present year will amount, according to the estimates presented to Parliament, to over $611,000,000. The Finance Minister informs us that the outlay for all purposes, apart from war, will total $536,000,000. This amount includes, however, $148,900,000, on account of Soldiers' Land Settlement loans, loans to the C.N.R., railway equipment, loans to Provinces for housing and for shipbuilding programme, all of which are alleged to be in the nature of investment. It leaves, however, an amount for ordinary expenditure out of consolidated fund of over $349,000,000.

"All this money must be raised by taxation in one form or another, but not only must money for current expenditure be raised in this manner, if we are ever to lessen our public debt, money must also be raised for the purpose of reducing the colossal total. Under the circumstances there is necessity for economy in administration such as has never existed in the Dominion before.

"One of the strongest reasons for a change in the personnel of the administration in this country is the circumstance of the men who are administering the affairs of Canada today becoming so accustomed during the war in dealing in millions of dollars that expenditures involving thousands are beneath their consideration. They have acquired the war habit of mind, and can never be expected to view with other than impatience any restraint upon the exercise of their own free will.

Extra Session

"Without any reference whatever to war expenditure, one might cite such instances of extravagance as

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the extra session of Parliament in 1919, which was wholly unnecessary, and which cost the country over one and a half millions of dollars; the time consumed by Parliament during the last session on the consideration of a new electoral law, which was also unnecessary, save for the purpose of giving to the present administration a completer control of the electoral machinery and the preparation of voters' lists than existed under the old Dominion Elections Act, which might well have been restored with such amendments as necessary to make it more complete in some particulars.

"Reference might be made to the innumerable commissions on all sorts of subjects, which are costing the country millions of dollars, and the appointments to the civil service running into thousands, notwithstanding the lessened obligations of the time of peace. I shall direct attention only to one class of expenditure which at this particular moment would seem to be wholly indefensible, namely, the enormous sums they spent for military and naval purposes before the work of demobilization of military and naval forces is finished.

"In the estimates of the present year the Government is asking Parliament the sum of $38,730,400 to complete the work of demobilization. In addition to this there is being asked the sum of $22,589,928 for the combined purposes of Militia and Defence, Naval Service, Mounted Police and Air Service; in other words, an expenditure on these accounts alone of over one-fourth of the total cost of government in Canada in the last years of the Liberal administration. It would almost seem that Canada was preparing for war rather than emerging from a great struggle that has been successfully won. So much has the war fever come to control the minds of the present Ministry that there are grave dangers of the introduction into this free country of the old European system of standing military and police forces instead of the freedom from militarism which our times demand. What is needed is not increased outlays for war purposes, but increased production to help meet the vast obligations which war has imposed.

"That brings me to the policy of the Liberal party as respects the revision of the tariff.

Tariff Policy

"We believe that the time has come, indeed that it is already long passed, when a downward revision of the tariff is necessary. In this revision we believe that there should be substantial reductions of the duties and the necessaries of life; in other words, on those articles which go to make the food, the clothing, the shelter of the Canadian people; that certain specific articles required for the purposes of consumption and other articles essential to production should be placed upon the free list, and that in regard to the instruments of production in the basic industry of agriculture, mining, lumbering and fishing, there should also be a substantial reduction of duties. It is not a question of free trade or protection. With the revenue which is to be required for years to come to meet the large interest payments on public debt, the obligations to our returned soldiers in the way of pensions and in other respects, as well as to carry on the work of government of Canada—resort as we may to direct taxation of incomes and of business profits, which is also a part of the Liberal policy; tax as we will all luxuries, which is another plank in the Liberal platform—there will still be required for purposes of revenue large sums of money which of necessity will have to be raised by indirect taxation through a customs tariff. In revising the tariff to this end, care will be taken of the position and needs of all the industries in our country; but such tariff as may be necessary in this connection will be, under Liberal policy, a tariff for consumers and producers, and not a tariff to further the interests of combines, monopolies, or of any special or privileged classes. Let me point out such a tariff is not only in the interests of the rural parts, but also of interest to city dwellers; such a tariff is not only in the interests of the workingmen, but in the interest of employers; moreover, such a tariff is doubly necessary in the absence of any protection to consumers by the abolition of the Combines Investigation Act and the demoralization of the Board of Commerce, the function of which was to be primarily that of protecting the consumers against the evils of profiteering.

Profiteering

"We also need more effective machinery to grapple with the evils of profiteering. There is no gainsaying the fact, indeed, it has been shown by the Government's own investigations, that there are many individual industries in this country which during the war were reaping, and which ever since the war have been reaping, enormous profits at the expense of the people of Canada. Today there is no actual machinery to cope effectively with this evil. The work commenced by the Liberal party when in office in the investigation of combines, mergers, trusts and monopolies, which helped to enhance prices to the detriment of consumers, would be continued if the Liberal party should again be returned to power. It will be made the first and foremost feature of its endeavor on behalf of the people of this country.

"We need to be reminded in all that pertains to industry that there are four parties necessary to its successful prosecution. Capital is necessary, management is necessary, labor is necessary, but the community is also necessary. There has been too much oversight of the contribution made by the community to the other parties to industry and too little regard for the return to which the community is entitled therefor. What is needed in Canada today is some machinery of Government which will make the return to capital in the shape of profits, and the return to management in the shape of salaries just as public as the return to labor in the shape of wages. There are a class of evils which publicity is more effective in curing than penalty. Greed, waste and extravagance are of this class. We must seek to protect the consuming public of this country, whether it be as respects prices of commodities or railway, telephone, telegraph and express rates, rents of houses and buildings against exactions which are wholly unwarranted by existing conditions. That is the kind of protection that is most needed in Canada today; it is the protection which the Liberal Party intends if possible to secure for the consuming public.

Rights of Labor

"And that brings me to the necessity in connection with the readjustment of our social order of a wider recognition of the rights of labor to representation in the shaping and control of industrial policies. If we stop to consider the cause of most of the industrial evils of our day, we will find that they are due to an effort on the part of some one of the four parties to industry to gain a monopoly of control in the direction and management of industry and the shaping of industrial policies. The natural reaction from a monopoly of control on the part of capital such as it has existed too often in the past, is an effort to gain monopoly of control on the part of labor, which is resulting in some countries today in the establishment of Soviet governments, with consequences as disastrous to labor as to the other parties and industry. What is demanded is not monopoly of control by any one party but joint control by all parties concerned, by Labor as well as Capital and by the community as well as by Labor, Capital and Management.

"The Liberal Party has given concrete expression to this policy in a demand which found expression in a resolution moved in the House of Commons some years ago by Mr. Lapointe to the effect that Labor should be given representation on the Board of Directors of the Canadian National Railways. We believe that if Labor is as necessary to the successful running of our railways as is Capital or Management, that Labor is entitled to its place on the Board of Directors where its voice can be heard and where it may be in a position most effectively to safeguard its own and the public interest

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against inefficiency and extravagance in management, and the exploitation of the public through charges and rates, the benefit of which accrue to one party only and not to all concerned. We believe that Parliament should be truly representative in character, that it should include representatives from all classes in a community, not as representative of a class but as citizens possessing a special knowledge in important departments of our complex social and industrial life. Similarly we believe that in industry all the parties contribute whether in the form of investment of their capital of their labor, whether of hand or of brain, should likewise be representative in the management and control of the industries to which their contributions are made. As we come to system of Government in the state that is truly representative, and evolve a system of Government in industry that is likewise equally representative, we will solve without fear of prejudice to any class the political, social and industrial problems of our day.

"Passing from industrial relations, let me say a word as to the attitude of the Liberal Party on inter-imperial and international relations. Here again we stand on the firm foundation of complete autonomy in matter of self-government of concern to our Dominion. We believe that the British Empire of which we are a part, not less than the Dominion which is ours, will grow in strength and useful service to the world, as we avoid the dangers of centralization, and strengthen the bonds of conference and co-operation in all that is a matter of mutual concern. Above all do we believe that in inter-imperial and international relations there must be the most open diplomacy. The floor of our Parliament and not the round table of our Cabinet Councils is the place in which all matters in the nature of understandings and treaties between Canada and the Mother Country and Canada and other parts of the British Empire, and Canada and other nations, must be worked out and agreed to. We take strong exception to such action as that which we have witnessed within the past session of Parliament of the Canadian Government accepting from the British Government without any reference to Parliament, a cruiser, a torpedo boat destroyer and submarines; and the establishment equally without reference to Parliament of post of Minister of Plenipotentiary at Washington. If these are necessary and desirable ends and I am not raising a question on that point, they should be arrived at by consent of Parliament in the first instance and not by the action of Cabinet Ministers in secret council, making contracts in the first instance and then coming to Parliament for appropriations which they seek to defend on the grounds of national honor.

"Finally we believe that in matters of government, attitude is all important, that if Canada is to be a happy, contented, prosperous and united country that will only be effected by the establishment of the utmost confidence in the relations that exist in our national economics.

"It must be remembered that whilst war may serve to bring forth all that is finest in the character of the people, to manifest latent heroism and noble capacity for service, war itself is a hateful and devilish thing, and the spirit that war breathes is hateful and devilish. That spirit, unfortunately, continues to lurch in all sorts of places, both prominent and obscure. It is in the creation of a new spirit, of a new attitude, that Liberalism, as I read its obligations to present-day problems, will find its most important task. The substitution of goodwill for all that has been making for illwill in the various phases of our national life. But the Liberals who stood with Laurier in 1917 if they are to be true towards the first principles of Liberalism, must be as ready to accord sincerity of purpose to those who differed from them as they are to demand a like attitude toward themselves.

"And this leaves me to speak of the East and the West of our wide Dominion, and of all the vast intervening space of British Columbia with its wonderful diversified resources, of the Prairie Provinces with the vast agricultural wealth, of Ontario and Quebec and the Maritime Provinces, with their rural as well as urban populations and their enterprising manufacturing and commercial developments. Is the splendid unity of our great country to be imperilled by a conflict of policies related primarily to geographical areas of particular interest, or are we to carry into the shaping of our national policies the same noble spirit of self sacrifice on the part of each, and willing co-operation on the part of all, by which alone the war was won. Shall it be of a class or of the well being of the whole community? Shall it be Canada first, as it was with the men who gave their lives with thought of naught, save the honor of their country and their duty before God?

"If it is this larger, this nobler ideal, we must have in our Federal politics some political party large enough, broad enough, tolerating enough to carry forward such a policy of national unity. It cannot be a Manufacturers' party, for that will never suit the farmers or consumers; neither can it be a Farmers' party, for that, too, in the long run, will raise powerful combinations against itself which will serve to divide East and West, to set the cities and towns and villages over against the farming communities, and the rural districts over against the urban. Neither can it be a Labor party, for that means the organization, sooner or later, of a capitalistic party, and added strife in industrial relations, rather than the working out of some system of joint control, by which alone the problems of industry are to be solved. Least of all, is it likely ever to be a War Veterans' party. The war veterans themselves have been the first to repudiate any thought of the kind. That would be introducing into this new world the old-time conflicts between the army and the civil authorities, which takes us back to the days of Cromwell, and a condition of society which our citizen soldiery would be the first to deplore. No, it cannot be a party of any class, of any creed, of any race, or of any special interest. It must be a party representative of all the interests of the nation and reflecting in its composition the many sided elements of our national life.

"With the Liberal forces at work in Canada today among the farmers, in the rural communities, among labor in the cities and towns, among the returned soldiers and among that great body of Canadian citizenry, men and women alike, who apart from class affiliations or associations, are thinking and praying and striving for the dawn of that better day which the sacrifices and privations of war were to usher in, there is nothing to withstay ultimate and speedy victory in the triumph of Liberal ideas and policies except a failure on the part of those who are opposed to a common enemy, to co-operate in a spirit that has regard primarily for the good of all.

"Let these forces unite in the interests that are common to all and ultimate victory to all that is progressive and best in our national life will be definitely assured."

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Victoria Daily Times Sept-28-1920

D 4636

PERTINENT POINTS FROM LIBERAL LEADER'S SPEECH

"We believe that the time has come when a downward revision of the tariff is necessary.

"It is not a question of free trade or protection. Under Liberal policy it will be a tariff for consumers and producers.

"The policy of the Liberal Party is substantial reductions on the necessaries of life, the things that go to make the food, clothing, shelter of the Canadian people; that other articles essential to production should be placed on the free list; that instruments of production in the basic industry of agriculture, mining, lumbering and fishing, there should be substantial reduction of duties.

"We need more effective machinery to grapple with the evil of profiteering.

"What is needed in Canada to-day is some machinery of Government which will make the return to capital in the shape of profits and the return to management in the shape of salaries just as public as the return to labor in the shape of wages.

"We stand on the firm foundation of complete autonomy of self government of concern to our Dominion.

"We believe that in inter-Imperial and international relations there must be open diplomacy.

"There is nothing to withstay ultimate and speedy victory in the triumph of Liberal ideas and policies except a failure to co-operate in a spirit that has regard primarily for the good of all.

"The aim of Liberalism to-day is to seek a wider freedom for the masses in social, political, religious and industrial life."

"What is needed to-day as the foundation of all else is to restore the control of the people over Parliament, and to restore the control of Parliament over the Executive.

"The only effective means of restoring to the people the control over Parliament is that which a general election affords. By-elections are of no account in giving expression to the will of the people as a whole.

"It is the Government, not the people, who are Bolshevists.

"This acquisition of an entire railway system (the Grand Trunk) under an agreement to which the people's representatives in Parliament were denied the right of any real voice of approval or amendment is about as glaring an example of autocratic control by an executive and the ignoring of Parliament as the annals of any legislative assembly in the world will disclose.

"The consumers of this country are to-day without any protection from these great industrial combines.

"The first and most obvious method of reducing the cost of living is to make taxation lighter.

"Rigid retrenchment in public expenditures and economy in the administration of our national affairs is the first requirement in this connection.

"The public net debt in nine years has increased from $45.00 per head of population to $283.00.

"The men who are administering the affairs of Canada to-day became so accustomed during the war to deal in millions of dollars that expenditures involving thousands are beneath their consideration.

"What is needed is not increased outlays for war purposes, but increased production to help meet the vast obligations which war has imposed.

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Victoria Daily Times Sept-28th 1920 D 4637

Hon. W. L. M. King Urges Social Spirit And Larger Freedom

Liberal Leader Opens Tour of Western Canada Here With Definition of Party's Policy; Ernest Lapointe, M.P., of Quebec, Charms Audience With His Oratory

Three thousand persons, a large proportion of them women, heard the Hon. William Lyon Mackenzie King, M. P., leader of the Canadian Liberal party, at the Arena last night, deliver the opening speech of his tour of Western Canada and make his first pronouncement, in the West, on the policy of the party which he was recently chosen to lead.

Hon. Mackenzie King developed these as the vital items of his policy:

1. Tariff revision to benefit the consumer as regards the necessaries of life, such as food and clothing; reduction in the tariff on instruments essential for the basic industries of agriculture, mining, lumbering and fisheries.

shaping and control of industrial policies.

Sower of Liberal Seed.

The Hon. John Oliver, Premier of British Columbia, welcomed Hon. Mackenzie King as "the sower of Liberal seed."

"What is this Liberal seed?" the Premier asked.

"It is that of 'do unto others as you would have them do unto you.'

"Right in that sentence is the tap root of Liberalism, and in that doctrine lies the essence of all true Liberalism and of humanity.

"Hon. Mr. King does not come as the apostle of any new Liberalism. He comes as the apostle of the old Liberalism.

Foremost Political Student.

"We have in the present Liberal chieftain the foremost student of political science on this continent.

"There is not a Liberal in Canada who is not loyally behind the present Liberal chieftain."

W. M. Ivel, president of the Victoria Liberal Association, presided. He expressed thanks to all responsible for the success of the first meeting of the Mackenzie King tour of Western Canada.

"At no time in the history of Canada has it been more important for you and I to be well versed in all the policies that are before our country," said Mr. Ivel.

Sure Liberal Triumphs.

William Duff, M. P., of Lunenburg N. S. touched briefly on naval and shipping matters and made an appeal for an early Dominion election.

In the next election, Mr. Duff predicted, there will be returned seven Liberals out of the eleven members for New Brunswick, four Liberals straight from Prince Edward Island, and fifteen Liberals out of sixteen members for Nova Scotia.

Not Justified in Holding On.

Ernest Lapointe, M. P., successor to Sir Wilfrid Laurier as the representative of Quebec East, dealt with the absence of justification for the present Government holding office any longer, as it was elected on the selective conscription issue only during the war, and the problems before the country have changed entirely.

Mr. Lapointe went into the incompatible composition of the so-called National Liberal Conservative party which is headed by Premier Arthur Meighen.

Platform Charm Appeals.

Those who heard Mr. Lapointe commented afterwards on the charm of his diction, the accuracy in his choice of language and the grace with which he handled his subject. Old-timers remarked on the many resemblances his platform oratory bears to that of the late Sir Wilfrid Laurier.

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The War Veterans band provided music during the evening. Three hundred old-time Liberals occupied reserved seats in a special section of the Arena.

There were no interruptions during the whole meeting. The crowd, evidently attending the meeting for information and material on which to form their political opinions, attentively listened to everything that was said and responded with enthusiastic applause when telling points were brought out.

Sees Trade With Orient.

Hon. Mackenzie King rose to speak at 9.50 o'clock. He finished at 11.12.

"It is worth crossing the continent to receive the expressions of welcome we have had here from the people, from Premier Oliver and his leaders," said Hon. Mr. King.

He explained that this is the eighth time he has visited British Columbia. On occasions he has spent nearly a year in this Province studying industrial and labor conditions in mines and railways.

"Last time I came here I was on my way home from China and Japan, where I was studying conditions," Hon. Mr. King went on. "Over there I realized the great opportunities for trade there is with this country.

"If it is ever the opportunity of the Liberal party to conduct the affairs of this country, our policy in matters of trade will be the promotion of trade to the Orient as well as to Europe. Our aim will be the development of this country not by a policy of restriction of trade but by the promotion of trade and the widening of opportunities.

Still Awaiting New Epoch.

Hon. Mr. King referred to the present transition period, following the stirring of the world's soul to its very depths by war.

During the war much was said about the interdependence of all classes of society and from the equality of the trenches and the self-sacrifice and silent endurance of women, there was to come the beginning of a new epoch in the world's history "when social justice and human equality were to be our watchwords."

"But," Hon. Mr. King went on, "I fear greatly that the social gulf has been widening rather than contracting as a consequence of the war, that we have many rich who are richer and many poor who are poorer, as a consequence of conditions which war and the aftermath of war have helped to bring about.

"The struggle is harder rather than less difficult for the average family than it was prior to the war. I am only noting a tendency which cannot continue without consequences prejudicial if not disastrous to our future as a nation.

LARGER FREEDOM IS LIBERALISM'S AIM

"I hope I do not claim too much for the party to which I have the honor to belong" said Mr. King, "when I say that, however many our limitations may be, however far short we may come to the goal towards which we strive, the aim of Liberalism in Canada is to seek the realization of that larger freedom in our social, political, industrial, fiscal, religious and personal life, which constitutes the basis of a social order that places human well-being above material gain, and regards human life as of vastly more concern than wealth. Now as a political party we hope to realize this ideal in practice, let me proceed to illustrate by reference to the platform, principles and policies of the Liberal party.

Restore Responsibility.

"All that has been attained by what we call self-government, representative government and responsible government, represents the high water mark of achievement in political control by the people over their own affairs, the strongest bulwark of their freedom and the surest guarantee of their peace, prosperity and progress. These are the most sacred inheritances we have from the past.

Must Get Back Freedom.

"The necessary first step is to restore, to get back as much as possible, what of our freedom was lost by the war. War is destructive not only of men and material, it is destructive equally of morals and institutions. Our political institutions have suffered along with the rest. We have lost much of the freedom in matters pertaining to government, and in the way of self-government, which we possessed prior to the war. The rights of the people in matters of government have been ursurped, at the present time, by a Parliament that is not representative of the will of the people and by a ministry that has become indifferent to Parliament and its rights. What is needed today as the foundation of all else is to restore the control of the people over Parliament and to restore the control of Parliament over the Executive.

These are the time honored institutions that have suffered owing to the method adopted during the period of war.

Contracts Without Authority.

Customs, usages, practices intended to preserve our representative government, and the responsible character of its ministry, have one by one temporarily been set aside, then one by one been ignored until today, on the part of the administration, there is only open defiance of the most fundamental of those considerations which lie at the root of freedom in matters of political control. The work of Liberalism must be first and foremost that of seeking to re-establish on firm and enduring foundations, and in wider compass than has hitherto been known, all those institutions, customs, practices and usages in our parliamentary system, and matters pertaining to government, which comprise the charter of freedom we possessed prior to the commencement of the war.

PRESENT GOVERNMENT NOT REPRESENTATIVE

"I need not remind this audience or the country that the representation in the present Parliament is the result, not of any free expression of the will of the people, given with reference to the questions of the day, but that it is the product of the War Measures Act, and the War Time Elections Act, the latter as indefensible and iniquitous a piece of legislation as was ever framed by a ministry, and made possible only through the exigencies of war.

"But leaving aside altogether the manner in which Union Government was brought into being and was returned to office in the elections of 1917, and assuming for the moment that the whole transaction was bona fide and altogether in the interests of the people of Canada and of the British Empire at the time, is there anything in the circumstance of the formation of Union Government which justifies the assumption of office and proposed retention of power by the present Meighen Administration. As respects the new administration, it can conceivably be only one of two possible things; either it is, as it purports to be, an entirely new administration, with a new name, a new leader and a new platform; or it is simply the old Unionist administration, disguised under a new name, led by a new leader, and holding out to the public the pretence of a new platform.

Not Been Endorsed

"Take whichever alternative one will, is there aught in it to justify the continuance in office of this administration? If it is a wholly new administration, it must be perfectly clear that it has received no mandate whatever from the Canadian people. It has submitted no policy for their approval. It has received no endorsation of any kind. It has afforded the electors no opportunity of expressing their willingness to have it manage the affairs of this country. If it is a new administration, then by every canon of constitutional procedure and practice, it has usurped in their entirety the rights of popular self-government upon which all our political liberties are founded.

"If, on the other hand, it is not, as its new name, new leadership, and new platform would lead the country to suppose, a new administration, but is simply a remnant of the old Unionist Administration, clinging to office only for the sake of power and patronage—then it is not less a

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usurper, for the Unionist Administration, both for the purposes for which it was formed and in the personnel of its original membership, has long ceased to exist or to retain any of the confidence which at any period of its existence it ever enjoyed.

Union Character Lost

"In support of these statements, I shall not ask you to accept any representations of mine, nor, representations of any kind other than those of the Unionist Cabinet itself and the members composing it.

"Take, first of all, the personnel of the Cabinet as originally formed, and which helped to give to it at the time the semblance at least of a Unionist Administration. Barely half of the original government now remains. Those who have resigned are: Sir Robert Borden, Sir Thomas White, Mr. Crerar, Mr. Carvell, Mr. Maclean, General Mewburn, Mr. Rowell, Mr. Crothers and Mr. Burrell. Mr. Cochrane has died. Thus the Union Government as returned to power in 1917 has lost its Prime Minister, its President of the Privy Council, its Minister of Finance, its Minister of Agriculture, its Minister of Labor; and new men have been appointed to fill these positions. Through the resignations of Mr. Crerar, Mr. Rowell, General Mewburn, Mr. Carvell and Mr. Maclean, it has lost altogether its character of a Union Government, or its semblance to such.

Not Representative

"It is to be remembered that, of what remains of the original Cabinet, three of the members—Sir James Lougheed, Minister of Soldiers Civil Re-establishment; Hon. Gideon Robertson, Minister of Labor; and Hon. P. E. Blondin, Postmaster-General—are members of the Senate, and have never received the endorsation of any portion of the electorate in a single constituency. As a matter of fact, the Hon. P. E. Blondin, the Postmaster-General, the only one of the three to contest a constituency in 1917, and who, in order to ensure his election, ran in two different constituencies, was defeated in both; in one by a majority of 1,247 and in the other by a majority of 6,623, or a vote of 7,095 to 472. By the wildest stretch of the imagination, these gentlemen cannot be regarded as in any sense of the word members of a ministry that is representative of the popular will, nor can any of the original members clinging on to office under circumstances of such dismemberment be regarded as represenative of any will but their own.

Need Election Now

"The only effective means of restoring to the people the control over Parliament, which is their inherited right, and of freeing Canada from the baneful influence of the control of its political affairs by the present autocratic administration is that which a general election affords. Bye-elections are of no account in giving expression to the will of the people as a whole. In so far as the popular will has found any expression in bye-elections, it has all been in the direction of indicating that the government has lost the confidence of the people in the different constituencies. True ministers have been returned, but in every instance by reduced majorities. Whereas in the Maritime Provinces there has been no cabinet representation for a long period of time, and the government has declared its intention of retaining office for a period of two years longer, it is not surprising that with all the prestige and power which office brings, the people should feel a desire to have some representation, rather than to be without any representation whatever in the councils of the nation, for that length of time.

Election Time Test

"The election of members to Parliament in the filling of vacancies created, not by the Government in strong and sure constituencies, but by fatal circumstances, is a truer test. Judged from this standard it can be said that practically without exception, in every bye-election there has been since the Old Union Government was formed, the voice of the people has been solidly against the administration. Not only has it lost the confidence of the people, as evidenced by the bye-elections, but even before the present Meighen Government was formed, it had lost in large measure the support of the press which had helped to bring it into being.

"The Government following in Parliament has steadily lessened till it is now precarious beyond words. Every province of the Dominion, moreover, has declared against a reactionary Toryism of a kind for which the present Government stands. Judged by every canon of parliamentary government, it is a usurper of the people's rights in matters of government; it is the Government, not the people who are Bolshevists. If we would avert the dangers of Bolshevism which the ministry pretends to perceive in this country, a beginning will have to be made by the Government itself, and those in high places, who have usurped the rights of the people must be made to restore those rights at the earliest possible day.

Bring Back People's Control

"But not only must the control of the people over Parliament be restored, the supremacy of Parliament itself must be re-asserted. That supremacy has been lost during the war. The Executive, left largely to itself in the administration of people's affairs, has become autocratic and indifferent to the wishes of the people's representatives. How far the administration has gone by way of ignoring Parliament and carrying on the government of the country by Executive order might be illustrated by innumerable acts. One or two significant illustrations may be sufficient to indicate just how far the Government has been prepared to ignore Parliament in matters of supreme concern to the people of the Dominion.

GRAND TRUNK PURCHASE AN AUTOCRATIC DEAL

"Take, first of all, the largest single financial transaction in the history of Canadian Parliament — the acquisition of the Grand Trunk Railway System by the Government of Canada. This matter relates itself not only to the last session of Parliament, but also to the one preceding it. If there ever was a measure over which the people's representatives should have had complete supervision from start to close, it was that which embodied the terms and conditions surrounding this enormous transaction. Not only were the people's representatives entitled to the right to pass upon all phases of the transaction, but any due appreciation of the rights of the people would have reserved to the people themselves the right of passing at a general election upon a policy so far-reaching as that involved in the control or ownership and operation by the state of a national railway system.

No Chance to Express Will

"Not only did the administration deny to the people of Canada any opportunity of passing upon the policy of Government ownership and operation involved in this transaction, but they gave neither to the people nor to their representatives in Parliament the slightest intimation that they themselves were contemplating any such transaction until the matter had been all but consummated. In vain did the Opposition try to reserve to Parliament the right which was reserved to the Grand Trunk shareholders, of passing upon the agreement between the Government and the company before its final acceptance by both parties. The Government, led by the present Prime Minister, were ready to concede to bondholders in Britain rights and privileges which they wholly denied to the taxpayers of Canada, an attitude which, having regard for the magnitude of the transaction, should have caused the present Prime Minister to forfeit forever his right to the confidence of the Canadian people, and to stamp him forever as arbitrary and autocratic in the administration of public affairs.

Passed Without People

"What the Opposition prophesied would happen did happen. The agreement was drafted between the Government and the Grand Trunk Railway Company, and was submitted to the shareholders of the company in London and passed upon by them without any expression from the people's representatives in the Canadian Parliament. Then it was discovered that the whole transaction had been consummated with such haste that errors had arisen in the agreement as drawn, and grave doubts having been cast upon the legality of the procedure in certain particulars, the Government was

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obliged at the last session to bring the agreement again into Parliament and to introduce a bill to correct certain errors and to ratify the agreement as drawn.

"When the Bill relating to the acquisition of the Grand Trunk Railway came before Parliament in the second session of 1919, representatives of the Railroad Brotherhoods had petitioned the Prime Minister and Minister of Labor to see that the pension rights of certain of the employees of the Grand Trunk Railway Company were definitely secured in any agreement which might be made. They might as well have spared themselves the trouble of making any representations, for the Government ignored them altogether. Knowing the justice of the demands of these employees of the company, and the long injustice to which they had been subjected through a failure on the part of the company to carry out its original obligations, I proposed in Parliament an amendment to the Bill which, had it been accepted, would have settled and established once and for all the pension rights and claims of the employees, which they have been denied for some ten years past. The Government decided to refuse even to entertain the proposal and the amendment was defeated.

Just Autocratic Control

"This acquisition of an entire railway system under an agreement to which the people's representatives in Parliament were denied the right of any real voice of approval or amendment, is about as glaring an example of autocratic control by an Executive and the ignoring of Parliament as the annals of any legislative assembly in the world will disclose. So far as I know, its only parallel in recent Canadian history is that afforded by the determination of the present Prime Minister and his colleagues to carry on the business of the country for another two years, regardless altogether of constitutional right or the popular will.

MERCHANT MARINE CONTRACTS REVIEWED

"Scarcely less autocratic has been the Government's procedure in the expenditure of $70,000,000 of the people's money in the creation of a merchant marine. Seventy millions not very long ago would have been regarded as a sum sufficient to carry on the entire government of the Dominion. It would have been all but met the entire outlay on account of ordinary expenditure in the government of Canada in each of the last years of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's administration. No ministry would have ventured to award contracts of one-tenth or one hundredth of this sum without in the first instance coming to Parliament for authority so to do.

"Not so any administration of which the Prime Minister has been a member. Questioned in Parliament at the last session concerning their action, the Ministry announced that the contracts for all the ships required for the Canadian merchant marine, some sixty or seventy in all, had been awarded, every one, by Order-in-Council, without in a single case any authority from Parliament, and without, in any case, calling for tenders for the awarding of contracts. All Parliament was asked to do was to vote the money necessary to pay the shipbuilding concerns to which these contracts were awarded.

Open Defiance.

"Here was open defiance, not only of Parliament, but of the law of the land, which provides that in all expenditures exceeding a certain amount, tenders must first be called and contracts awarded to the lowest tenderer. At first, the Minister of Marine was inclined to dispute the existence of such a law. With the aid of the Minister of Justice, he and his colleagues subsequently took refuge under the pretext that the awarding of the contracts in the manner described was in the nature of a war measure, to save the country from unrest arising out of the unemployment of returned soldiers—a poor kind of compliment, indeed, to the men who have fought overseas, but the kind of excuse wholly in keeping with the Government's readiness, when its own ends can be served by so doing, to shield its limitations under the guise of patriotism, even at the expense of the soldiers.

Refused to Give Details.

"The indifference of the Executive to the rights of Parliament and of the people did not stop even at this point. Questioned as to the extent and nature of many expenditures in connection with the merchant marine, the Minister bluntly refused to give Parliament many of the details asked for, putting forward the pretext that an incorporated company controlled its affairs, and it was for the company to say what publicity, if any, should be given to its business transactions. The Hon. Dr. Reid, Minister of Railways and Canals, took precisely the same position with regard to the Canadian National Railways and their management, an attitude wholly new, arbitrary, and autocratic, in government owned and operated enterprises.

"There is only one means of remedying autocratic behaviour of the kind on the part of a ministry that has become virtually irresponsible, and that is its entire elimination and its replacement by an Executive with a due sense of its responsibility to Parliament.

High Cost of Living.

"Passing now from the matter of political control and administration, and coming to the most important of the problems in our national economy, it must be apparent to one and all that if we are to win in any measure that new order of social equality and human well-being which it should be the highest object of government to further, we must meet in some effective way the problem of the high cost of living, which is affecting so adversely the great masses of the people throughout the country.

"It is perfectly true that the high level of prices owes its origin in part to world conditions which are beyond the control of any single country and which time alone can remedy. It is equally true, on the other hand that there are causes operating within our own borders which are capable of being removed and, if eliminated, would do much to bring about an order of greater equality and justice. Rigid retrenchment of public expenditures and economy in the administration of our national affairs is the first requirement in this connection.

INTEREST ON DEBT ELEVEN TIMES GREATER

"Increased taxation, from whatever cause it may arise, means inevitably an increase in the cost of living to the masses of the people; even if placed upon the shoulders of those best able to bear it, it is almost certain that sooner or later the incidence of the burden will be shifted on to the back of the great body of consumers.

"To understand the scope and extent of the problem with which the country is faced in this connection, it is necessary to consider the position of our finances and to observe the extent to which the country is burdened with a public debt the interest of which is a necessary first upon the treasury of the country.

"In 1910-11 the public net debt was a little over $340,000,000; to-day it is over $2,273,000,000; in other words, in nine years, it has increased over $1,930,000,000, or from $45 per head of population to $283.

Taxes Each Family Pays

"In 1910-11 the annual interest charge on the public debt was $12,500,000, or $1.67 per head of population; to-day the annual interest charge is about $140,000,000 or $17.50 per head of population, an increase of eleven times in nine years, equalling $87.50 per family of five. Just how enormous this obligation is may be appreciated when it is pointed out that in the last year of the Liberal Administration, 1910-11, the total expenditure for the Government of Canada on Consolidated Fund amounted in all to $87,774,000, and the total expenditure on Consolidated and Capital accounts combined, including subsidies, and all other charges, amounted to $122,861,000. Here is an annual obligation on public debt alone greater than the total expenditure of government during any year of the Liberal Administration.

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Tax Load

"The total estimated expenditure for the present year, will amount, according to the estimates presented to Parliament, to over $611,000,000. The Finance Minister informs us that the outlay for all purposes, apart from war, will total $536,000,000. This amount includes, however, $148,900,000, on account of Soldiers Land Settlement loans, loans to C. N. Ry. railway equipment, loans to provinces for housing and for shipbuilding programme, all of which are alleged to be in the nature of investments. It leaves, however, an amount for ordinary expenditure out of Consolidated Fund of over $349,000,000.

"All this money must be raised by taxation in one form or another, but not only must money for current expenditure be raised in this manner, if we are ever to lessen our public debt, money must also be raised for the purpose of reducing the colossal total. Under the circumstances there is necessity for economy in administration such as has never existed in the Dominion before.

Lost Sense of Proportion.

"One of the strongest reasons for a change in the personnel of the administration in this country is the circumstance of the men who are administering the affairs of Canada today becoming so accustomed during the war in dealing in millions of dollars that expenditures involving thousands are beneath their consideration. They have acquired the war habit of mind, and can never be expected to view with other than impatience any restraint upon the exercise of their own free will.

"Without any reference whatever to war expenditures one might cite such instances of extravangance as the extra session of Parliament in 1919, which was wholly unnecessary, and which cost the country over $1,500,000; the time consumed by Parliament during the last session on the consideration of a new electoral law, which was also unnecessary save for the purpose of giving to the present Administration a completer control of the electoral machinery and the preparation of Voters' Lists than existed under the old Dominion Elections Act, which might well have been restored with such amendments as necessary to make it more complete in some particulars.

Costly Special Commission

"Reference might be made to the enumerable commissions on all sorts of subjects, which are costing the country millions of dollars, and the appointments to the Civil Service running into thousands, notwithstanding the lessened obligations of the time of peace. I shall direct attention only to one class of expenditure which at this particular moment would seem to be wholly indefensible, namely, the enormous sums they spent for military and naval purposes before the work of the demobilization of military and naval forces is finished.

Demoblization Costs

"In the estimates for the present year the Government is asking Parliament the sum of $38,730,400 to complete the work of demobilization. In addition to this there is being asked the sum of $22,589,928 for the combined purposes of Militia and Defence, Naval Service, Mounted Police and Air Service; in other words an expenditure on these accounts alone of over one fourth of the total cost of Government in Canada in the last years of the Liberal Administration.

"It would almost seem that Canada was preparing for war rather than emerging from a great struggle that has been successfully won. So much has the war fever come to control the minds of the present Ministry that they are grave dangers of the introduction into this free country of the old European system of standing military and police forces instead of the freedom from militarism which our times demand. What is needed is not increased outlays for war purposes but increased production to help to meet the vast obligations which war has imposed.

Borden Naval Policy.

Hon. Mr. King recalled the Liberal policy of naval defence and the 1911 election when the Liberals were accused of starting a tin pot navy of the Niobe and Rainbow by campaigners in Ontario while in Quebec they were called Imperialistic by the Conservative-Nationalist alliance.

'I ask you whether the verdict of history has not justified the Laurier naval policy?" Mr. King went on.

"If the contracts planned for under that policy had been let, what would have been the result when the war came on?

"On the Pacific Coast there you would have had your fleet and have been in a position to add to the prestige of Canada just as Australia did.

Government Not Sincere.

"If the Borden Government had been sincere they would have gone on with their naval policy. But they have never been sincere on that policy."

Hon. Mr. King went on to explain that last year the Government spent $600,000 on the navy. This year they proposed to ask Parliament for only $300,000. But in the supplemental estimates they increased this to $1,000,000.

"We had not expected a naval policy," he continued. "But what was our surprise when we were told that they would not have a naval policy until after the Imperial Conference. I ask you whether that is a fair way of conducting public business.

Liberal Policy Still Same.

"As far as the Liberal policy is concerned, the Liberal party has had only one policy.

"We contend that if there is any change in the naval policy of this country, the place where that should be decided is on the floors of the House where the people can have their voices expressed and their wishes carried out."

LIBERAL TARIFF POLICY IS NOT FREE TRADE

'That brings me to the policy of the Liberal Party as respects the revision of the Tariff.

"We believe that the time has come indeed that it is already long passed when a downward revision of the Tariff is necessary. In this revision we believe that there should be substantial reductions of the duties and the necessaries of life; in other words on those articles which go to make food, the clothing, the shelter of the Canadian people; that certain specific articles required for the purposes of consumption and other articles essential to production should be placed upon the free list, and that in regard to the instruments of production in the basic industry of agriculture, mining lumbering and fishing there should also be a substantial reduction of duties.

Not Free Trade.

"It is not a question of free trade or protection. With the revenue which is to be required for years to come to meet the large interest payments on public debt, the obligations to our Returned Soldiers in the way of pensions and in other respects, as well as to carry on the work of the Government in Canada--resort as we may to direct taxation of incomes and of business profits which is also a part of the Liberal policy; tax as we will all luxuries which is another plank in the Liberal platform—there will be still be required for purposes of revenue large sums of money which of necessity will have to be raised by indirect taxation through a Customs Tariff.

Care For Industries.

"In revising the tariff to this end, care will be taken of the position and needs of all the industries in our country; but such Tariff as may be necessary in this connection will be under Liberal policy, a Tariff for consumers and producers and not a Tariff to further the interests of combines, monopolies, or of any special or privileged classes. Let me point out such a Tariff is not only in the interests of the people of the rural parts, but also of interest to city dwellers; such a Tariff is not only in the interests of the working men, but in the interest of employers; moreover such a Tariff is doubly necessary in the absence of any protection to consumers by the abolition of the Combines Investigation Act and the demoralization of the Board of Commerce, the function of which was to be primarily that of protecting the consumers against the evils of profiteering.

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Must Stop Profiteering.

"We need also more effective machinery to grapple with the evil of profiteering. There is no gainsaying the fact, indeed it has been shown by the Government's own investigations, that there are many individual industries in this country which during the war were reaping and which ever since the war have been reaping enormous profits at the expense of the people of Canada. Today there is no actual machinery to cope effectively with this evil. The work commenced by the Liberal Party when in office in the investigation of combines, merges, trusts and monopolies which helped to enhance prices to the detriment of consumers would be continued if the Liberal Party should again be returned to power; it will be made the first and foremost feature of its endeavor on behalf of the people of this country.

Four Components.

"We need to be reminded in all that pertains to industry that there are four parties necessary to its successful prosecution. Capital is necessary, management is necessary, labor is necessary, but the community is also necessary. There has been too much oversight of the contribution made by the community to the other parties to industry and too little regard for the return to which the community is entitled therefor.

"What is needed in Canada today is some machinery of Government which will make the return to capital in the shape of profits, and the return to the management in the shape of salaries just as public as the return to labor in the shape of wages.

Must Protect Consumers.

"There are a class of evils which publicity is more effective in curing than penalty. Greed, waste and extravagance are of this class. We must seek to protect the consuming public of this country, whether it be as respects prices of commodities or railway, telephone, telegraph and express rates, rents of houses and buildings against exactions which are wholly unwarranted by existing conditions. That is the kind of protection that is most needed in Canada today; it is the protection which the Liberal Party intends if possible to secure for the consuming public.

Changing Social Order

"And that brings me to the necessity in connection with the readjustment of our social order of a wider recognition of the rights of labor to representation in the shaping and control of industrial policies. If we stop to consider the cause of most of the industrial evils of our day, we will find that they are due to an effort on the part of some one of the four parties to industry to gain a monopoly of control in the direction and management of industry, and the shaping of industrial policies. The natural reaction from a monopoly of control on the part of capital such as it has existed too often in the past, is an effort to gain monoply of control on the part of labor, which is resulting in some countries to-day in the establishment of Soviet Governments, with consequences as disastrous to labor as to the other parties and industry. What is demanded is not monopoly of control by any one party but joint control by all parties concerned, by labor as well as capital and by the community as well as by labor, capital and management.

LABOR REPRESENTATION IS NOW NECESSARY

"The Liberal Party has given concrete expression to this policy in a demand which found expression in a resolution moved in the House of Commons some years ago by Mr. Lapointe to the effect that labor should be given representation on the Board of Directors of the Canadian National Railways.

"We believe that if labor is as necessary to the successful running of our railways as is capital or management, that labor is entitled to its place on the Board of Directors, where its voice can be heard and where it may be in a position most effectively to safeguard its own and the public interest against inefficiency and extravagances in management, and the exploitation of the public through charges and rates, the benefit of which accrue to one party only and not to all concerned. We believe that Parliament should be truly representative in character, that it should include representatives from all classes in a community, not as representative of a class, but as citizens possessing a special knowledge in important departments of our complex social and industrial life.

Representation for All

"Similarly, we believe that in industry all the parties contribute whether in the form of investment of their capital, of their labor, whether of hand or of brain, should likewise be representative in the management and control of the industries to which their contributions are made. As we come to system of Government in the state that is truly representative, and evolve a system of Government in industry that is likewise equally representative, we will solve without fear of prejudice to any class the political social and industrial problems of our day.

Wants Open Diplomacy

"Passing from industrial relations, let me say a word as to the attitude of the Liberal Party on inter-imperial and inter-national relations. Here again we stand on the firm foundation of complete autonomy in matter of self government of concern to our Dominion. We believe that the British Empire of which we are a part, not less than the Dominion, which is ours, will grow in strength and useful service to the world, as we avoid the dangers of centralization, and strengthen the bonds of conference and co-operation in all that is a matter of mutual concern.

"Above all do we believe that in inter-imperial and inter-national relations there must be the most open diplomacy. The floor of our Parliament and not the round table of our Cabinet Councils is the place in which all matters in the nature of understandings and treaties between Canada and the Mother Country and Canada and other parts of the British Empire and Canada and other nations, must be worked out and agreed to.

Should Ask Parliament

"We take strong exception to such action as that which we have witnessed within the past Session of Parliament of the Canadian Government accepting from the British Government without any reference to Parliament a cruiser, a torpedo boat destroyer and submarines; and the establishment equally without reference to Parliament of the post of Minister Plenipotentiary at Washington. If these are necessary and desirable ends, and, I am not raising a question on that point, they should be arrived at by consent of Parliament in the first instance and not by the action of Cabinet Ministers in secret council, making contracts in the first instance and then coming to Parliament for oppropriations which they seek to defend on the grounds of national honor.

UNITED CANADA IS ONE GREAT AIM

"Finally we believe that in matters of Government, attitude is all important, that if Canada is to be a happy, contented, prosperous, and united country that will only be effected by the establishment of the utmost confidence in the relations that exist in our national economies.

"It must be remembered that while war may serve to bring forth all that is finest in the character of the people, to manifest latent heroism and noble capacity for sacrifices war itself is a hateful and devilish thing, and the spirit that war breathes is hateful and devilish. That spirit unfortunately continues to lurch in all sorts of places both prominent and obscure. It is in the creation of a new spirit of a new attitude that Liberalism as I read its obligations to present day problems will find its most important task, in the substitution of good will for all that has been making for ill will in the various phases of our national life. But the Liberals who stood with Laurier in 1917 if they are to be true towards the first principles of Liberalism, must be as ready to accord sincerity of purpose to those who differed from them as they are to demand a like attitude toward themselves.

Preserve National Unity

"And this leaves me to speak of the East and the West of our wide Dominion, and of all the vast intervening space of British Columbia with its wonderful diversified resources, of the prairie Provinces, with their vast agricultural wealth, of Ontario and Quebec and the Maritime Provinces, with their rural as well as urban populations and their enterprising manufacturing and commercial developments.

"Is the splendid unity of our great country to be imperilled by a conflict of policies related primarily to geographical areas or particular interest, or are we to carry into the shaping of our national policies the same noble spirit of some sacrifice on the part of each, and willing co-

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operation on the part of all by which alone the war was won. Shall it be of a class or of the well-being of the whole community? Shall it be Canada First, as it was with the men, who gave their lives with thought of naught, save the honor of their country, and their duty before God?

Need Tolerant Party

"If it is this larger, this nobler ideal, we must have in our Federal politics some political party large enough, broad enough, tolerant enough to carry forward such a policy of national unity. It cannot be a manufacturers' party, for that will never suit the farmers or consumers; neither can it be a farmers' party for that, too, in the long run will raise powerful combination against itself, which will serve to divide East and West, to set the cities and towns and villages over against the farming communities, and the rural districts over against the urban. Neither can it be a labor party, for that means the organization sooner or later of a capitalist party, and added strife in industrial relations, rather than the working out of some system of joint control by which alone the problems of industry are to be solved.

The New Party

"The war veterans themselves have been the first to repudiate any creation of a party, that would be introducing into this new world the old time conflicts between the army and the civil authorities, which takes us back to the days of Cromwell, and a condition of society which our citizen soldiery would be the first to deplore. No, it cannot be a party of any class, of any creed, of any race, or of any special interest. It must be a party representative of all the interests of the nation and reflecting in its composition the many sided elements of our national life.

Liberal Forces at Work

"With the Liberal forces at work in Canada to-day among the farmers, in the rural communities, among labor in the cities and towns, among the returned soldiers and among that great body of Canadian citizenry, men and women alike, who apart from class affiliations of associations, are thinking and praying and striving for the dawn of that better day, which the sacrifices and privations of war were to usher in, there is nothing to withstay ultimate and speedy victory in the triumph of Liberal ideas and policies except a failure on the part of those who are opposed to a common enemy, to cooperate in a spirit that has regard primarily for the good of all.

"Let these forces unite in the interests that are common to all and ultimate victory to all that is progressive and best in our national life will be definitely assured."

MR. KING SOWER OF LIBERAL SEED, SAYS PREMIER OLIVER

Welcoming Mr. King and his party to British Columbia, the Hon. John Oliver remarked with considerable pleasure that the visitors were widely representative of many sections of the East. "Whatever mix-up there may be in the political and natural life of the Dominion," Mr. Oliver went on, "yet at present it is an outstanding fact that eight out of nine of the Provinces of this nation are administered by Liberal Governments. The old reactionary Tory Party has no substantial hold whatever."

Mr. Oliver pointed out that Mr. King was the grandson of "that grand old patriot William Lyon Mackenzie," and the Premier was confident that the new leader, "true to the family traditions will uphold Liberal principles in a way that will add lustre to the already illustrious family name."

Student of Political Science.

"Mr. King is one of the greatest students of political science in Canada and probably on the continent," the Premier declared. "Moreover, he was the choice of the late Sir Wilfred Laurier, who sought his advice on all labor questions."

An Expert on Industry.

Tracing Mr. King's brilliant career, Mr. Oliver asserted that the Liberal Leader had endeavored during his whole political life to "better the condition of the masses of the people." Mr. King, he recalled, was the author of a great standard book on the relations between industry, labor and capital. To show that Mr. King thoroughly understood the great problems of the world to-day, Mr. Oliver quoted the chieftain's assertion in his book that "Industrial unrest is not a transitory condition. It is the voice of a grief-stricken humanity. The sword is not the instrument nor oppression the method to stay this great unrest. Truth is mightier than the sword. In conference and co-operation lies the permanent solution of the unrest that permeates the world at this time."

Well-Chosen Leader.

"There is no man in Canada better fitted to cope with the present conditions of unrest than the present chieftain, who has made them a life study," the Premier affirmed." He was chosen by the greatest convention ever assembled in Canada and chosen without excitement after careful, quiet deliberation. And he has the unanimous support of Liberals from all parts of Canada—from the shores of the Atlantic to the shores of the Pacific, from the international boundary to the North Pole there is not a Liberal who is not loyally behind the Liberal chieftain."

Mr. Oliver characterized Mr. King as a sower of seed—the seed of equality, right and justice." "The results of his sowing will depend upon your attitude of mind. If your minds are barren the seeds will not flourish; if they are fertile it will be a crop of sixty or seventy or one hundredfold to the benefit of humanity as a whole."

"Mr. King," concluded Mr. Oliver, "does not come as an apostle of a new Liberalism. He is a new apostle of old Liberalism—the doctrine preached in the Bible, the doctrine which says, 'Do unto others as you would they should do to you.' That is the tap root of Liberalism which was put forth by the Savior of mankind."

Mr. Oliver then extended a formal welcome to Mr. King.

On the Platform.

Besides the visiting speakers and Premier Oliver platform guests included: Hon. John Oliver, Hon. John Hart, Hon. J. D. MacLean, Hon. J. W. de B. Farris, Walter Scott, T. D. Pattullo, F. A. Pauline, M. P. P.; H. C. Hall, M. P. P.; M. B. Jackson, K. C., M. P. P.; Andrew Haydon, J. B. Clearihue, A. M. Macdonald, M. P. P., Campbell, of Vancouver; Dr. A. E. McMicking, Frank Stevenson, A. D. Macfarlane, George McGregor, P. W. Dempster, A. H. Cox, A. McNiven, J. B. Warnicker, Capt. Harbord, H. Norman, Alderman Joseph Patrick, Alderman Robert Dinsdale, A. S. Ashwell, J. Sheppard, J. Wallace, J. Fraser, Francis Simpson, L. U. Conyers, Mrs. S. Henderson, Mrs. Galbraith, Mrs. Dinsdale, Mrs. McIntyre, Mrs. Brandon, Mrs. Edwards, Mrs. Pauley, Thos. R. Cusack, the Rev. Mr. Parker, A. McRae, of Revelstoke.

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Victoria Daily Times
TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 28, 1920.

LAST NIGHT'S MEETING.

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Mr. King's speech, delivered in vigorous, impressive style and in a fine, resonant voice which could be heard all over the spacious building, was noteworthy for its moderation, reasonableness and absence of bitterness. His criticism of the autocratic methods of the Government, its negotiation of agreements and its execution of contracts involving the taxpayers in expenditures of millions without consulting Parliament, its extravagance, its failure to deal with the cost of living or to relieve the public of some of its burden of taxation, was powerfully presented.

Mr. King's reference to the determination of the Liberal Party, if it is returned to office, to proceed with the development of the Canadian Navy, as provided for by the measure placed on the Statutes by Parliament in 1910, struck a popular chord—a clean-cut announcement of policy which afforded a striking contrast with the admission in Parliament of the Hon. C. C. Ballantyne, Minister of the Naval Service, that the present Government had no naval policy at all and would not have one until after the next Imperial Conference.

Our morning contemporary which criticizes Mr. King's remarks on the navy question on the ground of vagueness, evidently did not take the trouble to ascertain what he said on this subject—a rather frequent failing in that quarter. Our contemporary itself has advocated many different naval policies during the last seven or eight years, but our impression is that its latest disposition has been to favor the development of a Canadian Navy, and during the time in which it may hold that view it should be, in this respect, in hearty accord with Mr. King.

The Liberal Leader's policy on the tariff is a substantial reduction of the duties on the necessaries of life, the things which go to make the food, clothing and shelter of the Canadian people; the placing of articles essential to production on the free list, and material reductions in the duties on implements of agriculture, mining, lumbering and fishing. He frankly believes in a tariff, but declares it should be a tariff for consumers and producers rather than for profiteers and special privilege.

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D 4645

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From the standpoint of a port like Victoria the criticism which Mr. King advanced against the merchant marine policy of the present Federal Government will hardly fall on sympathetic ears. Such criticism may be all very well in the inland portions of the Dominion, or in places which have not benefitted through the construction of ships, or where the benefits from the trade that will accrue will be only felt indirectly through the prosperity of the country as a whole. There can be no doubt of the sentiment of the people here regarding Federal shipbuilding. They are a unit on the subject, and the only feeling of regret is that the Government has not seen its way to give more contracts for construction in this locality. In view of this attitude Mr. King was not well advised in dealing with the subject, although we are aware that it should be no part of the policy of the leader of the party to veil any feelings he may have according to the character of the people he is addressing.

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Victoria Daily Times Sept-28th/1920 D 4646

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Daily Colonist.

D 4647

Tuesday, September 28, 1920

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Eastern Chronicle
Oct "5 20

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HON. MR. KING AT VICTORIA.

VICTORIA, B. C., Sept. 28. Hon. W. L. MaceKnzie King, Liberal leader, made the initial address of his western tour before a large crowd here last night. "A general election is necessary," he asserted, "in order to restore to the people control over parliament."

He declared that there should be a revision downward of the tariff with substantial reductions of duties on necessaries of life and the instruments of production, and that a reduction of taxation should be made by curbing extravagance. He believed that wider recognition of labor, with representation in the shaping and control of industrial policies, would have the effect of putting an end to industrial strife.

Whether a general election is necessary or not, Hon. W. L. MacKenzie King will get it when the parliamentary period is up, or, if before, when Premier Meighen chooses. If it come this year, or next, is the opposition ready for it?

The opposition is composed of the Liberals, the Farmers, Labor, and the Veterans. Are these parties going to get together in a team to meet Premier Meighen's serried hosts, or are they to run separately, knifing one another as they run. Under one leader they would certainly beat the Government. In separate and disjointed battalions the government will probably beat them. Can they get together? The majority of the Liberals and the majority of the Farmers are as one regarding control of Parliament by the people. They are as one in the demand for a downward revision of the tariff, the reduction of duties on the food and clothing of the people and on the instruments of production; and that a reduction of taxation could be made by curbing extravagance. How are they going to get together to effect their objects? If Hon. Mr. King and Hon. Mr. Crerar can bring that about, they can win; if not Premier Meighen will win.

Regarding a wider recognition of Labor, we have our doubts about effecting much along that line just now. It seems to us certain that the Labor party is not ready to submit to the arbitrament of Parliament the question of shaping industrial policies that would have the effect of putting an end to industrial strife. Like the poor, we will always have that question with us. The best that can be hoped just now is that the Labor party will join with the others in electing a people's parliament. Without binding themselves regarding fanciful industrial legislation they can be appealed to on the broad policy of national interests to join the common people in promoting honest government by helping to elect honest men to parliament. Parliamentary reform leaders will find them so far sympathetic; but in our opinion they are not quite ready for even a political discussion of the big question of industrial control by parliament.

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29 Sept. 1920 Vancouver, B.C.

CONSERVATISM VS. LIBERALISM

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D 4650

S P E E C H

at

VANCOUVER BRITISH COLUMBIA

29th September, 1920.

It is my purpose this evening to dwell more particularly on the differences in attitude, methods and outlook of the Party which calls itself the National Liberal and Conservative Party and the Party with which I have the honour to be associated, the Party which has championed Liberal principles in this country for now nearly one hundred years. In other words, I desire to make clear to this audience and to the people of Canada the fundamental differences between the party which is in power at Ottawa today and that of the party by which it is officially opposed in Parliament.

These are days of transition, of readjustment and of new alignments in social and political orders all over the world. Throughout the period of the war and, to a considerable extent ever since, we have necessarily given very little thought or attention to our domestic affairs. Our minds and our energies have been concerned with more important and larger issues. As a consequence, there has been very little in the way of political education in Canada for some years. Indeed, since the general election of 1911, there has been no occasion on which the people of the Dominion as a whole have had an opportunity of hearing national issues discussed with reference to those problems which are primarily of domestic concern.

A body of voters, so large as to constitute an entirely new electorate has come to the fore. There are the young men between the ages of twenty and thirty who, up to the present, have not exercised their right to the Franchise, save in reference to the election of 1917, which was fought out not with reference to domestic problems, but with relation almost exclusively to the war. There are the great body of the war veterans, who were overseas during that election, engaged in a mightier business than that of winning elections. They could have, with reference to the election of 1917, no knowledge, save that which was accorded them through the media of government agencies, of the circumstances which accounted for the differences between the political parties in Canada at that time. And there is the great body of women voters in Canada who now, for the first time in our history, irrespective of special privilege, are to have a voice in determining the polices which are to govern the destinies of our country in the future.

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This is a moment of transition in social and political conditions which will go far to determine the whole future trend of our destiny as a nation. No man or woman can afford to be neutral in his political allegiance. It is for each to decide at the peril of all that is best in manhood, and highest in womanhood, just where he or she is going to stand, and with which of the forces that are arrayed in opposition they are going to throw their lot. It will be found in the last analysis that, irrespective of the names by which they may be called, the choice lies today as it has lain in one way or another all through the centuries of political struggles in the past, between those who are not afraid of change in the social order, and those who resist change; between those who are progressive and those who are reactionary; between those who are prepared to trust the people and assist them in their struggle for a wider freedom, social, economic, fiscal and political, and those who mistrust the people and are more concerned in keeping intact the strongholds of privilege than in widening the opportunities, and increasing the possibilities of happiness and the realization of life's highest enjoyments to the many who constitute the great citizenry of the nation.

Let me proceed at once to illustrate the truth of what I have just said by reference to the manner in which the Liberal Party on the one hand, and the National Liberal and Conservative Party, as at present constituted, have received their respective designations, framed their policies and selected their respective leaders. The circumstances which occasioned and surrounded both are happily so recent as to be known to all, and beyond all possibility of effective denial.

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overseas during that election, engaged in a mightier business than that of winning elections. They could have, with reference to the election of 1917, no knowledge, save that which was accorded them through the media of government agencies, of the circumstances which accounted for the differences between the political parties in Canada at that time. And there is the great body of women voters in Canada who now, for the first time in our history, irrespective of special privilege, are to have a voice in determining the polices which are to govern the destinies of our country in the future.

Apart altogether, therefore, from the records of political parties in the past, it is important that the people should clearly understand the differences which distinguish their policies at the present time, that they may with intelligence decide for themselves in the light of the fullest knowledge, to which of the great contending forces in the political arena they wish to belong and to which they will lend the weight of their influence and power.

This is a moment of transition in social and political conditions which will go far to determine the whole future trend of our destiny as a nation. No man or woman can afford to be neutral in his political allegiance. It is for each to decide at the peril of all that is best in manhood, and highest in womanhood, just where he or she is going to stand, and with which of the forces that are arrayed in opposition they are going to throw their lot. It will be found in the last analysis that, irrespective of the names by which they may be called, the choice lies today as it has lain in one way or another all through the centuries of political struggles in the past, between those who are not afraid of change in the social

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order, and those who resist change; between those who are progressive and those who are reactionary; between those who are prepared to trust the people and assist them in their struggle for a wider freedom, social, economic, fiscal and political, and those who mistrust the people and are more concerned in keeping intact the strongholds of privilege than in widening the opportunities, and increasing the possibilities of happiness and the realization of life's highest enjoyments to the many who constitute the great citizenry of the nation.

Let me proceed at once to illustrate the truth of what I have just said by reference to the manner in which the Liberal Party on the one hand, and the National Liberal and Conservative Party, as at present constituted, have received their respective designations, framed their policies and selected their respective leaders. The circumstances which occasioned and surrounded both are happily so recent as to be known to all, and beyond all possibility of effective denial.

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Vancouver, B.C. Sept. 29/20 "Van Sun." Sept. 30.

D 4655

Election Demanded By Liberal Leader In Stirring Address

Four Thousand Men and Women at Arena Hear Federal Opposition Chief Denounce Existing Oligarchy at Ottawa.

AUDIENCE APPLAUDS AS TELLING POINTS ARE STRONGLY EMPHASIZED

Ernest Lapointe Charms His Hearers With Brilliant and Humorous Oration— Other Able Speakers Cheered.

"THE government has raised the cry of Bolshevism in its efforts to alarm the country. But the ministers are the real Bolshevists. They are usurping the functions of government without a mandate from the people," declared Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King near the close of a rousing speech last night at the Arena.

An audience estimated at four thousand men and women heard Mr. King and two of his principal parliamentary lieutenants in their denunciation of the acts of the Meighen government. Every seat on the main floor of the big auditorium was occupied and the crowd overflowed into the top galleries which were fairly well filled. At all stages of his address Mr. King carried his hearers with him and they were most generous with their applause as he brought home point after point in his telling indictment of the federal government.

MINISTERIAL EXTRAVAGANCE.

The accusation that the government is carrying on without a mandate, was effectively used again and again in various forms by the Liberal leader, Ernest Lapointe, M. P., and W. C. Kennedy, M. P. They recited the platform pledges of ministers when the Unionist Government was formed; they pointed to the new personnel of the ministry; to the new political party which forms the government; to the huge expenditures for a merchant marine and the assumption of a five hundred million dollar liability for the Grand Trunk Pacific purchase, without the knowledge or consent of Parliament. Always they came back to the accusation that the Government is holding office without a mandate and that constitutional usage and he welfare of the country demands that a general election be held.

LIBERAL PLEDGES

Ridiculing Premier Meighen's pronouncement of the Government's fiscal policy, Hon. Mr. King said his own party was pledged to a sweeping reductfon of the tariff on all necessaries of life; to the abolition of the tariff on certain articles, and to a reduction on the instruments of production for the basic industries. In a passionate peroration at the conclusion of an hour and a half's speech he called upon loyal Canadians to rally to the banner that had been raised by the Liberal Party and prevent the forces of greed and privilege from dividing Canada by appeals to racial, religious, geographical and economic prejudices.

SEEN AND HEARD AT THE MEETING

The G. W. V. A. Band was "right there" on patriotic and timely airs. Their "O Canada" as a musical introduction for Mr. Lapointe was a delicate compliment to the member for Quebec East.

One decidedly pleasing feature of the meeting was the good acoustic properties of the Arena which seem to have been heightened by the erection of the temporary stage. Every word of the speakers was heard to the furthest confines of the galleries.

With his charming accent, Mr. Lapointe would have made the hit of his life had he recited some political parody of one of Dr. Drummond's habitant poems.

Hon. Mr. Farris got off one of the merriest quips of the evening when he likened the Union Government to a jackass with "no pride of ancestry or hope of posterity."

The ladies were by no means a small proportion of the great audience. Many arrived well ahead of half-past seven in order to be sure of admittance and a number were observed busy with their sewing and fancy work before the speeches began.

The committee in charge of arrangements acquitted itself in a manner that left nothing to be desired. There were plenty of ushers who were on the job all the time and were most courteous in finding seats for everybody.

"Hear, Hear," shouted a sturdy "Spud Islander" as Hon. Mr. King referred to the historic pre-Confederation meeting at Charlottetown.

It's a pity Vancouver people cannot cultivate the habit of getting to meetings on time. The clatter of hundreds of feet marching along the aisles long after the speeches began was most annoying.

Cars were parked on every available space for blocks in the vicinity of the Arena.

The B. C. Electric made its usual elaborate arrangements for cars to take the audience home to all parts of the city.

Hon. John Oliver was warmly greeted by the big audience as he [illegible]

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Ernest Lapointe, K.C., M.P., quite endeared himself to the large audience, which was loath to let the big, witty Frenchman sit down. He made a powerful appeal for unity, declaring that the Tory party had always lived by creating dissension between the provinces. His greatest hit was when he contrasted Premier Meighen's conciliatory speech at Portage la Prairie with his remarks to the Ontario political stalwarts at Stirling. He likened him to the bat in the French fable which among the birds showed its wings and claimed to be a bird, but among the mice cried out, "I am a mouse; long live the rats."

Both platform and auditorium of the big rink were crowded for the occasion, though the temperature of the building caused some to don their overcoats and some to leave before the speech of the Liberal leader ended a strong body of widows and mothers of soldiers, on the front rows, applauded the statement of the Liberal leader that economies on the military expenditure would enable the Government to do its full duty in providing for the dependents of those who had fallen in the war.

CROWD CAUSED DELAY

Although the meeting was announced to commence at 7:30, it took nearly another half an hour for the crowd to get down to the Arena and fill up the big auditorium. The interval was very pleasingly filled with selections by the G. W. V. A. band, and it was just a few minutes after 8 when the chairman, Mr. W. G. Anderson, led the way on the platform followed by the Liberal chieftain and his supporters. Hon. Mr. King was given a rousing reception.

Chairman Anderson, after extending a hearty welcome on behalf of the Liberal Association of B. C. to the Federal party leader, launched into a brief history of his career. The speaker declared he had served the country with the admiration, respect and confidence of both sides of politics, and it was not surprising that he should have been chosen to lead the Liberal party at the largest political convention ever held in the Dominion. The chairman then introduced as the first speaker, Mr. W. C. Kennedy, M. P. for North Essex, which was styled "the tropics of Ontario."

In his opening remarks Mr. Kennedy assured the Liberals of the West that the Liberals of Ontario were solid behind the leader. It was true, he admitted, that there were some men in Parliament now who professed to be Liberals, but they reminded him of some of the "generals" of the South American republics—they called themselves "general" but they had no army behind them. He declared every Member of Parliament should know Canada from shore to shore, and that was one of the objects of the present tour of the Liberal chieftain and those who accompanied him. When questions affecting British Columbia came up in the house, he for one, as a result of this tour, felt he could deal intelligently with them.

At this point the speaker was interrupted by an outburst of cheers for Hon. Mackenzie King which someone in the gallery started.

SHOULD KNOW CANADA

Resuming, Mr. Kennedy declared that the only criticism which he had for the average Canadian was that too few knew their country as they should. There were other objects to the tour, however, the chief one being to give the Liberal leader an opportunity to express his opinion publicly of the present Federal Government. He went on to score much of the so-called legislation, put through by the present Government, which he declared was not in the interests of the general public.

Proceeding to charge the Union Government with many acts of extravagance in the conduct of the country's affairs, he declared Canada was being governed to death. There was enough cumbersome machinery in operation for this country of less than nine million population to govern quite adequately a country of fifty million. In proof of his statement, he said that since the armistice 4776 permanent and 22,794 temporary appointments had been made by the Union Government. Yet when the Liberals went out of power, the total number of Government employees was only 7532. The speaker went on to cite various commissions and Government-created bodies which had cost the country large sums of money, many members of which were still carried on the payroll. He closed with an assurance that "the Liberals will do their duty when the time comes for this great Dominion that we all love so well."

GREETINGS FROM QUEBEC.

Mr. Ernest Lapointe, M.P. for Quebec East, and as French as his name would indicate, was introduced as the next speaker, amid the strains of "O Canada." In his pleasing French accent, Mr. Lapointe declared he was here as a fellow Canadian trying to do his best for the general advancement of the country. He brought a message of cordiality, friendship and amicability from the people of Quebec to the people of the West. He went on to declare that at no time had the people of Canada been in greater need of the true doctrines of Liberalism than at present. The speaker evoked much laughter at his trite criticisms of the by-election promises of the Union Government members, especially with regard to the harbor at St. John, and paid a tribute to the political skill of Premier Meighen in not holding all the by-elections on the same day.

Delving into history, he declared that the present Government had no right to abuse the mandate which the soldiers overseas, largely through misrepresentation, had given to the Government to carry on the affairs of the country. He cited the fact that when the Gladstone Ministry had been placed in about the same position in 1873, Gladstone had resigned before the life of his Government had ended. He cited other historic instances down to 1905, when Ministers and Governments had resigned when there was any doubt of the complete confidence of the country in them. The speaker elicited hearty applause when he asked why Canadian statesmanship could not take standard after the measure set by British statesmanship.

LIKE JUDAS ISCARIOT.

Likening the Liberal traitors who had joined the Union Government to Judas Iscariot, Mr. Lapointe went on to refer to "the Bolshevist melodrama played" by Premier Meighen. He raised much laughter when he declared that the new Federal Premier was afraid to smile before the camera, and went on to poke fun at the gloomy pictures drawn by the Premier, who styled his political opponents Bolshevists, I.W.W.'s, O.B.U.'s and even Jacobites.

Announcing that time was up, Mr. Lapointe was urged to "go on" by cries from all parts of the Arena. He continued to poke fun at the Premier's attitude in Quebec and his futile efforts to create racial and religious differences between that Province and the rest of the Dominion. He closed with a eulogy of the new Liberal leader.

LEADER WELCOMED.

A hearty welcome to Hon. Mackenzie King was then tendered in a short but neatly worded address by Hon. Mr. Farris, Attorney-General for B. C., who said that the West awaited the message of the Liberal chieftain because of the personality of the leader, and also because, although still a young man, Hon. Mr. King for the last 20 years had been a big factor in the Liberal party, which today was the only coherent, responsible political party in Canada. He declared the Union Government resembled a jackass, as it had "no pride of ancestry or hope of posterity." In closing he assured Hon. Mr. King that "with him as a leader, our colors are nailed to the mast."

Mr. M. A. Macdonald, M.L.A., was still briefer in his address of welcome, when as president of the B. C. Liberal Association, he extended a warm greeting to the party leader. He predicted that at the next general election they would send a majority of Liberals from B. C. to serve under a new King and help to form a new Government.

The chairman's introduction of the speaker of the evening was the signal for a prolonged outburst of spontaneous applause. The band struck up "Rule Britannia," and the audience, which had risen to cheer Hon. Mr. King, sang the air lustily, and then warmly cheered the Liberal chief.

MR. KING'S ADDRESS

Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King said:

"It is my purpose this evening to dwell more particularly on the differences in attitude, methods and outlook of the party which calls itself the National Liberal and Conservative party and the party with which I have the honor to be associated, the party which has championed Liberal principles in this country for now nearly one hundred years. In other words, I desire to make clear to this audience and to the people of Canada the fundamental differnces between the party which is in power at Ottawa today and that of the party by which it is officially opposed in Parliament.

"These are days of transition, of readjustment and of new alignments in social and political orders all over the world. Throughout the period of the war and, to a considerable extent ever since, we have necessarily given very little thought or attention to our domestic affairs. Our minds and our energies have been concerned with more important and larger issues. As a consequence, there has been very little in the way of political education in Canada for some years. Indeed, since the general election of 1911, there has been no occasion on which the people of the Dominion as a whole have had an opportunity of hearing national issues discussed with reference to those problems, which are primarily of domestic concern.

A NEW ELECTORATE

"A body of voters, so large as to constitute an entirely new electorate has come to the fore. There are the young men between the ages of twenty or thirty who, up to the present, have not exercised their right to the franchise, save in reference to the election of 1917, which was fought out not with reference to domestic problems, but with relation almost exclusively to the war. There are the great body of the war veterans, who were overseas during that election, engaged in a mightier business than that of winning elections. They could have, with reference to the election of 1917, no knowledge, save that which was accorded them through the media of government agencies, of the circum-

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stances which accounted for the differences between the political parties in Canada at that time. And there is the great body of women voters in Canada who now, for the first time in our history, irrespective of special privilege, are to have a voice in determining the policies which are to govern the destinies of our country in the future.

"Apart altogether, therefore, from the records of political parties in the past, it is important that the people should clearly understand the differences which distinguish their policies at the present time, that they may with intelligence decide for themselves in the light of the fullest knowledge, to which of the great contending forces in the political arena they wish to belong and to which they will lend the weight of their influence and power.

TIME OF TRANSITION

"This is a moment of transition in social and political conditions which will go far to determine the whole future trend of our destiny as a nation. No man or woman can afford to be neutral in his political allegiance. It is for each to decide at the peril of all that is best in manhood, and highest in womanhood, just where he or she is going to stand, and with which of the forces that are arrayed in opposition they are going to throw their lot. It will be found in the last analysis that, irrespective of the names by which they may be called, the choice lies today as it has lain in one way or another all through the centuries of political struggles in the past, between those who are not afraid of change in the social order, and those who resist change; between those who are progressive and those who are reactionary; between those who are prepared to trust the people and assist them in their struggle for a wider freedom, social, economic, fiscal and political, and those who mistrust the people and are more concerned in keeping intact the strongholds of privilege than in widening the opportunities, and increasing the possibilities of happiness and the realization of life's highest enjoyments to the many who constitute the great citizenry of the nation.

PARTY METHODS CONTRASTED

"Let me proceed at once to illustrate the truth of what I have just said by reference to the manner in which the Liberal party on the one hand, and the National Liberal and Conservative party, as at present constituted, have received their respective designations, framed their policies and selected their respective leaders. The circumstances which occasioned and surrounded both are happily so recent as to be known to all, and beyond all possibility of effective denial.

"Standing as we do today, at a distance of a little over a year from that great political gathering—the National Liberal Convention—which assembled at Ottawa in August of 1919, we are perhaps in a better position now than then to judge of its significance, not only as an outstanding incident in the history of Canadian Liberialism, but also as one of those graphic and realistic happenings which serve to reveal the democracy of aim and method inherent in Liberalism, as contrasted with the autocracy of its opposing force, whether designated Toryism, as of old, or disguised under the name of Unionism, or that of its latest hybrid variety, the so-called National Liberal and Conservative party.

WHERE DIFFERENCE LIES

"Since the Liberal Convention of a year ago, we have witnessed a like significant occasion in the history of the other great political party in this country. I was about to say we had witnessed another convention, which had given the opposing party a new leader, a new platform and, I should add, a new name. It is true a new leader has been selected, a new platform announced, a new name assumed; but in none of this has the voice of the people or their representatives assembled in convention been anywhere heard. Everything has been by special appointment, under divine or some other assumed inherent right. Here, my friends, is the real difference between Liberalism and Toryism, call them whatever names you please. Liberalism trusts the people, and manifests itself by giving expression to the popular will. Toryism ignores the people ,and manifests itself by the assertion of self-appointed and self-constituted authority.

"This is the truth I would like to bring home to every individual in this country, who is at all concerned in the affairs of government, and who is at all desirous of taking an intelligent interest and part in the control of its political destinies. It is vastly more important that the people should understand that, in the last analysis it is the force of Liberalism or the force of Toryism which is going to control, than that they should know to the minutest detail all the differences in platforms and professions which any party, or any number of parties, called by whatever name you like, may put forth. Throughout the centuries of the past, down to this very moment, there have alternated in the control of the political affairs of men these two mighty opposing forces; the forces of Liberalism, seeking, on the one hand, expression of the will of the many as against the privileges of the few; and, on the other, the force of Toryism, seeking a monopoly of control for the privileged few, indifferent to the needs and demands of the many.

ASPECT OF DANGER

"A force is something larger and vastly more real than any name by which it may be described. The unfortunate and really dangerous aspect of the political situation in Canada today is that the force which in reality is Tory is keeping itself united, though hidden, under the disguise of an ever-changing name; whereas the forces that are the real Liberal forces; instead of being united in one broad forward movement which could sweep Toryism off its feet for another generation, are being weakened through the maintenance of futile divisions, some of them old, some of them new, but each seeking special emphasis for itself at the expense of the good which all have in common.

"Let me place concretely before you, by way of illustration, actually what has taken place. When the Liberal convention was called, invitations were sent, months in advance, to every constituency in the Dominion of Canada, calling upon the men and women of Liberal aims and sympathies to send from among their number delegates to represent them in the reconstruction of the Liberal platform, and the selection of a new leader for the Liberal party. In the call that was sent out no discrimination was made between those Liberals who were Liberal Unionists in the last general election, and those who had opposed the Unionist government, any more than, in the selection of delegates to the convention there was any discrimination as between men and women. All were represented there. Of the Premiers of the several provinces who were present, and who took an outstanding part in the proceedings, with but one or two exceptions all had been Liberal Unionists. In the vast gathering of delegates, it was difficult, if not impossible, to say what proportion had supported, and what proportion had opposed, the Union Government at the last general elections. Those present were not thinking of the past; their minds were in intent upon the future of Liberalism.

A POLICY FOR ALL

"For three days this assembly, counting its members not in hundreds but in the thousands, discussed the questions of the day and the attitude which the Liberal party, as a party, should assume towards the several issues presented. By a show of hands, in open meeting, plank after plank of the Liberal platform was adopted unanimously, or by an overwhelming majority. In no direction were extremes of view permitted sway, though all shades of opinion were freely expressed and carefully weighed. The interests of the West were balanced against the interests of the East; the interests of consumers were balanced against the interests of producers; the interests of the town and city dwellers were balanced against the interests of those in rural parts; the interests of Labor were balanced against the interests of Capital; the interests of the farmer were balanced against those of the manufacturer. And, wherever, in this weighing of opinion by popular judgment, an even balance was struck, there the endeavor was made to give practical application and expression to principles upon which all were united.

"Similarly, in the choice of leaders, no single men or group of men had a controlling voice. To each and every individual was accorded, under the secrecy of the ballot, the freest xpression of choice, and no sooner was the voice of the majority made known than, by the generous and chivalrous proposal of others who had shared in the race, it was made the unanimous expression of the entire gathering. It may well be that, under this method of selection, the difficult and delicate role of political leader fell upon the shoulders of one less qualified than many another, by years or experience or in other ways, to cope with its exacting demands; but this, at least, cannot be denied, that to members of the party as a whole, the method of selection was as democratic as it was possible to make ft.

SILENT MANOEUVRING

"Contrast now, if you will, the method by which the new leader of the so-called National Liberal and Conservative Party was chosen, and the party's platform devised. For more than a year the country has been made to serve the convenience and personal ambitions of members of the Government. Had Sir Robert Borden dropped out, as was his intention and desire, six months ago, the Unionist cabinet and the Unionist party would have fallen to pieces like a house of cards. It required six months of silent manoeuvring among the special interests that held in their hands the fate of the Unionist party, and the placating of its following in the House of Commons by divers methods, some of which have been only too apparent, to bring things to the pass where a leader could be chosen from above, in secret council, by a sort of divine right, and a party platform formulated without conference, save in caucus of a chosen few. What sympathy can any man professing to have a drop of democratic blood in his veins, have with a system of party government where control in the matter of name, leadership and platform alike is decided in secret councils and under the dictatorship of a single individual.

"But, it will be said, expressions of opinion were invited, and were care-

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fully considered before any choice and pronouncement was made. Yes, but invited by whom, and from whom? By one individual, from the members of his chosen circle; from that unknown coterie of the representatives of privileged and special interests that constitute the invisible government by which in reality the destinies of Canada are at the present time being shaped. Procedure of this kind is the very antithesis of democratic procedure; in fact, the essence of autocracy.

DIFFERENCE IN METHODS

"Here, then, is a distinction in method so fundamental that too much thought cannot be given to its significance by men and women of all shades of Liberal thought and opinion, and particularly by those who now for the first time are about to exercise the right of the franchise. It is a distinction which goes to the very root of all matters pertaining to government, the making of their laws by the people themselves, through those who believe in the people; as contrasted with the making of laws by a privileged few and those who do not hesitate to ignore the people, whenever opportunity so to do is afforded.

"This difference in attitude between the parties finds another concrete example in the manner in which the present National Liberal and Conservative party clings to power at the present time, irrespective altogether of the wishes of the people, whose fundamental right is that of governing themselves, by representatives of their own choice, freely chosen under a fair and just and universal franchise, and with reference to policies that are known and which have been approved by the people at a general election.

WAR TIME ELECTION ACT

"I need not remind this audience or the country that the representation in the present parliament is the result, not of any free expression of the will of the people, given with reference to the questions of the day, but that it is the product of the War Measures Act, and the War Time Elections Act, the latter as indefensible and iniquitous a piece of legislation as was ever framed by a ministry, and made possible only through the exigencies of war.

"But leaving aside altogether the manner in which Union government was brought into being and was returned to office in the elections of 1917, and assuming for the moment that the whole transaction was bona fide and altogether in the interests of the people of Canada and of the British Empire at the time, is there anything in the circumstance of the formation of Union government which justifies the assumption of office and proposed retention of power by the present Meighen administration. As respects the new administration it can conceivably be only one of two possible things; either it is, at it purports to be, an entirely new administration, with a new name, led by a new leader, and a new platform; or it is simply the old Unionist administration, disguised under a new name, led by a new leader, and holding out to the public the pretence of a new platform.

USURPED PEOPLE'S RIGHTS.

"Take whichever alternative one will, is there aught in it to justify the continuance in office of this administration? If it is a wholly new administration, it must be perfectly clear that it has received no mandate whatever from the Canadian people. It has submitted no policy for their approval, it has received no endorsation of any kind. It has afforded the electors no opportunity of expressing their willingness to have it manage the affairs of the country. If it is a new administration, then, by every canon of constitutional procedure and practice, it has usurped in their entirety the right of popular self-government upon which all our political liberties are founded.

"If, on the other hand, it is not, as its new name, new leadership, and new platform would lead the country to suppose, a new administration, but is simply a remnant of clinging to office only for the sake of power and patronage—then it is not less a usurper, for the Unionist administration, both for the purposes for which it was formed and in the personnel of its original membership, has long ceased to exist or to retain any of the confidence which at any period of its existence it ever enjoyed.

GENERAL ELECTION NEEDED.

"The only effectual means of restoring to the people the control over parliament, which is their inherited right, and of freeing Canada from the baneful influence of the control of its political affairs by the present autocratic administration is that which a general election affords. By-elections are of no account in giving expression to the will of the people as a whole. Insofar as the popular will has found any expression in by-elections, it has all been in the direction of indicating that the government has lost the confidence of the people in the different constituencies. True, ministers have been returned, but in every instance by reduced majorities. Where, as in the Maritime provinces, there has been no cabinet representation for a long period of time, and the government has declared its intention of retaining office for a period of two years longer, it is not surprising that with all the prestige and power which office brings, the people should feel a desire to have some representation, rather than be without representation whatever in the councils of the nation, for that length of time. The election of members of parliament, in the filling of the vacancies created, not by the government in strong and sure constitutencies, but by circumstances of fate is a truer test. Judged by this standard, it can be said that practically without exception, in every by-election there has been since the old Union government was formed, the voice of the people has been solidly against the administration. Not only has it lost the confidence of the people, as evidenced by the by-elections, but even before the present Meighen government was formed, it had lost in large measure the support of the press which has helped to bring it into being. The government's following in parliament has steadily lessened till it is now precarious beyond words. Every province of the Dominion, however, has declared against a reactionary Toryism of a kind for which the present government stands. Judged by every canon of parliamentary government, it is a usurper of the people's rights in matters of government, it is the government, not the people, who are Bolshevists. If we would avert the dangers of Bolshevism which the ministry pretends to perceive in this country, a beginning will have to be made by the government itself, and those in high places who have usurped the rights of the people must be made to restore those rights at the earliest possible day.

THE LIBERAL PARTY'S POSITION.

"The difference between the parties is illustrated not less clearly by their respective attitude towards the rights of the people's representatives in parliament to the control of the executive. The Liberal position in a word is that the executive, or in other words, the government, is only a committee of parliament, that all its rights and powers are derived from parliament and that action by the executive which ignores parliament, is autocratic and anti-liberal and should be discountenanced in every possible way. The government's position may be judged by its acts. Having been granted a free hand during the war in the administration of necessary measures, it has grown impatient of the rights of parliament to control, regards these rights as restrictions, and ignores or defies them when it suits its desires so to do. The truth of this statement might be illustrated by many concrete examples, let me cite one or two that are self-evident and outstanding.

ACQUISITION OF G. T. R.

"Take, first of all, the largest single financial transaction in the history of Canadian Parliament: The acquisition of the Grand Trunk Railway system by the Government of Canada. This matter relates itself not only to the last session of Parliament, but also to the one preceding it. If there ever was a measure over which the people's representatives should have had complete supervision from start to close, it was that which embodied the terms and conditions surrounding this enormous transaction. Not only were the people's representatives entitled to the right to pass upon all phases of the transaction, but any due appreciation of the rights of the people would have reserved to the people themselves the rightof passing, at a general election, upon a policy so far-reaching as that involved in the control or ownership and operation by the State of a national railway system.

"Not only did the administration deny to the people of Canada any opportunity of passing upon the policy of Government ownership and operation involved in this transaction; but they gave neither to the people nor to their representatives in Parliament the slightest intimation that they themselves were contemplating any such transaction until the matter had been all but consummated. In vain did the Opposition try to reserve to Parliament the right which was reserved to the Grand Trunk shareholders, of passing upon the agreement between the Government and the company before its final acceptance by both parties. The Government, led by the present Prime Minister, as ready to concede to bondholders in Britain rights and privileges which they wholly denied to the taxpayers of Canada, an attitude which, having regard for the magnitude of the transaction, should have caused the present Prime Minister to forfeit forever his right to the confidence of the Canadian people, and to stamp him forever as arbitrary and autocratic in the administration of public affairs.

PROPHECY COMES TRUE

"What the Opposition prophesied would happen did happen. The agreement was drafted between the Government and the Grand Trunk Railway Comany, and was submitted to the shareholders of the company in London and passed upon by them without any expression from the people's representatives in the Canadian Parliament. Then it was discovered that the whole transaction had been consummated with such haste that errors had arisen in the agreement as drawn, and grave doubts having been cast upon the legality of the procedure in certain particulars, the

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Government was obliged at the last session to bring the agreement again into Parliament and to introduce a bill to correct certain errors and to ratify the agreement as drawn.

"When the bill relating to he acquisiion of the Grand Trunk Railway came before Parliament in the second session of 1919, representatives of the railroad brotherhood had petitioned the Prime Minister and Minister of Labor to see that the pension rights of certain of the employees of the Grand Trunk Railway Company were definitely secured in any agreement which might be made. They might as well have spared themselves the trouble of making any representations, for the Government ignored them altogether. Knowing the justice of the demands of these employees of the company, and the long injustice to which they had been subjected through failure on the part of the company to carry out its original obligations, I proposed in Parliament an amendment to the bill which, had it been accepted, would have settled and established once and for all the pension rights and claims of the employees, which they have been denied for some ten years past. The Government decided to refuse even to entertain the proposal, and the amendment was defeated.

"This acquisition of an entire railway system under an agreement to which the people's representatives in Parliament were denied the right of any real voice of approval or amendment, is about as glaring an example of autocratic control by an executive, and the ignoring of Parliament, as the annals of any legislative assembly in the world will disclose. So far as I know, its only parallel in recent Canadian history is that afforded by the determination of the present Prime Minister and his colleagues to carry on the business of the country for another two years, regardless altogether of constitutional right or the popular will.

MERCHANT MARINE

"Scarcely less autocratic has been the Government's procedure in the expenditure of seventy millions of the people's money in the creation of a merchant marine. Seventy millions, not very long ago, would have been regarded as a sum sufficient to carry on the entire government of the Dominion. It would have all but met the entire outlay on account of ordinary expenditure in the government of Canada in each of the last years of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's administration. No ministry would have ventured to award contracts of one-tenth or one-hundredth of this sum without in the first instance coming to Parliament for authority so to do. Not so any administration of which the Prime Minister has been a member. Questioned in Parliament at the last session concerning their action, the ministry announced that the contracts for all the ships required for the Canadian merchant service, some sixty or seventy in all, had been awarded by order-in-council, without authority from Parliament in the first instance, and without, in any case, calling for tenders for the awarding of contracts. All Parliament was asked to do was to vote the money necessary to pay the shipbuilding concerns to which these contracts were awarded.

"Here was open defiance, not only of Parliament but of the law of the land, which provides that in all expenditures exceeding a certain amount, tenders must first be called and contracts awarded to the lowest tenderer.

"The indifference of the executive to the rights of Parliament and of the people did not stop even at this point. Questioned as to the extent and nature of many expenditures in connection with the merchant marine, the Minister bluntly refused to give Parliament many of the details asked for, putting forward the pretext that an incorporated company controlled its affairs, and it was for the company to say what publicity, if any, should be given to its business transactions. The Hon. Dr. Reid, Minister of Railways and Canals, took precisely the same position with regard to the Canadian National Railways and their management, an attitude wholly new, arbitrary and autocratic, in government-owned and operated enterprises.

"There is only one means of remedying autocratic behavior of the kind on the part of a ministry that has become virtually irresponsible, and that is its entire elimination and its replacement by an executive with a due sense of its responsibility to Parliament.

"You will observe with respect to the Merchant Marine I am repeating here what I said in Victoria on Monday night. I do so for two reasons, first, to again emphasize the truth of what I have been saying, and secondly, because the accuracy of this statement, as reported, has been called in question by the Hon. C. C. Ballantyne, Minister of Marine and Fisheries.

"In this morning's Sun I find quoted the following despatch from Ottawa: 'I am sorry to interfere with Mr. King's romancing,' said Hon. C. C. Ballantyne, Minister of Marine and Fisheries, today when shown Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King's reference, in his speech at Victoria, to the Canadian Government Merchant Marine.

"'No person of sense would credit such a statement as that,' Mr. Ballantyne added. 'It is wholly false—not a contract was signed, not a dollar was spent until the authority of Parliament was first obtained'

"Let us see now who is correct. Mr. Ballantyne has evidently forgotten that I challenged the Government on the constitutionality and the legality of its action in this matter on the floor of Parliament, and that he himself was obliged to admit the truth of what I had stated, though he endeavored to find excuse for the Government's conduct in saying that it was a necessary war measure, or rather a measure necessitated by conditions arising out of the war. As I remember the statements of the Minister of Marine and Fisheries and of his colleague the Minister of Justice, it was to the effect that with the large number of soldiers returning from overseas the country was threatened with unemployment and the Government feared unrest, and that for these reasons they had awarded the contracts in question to different firms, on their own account, ignoring altogether the law which requires that all contracts of over $5,000 shall be awarded after tenders have been called for. As to the truth of the statement that these contracts were awarded before appropriations by Parliament sufficient to cover them were obtained, I hold in my hand the statement of an authority which, even Mr. Ballantyne will, I think hesitate to question. It is Mr. Ballantyne's own admission, as made in the House of Commons on March 23rd of this year, when the matter was up for discussion in Parliament. Let me quote from page 678 of Hansard report of the debates of the House of Commons:

"Mr. Mackenzie King:—Of the thirty-six contracts which have been, or are to be awarded, the distribution is among some fourteen different firms and the contemplated total expenditure is something like $74,000,000, $50,000,000 has already been spent, and we are asking now for an additional $20,000,000. It is correct, is it not, that no tenders have been called for and that all these contracts have been awarded by Order in Council.

"Mr. Ballantyne:—The contracts were awarded by Order in Council after I as responsible Minister had seen that the prices were fair and right, The Government purchased just as a private corporation would purchase.

"Mr. Mackenzie King:—But so far as these fourteen companies were concerned, no tenders were called for?

"Mr. Ballantyne:—No tenders. There were, I think, seventeen companies.

"Mr. Mackenzie King:—Are further contracts to be awarded, or have all contracts been awarded?

"Mr. Ballantyne:—No further contracts.

"You will observe that Mr. Ballantyne says that contracts had been awarded to seventeen companies, that they were all awarded by Order in Council, and that at the time he was asking Parliament to vote $20,000,000 to cover the cost of some of the contracts, they were already awarded.

"Could anything be clearer than this. Is twenty millions of the money of the people of this country a matter of such small concern that any cabinet minister should have the right of his own authority, before coming to Parliament for permission so to do, to award contracts to that extent. Twenty millions is over one-fourth of the total amount that it cost to run the government of this country in the last year of the Liberal administration. So oblivious has the present administration become to the right of Parliament to control public expenditures and, in this way, the taxation of the people, that we have the spectacle recorded, as I have just read from Hansard, of a Minister of the Crown attempting to defend his autocratic action, as if it were a matter of right, and completely defying the people's representatives in their even attempting to question his conduct in this regard.

COST OF LIVING.

"Let me now proceed to illustrate the difference in the attitude of the two parties as respect the greatest question before the people of Canada today. I refer, of course, to the cost of living. I had expected that when the new Prime Minister assumed office, he would take occasion of his first pronouncement to make clear to the people of this country how the government proposed to deal with this great question. Naturally it involves the Government's financial policy. What has Mr. Meighen to say on these two all-important matters? He set out what he had to say in the first speech which he made at Stirling, Ont., on August 11, 1920. He arranged the statement of his policy in the form of so many distinct proposals. Let me read to this audience these proposals as set forth in that speech, and as heralded broadcast throughout the country as the policy of the new administration on finance, and tariff. I quote from a statement exactly as it is to be found in the different journals of this country on the day following Mr. Meighen's speech at Stirling. Here is what he says:

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The financial policy of this Government is to go in debt no farther.

The financial policy of this Government is to get revenue to carry on the work of government and to pay our debts.

The tariff policy of this Government is to keep workingmen in Canada.

When you find workingmen's houses put up in hundreds for sale you will find hard times for everybody.

The policy of the Government is to enlarge the employment market and add to the size of Canada.

The policy of the Government is to make goods here and keep people here with plenty of work for every class of men.

The policy of the Government is to give Canadian industries of every kind just enough advantage in the Canadian market as to make it pay them better to stay here and expand than to diminish their plants or to leave.

We are starting now an enquiry, the most thorough we can make, to determine what is absolutely necessary to secure these ends.

Wherever there is a tax or schedule that is not absolutely necessary it will be wiped away.

COUNTRY LEFT IN DARK.

"You will observe that so far as the government's financial and tariff policies are concerned, Mr. Meighen has contented himself with giving to the country a statement of the ends to be attained, and leaving the country wholly in the dark as to the means by which they are to be attained. Look at his statement on the financial policy. Here is what he says:

> The financial policy of this Government is go in debt no farther.
>
> The financal policy of this Government is to get revenue to carry on the work of government and to pay our debts.

"I ask the people of Canada: Did they ever hear from the lips of a Prime Minister of a country such a puerile statement of financial policy as that contained in these first two planks? It makes one think not of the government of a country struggling with its problems of trade and commerce, under a public debt which has become colossal, but of some kindergarten debating society, where, in the absence of constructive thought and ideas the most obvious platitudes are made to serve the purposes of national policies. Mr. Meighen says the policy of the Government is to go in debt no farther. What would be thought of any government or party that, under existing conditions, would propose anything different? Indeed, there is no evidence that Mr. Meighen and his ministers intend to attempt any sort of rigid economy. If we judge by the appropriations which were asked and obtained from Parliament at the last session, we shall find nothing to encourage us in any belief in economy on the part of the Ministers who have had to do with war expenditure, and have acquired the war habit of mind in recent years.

GOVERNMENT'S TARIFF POLICY.

"Having finished with the financial policy of the government in the manner described, Mr. Meighen goes on to give the tariff policy of the country. One would have expected, at this point, some reference to the needs of consumers and producers, some intimation that relief from the existing burdens of customs taxation might be expected, in regard at least to the necessaries of life and to the instruments of production which are essential in our great basic industries of agriculture, lumbering, mining and fishing, upon which the manufacturing industries and all our trade and commerce are dependent. But there is no suggestion of any tariff revision to meet the needs of either producers or consumers.

"Again, in the place of policies there are platitudes.

"As regards the tariff, Mr. Meighen as much as says that he himself does not know what the government policy is. We have only to quote his words: 'We are starting now an enquiry, the most thorough we can make, to determine what is absolutely necessary to secure these ends.'

"Starting an enquiry! That is what Sir Robert Borden said he intended to do three years ago. That is what every government that has no policy sets out to do. What we want in Canada is not more enquiries and government by commission, but government by a Government which has a policy that is known and approved, and which helps to meet the necessities of the hour.

NEED REVISION OF TARIFF.

"This City of Vancouver already has had a visit from Mr. Meighen's Commission of Enquiry. How much, I might ask, has that visit contributed to the solution of the problem of the cost of living. What is wanted today is not the taking of evidence, the longer to postpone and defer any possibility of action, but an immediate revision of the tariff in a manner which will bring relief to consumers and producers alike from some of the burdens of taxation on the necessaries of life and the instruments of production under which they are laboring at the present time.

"In contrast to the evasive and meaningless phrases of the Prime Minister's which denote an absence of all policy on the all-important question of tariff revision, and its relation to the high cost of living, let me give to the people of this country a statement of the Liberal party's position in this matter as it found expression at the Great Liberal Convention held at Ottawa over a year ago, and as it has been contended for in the House of Commons since that time. We believe that the time has come, indeed, that it is already long past, when a downward revision of the tariff is necessary. In this revision we believe that there should be substantial reductions of the duties on the necessaries of life; in other words, on those articles which go to make up the food, the clothing, the shelter of the Canadian people; that the purposes of consumption and certain specific articles required for other articles essential to production should be placed upon the free list, and that in regard to the instruments of production in the basic industries of agriculture, lumbering, mining and fishing there should be also a substantial reduction of duties. It is not a question of free trade or protection. With the revenue which will be required for years to come to meet the large interest payments on public debts, the obligations to our returned soldiers in the way of pensions and in other respects, as well as to carry on the work of government in Canada—resort as we may to direct taxation of incomes and of business profits, which is also a part of the Liberal policy; tax as we will all luxuries, which is another plank in the Liberal platform—there will still be required for purposes of revenue large sums of money which of necessity will have to be raised by indirect taxation through a customs tariff. In revising the tariff to this end, care will be taken of the position and needs of all the industries in our country; but such tariff as may be necessary in this connection will be under Liberal policy a tariff for consumers and producers and not a tariff to further the interests of combines, monopolies or of any special or privileged class.

CITY DWELLERS AFFECTED.

"Let me point out that such a tariff is not only in the interest of the people of the rural parts, but also in the interest of city dwellers; such a tariff is not only in the interest of the workingmen, but in the interest of employers; moreover, such a tariff is doubly necessary in the absence of any protection to consumers by the abolition of the Combines Investigation Act and the demoralization of the Board of Commerce, the function of which was to be primarily that of protecting the consumers against the evils of profiteering.

"It is perfectly true that the high level of prices owes its origin in part to world conditions which are beyond the control of any single country and which time alone will remedy. It is equally true, on the other hand, that there are causes operating within our own borders which are capable of being removed, and, if eliminated, would do much to bring about an order of greater equality and justice. Rigid retrenchment of public expenditures and economy in the administration of our national affairs is the first requirement in this connection.

"Increased taxation, from whatever cause it may arise, means inevitably an increase in the cost of living to the masses of the people; even if placed upon the shoulders of those best able to bear it, it is almost certain that sooner or later the incidence of the burden will be shifted on to the back of the great body of consumers.

"To understand the scope and extent of the problem with which the country is faced in this connection, it is necessary to consider the position of our finances and to observe the extent to which the country is burdened with a public debt, the interest of which is a necessary first call upon the treasury of the country.

"In 1910-11 the public net debt was a little over $340,000,000; today it is over $2,273,000,000; in other words, in nine years, it has increased over $1,930,000,000, or from $45 per head of population to $283.

ANNUAL INTEREST CHARGE.

"In 1910-11 the annual interest charge on the public debt was $12,500,000, or $1.67 per head of population; today the annual interest charge is about $140,000,000, or $17.50 per head of population, an increase of 11 times in nine years, equalling $87.50 per family of five. Just how enormous this obligation is may be appreciated when it is pointed out that in the last year of the Liberal administration, 1910-1911, the total expenditure for the Government of Canada on Consolidated Fund amounted in all to $87,774,000, and the total expenditure on the Consolidated and Capital Accounts combined, including railway subsidies, and all other charges, amounted to $122,861,000. Here is an annual obligation on public debt alone greater than the total expenditure of government during any year of the Liberal administration.

"The total estimated expenditure for the present year will amount, according to the estimates presented to Parliament, to over $611,000,000. The Finance Minister informs us that the outlay for all purposes, apart from war, will total $536,000,000. This amount includes, however, $148,900,000 on account of Soldiers' Land Settlement loans, loans to the C. N. R., railway equipment, loans to provinces for housing and for shipbuilding programme, all of which are alleged to be in the nature of investment. It leaves, however, an amount for ordinary expenditure out of consolidated fund of over $349,000,000.

"All this money must be raised by taxation in one form or another, but not only must money for current expenditure be raised in this manner, if we are ever to lessen our public

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debt, money must also be raised for the purpose of reducing the colossal total. Under the circumstances there is necessity for economy in administration such as has never existed in the Dominion before.

"One of the strongest reasons for a change in the personnel of the administration in this country is the circumstance of the men who are administering the affairs of Canada today becoming so accustomed during the war in dealing in millions of dollars that expenditures involving thousands are beneath their consideration. They have acquired the war habit of mind, and can never be expected to view with other than impatience any restraint upon the exercise of their own free will.

EXTRA SESSION.

"Without any reference whatever to war expenditure, one might cite such instances of extravagance as the extra session of Parliament in 1919, which was wholly unnecessary, and which cost the country over one and a half millions of dollars; the time consumed by Parliament during the last session on the consideration of a new electoral law, which was also unnecessary, save for the purpose of giving to the present administration a completer control of the electoral machinery and the preparation of voters' lists than existed under the old Dominion Elections Act, which might well have been restored with such amendments as necessary to make it more complete in some particulars.

"Reference might be made to the innumerable commissions on all sorts of subjects, which are costing the country millions of dollars, and the appointments to the Civil Service running into thousands, notwithstanding the lessened obligations of the time of peace. I shall direct attention only to one class of expenditure which at this particular moment would seem to be wholly indefensible, namely, the enormous sums they spent for military and naval purposes before the work of demobilization of military and naval forces is finished.

"In the estimates of the present year the Government is asking Parliament the sum of $38,730,400 to complete the work of demobilization. In addition to this there is being asked the sum of $22,589,928 for the combined purposes of Militia and Defence, Naval Service, Mounted Police and Air Service; in other words, an expenditure on these accounts alone of over one-fourth of the total cost of government in Canada in the last years of the Liberal administration. It would almost seem that Canada was preparing for war rather than emerging from a great struggle that has been successfully won. So much has the war fever come to control the minds of the present Ministry that there are grave dangers of the introduction into this free country of the old European system of standing military and police forces instead of the freedom from militarism which our times demand. What is needed is not increased outlays for war purposes, but increased production to help meet the vast obligations which war has imposed.

PROFITEERING.

"We also need more effective machinery to grapple with the evils of profiteering. There is no gainsaying the fact, indeed, it has been shown by the Government's own investigations, that there are many individual industries in this country which during the war were reaping, and which ever since the war have been reaping, enormous profits at the expense of the people of Canada. Today there is no actual machinery to cope effectively with this evil. The work commenced by the Liberal party when in office in the investigation of combines, mergers, trusts and monopolies, which helped to enhance prices to the detriment of consumers, would be continued if the Liberal party should again be returned to power. It will be made the first and foremost feature of its endeavor on behalf of the people of this country.

"We need to be reminded in all that pertains to industry that there are four parties necessary to its successful prosecution. Capital is necessary, management is necessary, labor is necessary, but the community is also necessary. There has been too much oversight of the contribution made by the community to the other parties to industry and too little regard for the return to which the community is entitled therefor. What is needed in Canada today is some machinery of Government which will make the return to capital in the shape of profits, and the return to management in the shape of salaries just as public as the return to labor in the shape of wages. There are a class of evils which publicity is more effective in curing than penalty. Greed, waste and extravagance are of this class. We must seek to protect the consuming public of this country, whether it be as respects prices of commodities or railway, telephone, telegraph and express rates, rents of houses and buildings against exactions which are wholly unwarranted by existing conditions. That is the kind of protection that is most needed in Canada today; it is the protection which the Liberal party intends, if possible to secure for the consuming public.

LABOR POLICY

With respect to labor and labor policies, the difference between the two political parties is only too apparent. Mr. Meighen and his colleagues have made it perfectly clear that they regard demands on the part of labor for a larger voice in the control of government and in the control of industrial policies as an evidence of a desire to establish soviets in this country. The department of labor has given its latest expression to the government's labor policy by the issuance of a pamphlet on the dangers of the establishment of soviets in Canada, and the need for the suppression of all such attempts at this time.

We of the Liberal party think that the government have mistaken the real Bolshevist movement in this country. We believe it is the government not labor that is Bolshevist in this country; that the government by holding on to office and controlling the administration against the rights and wishes of the people are usurping all constituted authority and as such are the last persons who should give expression to Bolshevist efforts on the part of others.

"Let me remind this audience that it was a Liberal government over 20 years ago that established a department of labor as one of the departments of the Federal government, and creted the office of minister of labor. We believe then and we believe today that the solution for labor unrest is a more adequate representation of labor both in the councils of the nation and in the industries with which the work of labor is associated.

"Industrial representation in parliament and a larger voice by the workers in the control of industrial policy is the method by which the Liberal party would seek to end political and industrial unrest.

"If we stop to consider the cause of most of the industrial evils of our day, we will find that they are due to an effort on the part of some one of the four parties to industry to gain a monopoly of control in the direction and management of industry and the shaping of industrial policies. The natural reaction from a monopoly of control on the part of capital such as it has existed too often in the past, is an effort to gain monopoly of control on the part of labor, which is resulting in some countries today in the establishment of Soviet governments, with consequences as disastrous to labor as to the other parties and industry. What is demanded is not monopoly of control by any one party but joint control by all parties concerned, by labor as well as capital and by the community as well as by labor, capital and management.

LABOR REPRESENTATION

"The Liberal party has given concrete expression to this policy in a demand which found expression in a resolution moved in the House of Commons some years ago by Mr. Lapointe to the effect that labor should be given representation on the board of directors of the Canadian National Railways. We believe that if labor is as necessary to the successful running of our railways as is capital or management, that labor is entitled to its place on the board of directors where its voice can be heard and where it may be in a position most effectively to safeguard its own and the public interest against inefficiency and extravagance in management, and the exploitation of the public through charges and rates, the benefits of which accrue to one party only and not to all concerned. We believe that parliament should be truly representative in character, that it should include representatives from all classes in a community, not as representative of a class but as citizens possessing a special knowledge in important departments of our complex social and industrial life. Similarly we believe that in industry all the parties contribute whether in the form of investment of their capital of their labor, whether of hand or of brain, should likewise be representative in the management and control of the industries to which their contributions are made. As we come to system of government in the state that is truly representative, and evolve a system of government in industry that is likewise equally representative, we will solve without fear of prejudice to any class the political, social and industrial problems of our day.

INTER-IMPERIAL RELATIONS.

"With respect to interimperial and international relations, the difference between the two parties may again be illustrated from the attitude of both, as evidenced in the House of Commons during last session.

"The Government, as respects interimperial relations, has maintained that it has a perfect right to bind this country in the matter of international obligations without acquaining Parliament in the first instance of what is proposed in that connection. The Liberal party on the other hand has taken the position that in all interimperial and international relations there should be an end to secret diplomacy and the most open and frank discussion on the floor of Parliament before there is determination of either policies or agreements in matters of vast concern to the people of Canada.

"Let me cite two examples which will show exactly what I mean: We take strong exception to such action as that which we have witnessed within the past session of Parliament of the Canadian Government accepting from the British Government without any reference to Parliament, a cruiser, a torpedo boat destroyer and submarines; and the establishment equally without reference to Parliament of post of Minister of Plenipotentiary at Washington. If these are necessary and desirable ends and I am not raising a question on that point, they should be arrived at by consent of Parliament in the first instance and not by the action of Cabinet Ministers in secret council, making contracts in the first instance and then coming to Parliament for appropriations which they seek to defend on the grounds of national honor."

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SEEN AT THE RECEPTION TO THE LIBERAL LEADER



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AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER
THE OLDEST DAILY ON THE MAINLAND OF BRITISH COLUMBIA.

THURSDAY ..... SEPT. 30, 1920

The Liberal Leader's Speech

LAST night's fine meeting at the Arena was a welcome indication that interest in public affairs is again active in this city. It was as well a tribute to a man, comparatively young in years, but experienced in public life, who bears in unique combination names almost as old as Canadian history.

Mr. King's review of the present political conditions in Canada was an able summary of the case from an anti-coalition Liberal standpoint. Those Liberals who supported coalition and assisted in carrying on that form of government may agree with him in the general principles he enunciates for the reduction of certain items in the tariff; they will scarcely agree that expenditures and increase of national debt during a great war can fairly be compared with those of another administration during profound peace.

In dealing with industrial economics Mr. King speaks with authority because of his long study of that subject. When he declares that "industrial representation in parliament and a larger voice by workers in the control of industrial policy is the method by which the Liberal party would seek to end political and industrial unrest," he lays down a large and important plank in his propaganda. Industrial representation in parliament can, of course, only be secured, as it is now secured, by the majority vote of the people, unless the soviet system of election from industrial groups is in his mind. But a larger voice by labor in industrial management is in harmony with the spirit of the day, and would doubtless result, as the Liberal leader predicts, in curing much unrest.

For the evils of profiteering also, he prescribes a salutary cure. "Publicity is more effective than penalty." A general adoption of that policy would effect a great reform.

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The Liberal Leader's Visit

The Hon. Mackenzie King can be assured of warm hospitality during his stay in British Columbia. Liberals and Conservatives alike will welcome him as one of Canada's foremost public men. Canadian birth and good Scottish parentage coupled with a university education and parliamentary training are qualifications which should be a great asset to any young man with aspirations for political leadership.

His experience on international labor commissions and in the settling of industrial disputes has given him a cool, canny, self-control which could be expected from a much older man. With his appointment as leader of the opposition many people looked for a demonstration of energy and aggressiveness on his part and have attributed the lack of this to weakness. Instead of following such a course, which would have led to his personal aggrandizement, Mr. King has intentionally kept himself in the background, preferring rather to bring his lieutenants, much older men than himself, to the front. The effect has been the gradual cementing of all elements of his following into a united party from coast to coast.

The course followed by Premier Meighen has been directly opposite to that of Mr. Mackenzie King with the result that the Premier's great enthusiasm and energy are entirely discounted because of his tendency to take himself too seriously and adopt extreme positions. His outbreak last week in charging the prairie farmers in the West with "aligning themselves with seditionists" has subjected him to a great deal of ridicule, and has caused no end of merriment to his opponents.

The Hon. Mr. Mackenzie King's utterances in Vancouver will be of considerable interest to the majority of people, largely because of the determination of his party to reduce the cost of living. The feeling in British Columbia regarding the necessity of a tariff sufficient to protect the fruit industry of this province is well known to Mr. King. In return for such protection we are not unwilling that other parts of the country should receive similar treatment. If the placing of a duty on certain commodities such as fruit and lumber has a tendency to raise the price of these articles to the prairie consumer, there are various ways in which the latter may be compensated.

Canada is essentially an agricultural and horticultural country and if a small fraction of the millions which are being squandered by the present government, were devoted to the interest of farming, we would not be worrying so much about taxes. Too much cannot be done for the people out on the land, and instead of abusing them as Premier Meighen has done, Mr. Mackenzie King's interest in the farmers' behalf, will find him favor.

It is no secret that Mr. King's efforts are being bent towards the formation of an alliance between the farmers' movement and historic Liberalism. In this combination lies the best hope and indeed the only hope of frustrating the spirit of predatory greed which seems to be on the verge of obtaining control of the existing federal administration and which expects to be able to use Premier Meighen as a respectable front for concealing this wholly selfish and unscrupulous purpose.

The way in which the Union government has disregarded British Columbia leads us to predict that never again will we send thirteen voting proxies to Ottawa. Hon. Mr. Mackenzie King can help his cause in this province by an intimation that our representatives will not be treated in the future as they have been in the past.

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THE LIBERAL MESSAGE.

Mr. Mackenzie King has disproved the imputation that he is too academic and discursive to be aggressive. His address last evening was sufficiently emphatic in its attack on the Borden administration and on the Meighen ministry. It may fairly be called a campaign speech. Since this was the main part of the address Mr. King may be charged by his opponents with avoiding a constructive discussion of public affairs. From the beginning this criticism has always been made of opposition leaders. If Mr. King is leaving his own followers a little in the dark about his own tariff policy, his industrial programme and his own views on railway ownership and control, he can find plenty of precedent.

Previous opposition leaders could say that it was enough for them to prove that the government was unworthy of confidence. The necessary alternative was to call in the opposition. Now that there is a third party it seems not only necessary to show that the government ought to go but that the Liberal party rather than the Farmer party ought to succeed. The rivalry of the Farmers must have occurred to the audience when Mr. King reported that the Borden ministry had lost several seats in by-elections, but was not able to claim that any of them had been captured by his own party.

The opposition leader is undoubtedly right when he says that the people of Canada are not well instructed on the new public questions that have been thrust upon them by the war. They have been preoccupied by reconstruction questions as they arose, and by their own personal and local problems. Perhaps one in ten of the Liberals and one in twenty of the Conservatives in the audience last evening could give a clear idea of the Liberal platform to which the leader appealed as an example of democratic pronouncements. So far as his speech and the interesting addresses of his colleagues have added to public information on party policy they have assisted the electors to give an intelligent verdict when they are asked for it. By the time that the Premier and the leader of the opposition have traversed the country, and provoked an enlightened interest in the business with which government and Parliament has to deal, the vast electorate, old and new, will be better able to determine the policy of the future. This may not accord with Mr. King's complaint that the election should have been held a year ago, or that it should take place now. But it follows Mr. King's own account of the present condition of public information.

Mr. Mackenzie King is able to make one unique claim. He shows that he is a party leader by choice of a fully representative national convention of his party. He can declare that Mr. Meighen was not so chosen. He may even go farther and point out that neither was Sir Wilfrid Laurier, nor Mr. Blake, nor Sir Robert Borden, nor Mr. Lloyd George, nor Mr. Asquith nor Mr. Gladstone. Sir Robert Borden came to his opposition leadership as his predecessors did by the choice of their party in Parliament. Mr. Meighen came to his position as Mr. Lloyd George, Mr. Balfour and Lord Rosebery or Sir John Thompson did on the retirement of the premier of their own party. Mr. King is thus able to show that his own promotion is more democratic, in the sense that it comes from the party at large, and it is the more significant that it was a complete departure from Liberal precedent in Canada and Great Britain. But there was special and adequate reasons for this departure, inasmuch as the Liberal party outside of Quebec was at the time almost unrepresented in Parliament.

Mr. King makes the general statement that the people have been flouted by two coalition ministries. His specific criticism applies to the Borden ministry. Particular attention was paid to the purchase of the Grand Trunk and the shipbuilding contracts. The railway contract was made with the company, subject to approval of Parliament, and Parliament approved. Mr. King does not say exactly how he would have had it done, or whether the railway should have been taken over at all. Another way would have been for the government to decide the terms of purchase, obtain the consent of Parliament and then approach the company. Two other railway measures at least equally important, have been adopted by Canada. One was the contract for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway, and the other the Grand Trunk Pacific contract, the former by the Macdonald government, the latter by the administration of Sir Wilfrid Laurier. In both instances the proceeding was the same as in this case. The contract was made first, subject to the ratification of Parliament and was subsequently ratified. In support of Mr. King's position it may be said that in the first case the Liberal opposition and in the second the Conservative opposition held that the people should have been consulted.

In the question between Mr. King and Mr. Ballantyne respecting the ships it appears that the minister is right in the statement that Parliament accepted the policy in the beginning and Mr. King is right in saying that contracts to the amount of twenty millions were made before Parliament voted the money. The minister was strongly urged to keep the shipyards busy at a time when such employment was needed and when the ships were required. If he did wrong he was much encouraged to do it by representations from this neighborhood. But the people here were interested and not in a position to give an unbiassed constitutional judgment.

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LEADER AND MESSAGE.

Mr. Mackenzie King has visited this city more than once before on public business or political errands. For the first time Vancouver welcomes him as the successor of Alexander Mackenzie, Edward Blake and Sir Wilfrid Laurier in the leadership of the Liberal party. It is no small thing to be selected from a host of representatives to lead a party which has controlled the administration of Canada for twenty years of the period since Confederation, and expects that in due time it will resume authority. Like Sir Wilfrid Laurier or Sir Robert Borden, Mr. King may serve nine years or eleven as opposition leader. Like the present Premier he may reach the summit without so long a preparation, or like Mr. Blake, he may never arrive at the goal of his ambition. But already, while in his early prime as political life goes, he has made his way by ability, industry and character to a position of leadership which is both a great public reward and a great public opportunity.

The position of leader of the opposition in Parliament has come to be regarded as a public office. It commands the salary of a cabinet minister, and more influence than belongs to some heads of departments. Mr. Mackenzie King is not an officer in the administration, but he is essentially an officer of Parliament, having a considerable influence in the details of legislation. In respect to all main questions of public policy the position taken by him has a profound effect on the mind of the country and on the verdict when the day of decision arrives. The qualities which have carried Mr. King to the head of a great political party, his special attainments as a student and authority on social and industrial problems, his mission to persuade the majority in Canada to accept his leadership and the programme of his party, guarantee serious attention to the message which he has prepared for the large Vancouver audience which awaits him.

This is a favorable time for such public discussion. The average elector has a more open mind than he will have in the heat of the election campaign. When the fight is on the people listen to appeal more than to argument. Their decision has usually been made in the previous period of political calm. The campaign but increases their enthusiasm and confirms their determination. If Mr. Mackenzie King and his associates have argument and evidence, proposals and programmes, of weight to convince and persuade the country, this is their opportunity.

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Vancouver Sun
Sept 29/20

Mackenzie King Is Honored by Supporters Here

Opposition Leader Is Recipient of Presentation

Is Guest of Honor at Enthusiastic Reception

He Makes Plea for Courtesies in Public Life

WITH the presentation of a gold-headed walking stick, made from the oaken timber from the old steamer Beaver, the first steamer to reach British Columbia from England, and mounted with gold from the mines of the province, Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King was greeted last night on his arrival in Vancouver. The stick was the gift of the Liberal Women's association of Vancouver.

"I shall always treasure this stick as a symbol of the support which the ladies of Vancouver are prepared to give me," said the Liberal leader, displaying a pretty impromptu wit.

The reception to Hon. Mr. King revived memories of that given in 1917 to his predecessor, Sir Wilfrid Laurier. The party, including Mr. Ernest Lapointe, M. P. for Quebec East; Mr. Wm. Duff, M. P. for Lunenburg, Nova Scotia, and Mr. W. C. Kennedy, M. P. for North Essex, arrived on the evening boat from Victoria, escorted by Attorney-General Farris, K. C.; Mr. M. A. Macdonald, M. L. A., President of the Provincial Liberal Association; Mr. Chas. E. Campbell, Hon. Secretary of the Provincial Liberal Association, and Mr. Alex McRae of Revelstoke, of the Provincial Executive of the Liberal Party.

SPORT

MET AT PIER.

At the pier they were greeted by a large concourse of citizens, headed by Mayor Gale and backed by the principal officers of the Liberal organizations. All of the visitors expressed themselves as delighted with their reception at Victoria and their impressions of British Columbia's beauty. The Quebec members of the party agreed that it was more beautiful even than their own province, but it remained for Mr. Lucien Giguere, secretary to Hon. Mr. King, to add the final touch.

"I have only one regret; my regret is that Champlain did not come to Canada by the Pacific," said Mr. Giguere. The bon mot was worthy of Mr. Giguere's former chief (the late Sir Wilfrid.

At the Hotel Vancouver a great number of prominent citizens, irrespective of party leanings, came to do honor to the guest, and the Liberal leader seized the opportunity to make a plea for the inauguration of such courtesies as mark the public life of Great Britain.

Mr. M. A. Macdonald, as president of the provincial organization, presided at the informal meeting in the oval room of the hotel, where Miss Lochead and Mrs. Hawes sang and the public were presented to the visitors.

Mayor Gale, in welcoming the party in his official capacity, said that such a visit was good for the visitors and good for the city.

"Hon. Mr. King will have an opportunity while here to look into our problems and he will also have an opportunity to indicate what his attitude will be in regard to them," said the mayor.

SPEECH BY MACKENZIE KING.

In his reply Hon. Mr. King said that when he decided to start his tour from the Pacific coast, it was with the idea that he would be furthering the interests of Canada by getting first impressions of the west.

"Our purpose was two-fold," he said. "We desired, of course, to put forward the position of the Liberal party, which at this time of transition we feel that is to the best interest that all should hear. I do not say this in a party spirit. Truth is so large and many-sided that it cannot rest entirely either with the Liberal party or with the Conservative party, and it must have a value even for those who may disagree in some measure from us to have our position set forth.

"Secondly, we had a desire to become better acquainted with western ideas, to learn western views, to know the western people better and to catch something of the western vision. We thought it was good also that the west should learn something of the eastern viewpoint and so I have with me the mayor of Lunenburg, Mr. Duff, who is also member of parliament for that place. Lunenburg is at the extreme east of Canada. Then we have Mr. Lapointe of Quebec East, who has held the seat long held by Sir Wilfrid Laurier, our great leader. Mr. Kennedy and myself are both men who have spent many years in Ontario, though for the present I represent a maritime constituency and therefore feel I should know more about their problems."

"Whether we are to serve the country by our criticism, or whether, as we believe, we shall before long be called upon to administer the affairs of the country, we will as a result of this visit be better able to deal wisely with the affairs of the West."

LARGE PATRIOTISM.

"We see," added Hon. Mr. King, "the evidence of a larger patriotism in the efforts to make Canada a greater and a united Dominion, united by goodwill among her people. We see this in the courtesies of political opponents, which I hope will develop and attain the high standards which mark public life in the old land."

"It was one of my pleasures to write a personal letter to my friend Premier Meighen to tell him how pleased I was to learn that one who had been my college friend for three or four years had been raised to the highest honor in the gift of the people of Canada. And among my most prized possessions is the letter which he wrote me in reply thanking me for my congratulations.

"We need more courtesies in public life. Men who embark in public life do not seek the compensations of wealth; they enter public life for the opportunity of serving their country. We need to cultivate the new spirit of the times. The spirit of war is the spirit of hate. We must replace ill will by good will and aim to unite all of the people of Canada in a common love of country irrespective of parties and religions or any other differences."

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Premier Oliver made the address of welcome at the Victoria meeting on Monday night, and Attorney-General Farris, it is understood, will have the same honor at tonight's meeting.

The doors of the Arena are to be opened at 7, and the meeting will commence at 7:30. The G. W. V. A. band will play from 7 till 7:30 while the audience is assembling. Except for 100 seats on the front rows, set aside for members of the Mothers, Wives and Widows of Soldiers' Association, and 75 seats for disabled men, the entire body of the Arena is free to the public without any tickets being required.

The following are members of the Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King reception committee: Mr. and Mrs. W. G. An-

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Cummings, B. Chubb, J. D. Cameron, A. E. Chamberlain, A. Cummings, C. E. Cartwright, G. C. Crox, W. Crawley, Dr. Corry, R. C. Campbell-Johnston, Mrs. Crossland, Miss C. Clark, F. L. Cummings, Mrs. A. Curran, G. Champion, Duncan Campbell, W. F. Cochrane, J. A. Courtenay, J. A. Clark, Mrs. Patrick Donnelly, Donald Downie, J. P. Dougherty, J. T. Dawson, Sr., C. C. Delbridge, Capt. A. G. Dixon, J. D. Dewar, A. Dewar, P. Dolan, Mr. and Mrs. J. T. Dawson, Mrs. T. Dinsmore, A. B. Dixon, G. W. de Beck, E. K. de Beck, T. Davenport, Thomas Dick, A. Duclos, J. A. de Laurier, Geo. Duthie, A. P. Essery, G. W. Embree, Sheriff Eilbeck, Mrs. L. Edwards, Dr. English, Miss M. Edwards, Mrs. Laura Edwards, J. H. Falconer, Hon. J. W. deB. Farris, Mrs. Farris, J. P. Ferris, Mr. and Mrs. J. A. Forin, W. B. Farris, Miss Fierheller, J. W. Fairhall, B. M. Farris, T. W. Fletcher, G. V. Fraser, Albert Farriday, A. Frederickson, J. Forbes, Mrs. J. Graham, Wm. Gilchrist, F. G. Geering, S. Griffis, D. Gray, Ed. 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McLatchy, Mr. and Mrs. J. N. Menzies, G. G. McGeer, M.L.A., Mrs. McGeer, A. F. McDuffie, Dr. W. D. Murray, Geo. McCuaig, Geo. E. Macdonald, W. T. McArthur, Mr. and Mrs. R. G. Macpherson, R. P. McLennan, Dr. A. S. Monro, James McQueen, Hon. Joseph Martin, A. McSween, John Murray, E. Miron, C. McKenzie, R. T. McEwen, A. Miller, A. M. McKenzie, Jr., D. H. McDougall, Dr. G. E. McKenzie, H. A. McIntyre, W. G. McKenzie, Geo. E. McCrossan, Miss Moad, Mrs. G. R. Maxwell, Sr., M. McSween, A. McKenzie, Sr., Thos. W. Main, S. W. Manuel, Fred Metcalf, J. H. McKenzie, F. C. McLean, Mrs. McCoon, J. Matheson, J. H. Matheson M. McBeath, H. P. McCraney, E. B. McDermid, Geo. R. McQueen, Fred Mills, Geo. Murray, C. L. Merritt, Mrs. J. O. McRae, F. Michel, R. Miller, Jas. Murray, J. A. McInnes, Geo. McInnes, E. B. McMaster, C. G. Murray, A. D. McPherson, J. E. Myers, Frank Newton, E. Nixon, General V. W. Odlum, D. Ogilvie, James O'Reilly, A. M. Pound, S. L. Prenter, C. B. Patterson, Thos. Paradis, T. Patteron, J. R. Pollock, Mr. and Mrs. J. Peach, Mr. Prentice, Wm. G. Patrick, J. W. Parker, W. P. Philip, A. Philip, Geo. Quesville, Mr. and Mrs. F. R. McD. Russell, T. D. Roberts, J. R. Robertson, W. F. Ryce, J. A. Russell, Jas. Ramsay, Chas. Reid, T. Rimbero, Joseph Rye, C. H. Rose, J. I. Richmond, J. H. Rowe, W. G. Rogers, J. R. Randall, W. J. Ramsay, F. J. Russell, William Robinson, Mrs. Ralph Smith, M.L.A., D. Stevens, P. N. Shaw, R. G. Scrutton, J. R. Shannon, Dr. Strong, S. E. Stickney, J. H. Small, F. W. Sterling, W. Smith, Thos. Spence, Capt. W. E. Stewart, General J. Duff Stuart, D. M. Stewart, J. M. Stewart, J. E. Silverthorne, B. Stockvis, Dan Stewart, E. H. Small, J. E. W. Thompson, M.L.A., Mrs. Thompson, A. M. Tyson, Leo Teitleborn, S. S. Taylor, K.C., W. E. Truesdale, H. B. Thompson, A. C. Thompson, G. Tyson, W. T. Tierney, J. Tyon, Mrs. F. Tacey, John Thompson, J. A. Thomas, Miss H. Urquhart, A. Vogee, Joseph Walters, M.L.A., Mrs. Walters, J. W. 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CANADA

Vancouver Province
Sept. 29/20

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LIBERAL LEADER IS WARMLY GREETED

Here to Better Understand Western Viewpoint He Tells Followers.

Is Presented With Cane From the Historic Steamer Beaver.

Meets B. C. Liberal Association Executive—Speaks in Arena Tonight.

With Colleagues Will Leave Thursday Night for Prince Rupert.

Crowded to overflowing with enthusiastic Liberals, anxious to catch a glimpse of their chieftain, the Oval room of the Hotel Vancouver was the scene last night of a public reception held in honor of Hon W. L. Mackenzie King, leader of the Liberal party. It was his first appearance in Vancouver since his election as Liberal leader. Mr. King is in his forty-sixth year, has a strong and pleasing personality, and when he spoke last night he did so in well selected words and with a voice which carried to every corner of the room.

Liberals of the old guard were present to grasp the hand of him to whom the future fortunes of their party have been entrusted. It was plain that Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King carries the hopes and enjoys the confidence of the Liberals of this city. His formal presentation by Mr. M. A. Macdonald, K.C., M.L.A., elicited rounds of applause and same hearty enthusiasm permeated entire gathering.

The introduction committee consisted of Hon. J. W. deB. Farris, attorney-general, Mr. M. A. Macdonald, K.C., Mrs. J. N. Menzies, Mr. W. G. Anderson, Mr. J. H. Falconer.

With the Liberal leader were three prominent Liberals who have accompanied him from the East, Mr. Ernest Lapointe, K.C., M.P., for Quebec East, Mr. William Duff, M.P., for Lunenberg, Nova Scotia, and William C. Kennedy, M.P., for North Essex.

Mayor Gale extended a hearty welcome to Mr. King on behalf of Vancouver. He reminded Mr. King that the citizens of this Pacific Coast city were always interested in everything which pertained to the good government of Canada.

SEEKING WESTERN VIEWPOINT.

While not attempting a set speech, Mr. King replied that he was touring the Pacific Coast province to present the views of his party and also to better understand the western viewpoint. He then introduced the members of his party.

Mr. King continued that it was his intention to acquire first-hand knowledge of western ideas and conditions and upon his return to the House of Commons, this information, he said, would enable him to approach, with renewed strength and in an intelligent manner, the problems confronting the Canadian people. He made a plea for the largest kind of patriotism so that all Canadians could feel the immensity and greatness of Canada from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

"Extend the spirit of goodwill," continued the Liberal leader and then referred to an incident growing out of the relations between himself and Premier Meighen. On the occasion of the latter's appointment as Prime Minister, Mr. King was among the first to extend his congratulations and he received a letter in reply, which Mr. King said he numbered among his most prized possessions, cordially thanking him for his sentiments.

"We should adopt more of the courtesies in our public life, courtesies which are well shown in the Old World," he went on. "By this course much bitterness will be avoided. A spirit of ill-will always lurks in the wake of war. This should be replaced by a spirit of goodwill, and encouraged by all good Canadian citizens," concluded the Liberal leader.

GIFT TO LEADER.

"You have the most beautiful country in the world," said Mr. Lapointe, member of the federal parliament for Quebec East, a constituency represented for many years at Ottawa by Sir Wilfrid Laurier. Mr. Lapointe confined his remarks to a plea for a better understanding between Eastern and Western Canada.

"We ought to know one another" he said. "The good of the Dominion should be uppermost in everyone's thoughts," he concluded.

A pleasant ceremony ensued when Mrs. J. N. Menzies, president of the Women's Liberal Association of Vancouver, on behalf of the association, presented Mr. King with a cane of wood from the historic steamer Beaver, with a headpiece of British Columbia gold. The souvenir was graciously accepted by the Liberal leader who praised the work of the women of Canada, particularly during recent years, in the welfare of their country.

Solos were rendered by Mrs. Hawes and Miss Lochead and were much appreciated.

In addition to Hon. Mr. Farris members of the Provincial House present were Mrs. Ralph Smith, Mr. J. S. Cowper, Mr. J. E. W. Thompson, Grand Forks; Mr. D. Whiteside, New Westminster; Mr. F. W. Anderson, Kamloops; Mr. G. G. McGeer, Richmond; Mr. J. W. Weart, South Vancouver.

The itinerary of the visitors for today includes a meeting of the B. C. Federal Association executive at the Hotel Vancouver at 10:30 o'clock, a short trip on Burrard Inlet and a visit to the North Shore commencing at 2 p.m. and a mass-meeting at the Arena at 8 p.m.

On Thursday the party will leave the hotel at 9:30 in the morning for Marpole and will then journey to New Westminster, where they will be the guests of the joint boards of trade of New Westminster, Burnaby, South Vancouver, Point Grey and Richmond. Luncheon will be held at 1 p.m. followed by a visit to the fair. The party leaves the same evening at 8 o'clock for Prince Rupert.

GREETED ON ARRIVAL.

Hon. Mackenzie King and party were met on arrival from Victoria by the members of the various federal executives, including Vancouver Centre, Burrard, Vancouver South, Women's Liberal Association, the Progressive Liberal Association, and Vancouver City and District, among whom were:

W. G. Anderson, Dr. Agnew, Capt. Archer, F. W. Anderson, M.L.A., H. B. Barber, Dr. A. R. Baker, W. J. Buckingham, James Barry, W. C. Brown, Andrew Blygh, J.P., W. H. Bray, W. Bailey, W. Bird, F. Bell, R. H. Baxter, T. S. Brown, W. D. Balfour, James Ball, W. E. Bishop, Brenton S. Brown, A. C. Brydone-Jack, James Bell, James Conley, Mrs. Conley, J. S. Cowper, M.L.A.; William Cashon, C. A. Calkins, F. T. Congdon, J. A. Campbell, J. D. Cameron, Roy Craine, D. G. Campbell, J. A. Christie, F. Colbourne, B. Chubb, A. E. Chamberlain, F. L. Cummings, R. C. Campbell-Johnston, Dr. Corry, Duncan Campbell, J. A. Courtney, Donald Downie, J. P. Dougherty, Mrs. Patrick Donnelly, J. T. Dawson sr., C. C. Delbridge, Capt. A. G. Dickson, A. Dewar, T. Davenport, P. Dolan, A. Duclos, A. P. Essery, G. W. Embree, Sheriff Eilbeck, Mrs. L. Edwards, Dr. English, J. H. Falconer, J. P. Ferris, J. S. Foran, Mrs. Foran, W. B. Farris, Miss Feirheller, J. W. Fairhall, B. M. Farris, T. W. Fletcher, Wm. Gilchrist, F. G. Geering, Ed. Goulet, D. Grimmett, W. George, J. A. Garbutt, J. Gutridge, H. F. Honsberger, Alex. Henderson, K. C.; B. George Hansuld, E. E. Hand, A. C. Hunter, Prof. Henderson, Robert Irving, A. E. Johnson, Mrs. J. Jackson, Prof. Jordan, G. C. Jones, T. J. Kearney, Robt. Kelly, F. Kidd, E. S. Knowlton, Harry Kay, John Lamb, G. V. Leyster, G. Roy Long, Harry Lane, John Muldrew, Dr. G. C. Mackenzie, W. B. Morrison, W. W. B. McInnes, H. J. McLatchy, Mrs. J. N. Menzies, Mr. Menzies, G. G. McGeer, M.L.A.; Dr. W. D. Murray, George McCuaig, George B. Macdonald, W. T. McArthur, R. G. McPherson, R. P. McLennan, Dr. A. S. Monro, James MacQueen, Hon. Joseph Martin, A. Miller, George E. McCrossan, F. C. MacLean, M. McBeath, H. P. McCraney, E. B. McDermott, George R. McQueen, C. L. Merritt, E. B. McMaster, Frank Newton, Gen. Victor W. Odlum, D. Ogilvie, A. M. Pound, S. L. Prenter, C. B. Patterson, Wm. G. Patrick, A. Philip, F. R. McD. Russell, T. D. Roberts, J. A. Russell, F. J. Russell, James Ramsay, Charles Reid, Wm. Robinson, Mrs. Ralph Smith, M.L.A.; D. Stevens. P. N. Shaw, R. G. Scruton, Dr. Strong, F. W. Sterling, Capt. W. E. Stewart, Gen. A. Duff Stuart, E. W. Small, J. E. W. Thompson, M.L.A.; A. M. Tyson, S. S. Taylor, K. C.; W. T. Tierney, Joseph Walters, M.L.A.; J. W. Weart, M.L.A.; Gordon Wismer, J. Wilks, and members of the provincial organization committee including M. A. Macdonald, M.L.A., chairman; Chas. E. Campbell, executive secretary; A. McRae of Revelstoke, H. C. Hall, M.L.A., Victoria; and J. E. Myers, organizing secretary.

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Vancouver World
Sept" 29
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TENDER LEADER HEARTY WELCOME

Vancouver Liberals and Other Prominent Citizens Attend Reception to Hon. Mackenzie King.

Here to Present Aims of Party and Study Needs of Country, He Says.

Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, leader of the federal opposition, was tendered an enthusiastic reception at the Hotel Vancouver on Tuesday night when, with other members of his party, he reached the city from Victoria. With the Liberal chieftain were Mr. Ernest Lapointe, M. P. for Quebec East; Mr. Wm. Duff, M. P. for Lunenburg, N. S., and Mr. W. C. Kennedy, M. P. for North Essex. The party arrived from the capital on the evening boat, being accompanied by Hon. J. W. deB. Farris, attorney-general; Mr. M. A. Macdonald, M.P.P. and president of the Provincial Liberal Association; Mr. Chas. E. Campbell, honorary secretary of the Provincial Liberal Association, and Mr. Alex. McRae of Revelstoke, member of the provincial Liberal executive.

Other prominent members of the party from outside points were also present at the reception at the hotel, among them being Mr. J. W. Thompson, M. P. P., Grand Forks; Mr. W. J. Whiteside, M. P. P., New Westminster; Mr. F. W. Anderson, M. P. P., Kamloops; Mr. G. G. McGeer, M. P. P., Richmond, and Mr. J. W. Weart, M. P. P., South Vancouver; Mrs. Ralph Smith, M. P. P., and Mr. J. S. Cowper, M. P. P., were also present.

The party was met at the boat by a large number of local Liberals, members of the reception committee, and escorted to the hotel where the reception took place immediately following a dinner at which the local and outside members were present.

Presented With Cane

One of the interesting features of the reception was the presentation to Hon. Mr. King by the Vancouver Women's Liberal Association of a gold mounted walking stick, the presentation being made by Mrs. J. N. Menzies, president of the Women's Liberal Association, and accompanied with an address. In this address it was pointed out that the souvenir was entirely a British Columbia product since the gold with which it was mounted had been taken from British Columbia mines and the wood taken from the staunch oaken timbers of the old steamer Beaver, the first steamer to reach British Columbia from England.

The reception was held in the Oval room at the hotel and while short addresses were delivered by Mr. M. A. Macdonald, Mayor Gale, Hon. Mr. King and Mr. Lapointe, they were of an informal character. Solos were also rendered by Mrs. Hawes and Miss Lochead. The introductions were performed by Hon. J. W. deB. Farris, Mr. J. H. Falconer, Mr. M. A. Macdonald, Mr. W. G. Anderson and Mrs. J. N. Menzies.

In his remarks the Liberal leader stated that the visit of his party to the west had a two-fold purpose, to put forward the aims of the Liberal party and to get closer to the people of the west and discuss with them the needs of their particular sections of the Dominion.

"It matters not wether we are to serve our country by our criticism or whether we are to be called upon to administer the affairs of the country, this trip will enable us to deal more wisely with the affairs of the west. We have seen the desire for a larger patriotism and a greater and more united Dominion, and we have seen this in our political opponents as well as in our friends. I only hope that it will develop and attain the high standard so essential in our public life."

More Courtesy in Public Life.

Referring to the selection of Hon. Arthur Meighen as premier, he said it had been one of the greatest pleasures of his life to be able to send a letter of congratulation to the premier, who was an old class mate, and to receive in reply a letter of sincere thanks. He took occasion to point out that more courtesies were needed in the public life of the country and said that there was need to cultivate the spirit of the times and foster friendship, in an effort to build up a greater and a better Canada.

Mr. Lapointe expressed the belief that more public men of the east should come west and see for themselves the evidence of prosperity and progress.

Mayor Gale's remarks were confined to tendering the party a warm welcome as official representative of the city. At the conclusion of the more formal part of the reception the visitors were introduced to the gathering by the committee already mentioned.

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THE DOMESTIC AFFAIRS MUST BE CONSIDERED

Hon. Mr. King Says No One Can Afford To Be Neutral in This Period of Change and Transition.

REVISION OF TARIFF IS WHAT IS NEEDED

Time Wasted in Taking of Evidence, Says the Liberal Leader.

(Canadian Press.)

VANCOUVER, Sept. 29.—Before a great audience here tonight which gave Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King and his colleagues a most enthusiastic reception and interested hearing, the leader of the Liberal party addressed the second meeting of his tour of the western provinces, laid especial emphasis on the fundamental difference in attitude, methods and outlook between the party in office at Ottawa and that of the Liberal party.

This is a moment of transition in social and political conditions which will go far to determine the whole future trend of Canada's destiny as a nation, and no man or woman, the Liberal chief declared, can afford to be neutral in his or her political allegiance. The choice, he said, is between those who are not afraid of change in the social order, and those who resist change, and between those who are progressive and those who are reactionary. He said that in these days of readjustment, little thought or attention had been given to domestic affairs, that since the election of 1911, there had been no occasion on which the people of Canada as a whole had had an opportunity of hearing national issues discussed with reference to these problems, which are primarily of domestic concern.

Hon. Mr. King discussed the leading problems of the day, the cost of living and the tariff, declaring that with regard to the latter that what is wanted is not taking of evidence, but immediate revision to bring relief to consumers and producers, in regard to the high cost of living. Mr. Meighen, he said, had left the country in the dark.

Other Speakers.

W. C. Kennedy, M.P. for North Essex, Ont., dealt with the public debt, taxation, and what he declared the extravagance of the government in the matter of civil service appointments and commissions.

William Duff, M.P. for Lunenburg, N.S., said that if Canada was ever to take her rightful place among the nations, a large merchant marine must be built up, but that the present makeshift policy of the government would never make Canada a great maritime country. He claimed that the fisheries of the Dominion are not being properly developed, and he criticized the department of marine and fisheries for its lack of proper business methods in developing the fishing industry of the country.

Fundamental Differences.

Dealing more particularly on the fundamental differences in attitude, methods and outlook between the party in power at Ottawa and of the party which he represents, Mr. King said that these were days of transition and new alignments in social and political orders all over the world, and that throughout the period of the war, little thought or attention had been given to domestic affairs. A body of voters, so large as to constitute an entirely new electorate, had come to the fore, the young men between the ages of 20 and 30 and the women voters. It would be found that irrespective of the names by which they may be called, the choice of the electorate lies today, as in the past, between those who are not afraid of change in the social order, and those who resist order; between those who are progressive and those who are reactionary; between those who are prepared to trust the people and assist them in their struggle for a wider freedom, social, economic, fiscal and political, and those who mistrust the people and are more concerned in keeping intact the strongholds of privilege, than in widening the opportunities to the many who constitute the great citizenry of the nation.

The Marine Outlay.

Referring to an Ottawa despatch quoting Mr. Ballantyne, minister of marine and fisheries, as denying that money was spent on contracts let before parliament was consulted, Mr. King said that Mr. Ballantyne evidently had forgotten that he (Mr. King) had challenged the government on the constitutionality and legality of its action in this matter on the floor of parliament.

"Mr. Ballantyne," continued Mr. King, "was obliged to admit the truth of what is stated, though he endeavored to find excuse for the government's conduct by saying that it was a necessary war measure, or rather a measure necessitated by conditions which had arisen out of the war. As I remember the statement of the minister of marine and his colleague, the minister of justice, it was to the effect that, with large numbers of soldiers returning from overseas, the country was threatened with unemployment and the government feared unrest, and for these reasons they had awarded the contract in question to different firms on their own account."

Awarding of Contracts.

were fair and right; the government purchased just as a private corporation would have purchased."

Asked if the fourteen companies were concerned, as no tenders were called, he quoted Mr. Ballantyne as saying: "No tenders. There were, I think, 17 companies."

He asked what Mr. Meighen had to say with regard to the high cost of living. Mr. Meighen had made a statement at Sterling, airing the outline of policy in the form of so many distinct propositions.

"You will observe," he said, "that Mr. Meighen has contented himself with giving the country a statement of ends to be attained and leaving the country fully in the dark as to the means by which they are to be attained." "Regarding the tariff," said Mr. King, "Mr. Meighen admits that he does not know what the government policy is." In regard to the tariff inquiry, he asserted that what is wanted is not taking the evidence to longer postpone action, but immediate revision of the tariff in a manner which will bring relief to consumers and producers alike.

A Desire for Soviets?

Mr. Meighen and his colleagues, he declared, made it clear that they regarded the demand by labor for larger voice in control of government and in control of industrial policies as evidence of a desire to establish soviets in this country. The department of labor had given the latest expression to the government labor policy by issuance of a pamphlet on the danger of establishing soviets in Canada and need for suppression of all attempts at this time.

"We of the Liberal party," he said, "think the government has mistaken the real bolshevist movement; we believe that it is government, not labor, that is bolshevist."

The Liberal party believed twenty years ago, when they established the ministry of labor, he asserted, and believe today that the solution for labor unrest is more adequate representation of labor in the councils of the nation and in industries.

RUN EDWARDS PLANT

But Situation at the Chaudi-

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Awarding of Contracts.

As to the truth of the statement that the contracts were awarded before appropriation by parliament sufficient to cover was made, Mr. King referred to the debate he had with Mr. Ballantyne in the house of commons on March 23, this year.

Reading from Hansard, he quoted Mr. Ballantyne as saying, in reply to a question regarding the placing of 36 different contracts among 14 different firms, involving expenditure of $74,000,000:

"The contracts were awarded by order-in-council as I, as responsible minister, had seen that the prices were fair and right; the government purchased just as a private corporation would have purchased."

Asked if the fourteen companies were concerned, as no tenders were called, he quoted Mr. Ballantyne as saying: "No tenders. There were, I think, 17 companies."

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29. October, 1920

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D 4673

2 Oct. 1920 Prince Rupert, B.C.

"LIBERALISM AND WESTERN CANADA"

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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Speech
at
PRINCE RUPERT, B.C.
October 2nd, 1920.

LIBERALISM AND WESTERN CANADA

I. How Liberal Policy has contributed to Western Prosperity -

1. Land settlement and immigration.
2. Railway rate control (Ry. Comm.)
3. Creation of Provinces.
4. Canadian Naval Service.
5. Railway Construction - G.T.P. and Oriental Trade.
6. Reciprocity.

II. How Defeat of Liberals has occasioned West to suffer -

1. Reciprocity - wider markets; freer trade.
2. Naval Service.
3. Grand Trunk Pacific.

III. Advantage of Historical Political Party to carry on policy -

Need to-day - to raise taxes.

Laurier's vision and faith in future, and in people.

Conditions in 1896 and 1920.

Discredited Tory Govt.

Lax in administration - Exchange.

Autocratic Executive.

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Protectionist policy - big interests vs. people.

Difference between parties.

Another similarity - Convention, 1893.

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Montreal Gazette
October 4, 1920

MACKENZIE KING DISCUSSES GROWTH AT PRINCE RUPERT

Sees Limitless Demand in Orient for Products of Canadian West

WIDESPREAD RESOURCES

Development Would Help Pay Off National Debt—Higher Pensions for Returned Men

(By Canadian Press.)

Prince Rupert, B.C., October 3.—Emphasizing Prince Rupert's proximity to the Orient, and the immense variety of the natural resources in the adjacent territory, Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, Liberal leader, on Saturday addressed a large audience here, in the course of which he reviewed his western tour to date and outlined the growth of the western provinces during recent years.

He considered the resources, such as fisheries, mines and timber, to be of broad measure, and their development would be of great help in paying off the national debt. He had just visited the pulp mills at Ocean Falls, and he did not see why there should not be a similar plant in Prince Rupert or the immediate neighborhood.

The scope of the country's natural resources invited the application of the broadest degree of statesmanship, he said. He pictured the original conception of Prince Rupert as a distance-saving link in Canadian-Asiatic traffic, and went on to describe the limitless markets of the Orient, where there was an ever-expanding demand for western products.

Next he sketched the fundamental difference in Government principles, touching at some length on the terms of the Grand Trunk Pacific purchase. He favored substartial pensions for the returned men and strongly advocated labor representation on directorates. The greatest possible good would come from unity rather than from group movements The best interests of all would be served by mutual good will and trust.

The returned man was entitled to the gratitude of the country, irrespective of party allegiance, and this gratitude should take practical shape in the working out of beneficial policies. The war had been fought to eliminate war. He was opposed to anything that would tend to perpetuate the war habit. The high cost of living was a world-wide question and was a natural result of tne war's aftermath. He counselled economy and increased production. British Columbia offered one of the greatest fields on earth for development, for the basic raw material was available. His first visit to the north, he said, had been a revelation.

The party arrived here on Saturday afternoon and was taken on a launch trip around the harbor, visiting the shipyards and cold storage plants. An informal reception in the local theatre also was held.

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Prince Rupert News, Oct 4. 1930

D 4677

Great Reception Given W. L. Mackenzie King at Theatre Meeting Saturday Night

Leader of Liberal Party expounds principles of Liberalism to people of Prince Rupert showing that it stands for progress and democracy as opposed to government for the big interests

PITHY PARAGRAPHS FROM MACKENZIE KING'S SPEECH.

"Unless you send us men committed to see that our program is carried out, our hands are tied."

"Did any of you have a voice in the naming of this new National Liberal and Conservative Party? Or in the making of the policy and platform of this party? Or in choosing the leader? Are you going to be led like sheep and follow a leader you were never asked to choose?"

"The Liberal Party believes in the right of the people to govern themselves. This is the cardinal principle of Liberalism."

"To try to see the best in others and to realize the best in the race, is the work of the Liberal party."

An immense gathering greeted William Lyon Mackenzie King and his colleagues at the Westholme Theatre on Saturday night. The building was packed to the doors and keen interest was taken in the proceedings. The Liberal leader gave an inspiring address following a witty and sparkling speech by Ernest Lapointe. His theme was "Liberalism" and he strongly urged the need of unity of all progressive forces against the forces of reaction or Conservatism. Fred Stork presided.

Prince Rupert, the speaker said, lost a friend in the death of Sir Wilfrid Laurier. Following his accession to power in 1896, his policy had accomplished the opening up of the middle west, and the creation of two new provinces. He had controlled railroad rates by the creation of the Railroad Commission. The National Transcontinental Railway had been completed, to develop the new districts. The Canadian Naval Service had been established. And he had projected the scheme of reciprocity with the United States to gain wider markets and freer trade, by which Western Canada would have gained most. Mr. King traced Sir Wilfrid's policy step by step and what it had accomplished up to the present. This policy was based upon faith in the people of Canada, and had met their needs one after the other. "How wide were these policies," exclaimed Mr. King, "and how Western Canada has suffered by these policies not being carried out!"

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Naval Policy.

Mr. King told of the establishment of the Naval Service. The cruisers Rainbow and Niobe had been purchased for training ships and naval colleges were to be established on both coasts. Just before the election in 1911, tenders for submarines and cruisers were ready but Sir Wilfrid would not award them on the eve of an election, that ignoble use might not be made of such action. The Australian policy was the same as the Canadian, but Australia went on with her program. And when war broke out was ready in the southern Pacific, while Canada was shivering and her coasts protected by a Japanese squadron.

Sir Wilfrid's Vision.

Was the G. T. P. policy a wise one? asked Mr. King. What was Sir Wilfrid's vision when the transcontinental railway was being planned, and his vision of this particular city? "I know," said Mr. King. "It was of ships plying from this very harbor, crossing the Pacific with the products of this country, bringing back other commodities here, making this community one of the greatest marts in the world; of a railway running through a country as fertile as any in the world, with feeders running north and south, tapping the resources of the province, mineral and timber, the great national wealth; a great community with ocean wharves, docks, repair yards, drydocks, round houses, hotels, railway stations and all the sights and signs of a great world metropolis.

"And what have you got today?" went on Mr. King. "A side line and not a main artery! The difference between the Liberal and Conservative parties."

Return Right Men.

Irrespective of the political groups which grow from time to time for specific purposes, there are two great parties in the political world, the one progressive and democratic and the other a party of reaction, looking to the big interests and resenting change. The Liberal party had set out to build up the Dominion of Canada, advocated freer markets, naval defence and had built a national highway with a Pacific terminus. And the Liberal party is anxious to keep up the work and to finish and carry through the plan, interrupted ten years ago. "It is for you to say whether you wish that work to be accomplished or not. We can only do so much. We can go to eastern Canada and ask for the support of the men in the east, but unless you send us men committed to see that the program is carried out, our hands are tied. For the building up of Prince Rupert, there is every reason for your giving us your support. "The first thing we have to do is to carry out the great policies of our dear leader, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and we who have been trained by him, will see to it that his every policy will be completed."

Essential Difference.

Mr. King pointed out the fundamental and essential difference between the two parties. Liberalism meant faith in the people, trusting the people and working for the people. Conservatism meant trusting in the few and in the making of fortunes for certain privileged classes. Just think! said Mr. King, "That is why Prince Rupert is now on a branch railway line." He drew a parallel between the state of affairs in 1896 and the present. Then was the infamous Family Compact. Now we have a small group of men controlling everything, and everyone else is a Bolshevist. But there is one power which is greater than privilege, and that is the power of the votes of men and women at the polls. Mr. King showed how the Liberal party held open convention when the policies of the party were decided upon the broadest democratic lines. But the Conservative party held no convention, and had no democratic platform. Their platform was formulated from within.

Pertinent Questions.

"Did any of you have a voice in the naming of this new National Liberal and Conservative party?" inquired Mr. King. "Or in the making of the policy and platform of this party? Or in choosing their new leader Are you going to be led like sheep and follow a leader you were never asked to choose? Was that leader chosen without someone having a voice in it, or that platform written without someone having framed it? It is up to the people to choose between those who represent the privileged classes and those who represent the masses.

The Liberal party believes in the right of the people to govern themselves. This is the cardinal principle of Liberalism. The Union Government was a war-time administration. The war is over two years but yet this same administration is clinging to office, for the sake of power and patronage. And they say we can't have an election now for the people are all Bolshevists—the people who are working men, farmers and soldiers. This present government is a group of men who will trust no one but themselves. The Liberals say send any man you like but not to represent any one class. Send a woman, but not to represent women only. Send a working man, but not to represent his class only. Let them go as citizens to represent the whole constituency. Send a soldier by all means, but not to fight again only for soldiers. When it comes to large questions like reciprocity, naval defence or the railway policy, the people's representatives should be consulted on the policy before it is carried out, for after all, the government is only the executive of the people.

The G. T. P.

In the matter of the purchase of the railways, this will cost $500,000,000 and you people have got to pay it. Meantime you have got to pay the interest on the sum. Before any big transaction like this takes place, Parliament should be dissolved and you people in Prince Rupert and elsewhere should have the right to say whether it should have been purchased. If the people are going to govern, they should have the right to decide such questions. But not even the members of

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Parliament knew the terms of this agreement when it was brought into the House. We could not alter the terms, although the bond holders and share holders in England had that right. There is the difference between Toryism and Liberalism. Was it not the duty of your representative to say "I want to know what this agreement is, before it is signed, because it affects my people." We in the opposition did so. But the representative of this city voted with the government against having the details made public.

Unity of Purpose.

Mr. King also touched upon the question of the cost of living, economy, reduction in duties, profiteering, labor policy and foreign relations. Concluding, he appealed for the goodwill of the people and their solidarity in the right. To instil confidence between individuals, between those who voted for the Union Government and those who opposed it at the last election, between class and class, between race and race and between French and English speaking Canadians, to try to see the best in others and to realize the best in the race, that was the work of the Liberal party. We must be united. Separate we lose, united we win, united in purpose, class and section, race and creed.

NEED OF UNITY IN THE COUNTRY

Ernest Lapointe, M. P., Says There Are More Things to Unite Than to Divide.

FRENCH CANADIAN'S INTERESTING ADDRESS

Says Members of Government are Bolshevists Because Governing Without a Mandate.

One of the interesting features of the big Saturday night meeting at the Westholme Theatre was the masterly address of Ernest Lapointe, the leader of the French-Canadian section of the Liberal party in Canada. It was full of life, it sparkled with humor and the points were driven home by means of strong contrasts. He announced himself as a plain unadulterated Liberal, not a Liberal Conservative.

Mr. Lapointe explained that the existence of Prince Rupert was the result of the work of the greatest Canadian that ever lived, Sir Wilfrid Laurier. His work, however, had been minimized by the party that followed him in power and now the transcontinental line to this port had become only a branch. It was the policy of the Liberal party to see that Laurier's work was finished.

No Mandate.

The speaker said that when the body was sick, the doctor had no right to be indifferent, and when the body politic became sick the people who were the only ones who could provide the remedy, had no right to be indifferent. The present government was a weak one and was not in harmony with the majority of the people. Its purpose had been achieved, its mandate had expired. It was a breach of faith to use the mandate obtained on a totally different question, namely the winning of the war, in order to carry on now. Hon. Arthur Meighen had appealed to the people to stay with the Union Government until it had achieved its end. The end was now achieved and the people should be asked for a new mandate.

At the time of the last election a circular had been sent out to all the military camps stating that the only question before them was selective conscription. They had never discussed any other problem. In the Yukon the candidate was not nominated until a month after the soldiers had voted for him. "Is it fair and is it just to the soldiers who are called upon to vote in such special circumstances to use the power then given them to deal with matters which have nothing to do with those discussed at that election?" he asked.

Fourteen candidates, the speaker said, were elected by the military vote overseas and of these Col. Peck was one. Mr. Stork was defeated in that way. The speaker said he had nothing against Col. Peck, however, who was a gallant soldier, except that he was keeping bad company at the present time.

Liberal and Conservative.

Speaking of the formation of the new party at Ottawa, the National Liberal and Conservative party, Mr. Lapointe asked was it sincere to choose such a name. A man could not be both Conservative and Liberal. There was as much difference between them as between vice and virtue, beauty and ugliness, cold and heat, the square and the circle. The Liberal Unionist had no more right to the word "Liberal" than the smuggler had to the title "free trader."

Not only was there a new party formed at Ottawa without consulting the electorate, but there was a change of leadership. Borden and Rowell, the two strongest men of the cabinet, had gone out. It was the same party with the same men except that the good ones had gone away. Robert Rogers, whom no one could accuse of being a Liberal, had said the cabinet was "a cabinet of tinkers, jobbers and second-hand dealers." Meighen had become premier and had enunciated a new doctrine, that of "nation builders."

Bolshevists and Fakirs.

At Portage LaPrairie the whole community had turned out to welcome Mr. Meighen after his elevation to his present position and he had spoken smoothly and talked of unity. At a Conservative picnic farther east, however, he had changed his tune and had referred to the Liberals as Fakirs, Bolshevists and I. W. W. In fact if dirt was trumps he would hold a good hand.

In every country, Mr. Lapointe said, the program of reform had been associated with such epithets as Bolshevist. They were not Bolshevists although they believed that a larger number of the people were entitled to a larger

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degree of happiness. He told the story of the bat which was sometimes a bird and sometimes a rodent. When with the birds at Portage Mr. Meighen sang with the birds and said "see my wings.' When at the Conservative picnic, however, he claimed to be one of them and shouted: "Long live the rats!"

As a matter of fact the Liberals were not the Bolshevists. Bolshevists were those despised people who cling to a mandate which does not belong to them any more. The Government, the speaker concluded, had appealed to all the racial and religious prejudices in order to keep office. What the country needed, however, was unity. They may have differences but there were more things to unite them than to divide.

William Duff, M. P.

William Duff, M. P., who is interested in fisheries and is looked on as the marine man of the party, said he was impressed with the possibilities of this part of the country from a fishing point of view. He said it was a pity that in the department of fisheries at Ottawa there was only one practical fishing man. He considered the fisheries should be free for everyone and the license should be no higher than in the lobster and mackerel fisheries of the east. He favored the employment of gas boats, just as they did at other places. In Nova Scotia, every fisherman operated his own gas boat and they should do the same here.

In conclusion Mr. Duff said the Government would fall short of its duty if it did not develop the ports in order to market the products of the farms, the mines, the fisheries and the other industries of the country. The ports both on the Pacific and Atlantic should be developed, and in order to secure that, he advised this community to return a man sympathetic to Mr. King who would be the next premier of Canada.

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6 Oct. 1920 Edmonton

LIBERALS AND PROGRESSIVES

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Notes for Speech
at
EDMONTON, ALBERTA
October 6th, 1920.

Period of Transition

Reactionaries vs. Progressives.

Political education needed.

Aims and Methods of Progressives

A wider freedom, based on popular control.

1. Liberal Party.
2. Farmers Party - United Farmers.
3. Labour Party.

Men and women who feel and think alike meet together,
and by adoption of device of representation,
draw up a platform of principles
choose a leader
give a name to their party.

Aims and Methods of Reactionaries - Tories, by whatever name.

A restricted freedom, based on monopoly control of
privileged groups and interests.

National Liberal and Conservative Party.

Impose a policy, leader, and name from above.

Manoeuvring for 6 months.

Someone connected with interests, not people.

The edict of a secret council.

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Purpose of our visit to the West

1. Acquire first-hand knowledge and information.
2. Acquaint people of Western Canada with the policies, principles, and platform of Liberal Party.

Not for the purpose of opposing any progressive group, but rather for the purpose of emphasizing those great features of public policy which all progressives have in common, and the need of co-operation between progressives in the face of a common enemy which has usurped the control of government in Canada to-day and will maintain control unless division in the ranks of those by whom they are opposed gives way to united action.

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What are the national aims we have in common?

Mention some of them:

I <u>The need of a representative Parliament and a responsible Ministry</u>.

In other words, the control of Parliament by the people, and the control of the Executive by Parliament. (Progressives one; Govt. opposed).

Both lost during the War -

War-Time Elections Act.

Free hand granted Ministry.

Can only be restored by a general election.

Faith in the people vs. fear of the people.

(Government opposed).

II <u>Relief from the burdens of Taxation and reduction in the high cost of living</u>.

(Progressives one; Govt. opposed).

To be obtained by:

(a) Retrenchment and economy in public expenditures. (Govt. opposed)

(b) Downward revision of the tariff in the interests of consumers and producers.

Liberal platform: free implements - agricultural machinery; 50% Br. preference.

(c) Elimination of profiteering. (Govt. opposed)

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III More effective control of railway rates and railway policy by all interested parties.

(Progressives one: Govt. opposed)

Four parties to industry.

Management should be representative of all.

Railway owned in part by G.T. R. shareholders.

Railway controlled by a Board of Management,

composed largely of friends of Administration,

mostly of special interests. S hould be more

representative of

(a) Labour (b) Community.

More in the way of publicity in Parliament.

(Govt. opposed).

A redistribution of the incidence of rates.

IV Transfer of Natural Resources to Provinces

Liberal Platform - Progressives one;

Government opposed.

National Liberal Convention.

Effect with good-will rather than any sense

of injustice of rest of Provinces.

V Labour

Liberal Govt. - Dept. of Labour

Fair Wages policy

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Labour Gazette

Investigation of industrial disputes

Investigation of combines

Minister of Labour in House of Commons

A larger voice in control of industrial policy - in Govt. - in industry.

Not repression - but expression of voice of Labour.

Government - propaganda, Bolshevism.

VI <u>Open discussion vs. secret diplomacy in inter-imperial & international relations</u>

Floor of Parliament vs. Cabinet table.

(Progressive one; Govt. opposed)

Naval commitments.

Representation in U.S.

Publicity (Govt. opposed).

VII <u>British unity to be maintained by conference and co-operation between parts, not by centralization</u>.

National note, rather than the imperial, in political development of British Empire.

VIII <u>New Social Order</u>

(Over all nations is Humanity).

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Human health and human well-being vs. material power.

A wider freedom - fiscal, industrial, commercial, political, social, religious, personal (See Victoria Speech)

Interdependence essential.

Unity of classes, of races, of creeds, of sections - based on good-will to replace ill-will.

We need men of all classes, and sections.

Why western policies not succeeding in Parliament.

Want a Govt. of all classes and parts.

(Lawyers in Unionist Govt.)

Allies - Joffre.

Need a united army. Banner of Liberalism has been standard for centuries.

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Edmonton Journal Oct-7th 1920

D 4688

LIBERAL CHIEF HELD RECEPTION MEMORIAL HALL

Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King Met Local Workers and Sympathizers

Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King was informally at home to visitors in the Memorial hall this morning, and a goodly number of prominent liberal workers and sympathizers took advantage of the opportunity to see their chieftain. Some of the ministers of the Alberta government and other leading members of the party had first called on Mr. King at the Macdonald hotel and discussed with him the political situation and his present cross-Canada tour.

Mr. King and his party were guests at Government house at luncheon, and for the afternoon the main event is a reception at the Memorial hall arranged by the Women's Liberal club. This evening there will be a banquet at the Macdonald, which is ot be attended by the local government ministers who are in the city and a number of the chief liberal workers.

Friday morning Mr. King and party will leave the city for Calgary, stopping en route to give addresses at Camrose and New Norway.

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Edmonton Journal.

D 1989

MR. MACKENZIE KING'S SPEECH.

More than once Mr. Mackenzie King said to his audience last night, "I want to be honest with you." Most people will be prepared to believe him. His instincts are good, but, in the position to which he has been called, he finds it difficult to be honest with the public and at the same time to carry out the appeal which his party has decided to make to the electorate.

He was given a respectful and patient hearing last evening, large crowds having turned out to find out what he had to say. This is what we should hope for and expect on the occasion of the first visit to the city of a man recently called to such a post as the leader of the federal parliamentary opposition.

They heard a speaker of forcefulness, with a good command of English, much fairer and more moderate in his statements than most of the representatives of his party who have addressed Edmonton gatherings. There was, however, only that measure of enthusiasm manifested which we should expect with many strong partizans gathered from all parts of the province to welcome their leader. The evidence of a deep, popular impress ion having been made was altogether lacking.

* * *

This, we venture to say, will accurately describe Mr. King's reception throughout his tour of the three prairie provinces, which began with the Edmonton meetings. The purpose of that tour was made very clear last night. It is to be in the nature of a wooing of the farmers' organizations.

Mr. King strove at great length to show that the "progressive" political forces of the country should not be divided and that there was no essential difference between the organized farmers and the Liberals. At the same time he tried to convince his audience that the Meighen administration was all that was reactionary.

* * *

The record of Sir Robert Borden's government, the work of which is to be carried on by that of which Mr. Meighen is the head, only needs to be detailed to make it plain that it has none of the characteristics that Mr. King ascribed to it.

Is it not rather foolish to talk of it as a body opposed to all change and deaf to the promptings of political progress when from it has come such measures as the inauguration of an income tax, the establishment of woman suffrage, the initiation of a great experiment in government railway ownership, and many others along similar radical lines. One may find fault with some or all of these policies. But it is surely ridiculous to try to make it appear that the government which brought them into effect is representative of crusted Toryism.

* * *

Mr. Meighen has never set his face against well-ordered change. But he has not hesitated to challenge those who propose such policies as will undermine the whole basis of our state system or will bring about such disturbances in our financial and industrial position as will make the task of national recovery following the war much more difficult.

For instance, he would have no hesitation about defending the expenditure of five million dollars on the mounted police, in the new form that that organization has taken, which Mr. King last night denounced as a useless outlay "for repressive purposes." The government believes that with law and order being challenged, as it is today—in our own country, much less than across the line up to the present—it is very essential that it should have such a body in a state of high efficiency at its command.

At the same time, it takes the ground that there cannot be any sweeping reductions in the tariff with the revenue demands of the country what they are. Mr. King has recognized this also in his speeches in Eastern Canada.

But, at that, this administration, which is represented as the sworn ally of the protected interests, levies on dutiable imports at the rate of less than 23 per cent., as compared with an average levy of over 26 per cent. at the end of fifteen years of a Liberal administration, elected on a tariff platform which made a much stronger appeal to low tariff sentiment than did that adopted at last year's convention, which Mr. King quoted with so much gusto last evening. These figures have been given frequently before and cannot be successfully challenged.

* * *

As for Mr. King's claims that his party is, to all intents and purposes, at one with the farmers, these will be answered by the farmers themselves in the course of the present tour.

A little over a month ago, a member of the Canadian Council of Agriculture, Hon. George Langley, of the Saskatchewan government, sent a letter to the press of that province dealing with some statements of Mr. King's very similar to those made by him last night under this head. Mr. Langley's letter had especial significance because, besides being a farmer leader, he was a delegate to the Liberal convention and states that he played a leading part in drawing up the resolution on the tariff on which Mr. King laid such stress last night. How can Mr. King's audiences have any faith in that resolution when, in the course of his letter, Mr. Langley had this to say:

While the triumph of the present government would be a deplorable result, there is another result that would be hardly less deplorable and that is a victory for the Liberal party throughout the Dominion with the possibility of the reinstatement in office of the old official order. From them a real reduction of the tariff would be as little likely as from Mr. Meighen and his associates.

This is a definite enough challenge in advance to Mr. King.

The Premier of Alberta occupied the chair at last night's meeting and his ministers took a leading part in the reception to the federal leader. They are evidently quite willing to get in behind Mr. King's band-wagon. But one wonders what is going to happen when he reaches Saskatchewan and repeats what he said last night on this subject in the presence of Mr. Langley and others who hold the latter's views and have not been backward in expressing them.

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EVENING BULLETIN

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 7, 1920.

Liberal Principles and Leadership.

The audiences that crowded the Methodist and Baptist churches on Wednesday night were evidence of the interest felt by the people of Alberta in the principles and policy of their national government. It is a common saying that these are times of great political uncertainty and unrest. There has been a disruption of old associations, a revision of old ideas, and a projection of new issues. A new political condition exists out of which good or ill may come, as leadership is given in the right or wrong direction.

The occasion of Wednesday night was important. The leader of the great Liberal party and his trusted lieutenants came before the people to make declaration of the principles of Liberalism as understood by them and to state their views and intentions as to the application of these principles to matters of government in Canada. The vast audiences who listened so intently were obviously impressed by the clear and definite statements made on all subjects. Reports of former addresses seemed to indicate that the Liberal leader had not been definite in the statement of his position. No fault could be found with him on that score on Wednesday night.

The two great subjects with which he especially dealt were the right of the people to rule, and the reduction of the burden of living costs. It is singularly appropriate that the grandson of the man who was the means of securing to the Canadian people the rights of self-government should today be the leader whose mission it is to re-establish those rights. It shows how slowly progress is achieved, that at this date and under present circumstances there should be any question as to the power of the people, through parliament to govern themselves. Speaking for the Liberal party and expressing the principles of Liberalism, Mr. King demands a fair franchise and a general election as the first step towards better conditions of government.

To reduce the high cost of living he would reduce governmental extravagance, and thereby reduce taxation. He would reduce the tariff to a revenue basis, and he would cut out the profiteer. He gave details of many millions of expenditure which he had opposed at the last session of parliament; he read the tariff resolution passed by the Liberal convention of 1919, justified its terms by lucid argument and pledged himself to give those terms effect if entrusted with power.

In regard to the tariff as in every other matter touched on, both the Liberal leader and his lieutenants found common ground upon which unity of purpose in building up a prosperous country could be achieved. They protested against the policy of reaction and division expressed by Premier Meighen in his reported speeches, and appealed for unity amongst all progressive elements of the country against such a policy.

Under Liberal leadership and following Liberal principles Canada achieved her greatest measure of progress, strength and prosperity in the period from 1896 to 1911. The problems of 1896 resembled in many ways the problems of today. Judged by the expressions at the meetings of Wednesday night Liberal principles under Liberal leadership offer the solution of Canada's problems of today.

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Edmonton Bulletin - Oct 8 - 1920 (Ld)

D 4691

Unity Of All Progressive Forces In Canada Essential to Secure The Restoration Of a Democratic Gov't

Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King at Farewell Banquet Thursday Night Says Liberalism is Not Out to Combat Any Progressive Action But Desires Co-Operation With Such Movements—Leaders of The East And West Join in Efforts to Save Nation From Autrocratic Rule —Banquet is Memorable Success

If Liberalism which, as some of the speakers recalled, has "stood for a thousand years," needed a stimulating influence in this section of the province, that invigoration was manifested at the banquet tendered in the Macdonald hotel Thursday night in honor of Hon. Mackenzie King and his colleagues of the Liberal party, which was attended by nearly three hundred men and women of the city and district.

In a lengthy program of eloquence that was not brought to a close until nearly 1 o'clock Friday morning, the keynote was the dominating demand of the Liberal leaders of the east and the west for utmost human freedom for the people of Canada. "To me the greatest force in the British empire is not its territory and its might, but its human liberties and its national freedom," declared the Hon. Frank Oliver. "Freedom is the first word of Liberalism, and it is also the last," was the final message of Hon. Mackenzie King, Liberal leader, who gave an inspiring appeal for a greater Canada and a united citizenship.

Premier Stewart was chairman of the evening, the guests of honor being Hon. Mr. King, W. Duff, M.P.; W. C Kennedy, M.P., and Ernest Lapointe M.P. From the provincial cabinet Premier Stewart was supported by Hon. J. R. Boyle, Hon. Duncan Marshall and Hon. A. J. McLean. A large number of the members of the legislature were present at the banquet, and the ladies of Edmonton and district were splendidly represented in the gathering. Mayor Clarke represented the city, while W. H. White, M.P., for Victoria, was also present at the table of honor. In addition to the program of speechmaking several solos were presented with the musical numbers and James Reilly delighted the audience with impersonations of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Hon. A. L. Sifton and R. B. Bennett.

In presenting the guests of the evening Premier Stewart said Alberta was the home of Liberalism and he was proud to welcome the distinguished visitors. While the province had its ups and downs the guiding principle was Liberalism and the cause would be strengthened by the visit of the Liberal leader and his colleagues.

Tribute to Fallen Heroes

After the toast to the guests Premier Stewart in eloquent terms proposed a toast to the fallen heroes of Canada, this being honored with bowed heads. "They fought not alone for home and kin, but for the cause of a wider freedom. A feeling of awe comes over me when I think of the homes bereft and the sacrifices made. When I stood at the foot of Vimy Ridge and looked at the acres of wooden crosses on its slopes I said to myself that as one Canadian I will never forget the sacrifices of Canada's men overseas and the noble deeds of these men," the premier declared with feeling. He remarked that he was glad to hear the Liberal leaders press the gratitude which the party and the nation must ever feel to the men who made the sacrifices in the war.

Mayor Clarke assured the visitors that the city's welcome was in no wise superficial. He personally had obtained many divergent viewpoints from political and industrial exponents recently as Midgely and Taft, Drayton and King, sufficient to cause police interference if all attempted in the same hall. However, he paid a tribute to Hon. Mr. King as offering a remedy for Canada's conditions and hoped to see the Liberal leader in power to carry out these policies. He declared that the men who manipulated the grain market to deprive farmers of two-thirds of their oat crop almost at a stroke were more dastardly than the "ones who blew up Wall Street with a bomb."

Canada and the Empire

Hon. Frank Oliver in proposing the toast "Canada and the Empire" got a rousing reception the audience giving three cheers and a tiger for the veteran leader. To him the fact that the British empire was vast and powerful was not the main reason why he was proud of it, he said. Neither was he proud of Canada alone for its great extent and its potential resources. To him the great element in the empire and its component parts was the human freedom and the personal liberties which that empire afforded. As for Canada the elimination of distances by modern progress was a factor to be considered. It might be possible for Canada to work out her destiny alone, but since the strong dominate the weak Canada must be strong.

If anada could not be sufficiently strong alone in her own strength then she must be strong in others, and in that empire association which has stood for a thousand years was to be found that strength. He offered them the toast to the Empire, "The bulwark of liberty in the world of the past, in the world of today and the world to be."

This toast was responded to by Messrs. Duff, Kennedy and Lapointe. All three dwelt in the warmest terms of the hospitality received in Edmonton. Mr. Duff referred to the great resources of Canada as he was now witnessing them from ocean to ocean for the first time, and remarked that everyone must be proud above all else of his British citizenship.

W. C. Kennedy was struck with the enterprise of the west, and more particularly impressed with the political part taken by the women of the province, and of the women in Edmonton in the Liberal cause, as manifested by the day's proceedings here. He referred to the condition of the G. T. P. system and declared that it must be the duty of leaders at Ottawa to remedy the train service and "put the G. T. P. on the main line."

Two Leaderships

Contrasts in the duties of leadership of Conservatives and Liberal parties were made by Hon. J. R. Boyle, who observed that the Conservative leader had a comparatively easy task due to the unbroken policy of centering around the vested interests, and the support of stand-patters and "sit-tighters." On the other hand the leader of the Liberal party had a difficult task because the party

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was composed of progressive forces, of necessity somewhat divided into groups according to the ideas of progression and the adjustments needed to keep abreast of the times. Liberals take citizenship seriously and therefore create many schools of thought. It is therefore difficult for a leader to unify these views and keep the forces intact." By including a large portion of the wealthy citizens of the country who might be led into the belief that they owned the country, disloyalty in their opinion. It took any opposition resolved itself into citizens of sound political convictions to stand against charges of disloyalty. Mr. Boyle referred to the choice of Hon. Mr. King as the Liberal chief, this choice being made by representatives of all parts of the nation. They decided that in Mr. King was a leader of ability, sound judgment and devotion to country who would lead the party to victory.

Must Unite for Progress

Replying to the toast to the Liberal party and the Liberal leader," Hon. Mr. King gave his heartiest thanks to the Liberals and citizens generally of the city and province. He said that Liberalism which had been developed in the old world and maintained by great leaders of unquestioned courage would again assert itself in Canada and become a vital force in affairs. His mission in the west was mainly to speak to progressive groups such as farmers and labor for to them Liberalism had no antagonism. There must be unity in action to oust the autocracy in Ottawa, the common enemy. Liberals were not out to fight everybody but would choose their enemy and that only the force which stood in the way of human freedom and the forces of progress. "When the time comes I believe we will have a strong progressive army sweeping from the Atlantic to the Pacific which will again restore democratic government in Canada."

"We have seen in the west the good results of the Liberal policy in the past and also how much the west has suffered by the defeat of some of their other policies." Mr. King referred to the lowering of the tariff under Laurier and the golden era which followed. Immigration, railway construction, naval defense and reciprocity were the great policies of the Liberals while in power. "If anything should cause the farmers of the west to fall in line with Liberalism it is the record of the Liberal party for the last quarter of a century," Mr. King declared amidst cheers.

"We must see that the western provinces get their resources, too," the Liberal leader said to further applause. "Union government must be ousted from power and the rule of the people restored." He referred to the fact that the majority of the ministers of the war-time union government were out of the cabinet, even the then premier Sir Robert Borden, deserting his post. "I believe that we are at the beginning of a new regime in Canada when Liberalism and the restoration of a democratic administration shall prevail.

Faith in Human Nature

Touching on the higher aspects of politics and national ideals, Mr. King recalled the sentiments of Sir Wilfrid Laurier shortly before his death. Mr. King had asked him if the events of the past years inclined the great chieftain to cynical views on human nature. The answer came quick as a flash—"My whole experience has shown me that there is a nobility in human nature greater than any of us can conceive."

"The people who mistrust the masses cannot be a part of the Liberal party, Mr. King said. "The soul of Liberalism in a nutshell is that it is based on a faith in human nature. He saw in the restoration of the parliament buildings at Ottawa a symbol of Canadian nationhood. Life had been shaken by the war but out of the losses and destruction he foresaw a nobler and a finer structure which would be created by the pride in national character and the help which the women of Canada would give in the work.

Mr. Lapointe spoke briefly in advocating national unity and national strength. "I am proud of my French ancestry but I am infinitely more proud of being a Canadian. Loyalty must not be bounded by any territorial jurisdiction. The greatest tribute to Sir Wilfrid Laurier is that he tried to weld Canada into a united and contented whole. Mr. Lapointe scored the "independents" in political action. "I believe in political parties," he declared, "the system made Britain what it is today. When the physical body is sick the physician cannot say he is indifferent. When the social and political body is sick with a bad government no one had the right to be independent."

Hon. Duncan Marshall

The last toast of the evening was to the Ladies and was proposed by Hon. Duncan Marshall, who dealt at some length with the tariff issue and the necessity for a reduction of the duties. He also spoke of the betterment of political life as a result of the enfranchisement of women.

Mrs. R. H. Knight and Mrs. W. H. Ross replied briefly in acknowledging the honor

LAPOINTE GETS FINE WELCOME AT MORINVILLE

Gifted French-Canadian Holds Audience of Northern Town Spell Bound

Over 500 people turned out to the Parish Hall at Morinville on Thursday to listen to the message which the gifted member for East Quebec was entrusted to deliver to the citizens of the northern town.

While using both languages, Mr. Lapointe made a very strong plea for the Liberal principles, the theme of his speech being based on "unity" asking the people of the west to unite with those of the east for the advancement and welfare of the Canadian nation at large.

During the delivery of his address, the hall resounded with ovation succeeding ovation, and from every viewpoint the meeting at Morinville was a huge success, while it was very evident the striking personality of the speaker made more than a passing impression on the minds of the people.

The meeting was presided over by Mr. Omer St. Germain, who presented the orator to the public in a very graceful and able manner. With the conclusion of Mr. Lapointe's speech Lucien Boudreau M.L.A., for St. Albert constituency addressed the meeting in a telling speech, assuring his hearers that there was no doubt as to the manner in which the electors of his constituency would vote at the coming election, and that in so far as St. Albert was concerned it was a foregone conclusion that the Liberal party would be supported in the same whole-hearted manner as heretofore.

A pleasing ceremony was the presentation of a magnificient bouquet to Mr. Lapointe from the citizens of Morinville and the sourrounding districts.

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Edmonton Bulletin Oct 8 - 1920 (Comp)

D 4693

CRITICISM OF UNION GOVT. FOR WARTIME EXPENDITURE KEYNOTE OF KING SPEECH

Liberal Leader at Local Meeting Urges Necessity of General Election; Defines Issue Between His Party and Government as Democracy Vs. Absolution

Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, the Liberal leader, made his first public appearance in that capacity in Alberta at a crowded meeting of 2000 people in McDougall church last night, with an overflow meeting in First Baptist church, and the message he brought was to the effect that there would have to be a general election before Canada could have the right kind of government. He defined the issue between his party and the present government as a difference between democracy and absolutism.

Ernest Lapointe, member for East Quebec and one of his leader's first lieutenants, also spoke at both meetings, the burden of his remarks being that the Meighen government was an usurper, had no mandate from the people, and was quite unscrupulous. Canada had been divided, for mean political ends, he said, by the Unionist-Nationalist party, and it remained for liberalism to re-unite it.

Asks Liberals to Unite

A rousing reception was given Mr. King, who was introduced by Premier Stewart, the chairman of the evening, as a welcome visitor irrespective of political leanings and affiliations. The Liberal leader expressed his desire to speak of the political situation in Canada fairly and impartially, and the way he did it was to expose what he considered the essential differences between the Nationalist and Liberal parties and the mistakes and extravagances that he thought the government had made.

An appeal to Liberals to get together and so to unite forces that were now scattered, and that the government knew were scattered, was made by both speakers. In this, as they saw it, lay the only hope for the future, and the only means in sight for securing responsible and representative government.

By Democratic Methods

The Liberal party had determined its policy, said Mr. King, by democratic methods in a national convention in Ottawa, and had also chosen its leader in that same democratic way. Democracy was the spirit of the Farmers' and Labor parties, too, both of which called conventions for fixing upon their political programs. But the government now in power held that power, in contract with those other parties, by autocracy rather than democracy.

Mr. King asked if anyone present had had anything to do with the organization of the National Liberal and Conservative party or with the selection of Mr. Meighen as prime minister. Answering his own question he said that the people had not been consulted, but that only persons of privilege had been consulted, and he also claimed that Sir Robert Borden had stayed on merely to give an opportunity for the party to be kept together. The will of the people had been ignored.

Representative Parliament

The pressing need of the present [illegible] the Liberal leader saw it, was a representative parliament and responsible government. The Meighen government, he held, was an usurper and a product of the wartime elections act. Orders-in-council had been substituted for legislative enactment.

Mr. King was prepared to admit that the great body of people who had voted for the union government had been sincere, but now they saw its leaders seeking office and the rewards of power rather than the real good of the country. There was now no really responsible parliament in Canada, he declared, and there never would be till another general election was held.

Taxes and Living Costs.

Taxation and the high cost of living were dealt with by Mr. King as further cases of the government's misdoing. People were now in many instances not properly clad or housed, and living costs were becoming a burden. The situation could be met, the speaker thought, in three ways, none of which had been adequately tried by the government.

Rigid entrenchment and economy in public expenditures, a downward revision of the tariff on necessities, including free trade in some commodities, and the elimination of profiteering were the three remedies that Mr. King suggested.

With the national debt increased from 340 millions in 1911 to over two billions in 1920, and the annual interest charges increased from twelve millions to 140 millions, there was urgent need of retrenchment, declared the speaker.

Told Speaker About War.

A voice from the audience asked Mr. King if there hadn't been a war during the interval between 1911 and 1920, and Mr. King said there had been, but that the war was not responsible for all the new debt that the government's wilful extravagance had been going on since the war had stopped.

As instances of this alleged extravagance, the Liberal leader referred to the two sessions of parliament last year, the second of which, he claimed, had been quite unnecessary and called only to hold the party together. It had cost the country $1,500,000. There was not a single department of the government, claimed Mr. King, in which the expenditures had not increased.

In particular, the expenditures in the militia and navy departments were criticized. In addition to the 173,000,000 that must be raised this year for soldier settlement, reestablishment, pensions and demobilization, appropriations had been made of $12,000,000 for the militia, $5,000,000 for the mounted police, $2,000,000 for the navy, $1,000,000 for the air service, and other items making a grand total of $22,588,928 for police and military measures.

Policy Towards Veterans.

Some of this military expenditure, Mr. King characterized as useless, and he believed that if the government had cut down on it there would have been enough saved to have paid the soldiers their $2,000 gratuity.

Mr. King took the opportunity at this point to speak of what the Liberal policy toward the veterans of the war would be if his party were in power. He said he could not name any specific amount or make any definite promise other than that the Liberals would recognize to the very last day their responsibility to the soldiers and soldiers' dependents.

Rigid Economy Promised.

The Liberals were committed to a policy of rigid economy, Mr. King went on to say. Their tariff reform program did not mean free trade altogether or protection altogether, but was based on the theory that tariff must be one of the means of raising revenue. There would have also to be a tax on business profits sufficient to stop profiteering and a tax on luxuries. Fiscal reform must be in the interests of both consumers and producers.

On its tariff policy, declared the leader, the Liberal party would stand or fall. This had been decided by the Ottawa convention and included free customs on wheat, flour, farming implements, mining and lumbering machinery, fertilizers, and other essential instruments of production, with a down-

LIBERAL LEADER



Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, who addressed big crowds last night and who will meet his followers at Memorial hall today.

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ward revision in regard to clothing and a fifty per cent preference to Great Britain. Only increased production would solve the problem today, and the tariff must help to this end, with recognition first and especially of agriculture as the basis industry.

Natural Resources Question

Mr. King also took up the question of railway rates and the ownership of natural resources. He claimed that the present system of government ownership of railways was really autocratic control and that the roads were being administered by a group of men as they saw fit. It was true that in twenty years the people were to have the right to purchase the Grand Trunk but in the meantime they were paying an even higher interest rate than before. It was essential that the people be given a larger voice in the control of the railways and the suggestion that Mr. King had to offer was that there should be two directors on the board appointed by the workingmen.

As to the natural resources, Mr. King declared himself in favor of giving the three western provinces the ownership and control of their own wealth on a basis that would be fair to the rest of Canada, but he deprecated the "secret diplomacy" that had been resorted to in the matter thus far.

Liberalism, claimed the leader of the party in closing, stood for a larger freedom, and if were given the opportunity to apply its principles to the situation in Canada it would prove to be for the good of humanity.

Mr. Lapointe's Address.

That the Meighen government had no mandate from the people was the charge reiterated by Mr. Lapointe in his addresses to both audiences. It was usurping a mandate, he claimed, that did not belong to it and was holding on to power through a breach of faith. It had no right to try to settle the tariff or any other question for which no mandate had been given by the people, and to use the soldiers' mandate, given for a special purpose, was entirely unfair.

Mr. Lapointe thought that Mr. Meighen was not sincere. He was in every sense an extremist, declared the speaker, and in endeavoring to clothe himself in a new suit, he had adopted one that did not cover his political anatomy.

The National Liberal and Conservative party, Mr. Lapointe continued, was an ill-timed attempt to make an alliance that would save the party, but the tory party would go down to defeat, he prophesied, despite its marriages and despite the further attempt that Mr. Meighen was now making to flirt with Quebec.

The Tory Dilemma.

The old tory game of gaining and keeping power was still being played, charged Mr. Lapointe. Flames of prejudice were being fanned, province was being divided against province and race against race, and now there was an effort to divide the east against the west.

The dilemma of the conservative party was this, as the member for East Quebec saw it, that when the people are quiet they don't need reform and when they are turbulent it is dangerous to give it to them. Co-operation was what was needed now, he believed, and national solidarity.

Plain Grit Style Needed.

"I am a plain unadulterated liberal," declared Mr. Lapointe, "without affix or suffix," and the implication of his entire address was that it was liberalism of that type that Canada needed for its political salvation. Liberalism was not dead in Canada, he said, but was immortal with the immortality of truth, and unity under a common leadership for the progress of mankind was the party's present aim and desire. Absolutism, autocracy and unscrupulous methods must go.

Hon. J. R. Boyle was chairman of the meeting in First Baptist church, which was addressed also by W. Duff, of Lunenburg, N.S., and W. C. Kennedy of North Essex, Ont.

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Edmonton Bulletin Oct-11th 1920

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Ladies Present Hon. Mr. King With a Gold Tie Pin Made From Gold Out of Saskatchewan River

Happy Presentation One of Features of Women's Reception to Federal Liberal Leader at Memorial Hall—Historic Days of 1837-8 Recalled Through Chair Standing on Platform That Had Once Belonged to Leader's Grandfather, William Lyon Mackenzie

Undoubtedly one of the largest and most enthusiastic and representative gatherings ever assembled in years in Edmonton was that at the Memorial Hall on Thursday afternoon to do honor to Hon, W. L. MacKenzie King, federal Liberal leader of Canada. Before four o'clock a very large number of ladies had arrived at the hall, and a more democratic, congenial gathering could hardly be collected under one roof. The receiving party stood at the main entrance and welcomed the women as they arrived, Mr. King, Mr. Lapointe, M.P., Mr. Duff, M.P., and Mr. W. C. Kennedy arriving a little later

Pleasing orchestra selections filled in the time before the ladies took their places at the tea table, Mrs. Charles Stewart, Mrs. J. R. Boyle, Miss Christine Smith, Mrs. Colin McPherson, Mrs. P. E. Lessard, (St. Paul de Metis); Mrs. J. J. Gaetz, (Red Deer), Mrs. Turgeon, (Ribstone); Mrs. Wm Rae, (Peace River); Mrs. A. S. Shandro); Mrs. Hugh Montgomery, (Wetaskiwin); Mrs. Alex. May, Mrs. W. T. Henry, Mrs. Fred Duncan, Mrs. Gordon MacDonald, (Pembina), and Mrs. Drennan were the ladies who poured during the afternoon.

Some of those assisting were Mrs. J. J. Anderson, Mrs. J. Hislop, Mrs. E. L. Hill, Mrs. Roy Stovel Cook Mrs. D S McRae, Mrs T. P. Ma one, Mrs. E. B. Cogswell, Miss Jean Boyle, Mrs L. A. Giroux, Mrs D. R. Fraser, Mrs. F J Heffernan, Mrs. W. J. Kelly, Mrs. John Howey, Mrs. Poirier, Miss Blanche Gariepy, Mrs. Walter Angus, Mrs. Desilets, Mrs. W. T. Henry, Mrs. A. R. McClellan, Mrs. J. C. McTavish, Mrs. George Kitchen, Mrs. L. Madore, Mrs James Bradley, Mrs Will J. Ross, Mrs. Fred V. Holland, Mrs. John Cameron, Mrs. W. F. H. Brown, Miss Mildred Harvette, Mrs. D. H. MacKinnon, Madame de B. Thibaudaux, Mrs. C. A. Hook, Mrs. Wilfred Haywood, Mrs. J. J. Duggan, Mrs. W. J. Ross, Mrs. Chester Gainer, Mrs. Angus Scott, the Misses McNamara, Mrs. J. P. Gerrie, Mrs Oliver Motherwell, Miss Grace Ritchie, Mrs. A. T. Kinnaird, Mrs. Loughlin. Mrs. A. D. Grant, Mrs Prust, Mrs. D. M. Duggan, with others

Chair Recalls Memories

Hon. Mr. King in response to a request for a speech, spoke of the early days in Canada of his grandparents and the vicissitudes of the times when one of his grandfathers, William Lyon Mackenzie, was forced to make sacrifices to maintain what he deemed to be right, and as a memento of those early times a chair was standing on the platform, which at one time belonged to Mr. Mackenzie, and which is now the property of Mr Clark of this city. Mr. King said the old chair brought back reminiscences of other days and the stories he had heard his mother tell of the strenuous times in 1837-8 in Canada. And lest any unreconcilable tory in the audience might feel injured at these reminiscences, he wished to remind them that all men had two grandfathers, and his paternal grandfather was an officer in the British army doing his best to hang his mother's father while that grandfather was struggling to maintain opinions regarding liberty, etc., and in consequence was looked upon as a rebel.

Mr. King assured the ladies of Edmonton that the whole-hearted welcome extended to him here was indeed a great pleasure and thanked the ladies on behalf of himself and colleagues for the hearty welcome and kindly spirit manifested.

Receives Gold Tie Pin

Before leaving the platform Mr. King was presented by Mrs. J. A. Hislop, on behalf of the women of Edmonton, with a tie pin made from gold out of the Saskatchewan river, as a souvenir of his visit here. For a moment Mr. King seemed rather bewildered at the token, but thanked the ladies sincerely, and stated he guessed he would now have to get a wife to show him how to wear it.

On behalf of the Liberal organizations of the city, Hon. Frank Oliver thanked Mrs. D. W. MacDonald and the ladies assisting for the magnificent welcome they had extended to the distinguished visitors and the kindly spirit of all parties in coming together on that occasion.

The first address on the afternoon program was made by Mr. Lapointe, who was scheduled to speak in Morinville Thursday evening, and therefore had but a short time to be at the reception. He spoke in both French and English and his remarks were greatly appreciated. Mr. Lapointe's stay was all too short for him to meet many of the ladies who were charmed with his address of Wednesday evening.

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E Edmonton Bulletin
Oct" 7 20

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Tariff Resolution Platform Of Canadian Liberal Party

That the best interest of Canada demand that substantial reductions of the burdens 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, flour, and all products of wheat; the principle articles of food; farm implements and machinery; farm tractors; mining, flour and saw-mill machinery and repair parts thereof; rough and partly-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 material entering into the same.

That a revision downwards of the tariff should be made whereby substantial reductions should be effected in the duties on wearing apparel and footwear, and on other articles of general consumption (other than luxuries), as well as on the raw material entering into the manufacture of the same.

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

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

This resolution, adopted by the National Liberal convention, was read by Hon. MacKenzie King in dealing with the tariff question Wednesday night. It was omitted in the verbatim report which appears on another page.

(Not with clippings.)

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8 Oct. 1920

D 4697
Camrose, Alta.

LIBERALS AND PROGRESSIVES;
GOVERNMENT EXTRAVAGANCE

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BOARD OF TRADE BANQUET TENEDRED HON. W. L. M. KING

Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King and party were welcomed by a large crowd of citizens on Friday morning when they arrived in Camrose. The Camrose Citizens' Band struck up some lively airs as the Edmonton train pulled in, to which was attached the private car bearing the Liberal leader and his party on their tour of the west. After greetings were extended, seven motor cars conveyed the party through the district. The bountiful crops of this district were viewed to good advantage on the drive which led the party across the picturesque Battle river valley, past the big bridge and via Duhamel to New Norway and return by Breland Crossing. A short stop was made at New Norway where an informal welcome was extended by the board of trade. An interesting incident occurred here when a citizen of New Norway came forward to greet the Liberal leader as a coming premier of Canada, and said to him, "I am pleased to greet you and hope again to have the pleasure of meeting you when you become premier of Canada." After this pleasant drive the Camrose Board of Trade tendered the visitors on behalf of the town a luncheon at 1:30 p.m. at the Shasta Cafe.

The party included Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, Messrs. W. Duff and W. C. Kennedy, W. H. White and Hon. J. R. Boyle, also Mr. Hayden, Dominon secretary Liberal party, Mr. LaGrue, secretary to Mr. King, and formerly secretary to Sir Wilfred Laurier.

Splendid Banquet.

Sixty sat down to the bountiful banquet. Besides Hon. Mr. King and his party, there were the business and professional men of the town, a few of the leading farmers of the district and some men from Victoria constituency, including Mayor Chas. Gordon and Mr. W. Clemnts of Vegreville.

During the luncheon, which was a jolly affair, piano music was kindly supplied by Mrs. T. H. Young. Mr. Younge also favored with some vocal music.

Address of Welcome.

As representative of the Board of Trade, Mr. Layton gave a word of welcome to the guests. To Hon. Mr. King, he said: "Since this is the occasion of your first visit since your appointment as leader of the great Liberal party and as one upon whom has fallen the mantle of that great statesman, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, we are doubly pleased to extend you welcome. With your knowledge of Eastern Canada, upon seeing the vast fertile plains of the west you must surely have been impressed with the great future of the west and we trust that you will do your duty in public life to place Canada in a high place among the nations of the world.

Stand for Unity.

"While this is a western community, you have represnted here Nova Scotia, Quebec, Ontario and other provinces in the professional and business life of the town which is one reason why we stand for a united Canada, not one with an east and a west, but one great dominion from Halifax to Vancouver and from the boundary line along the south to the Arctic ocean."

Referring to the drive Mr. Layton said there was no time to show the visitors the whole district, neither was there time to describe fully its merits but in a few well chosen words the speaker gave them some facts about the district's coal mines, eight radiating railways, good educational institutions, fertile farm lands, not forgetting the sunflowers that seem to smile upon the dairymen.

Honor Where Due.

"Camrose is at the geographical centre of the province and we people have been accused in the past of being boosters," he continued, "but we believe we have here the best district under the sun which will contiue to grow until thickly populated with industrious and contented people. If time permitted us to tell you why, you would surely agree with us.

"People here live in harmony and there is a greater community spirit than in any other town. Personal merit is respected here and people are happy to accord honor where honor is due. The larger cities may furnish larger crowds and entertainments but in no place will you find a welcome more sincere than the welcome which I now tender you on behalf of the people of this community."

Object of Trip.

In response Hon. Mr. King referred to the eloquent and informative address and too generous words of Mr. Layton and expressed the appreciation of himself and party for the opportunity of meeting the people of this community under such auspices. "We had two objects in view in making the trip, one to place the views of the iLberals before the people and the other to become acquaintd with the needs as well as the opportunities of the west. Mr. Layton has given us in a few words the significance of this part of Alberta which he claims to be the best district under the sun. Certainly during our trip in no other district have we been where the sun shone so brightly as here.

"There is a saying that among strong men and honest men familiarity breeds confidence and we want to get to know the people. I am glad to note a more generous attitude toward public men."

Mr. King spoke of the wrong impression given by the use of the word "opposition" when referring to one of our political parties, and contrasted the custom with that which choose the words majority and minority party.

"People in this province represent all provinces and all countries, I might say. The greatest thing Canada can aim at is a greater sense of unity. We will return to Eastern Canada with a greater sense of the solidarity of the people of Canada."

Reception at Normal

At four o'clock Mr. King and party visited the Normal school where several short speeches were given to the students assembled. Mr. King spoke of the mind as an instrument that needed to be used and trained, also of the opportunity before the teachers to inculcate in the minds of the rising generation the importance of duty in the large and small affairs of life. Hon. J. R. Boyle and Mr. Duff also made a few remarks after which a reception was held and the ladies present had the opportunity of meeting Hon. Mr. King. It was intended to have a luncheon at six but the plans were of necessity changed and this the ladies held after the evening meeting. It too was a delightful affair.

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Camrose Guardian Oct. 14, 1920.

D 4893

TWO LARGE AUDIENCES HEAR LIBERAL LEADER IN CAMROSE

Long before the opening hour over six hundred people crowded the Bailey theatre on Friday evening to hear the leader of the opposition in the House of Commons at Ottawa. Even standing room was at a premium. An overflow meeting was held in the Methodist church and it was well filled. Besides Hon. Mr. King, Messrs. N. C. Kennedy, W. Duff and Hon. J. R. Boyle were also speakers there.

The chairman of that meeting was Rev. Mr. Gordon.

At the theatre Hr. W. H. White, M.P. for Victoria constituency, was the first speaker. He was followed by Mr. Ernest Lapointe, M.P. from Quebec. holding the former seat of Sir Wilfred Laurier. Dr. P. F. Smith of Camrose made an able chairman appropriately introducing the various speakers.

"I am glad to be in the district of Victoria represented by my good friend, Mr. White," declared Mr. King. "When he wired me to insist that Camrose be included in our tour, I was glad to meet the wishes of the one and only loyal supporter from Alberta at Ottawa."

"Living in a period of transition, and following the great war it is not surprising to find that faith in many institutions was shaken. Is it any wonder that many people are wondering if political systems are any good?

Two Great Forces.

"But soon things will clear," continued Mr. King, "and we will have a new protective. There are two great forces in a country politically, and, in Canada, since 1911 there has been very little discussion of our needs.

"Notwithstanding that we boast that we should have no taxation without representation today there is a vast electorate taxed directly or indirectly without recent use of franchise, for example, in the next election women will vote for the first time generally.

Period of Transition.

"Eeveryone must decide which way they will vote and decide the destiny of our country. There are two classes, those who are opposed to change and advance, also those who favor progress. There you have Liberals and on the other hand, I will not say Conservatives but reactionary tories. No matter by what names you call them you always have these two parties. At the present time you may find various progressive groups out fighting under different names."

Great Convention.

Referring to the great convention of 3000 delegates, which represented all sections of the people, discussed all problems and drew up the platform of the Liberal party, the speaker said it expressed the desires and needs of all Canada for it represented all factions and shads of opinions.

"I believe the farmers are sincere," said Mr. King, "when they declare their platform is in the interests of the people as a whole, but the very moment it is branded as a farmers' party there are those who say it is a class movement and suspect it is selfish, just as farmers here would suspect the aims of a manufacturers' group that might be formed under any other name. But a national party is broad enough to embrace all shades of opinons and properly represent all classes."

A Contrast.

The Conservative party choose a leader by secret ballot— good men may have been passed over.

The Liberal party choose the leader by popular vote of convention.

The Liberal party has a great record.

We are proud of the history of the Liberal party—no need to change its name, it is true to the fundamental principle of freedom of the people to choose a platform and a leader.

The farmers party drew delegates from the various farm organiations and in the open they drew up their platform.

So did the Labor party organize but both these parties represented only class groups and are not national clas s groups and are not national movements although they did organize in the open as did the Liberal party.

Now on the other hand consider how the National Liberal Conservative party was organized. It was done in secret and behind it is an influence at work strong enough to keep the government in power and defy the people of their rights in parliament of responsible ministers. The forces behind it include many railways, banks and manufacturing interests. They are united but the progressive forces are not united and will lose in the next election unless they get together.

Class Movements.

"These interests have in secret done much to foster the division of the progressive forces.

"The present parliament is not representative of all classes," declared Mr. King, "and it is no wonder we have all manner of class movements. We need a parliament with farmers, working men and all classes represented.

"We need a general election to restore the rule of the people, and if the members from the west lined up with the Liberal opposition the same as Mr. W. H. White of Victoria, the government could be forced to go to the country at once."

Hitting H.C.L.

"We admit the question of the cost oof living cannot be easily changed by any party but we ought to do a great deal in our own country to reduce the cost of living. First reduce taxation by cutting down the cost of government, by a general downward revision of the tariff, by reducing the duty on instruments of production the cost of living could be reduced. We believe in the removal of duty on farm implements. The government was negligent in not taxing war industries. Even today many factories, according to the reports of the Commerce Board are making not seventy, but 170% profits. This profiteering should be stopped."

Huge Expenditure.

The Liberal leader flayed the government for extravagance in every department and to such extent that the waste was criminal in view of the enormous financial burden of the nation. He showed that the federal authorities were determined to create a military organization in Canada of magnitude beyond the extent of the country and out of all proportion to the dangers of war that might exist in the near future. On top of the vast expenditures for various branches of military work nearly one million dollars was voted against the vehement protests of the Liberals to manufacture small arms ammunition, when the government already possessed from thirty to thirty-five million rounds of such ammunition. Then there were 194 barracks and drill halls in Canada as against 45 experimental farms, and the minister of militia was only prevented from spending two million dollars more in such structures this year by the determined opposition of the Liberals.

Hon. Mr. King repeated his stand on the tariff issue, on the restoration of the resources to the western provinces, and outlined the remedial measures which the Liberal policy would bring into effect at the national capital.

Protection

"The farmers are not for free trade but for freer trade."

You can not jump from indirect to direct taxation in one session of parliament. That would but lead to reaction and worse conditions than now exist.

We could cut the cost of govern

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ment in half if given a fair support. Wecould cut down the tariff and replace it partly by other revenue taxes.

The "protection" we believe in is not the protection of the interests but that of the people who have too long been burdened by a high tariff. (Applause).

Railway Problem.

"Speaking of railway rates," continued Mr. King, "people who favor public ownership of railways argue by owning them you avoid paying interest to corporations and you control such systems. What is the real situation? We are not saving anything from private capital for the government has promised to pay the bond holders a higher rate of interest than they could have expected had they remained in their own hands. All they have done towards ownership of it is defer the problem for twenty years when the people may have the opportunity of buying it at a figure about five hundred millions. Through increased rates you are now paying for the privilege.

Community Rights.

The community have a right to have their rights guarded and get their return in the shape of real control over railway rates and effect reductions. The Liberals started the Railway Commission but we need something stronger today.

Speaking of the larger things we oppose secret diplomacy. Publicity is a cure for many evils that penalty will not touch and the people will find a solution if given a chance.

The Call

Liberalism as I understand it stands for freedom, liberty and representation for the masses. The people must now decide if they will make life more desirable for the masses, which iswhat we are going to try to bring about. Hatred between race and race and class and class must not be perpetuated."

I invite you to join this great army that we are trying to build up the forces that stand for truth, right, justice and a greater freedom for the citizens of Canada.

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Edmonton Bulletin, Oct. 9, 1920.

D 4701

Hon. W.L. Mackenzie King States Liberal Platform is Broad Enough To Incorporate all Progressives

Federal Liberal Leader Accorded Remarkable Reception By Citizens of All Shades of Political Belief at Camrose—States Position of Party Clearly Toward Progressive Action of The United Farmers And Organized Labor—Charges Reactionary Forces With Having Much to Do With Formation And Encouragement of Group Movements in Order to Keep in Power

CAMROSE Oct. 8.—A clear and definite declaration on the tariff policy of the Liberal party in Canada, a policy the same as drafted by the national convention of Liberals, expressed the same in Toronto and the east as in Camrose and the west, and the same by which the Liberal party was prepared to stand or fall, was delivered to the electors of Camrose, several hundred strong, in two large meeting in the town Friday night by Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, and other members of the Liberal party who addressed these splendid gatherings. The Liberal leader who was accorded a remarkable reception by citizens of all political beliefs, dwelt in unmistakeable manner on terms of the attitude of the Liberal party toward the progressive action of united farmers and organized labor.

"We are not here to offer antagonism to any of these progressive forces," declared Mr. King, "as we are charged with being by our common political enemy. We are in the west to confer and reason with these groups as forces which hold similar beliefs and have similar objects and which we can only realize by common action and national unity in the warfare which must be waged against the government of absolutism and autocracy at Ottawa."

Incorporate All Progressives.

Showing that purely group organization and action, however, commendable, and well based the principles of such action might be, could not reasonably hope to succeed since group effort at group advancement inevitably aroused group antagonism in other sections, Hon. Mr. King declared that the Liberal platform was broad enough and progressive enough to incorporate all Progressive forces, of any class and conviction. The union thus effected being undoubtedly strong enough to sweep aside all opposition of reactionary nature and accomplish the results mutually sought by the means of democratic government. The reactionary group was more powerful than ordinarily thought by reason mainly of its solidarity and so long as progressives were divided amongst themselves the present government at Ottawa had no fear of its security.

"And I want to tell the people of this great west that these same reactionary forces have had much to do with the formation and encouragement of these group movements in the country with the sole object of keeping from national solidarity the forces of progress. Let us have the parliament of our country more farmers, Labor members and general representatives of the community, and fewer lawyers, and we shall get what reforms we desire. Lawyers are necessary but do you know that nearly all the members of the cabinet comprising the first Union government were lawyers. It was in reality a union of lawyers rather than government," Mr. King declared amid hearty applause.

"We need a general election to restore the rule of the people, and if the members from the west lined up with the Liberal opposition the same as of Mr. W. H. White of Victoria, the government could be forced to go to the country at once."

The Liberal leader flayed the government for extravagance in every department and to such extent that the waste was criminal in view of the enormous financial burden of the nation. He showed that the federal authorities were determined to create a military organization in Canada of magnitude beyond the extent of the country and out of all proportion to the dangers of war that might exist in the near future. On top of the vast expenditures for various branches of military work nearly one million dollars was voted against the vehement protests of the Liberals to manufacture small arms ammunition, when the government already possessed from thirty to tairty-five million rounds of such ammunition. Then there were 194 barracks and drill halls in Canada as against 45 experimental farms, and the minister of militia was only prevented from spending two million dollars more in such structures this year by the determined opposition of the Liberals.

Hon. Mr. King repeated his stand on the tariff issue, on the restoration of the resources to the western provinces, and outlined the remedial measures which the Liberal policy would bring into effect at the national capital.

People Out in Hundreds.

Camrose turned out in hundreds to hear the Liberal speakers. The main meeting in the Bailey theatre proved so large that an overflow meeting was held in the Methodist church which was also filled by men and women of the town and district. Hon. Mr. King was supported in his appeal to the electors by Messrs. W. Duff and W. C. Kennedy, W. H. White and Hon. J. R. Boyle, the two large audiences being addressed simultaneously. Following the meetings a reception and refreshments were provided by the ladies of the town and district. Prominent among the board of trade members and the town committee on the reception program during the day were Mayor Forster, F. L. Farley, D. Twomey, Dr. Northy, Dr. Murray, Dr. Smith, Watson Young, C. Lowery, Rev. R. Gordon, Mr. Macdonald, F. P. Layton, L. E. Martin, Ex-Mayor O. B. Olson and Adair Young.

D. P. F. Smith, presiding over the main meeting in the Bailey theatre, first introduced W. H. White, of Victoria as "the only Alberta Liberal candidate returned to Ottawa in the last election." Mr. White said the chairman might have gone further and said the majority in that election came from Camrose.

Mr. White recalled, amongst other things, that Camrose town and district developed at a record rate entirely under the railway advantages and other policies of the Laurier regime. He was proud to see that Liberals and Conservatives had joined in a welcome such as had been given the Liberals during the day.

No Essential Differences

Dealing with the national issues, Mr. White saw no essential differences existed between the Farmers platform and the platform of the Liberals." The Farmers' platform is only Liberalism in a hurry. As for free trade with Britain in five years his personal opinion was that it was time for free trade when Britain let down the bars prohibiting the importation of Canadian cattle."

Ernest Lapointe, M.P., got a fine reception re-affirming his sincere desire for a closer understanding and unity between the east and the west. No public leader of the nation could adequately perform his duties unless the extent, resources and people of

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the west had been seen. Declaring the present national government to be incompetent and autocratic, Mr. Lapointe insisted they held no mandate from the people and a general election must be demanded. Scoring the efforts of Premier Meighen to turn east against west on the tariff cry, Mr. Lapointe said the Liberals desired nothing more than a sane and reasonable reduction of the tariff as did the United Farmers. Common good must be safeguarded against the vested interests. Unity was essential and unity was best possible by the system of political partyism. The country must rid itself of the government of absolutism and despotism which sat in authority at Ottawa.

Hon. Mr. King expressed the gratitude of himself and colleagues at the splendid reception accorded them by Camrose. He paid special tribute to Mr. W. N. White, M.P., for "insisting" in a special mesage to Ottawa that one meeting be held in the Victoria constituency at Camrose. This tribute was extended to refer to the valued worth of Mr. White in the house of commons as the only real adviser from the west that the Liberal opposition had. It could not be said that the other members from Albera and other parts of the west at all represented the feelings of the west.

Makes Striking Points

In his main address Mr. King developed in general the arguments advanced in previous meetings in the province making striking points in the arraignment of the government in how the new Liberalism proposed to restore the right of the people to rule and to advance in progressive and democratic manner as a nation. Describing the new national liberal policy formulated in national convention, Mr. Kig explained how its scope offered avenues of advancement and accomplishment by national unity and effort. Group organizations, however, rightly based could not hope to achieve national results since group action engendered group antagonism. The Liberal party could incorporate the progressive policies of all groups. Liberalism had not accomplishel everything hoped for in the past but it had accomplished a great deal for human progress and human freedom. And Liberalism offered the fullest opportunity for greater progress in the future.

HON. MR. KING SEES DISTRICT NEAR CAMROSE

Liberal Leader is Entertained at Luncheon By Board of Trade of That Town

CAMROSE, Oct. 8.—A day of the utmost in entertainment and good will was afforded Hon. Mackenzie King and party Friday by the citizens of Camrose, irrespestive of party affiliations and particular belief. The Liberal leader and party upon their arrival from Edmonton at 10:30 were met at the station by the leading citizens of the town, while the band accorded the visitors a musical reception, and a fleet of motor cars awaited to take the party on a tour of the district. This trip was undertaken within a short time after arrival and proved one of the most interesting features of the entertainment program, the course crossing the Battle River Valley through Duhamel and New Norway and return, the magnificent farmscape and the evidences of a great harvest being appreciated by the visitors.

A luncheon by the board of trade followed the return to Camrose, this being attended by the prominent men of the town and district. A hearty welcome to Hon. Mr. Mackenzie King and party was voiced by secretary F. P. Layton of the board of trade who paid a grateful tribute to the Liberal leader and bespoke the esteem of the town irrespective of party. He dealt on the great possibilities of the district and province, and in eloquent terms advocated a more close unity in all portions of the Dominion.

The Liberal leader replied in a particularly happy strain to the eulogies and welcome tendered him. The missions had been undertaken by himself and party, to place the political policies of the Liberal party before the people of western Canada and to see at first hand the conditions and resources of the west. Without touching on issues political, Mr. King spoke of his deep impression at the wonderful resources witnessed and the still deeper impression gained by the hospitality and cordiality of the people of the west. He thought the interest manifested in the questions of the day augured well for the future of Canada.

A stirring welcome to the institution was tendered Hon. Mr. King and other visitors to the Provincial Normal school by the Normal students and high school pupils who were addressed by Mr King, Mr. Duff and by Hon. J. R. Boyle being introduced by acting principal Mr. Tuck. Following brief program the ladies of the town gave Hon. Mr. King a reception in the normal school.

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Calgary Herald, Oct. 9, 1920.

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MACKENZIE KING ATTACKS GOVERNMENT FOR MILITARY AND NAVAL EXPENDITURES

Liberal Leader Addresses Large Audience at Camrose Railway Policy of Meighen Administration Scored by Speakers—New National-Liiberal-Conservative Party Is but Veiled Toryism, It Is Declared Sincerity of Premier Is Questioned General Election Only Solution

(By Herald Staff Correspondent)

CAMROSE, Alta., Oct. 8.—Attacks on the railway policy of the Union government, and particularly on the naval and military expenditures of the government, featured the address of Hon. Mackenzie King, federal opposition leader, speaking to large audiences Friday night in Camrose. Mr. King asserted that the recent increase in railway rates showed the kind of railway ownership the Union government had inflicted on the people. He charged a large part of the high cost of living upon extravagant expenditures by the government and said if his party went into power it would proceed to chop off unnecessary military and naval extravagances.

The first speaker was W. H. White, Liberal member of the Alberta federal riding of Victoria, who spoke in a humorous vein and partly in a serious one. As evidence of the mixed nature of the audience, remarks of Mr. White to the effect that all this part of Alberta had been built up under Liberal rule, were greeted with dead silence, although his previous witty sallies had provoked much laughter.

Young Voters Interested

One noticeable feature of the audience was the large number of young people present, especially young women, potential new voters. It would be quite unfair to say that many came from mere curiosity. Rather the intentions were that younger voters are looking for some leader with a new message in these troublous times.

In his remarks Mr. White told the audience that the Farmers' party and the Liberals had got so close together in their platforms that there really was no difference between them. There was no use of standing on separate platforms. It seemed to him that the Farmers were really Liberals in a "little bit of a hurry." The only thing they went farther on was asking for free trade with England in five years. In this connection, he pointed out what was the use of asking for this when Britain herself was keeping up an embargo on Canadian cattle. He said he was not speaking for the party on this point but it seemed to him, as a cattleman, that England was acting in her own interests and that the excuse of disease in Canadian cattle was not well founded. So far as he was concerned he was willing to let down the tariff bars when another country agreed to do the same, but he reminded the audience not to forget that the people of Canada had rejected reciprocity even on an absolutely equal plane.

Lapointe is Witty

Ernest Lapointe, of Quebec East, Sir Wilfrid Laurier's old seat, spoke to the meeting in his humorous and witty manner, which has been capturing the fancy of audiences wherever he has gone. Mr. Lapointe has a decided French-Canadian accent which is really an engaging asset to western audiences. When he told the crowd, in apologising for an overworked voice, that his throat was a little rebellious, "bolshevistic, Mr. Meighen would call it," he said. The crowd shouted with laughter, and laughed still more when he told them that every town the party had visited they found it was the most populated and prosperous.

Loud applause greeted Mr. Lapointe's statement that he brought a message of friendship and co-operation from the people of Quebec. Mr. Lapointe repeated the arguments he had made at other points for the necessity of a general election, that the present government has no mandate from the people, that it was elected in 1917 on the one and only mandate of selective conscription, not the tariff or any other question, as speeches of the ministers at that time would show. He displayed a copy of the circulars sent out among the soldiers in 1917, saying the issue of the election was selective conscription and the Union government was neither Grit nor Tory. Was it fair, he asked, to abuse the confidence of these men to use this mandate for settling the tariff or other questions?

Is Meighen Sincere?

One remark which drew applause was "There is one thing the people of Canada are asking for, and that is sincerity among their public men. Is Mr. Meighen sincere when he describes himself as a National Liberal-Conservative?"

He told a story of how Mr. Meighen, in his younger days, had exchanged by mistake and wore a pair of trousers belonging to a roommate.

Mr. Meighen, calling himself a Liberal now, reminded him of the story of that occasion when Mr. Meighen wore the ill-fitting trousers of his room mate by mistake. He said that while in Quebec Mr. Meighen had asked Quebecers to unite with Eastern Canada to defeat the west on the tariff policy. He accused Mr. Meighen of telling Quebec people that the opposition was seeking free trade in spite of the fact that the Liberals knew with the tremendous war debt facing the country that free trade was impossible. But what they wanted was a tariff to produce revenue and not to make the rich richer and the poor poorer. They wanted the greater part of the money to go into the public exchequer and not the pockets of the manufacturers.

Mr. Lapointe said he believed in political parties, that Britain had become great through incessant vigilance of political parties, but they were a means to an end. But an army to be successful must be united. Minor differences should not be transformed into a permanent political aggregation unless they wished to see the enemy win. This to the farmers. The forces of democracy must unite to fight the forces of Toryism and absolutism.

King Given Ovation

Mr. King received an ovation from the audience. After saying a number of complimentary things about Camrose and his reception there, Mr. King dealt briefly with the topic that the government of today is not representative of the people and has no mandate; that it is representative of the big interests, of particular groups that is keeping in power the present administration. He spoke of the transition period of the world today of the destruction of faiths in various beliefs, and under such circumstances it was not strange that some people had lost faith in political parties. But as the storm died down and the hearts of the people became calmer, faith was beginning to be renewed in the church and in other institutions, including political parties, which really represented divergent principles.

Mr. King went a good deal into detail in setting forth that through the fact that domestic political issues had been little discussed since the election of 1911, there had grown up a vast new electorate unacquainted with these problems. This new electorate embraced the new generation of young men and women come to voting age, the women voters and the veterans of the great war.

The Different Attitudes

He defined the two great political principles as represented by those not afraid of change and progress, who trusted their fellowmen, and, on the other hand, those who were satisfied with their position and did not want a change.

"There you get the difference between the Liberal attitude and the Tory reactionary attitude," he said.

Mr. King, in this connection, described the Liberal party's national convention, where every progressive group, he said, had a voice in the shaping of the platform and policies. This was the advantage of a national party, based on an attitude of a division of principles and not on classes.

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A manufacturers', a labor or a farmers' party invariably raised opposition to itself from other classes.

Mr. King referred to the splendid history of the Liberal party for 75 years in Canada and for 750 years in Britain, and said he was proud to be in an army of that kind. The Liberal party of today had been true to its name.

The Power Behind

Dealing with the Farmers' party, he said they had proceeded to the same manner in the open and by democratic discussion. Labor had done the same. Contrast that with the manner of the present National Liberal-Conservative party. None of the common people had anything to do with framing it, constructing its platform or drafting its policy. This was a serious thing. Do you think such a thing could happen as a minister to be put in office without a mandate, unless there was some power there. "Of course there is a power," he said, "but it is a secret one."

Mr. King went on to say this secret power was strong enough anyway to control a large part of the press of the country and many banks.

"And what do they see on the other side. They see the parties against them divided among themselves," said Mr. King, "and they laugh at you." He added that some of these divisions were being encouraged by this secret power and hinted that some of the financing of these conflicting elements were being handled by this hidden power. If they continued divided they were certain to meet defeat.

A Union of Lawyers

Mr. King also thought it a very strange thing that practically the whole Union government was made up of lawyers.

"It was a Union government all right," he said, amid laughter, "but it was a union of lawyers." He thought the government should be more representative of all the groups.

Mr. King said the greatest problem in Canada today was to reduce the cost of living. His party admitted it grew out of the war, the product of many factors, but a number of the factors at home might be moved.

First, have economy in government, retrench in public expenditures. Revise the tariff downward on all necessaries of life. Increase production, by making it cheaper and easier to get implements of production, by reducing or abolishing duties on these commodities, end profiteering. The first duty of the government should have been to attach this wealth, but now the war is over and we have got the reports of these various commissions showing the enormous profits made by various profiteers. It ought to be stopped. "Isn't this something we can all stand together on?" asked Mr. King.

Some Figures on Taxation

On the subject of taxation, Mr. King quoted some figures. He said the net debt of Canada in 1910-1911 was $340,000,000. This year it was $2,273,000,000. Those are terrible figures, he said, in a country of nine million people. "You and I will never live to see it paid off," he said. "In 1910, the interest was $12,500 000 a year. Today the interest is $140,000,000 a year. In the last year of Laurier's government it cost $78,000,000 to run the entire government. Now its going to cost $140,000,000 interest on public debt alone. Mr. King recited the other government obligations totalling $173,000,000, which, with interest on public debt made $313,000,000 that had to be raised before the ordinary expenses of government, and these ordinary expenses for these purposes this year was around $600,000,000. That was what he meant by saying that retrenchment was needed.

The government is asking $8,000,000 this year for demobilization. The opposition asked that military and naval expenditures be reduced. Instead the government increased them both, $4,000,000 in the department of militia alone.

Scores Military Policy

The government had spent $70,000,000 on the creation of a merchant marine and never asked for a single tender. "Those sort of things," said Mr. King, "are outrageous and almost criminal, considering the condition of the country." The government proceeded with its militia drill plans and voted $784,000 for small arms ammunition, when huge dumps of ammunition were being destroyed overseas, and they have from 35,000,000 to 40,000,000 of rounds on hand, and in reply to his question, said they needed this because Lord French had reported that 90,000,000 rounds were needed in Canada. He had looked up this report and found it was made in 1910.

The cost of the Mounted Police in Laurier's term was about $80,000. This year they ask $5,270,000 for the Mounted Police and $500,000 for barracks for the Mounted Police in Ottawa.

The total expenditure on these military purposes, including the air services was more than $22,000,000, when Canada was facing no danger of war or invasion. They were meant to be for a standing army eventually.

Sally Brings Applause

"It was not only a waste of money, but keeping men out of productive employment," he said. This sally brought loud applause. There were 194 drill halls and armories in Canada and only 25 experimental farms. "I leave it to you," said the speaker, "whether that looks like Canada as an agricultural country or more like the old countries."

Mr. King, speaking of the tariff, quoted from the Liberal party platform on the subject. He was not for free trade, but freer trade, and for a reduction of duties on the necessities of life. But when you were under a system of indirect taxation, you could not jump to direct taxation in a year. They proposed to start in, however, at reducing the tariff and meet the deficiency in revenue by a graduated income and business tax, and by cutting out some of this naval and military expenditure.

Attacks Railway Policy

Mr. King, in conclusion, attacked the railway policy of the government, saying it was impossible for parliament to get information of management from the board of managers, that all the rights the people had obtained, was to buy the shares and bonds at the end of years, for probably around $500,000,000, and that the recent increase in rates was a good index to the kind of ownership that the Union government had acquired for the people in the deal it had made for taking over these railways.

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9 Oct. 1920

Wetaskiwin, Alta.

GOVERNMENT EXTRAVAGANCE

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Calgary Herald, Oct. 11, 1920

D 4706

MACKENZIE KING, SPEAKING AT WETASKIWIN, ALLEGES GOVERNMENT EXTRAVAGANT

Federal Opposition Leader Em phasizes Vast Military and Naval Expenditures, and Charges That Secret Powers Control Government—Reads Liberal Convention Tariff Plank Asking Reduction of Duties and Says He Has Always Supported It.

Speeches delivered by Hon. William Lyon Mackenzie King, leader of the opposition in the federal house, at meetings in Camrose and Wetaskiwin on his way to Calgary from Edmonton indicate clearly that the principal line of attack to be followed on the Union government in the west will consist chiefly of accusations of of extravagance, especially in military and naval affairs, and charges that the government is under control of a group of secret influences, not responsible to the people.

While Mr. King is dealing with the tariff, he is subordinating this feature of his campaign to those outlined above. Included in the charge that the Union government is controlled by secret, selfish interests there is the subsidiary one that the people's representatives are not being consulted in the administration of the national railways and merchant marine.

Hammers In Points

The opposition leader hammered these ideas again and again into the minds of his auditors, who invariably gave him the closest attention. Mr. King confines his statements on the tariff chiefly to allegations that Premier Arthur Meighen is wilfully misrepresenting the position of the opposition—that neither the Liberal party platform nor he himself advocate free trade, or have at any time advocated it. He is strongly differentiating between tariff for revenue and tariff for protection, deciaring that no party could honestly promise the country free trade in the immediate future with an annual bill of some $600,000,000 to be met, that it would be impossible to meet these expenditures at once by changing from a system of indirect to direct taxation, and that his party, if put into power, promises only to proceed at reductions of the tariff, cutting it down from time to time in the direction of a tariff for revenue purposes only.

Accompanying Mr. King are Ernest A. Lapointe of Quebec East, William Duff of Lunenburg, Nova Scotia, and W. C. Kennedy, North Essex, all of whom are assisting in the speech making at various points. Mr. Kennedy in particular, following up the charges of extravagant expenditure, goes into details of what he regards as financial mismanagement on the part of the Union government.

Kennedy Criticizes Financing

In this connection, Mr. Kennedy in common with a large number of financial men, preaches the doctrine that the chief political and financial troubles of the country today are due to the depreciated state of the paper currency. The North Essex member thinks this is basically more important than any other question and, strangely enough, more difficult to interest the people of the country in than much less important topics. He considers that the flotation of the last Victory loan by the government was a gross mistake, to put it most mildly, at that time, that it was another step in the constant inflation of the paper money of the country, and that this inflation is what is really behind the so-called "high cost of living," an inaccurate term for decreased purchasing power of money.

Mr. Lapointe attacks the Union government chiefly on the score of holding power without a mandate from the people, in his opinion, and urges the farmer group to come in with and support the Liberal opposition against the Unionists.

Traveling in Sleeper

The party is traveling in an ordinary sleeping car and Mr. King is attended by his private secretary, N. Giguere, while Andrew Hayden, secretary of the National Liberal committee, is managing the expedition. W. H. White, member for the Alberta federal riding of Victoria, and Hon. J. R. Boyle, attorney-general of Alberta, accompanied the party from Edmonton to Camrose, Mr. White returning to Edmonton and Mr. Boyle coming on with the party to Wetaskiwin and Calgary. A number of newspaper men also are traveling with the party.

Observers of the audiences which heard Mr. King, noted that his indictment of the Union government for extravagant expenditures drawn along rather terrific lines, made a deep impression on his auditors. Whatever reasons there are for them, Premier Meighen, who will shortly follow on the trail of Mr. King, must come prepared to answer some pretty strong questions on this subject. The opposition leader lays a large part of the increased cost of living to the door of unnecessary expenditure and promises that, if elected, his party will find some of the revenue to meet the deficiency in reducing the tariff, by cutting these other expenditures, particularly the $22,000,000 odd for naval and military expenditure.

The party arrived in Wetaskiwin shortly before noon from Camrose, remaining over there until 2.30 p.m., and addressing a noon-day meeting presided over by H. L. Montgomery, the government member of the legislature from Wetaskiwin riding. At this meeting, he repeated some of the statements he had made at the Camrose meeting on alleged extravagances of the government, and enlarged on others. He charged that the government, through handling of war expenditures, had become used to spending money by the millions, and that it was hopeless to expect a change until there was a complete removal of the present administrators.

Emphasizing his previous statements that the net debt of Canada in 1910-1911, the last year of the Laurier administration, was only $340,000,000 as compared to a present net debt of $2,273,000,000, he said that whereas the interest on that debt in 1910-1911 was about $12,500,000 annually, it had now risen to the immense sum of $140,000,000 or nearly double the entire ordinary expenses of the government in 1910 which, he said, were then only about $78,000,000. Mr. King recited the various annual charges growing out of the war such as Soldiers' Civil Re-Establishment, pensions, etc., totalling some $173,000,000, the purpose of which he did not crticize but went on to say that these expenses, added to the interest on public debt, made annual overhead charges of some $313,000,000 alone which had to be met before the ordinary expenses of government were paid. And these ordinary expenses of the government, he said, would this year bring the total to be raised by taxation to more than $600,000,000.

Attacks Expenditures

It is this latter item which the opposition leader attacks most savagely, especially the naval, military, mounted police and merchant marine expenditures. He told the audiences again and again that Canada is facing no situation where either army or navy of any particular extent is required, that the country already possesses a huge number of trained veterans, that not only the people but these men themselves are sick of military drill and panoply, that they don't want to hear the sound of a trumpet unless a real necessity arises for it, and that the procedure of the government in expending $22,000,000 on naval and military affairs this year is "criminal waste" and an attempt to perpetuate a standing army, and inflict the old European system of militarism on a new country. He said that at the moment the government was asking for $8,000,000 to complete demobilization, it was increasing militia expenditures by $4 000,000.

"From the extravagance of the government in military expenditures" Mr. King told the Wetaskiwin audience, "one would think that the government is preparing for a new war. Instead of asking for $8,000,000 for military expenditure as they did last year, this year they asked us for $12,000,000, outside of the money for demobilization. They asked us for more than half a mil-

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lion dollars for small arms ammunition when there already is from 35,000,000 to 40,000,000 rounds of it stored in the country, and told us that Lord French had reported a store of some 90,000,000 rounds was required. This report was made in 1910 by an English lord who saw a war coming then.

Why Do We Need Navy

"Last year they asked us for $600,000 for a naval college and promised at first this year that as the navy had been disbanded, they would allow a reduction this year of about $3,000,000 but later they came in and asked us for $2,500,000 on two destroyers, two submarines and a cruiser which Britain was presenting to us.

"What on earth do we need with a navy at this particular time? Who is going to attack our shores?"

Later, Mr. King severely scored the alleged secret methods of the government in putting through the navy deal with Britain, and not allowing parliament to have a word to say about it until the ships had been accepted. In the same way, he said the government had decided to send a minister plenipotentiary to Washington, D.C., but never told parliament anything about it until the papers were signed, sealed and delivered.

"They have ignored parliament," he said, "and they got into this habit during the war. It left them with a feeling of autocratic power from which they will never free themselves. The only way is a change of administration."

Quotes Liberal Platform

In dealing with the tariff, Mr. King invariably quotes the plank of the Liberal convention platform on the subject, pledging himself to carry out these promises if his party gains power. The section he is particularly fond of quoting, reads:

"That the best interests of Canada demand that substantial reductions of the burdens 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 principal articles of food; farm implements and machinery, parts thereof; rough and partly 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 material entering into the same.

Revision Downwards

"That a revision downwards of the tariff should be made whereby substantial reductions should be effected in the duties on wearing apparel and footwear, and on other articles of general consumption (other than luxuries) as well as on the raw material 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 provision of this resolution when returned to power."

"What we say," Mr. King told the Wetaskiwin audience, "is that the tariff as it stands today is unfair and unjust and we demand a revision downward; certain classes of articles to be substantially reduced such as food, clothing, boots and shoes, and other articles which enter into the home, and we ask that the duty be removed entirely on some instruments of production to assist in increasing production, and substantially reduced on others. I have never taken any different stand and have repeated this time and again in the house but no dispatches from the east have been sent to the west reporting them.

"The farmers themselves are not standing for out and out free trade. They realize that where we have to raise $600,000,000 this year by taxation, that we can't jump in a month or a year from one system of indirect to another one of direct taxation. What we promise to do is to make a start by increasing the income tax on a graduated scale, the business profits tax, and to make up the deficiency in revenue by these reductions by cutting some of the extravagant expenditure of the government, especially on military and naval expenses."

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Edmonton Bulletin Oct" 11/20 D 4708 X-1905

Only Way to Defeat Regime of Despotism at Ottawa Is Union Of Liberals, Farmers and Labor

Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King And Party Close Tour of Northern Alberta With Meeting in Wetaskiwin—Liberal Policy Wholly in Common With Other Reform Groups—Battles of Western Farmers Being Fought By Liberal Opposition in Parliament

The brief but memorable tour of Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King and party through the northern section of the province terminated at Wetaskiwin at noon Saturday, with a splendid meeting in the Angus theatre, where the Liberal leader in a short but eloquent and trenchant address, placed national political issues squarly before the organized farm movement and told them in plain but unquestionably sincere terms that unless Liberals, farmers and labor stand together for the progress they all desire to see brought about in federal affairs, there can be no hope of defeating the regime now in control at Ottawa, and which must be turned out of power if the country is to again secure authority over its own affairs. The meeting was arranged after a few hours' notice when it was learned by the leading Liberals of Wetaskiwin that Hon. Mr. King and party would be in that city for a couple of hours on their way from Camrose to Calgary.

"The Liberal policy is wholly in common with that of the organized farmer and labor movements," declared the Liberal leader, "for the Liberal platform is the expression of people from every class from one end of Canada to the other who formulated a national policy in a national convention, with delegates chosen entirely without regard to their previous political convictions, and who placed in concrete form the principles of progress generally agreed upon as the most necessary and the most likely of attainment at the presént time. Our Liberalism is what the eople of today themselves demanded and our platform is the one they themselves drafted.

We do not say that it is as far as we will go, or would like to go, but the people themselves can alter and add to the platform and policy as they will."

Liberal Policy Practicable

"The Liberal tariff plank incorporates everything that the people can hope to get through parliament within the next five years." Mr. King said in reference to the tariff issue. "It is almost identical in the main with the tariff plank of the council of agriculture. Do the people desire that reform and economies for the common safety and common well-being be instituted in Canada? If so, the common people must unite to win against the forces of reaction and autocracy. Against us are powerful interests working in the dark, with the name National-Liberal-Conservative a mere sham to hide the real motives of Toryism. However, they have this advantage, that they merge every interest and present a solid front to the action of the people. While our forces of progress are divided amongst ourselves they only laugh at our efforts. Germany was able to resist all attacks by reason of a centralized command and unbroken frontier until the Allies adopted a unity of control amongst the great armies of the various nations. This is the only warfare that can win against absolutism in Canada. The majority of the people in the by-elections of Colchester and St. John really wanted progress but they divided their forces and against the entire weight of the government machine had no hope of success. These tactics the government will employ in other fields, and by jerrymandering and other methods will defeat the farmers in places where it is not thought posible."

People Must Awaken

In the most impressive terms Hon. Mr. King appealed to the people to awaken to the real situation in parliament at the present time, when the only force to stand out and fight for the interests of the democratic people of Canada are the members on the Liberal side of the house, all too few in number. "We are fighting the battle of farmers and of labor with every weapon at our command but the people of the west are not told all these facts in the reports from Ottawa. How can we be expected to continue this fight if the farmers and labor groups refuse us support, and even oppose us in many places where they have the most to gain by the defeat of the government? The members in the house which you in the west ave sent to represent you, do not give us the support they ought to give us this fight, and the support which it is vitally in your interest that we do receive. The farmer members in the Independent group do not consult with the opposition and our effective work is lamentably hampered by not having a better understanding and more unity in our mutual battle for the right of the people to rule, and the prevention on the part of the government in power, with whose seizure of authority the people have had nothing to do.

Financial Burdens Enormous

Although the Liberal leader did not launch into lengthy citation of mishandling of national affairs by the federal administration, he gave his audience sufficient information as to the unlicensed program of spending and waste in the face of an almost overwhelming burden of debt, to arouse the gravest concern. For the year $600,000,000 was required in taxes for carrying the nation through ordinary expenditure, interest charges, soldier and military expenditures, and various other phases of governmental activity. He declared that the expenditure for the assistance and management of returned soldiers welfare schemes, and the pensions charge, could not and ought not to be reduced. The nation could not overpay the men who helped with the great work overseas, and the dependents of such. However, he scored severely the obvious intention of the government to create a military system in Canada such as the men had gone overseas to wipe out. Millions upon millions were being squandered in the military schemes of the government and yet parliament was told there was not yet formulated any naval or general military policy. The people must stand together to save themselves from further oppression and heavier taxation to take care of such wastefulness and extravagance.

"All wealth is produced from our natural resources, through the industry of labor, and with the aid of capital," said Mr. King, in reference to the Liberal policy of raising the revenue of the country without a high customs tariff. He said it was essential for the welfare of all that implements of production and the ordinary commodities of life be relieved of customs duties.

Protection for Consumers

"Our policy is not to remove entirely the tariff wall—this is not possible at the present time and the farmers do not ask for it any more than does the Liberal platform. We stand for a graduated income tax, for a graduated business tax, and for a tax on luxuries first of all. After all other means of taxation are exhausted the difference required to make up our annual expenditure should be secured by a customs tax on commodities that could best char such a tax. remier Meighen stands for high protection for capital, mergers and other interests. We stand for protection for the common people." Mr. King asserted that the millions in war profits made by the profiteers while thousands of men were offering up their lives overseas, should have been heavily taxed to help pay the costs of war. The Liberal policy was to make these riches contribute to the utmost toward the reduction of Canada's gigantic burden of debt.

Mr. King referred to the railway rates, now increased, as another form of heavy taxation the people must bear as a result of the subservience of the government to corporation interests. Dividends must be paid the private shareholders in the systems taken over for a period of twenty years, after which time the government would have the right to purchase at a cost of $500,000,000. Moreover, the people had no jurisdiction over the national system as should be the case in public ownership. In this, as in the merchant marine policy, the management was turned over to a small group, appointed by the government executive and over which parliament had no real control or authority.

Must Be Election

The Liberal leader in the short time at his disposal, dealt with many other phases of national politics, driving home the fact that any hope of the common people of the country regaining control of parliament and the government was through united action for such a purpose. And Canada could only be saved from further burdens and more serious conditions by prompt effort and determination on the part of the people. He urged that there be a widespread demand for a general election and that government without mandate at Ottawa should cease.

Ernest Lapointe, M.., also spoke briefly to the meeting in delivering the message of good will and fellowship from the province of Quebec to the people of the west. He appealed in forceful terms for more co-operation among the forces working for reform, referring to the Tory system of arraying class against class and race against race. "Thank God the racial cry in Canada seems about played out," he declared, with an echo of applause. "It is the aim of Liberalism to bring together in Canada the people of all races and make them feel at home here; to create a united nation from the Atlantic to the Pacific. And I believe the forces of reform will have their way in this Canada of ours and the campaign of Premier Meighen already underway to split these forces and line up the east against the west will never meet with success." But for this object he pointed out that progressives must stand and work together in order that their will might prevail.

The chairman of the meeting was H. J. Montgomery, M.P.P., for Wetaskiwin, who bespoke the appreciation of the people of the town and district at the visit of the eastern leaders. On the platform also were Messrs. Duff and Kennedy, members of parliament for Lunenburg and North Essex. Hon. J. R. Boyle, attorney-general for Alberta, and Andrew Haydon, secretary of the Liberal association for Canada. Immediately after the meeting the party departed for Calgary, accompanied by Hon. J. R. Boyle.

D 4709

11 Oct. 1920 Calgary

GENERAL POLITICAL SITUATION

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Notes for Speech
at
CALGARY, ALBERTA
October 11th, 1920.

Introductory

Thanks for reception.

Transition and classes -

Need for political education.

Invisible Govt. by the big interests

vs. Visible Govt. by people's representatives

Need for Representative & Responsible Govt.

General Election (Constitutional reform)

Joint control vs. single control in State -

no class group.

Present-day Problems - (Fiscal Reform)

Taxation and cost of living.

Need for retrenchment and economy.

Need for tariff revision.

Need for elimination of profiteering.

Industrial and Social Reform

Joint control vs. single control in industry.

Railroad Policy.

Not Govt. ownership - but Govt. guarantee

and monopoly of control.

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A joint control essential - Labour

G.T.R. Agreement, terms of. Pensions.

Liberals - Labour in Cabinet

Railway Commission.

Extend - representatives of all bodies of opinion.

Natural Resources

Part of policy of provincial rights and autonomy.

Open Discussion vs. Secret Diplomacy

Canadian autonomy and British unity.

No imperial centralization.

A British unity we seek.

A New Social and Industrial Order

Based on the substitution of good-will for ill-will.

Sun-dial -----

Recognition of joint vs. single control in affairs.

Visible, not invisible, control.

A happy, a contented, and a united people.

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THE ALBERTAN

W. M. DAVIDSON ..... Editor-in-Chief
H. J. FORD ..... Business Manager
C. G. GROFF ..... Managing Editor

A Morning Newspaper published by
The Albertan Publishing Co., Ltd.,
Proprietors, at Calgary, Alberta.

Evil news rides fast, while good news baits.—Milton.

A LEADER'S WOOING

One characteristic of the visit of Mackenzie King, was the plain and very evident sincerity of the man. There was no secret diplomacy in his visit. He was very simple and direct in his methods.

Accordingly it is not surprising that he did his wooing in public. He made his invitation to Mr. Buchanan, M.P., of Lethbridge, to rejoin the party at a public meeting, in sight and hearing of every person. The old time politician may regard that as rather crude. The old time politician was long on negotiations and intrigue and very short on publicity. He would have got in touch with some of his friends, who would have secured a good reliable and shifty go-between, who in turn would have approached some of the friends of Mr. Buchanan and so on and so forth.

Mr. King's methods are best in view of present day conditions. There is no reason for him to disguise the fact that he is very anxious to have the co-operation, association and active assistance of Mr. Buchanan, as good a Liberal as ever entered the Canadian House of Commons. There is no reason why he should not have made his desires known in public. It is the proper way to do things.

But what will be the outcome? Mr. Buchanan is now, and always has been a Liberal. As a Liberal he parted with the majority Liberals at a critical occasion in the history of the country. As a Liberal he supported the Unionist government. He has never wavered in his Liberalism, though he has not always traveled with some of the leaders of the party. He has not rejoined the party, doubtless because he is not yet certain in what direction the new party is going. He seems to find the policy of the Farmers' party nearer to his liking and to his conception of Liberalism.

But Mr. King has preached real Liberalism in his tour through the west. He has laid down his policy plainly and fully and it squares with direct Liberal principles. In addition he has conducted himself in the most tactful manner and has not yielded to the desires of the old straight line Liberals who dreamed of a narrow Tory Liberalism, with themselves in control of it.

Mr. Buchanan seems more in accord with the Farmer party. Many Liberals in western Canada are. But since Mr. King came west outlining his party principles, the difference between these two branches of Liberals does not seem to be so widt. If the left of the Liberal party, so to speak, does not come to some working arrangement with the other wing of the party, it will effect the triumph of the most reactionary brand of Toryism this country has seen since the early nineties. That is the game that the government would have the more progressive Liberals play. We doubt if Mr. Buchanan and the other progressives are likely to play it.

Mr. Buchanan would be a very great source of strength to the Liberals. It is doubtful if any better fate could befall Mr. King now, than be reinforced by the strong backing of the able member for Lethbridge.

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Calgary Herald
Oct" 11/20

D 4713

MACKENZIE KING LUNCHEON GUEST AT BIG MEETING

Mrs. Fred Langford Presides At Overflow Gathering in Palliser Hotel

MAYOR MARSHALL GIVES WELCOME TO CALGARY

Says People Want Political Parties to Lay Their Cards on Table

Another large gathering met Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King at luncheon, at the Palliser hotel, on Monday, so large that extra tables had to be set out in the entrance hall to the ballroom to accommodate the overflow of guests. The meeting was presided over by Mrs. Fred Langford, and in noting this fact, the leader of the opposition spoke of its significance, when it is to be remembered that the women of Canada will be called upon to play a great part in the New Liberalism, when it will be enabled to place upon the statutes of the country works that will be for the good of the whole and not for the individual.

Mr. King contented himself with speaking for only a few minutes, taking as his text the request of Mayor Marshall for a clear understanding from the Liberal party as to what they intended to do for the West should they come into power.

The big public meeting will be held on Monday night, in the Victoria pavilion, at Victoria park, at 8 p.m., when Dr. William Egbert, president of the Calgary Liberal Association will preside. The other speakers will be Ernest Lapointe, M. P., and William Duff, M. P.

Preparing for Battle

Mayor Marshall, who welcomed the guests on behalf of the city, said that the country is in a new era, and in the reconstruction both great political parties are preparing for battle. They are formulating great policies for the country, and these policies must be constructive. The present age demands it. He reminded Mr. King that in Calgary he would be speaking to audiences both critical and intelligent. They will want to learn from Mr. King why he seeks to lead the country, and what his party is going to do.

They will need the cards on the table. The west means real business, declared the mayor. The premier will be here shortly, he continued, and we will also ask him why he seeks office, and what he intends to do. While the west is interested in the east, the west is none too sure whether it has had a square deal or not. It is not at all satisfied with a board that comes to Winnipeg, looks over the situation, and then asks the railroads what they want.

North Calgary Member Speaks

W. M. Davidson, welcoming the Liberal leader on behalf of his constituency, referred back 25 years when he knew Mr. King at college. He had well fulfilled the expectations his friends had of him. He conceived the Liberal party well led with a man like Mackenzie King as head of it. He is living up to the traditions of his party by preaching throughout the west the doctrines of the Liberal party. Though there may have been confusion in the past in the west as to Liberalism, there was none now, declared Mr. Davidson. The speaker also included in his welcome the other members of the party, referring to their past parliamentary services. He trusted their visit to the west would inspire the people so that a fire would be kindled that would not be easy to blot out.

Agrees With Mayor

Mr. King said he was in hearty accord with what the mayor had said and if he had not been told that his worship was originally identified with the other party, he would have believed him to be of the party he himself belonged to, that of reconstruction.

All through the centuries the Liberal party has been constructive and though the war had done much to turn back in many ways, and many liberties had been lost, yet it was still the work of Liberalism to examine the foundation and seek to regain what had been lost. After paying a tribute to the work of W. M. Davidson, M.L.A., as an exponent of the true essentials of Liberalism in the West, Mr. King proceeded to outline the Liberal policy.

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The Calgary Herald.

D 4714

CALGARY, TUESDAY(OCTOBER 12, 1920

FINE RECEPTION

AS was forecasted by The Herald, the Mackenzie King reception in Calgary was a notable affair. The reception, the luncheon and the mass meeting last evening—all were such as must have gladdened the heart of the Liberal leader. The people were anxious to see and hear Mr. King. The fact that they attended his meetings in such large numbers was quite as much a tribute to their interest in public affairs as it was to the leader himself. The people of Calgary and surrounding country want to know all about everything that has to do with the future government of the country and they are ready to listen to anyone who can inform them. That they listened to Mr. King so intently was a compliment to his powers of intelligent expression.

The Liberal leader did not tell us anything new. Everything he had to say had been said before. It is evident that in his Western campaign he is pursuing tactics calculated to draw to his support the farmers, labor and the veterans. He tells his audience that there is really nothing much different in the Farmer platform to what is to be found in his own. He tells the Labor party in delightfully vague and general terms that his policy is for a fair deal for everyone and then designates the Meighen policy as one in and for the interests of the plutocrats of the land. He condemns government expenditure upon the navy and military and to square himself with the Veterans, who better than any other people understand the need for certain military preparation, he suggests that his party would spend less for preparedness and more on the Veterans.

Mr. King had nothing new to tell us about the tariff. His story is the same—a revision downward with less to pay for food, clothing, etc. He denies that he is a free trade advocate and practically endorses the national policy as opposed to free trade. He would have the people believe that the Meighen government has no intention of reducing the tariff; that it is being bossed by the Big Interests which are demanding a continuance of high tariff, such as was in effect during the regime of Laurier.

Altogether the King visit has been an interesting one. The Liberal leader is now on record, as far as he saw fit to record himself. We now know all that he is willing to promise. Meanwhile, the Meighen government is in power, and before a general election will have had opportunity to implement its promises by performance in legislation. By the time an election comes we will be in a good position to judge between the two leaders with respect to future government. And we have yet to hear the premier, who will certainly give us still further light on the situation. Hon. Arthur Meighen will be in Calgary soon and as he is a man who does not hesitate to speak his mind, we may expect to hear something worth while in the political argument when he arrives.

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"Calgary Albertan" Oct. 12, 1920

D 4715

MACKENZIE KING OUTLINES POLICY OF NEW LIBERALISM AT LARGEST AND MOST RESPONSIVE MEETING EVER HELD IN CITY

Hundreds Unable to Gain Admission to Victoria Pavilion; Liberal Leader Discusses Every Phase of Canadian Public Affairs; Deals With Tariff, Natural Resources, Profiteering and Human Side of Administration; Able Addresses by Ernest Lapointe and William Duff

Calgary

AIM OF THE NEW LIBERALISM

"What has become of the new hope and aspiration aroused amid the sacrifices and stern realities of the war? We have already begun to drift in the opposite direction. In that mighty work was it merely the overthrow of Prussian militarism that was sought, or was it the preservation of human liberty and the widening of the bounds of human freedom? The forces that were at work between the nations in that great struggle in Europe are at work today in our social and economic order. The question of questions today in Canada is, are you going to stand with the reactionaries who describe as wreckers and revolutionaries all who differ from them in aim or opinion, or do you wish to be among those who would realize the vision splendid of those brave sons of Canada, who with others of the heroic dead fought and suffered and died that freedom might become in increasing measure the portion of all classes comprising our common humanity? However far short we may come of the goal towards which we strive, the aim of Liberalism in Canada today is to seek the realization of that larger freedom in our social, political, industrial, fiscal, religious and personal life, which constitutes the basis of a social order that places human well-being above material gain, and regards human life as of vastly more concern than wealth. This is the mark to which we have set our hands; this is the work we intend to carry on, recognizing that great as are the problems of tariff, finance, of trade and all the rest, greatest of all are the common interests of all humanity."—Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, leader of the Liberal party, in the Victoria pavilion last evening.

"Quebec is, as Hon. Arthur Meighen has declared in his campaign there, safe and sane. It is so safe and sane that Mr. Meighen has as much prospect of success in that province as Nikolai Lenin or Trotzky would have in the ranks of the Canadian Manufacturers' association."—Ernest Lapointe, M.P. for Quebec East, Sir Wilfrid Laurier's former seat.

"I am glad to see the interest the Calgary Herald has in boots and shoes, and may I say that there are men in our party, difficult as it may appear for the supporters of that paper to believe, who place principle above interest. We ask for no privileges for any industry beyond such treatment as will make for the general interests of the whole country, and particularly would I not ask for special consideration for any industry, simply because it happened to flourish in my own constituency."—Ernest Lapointe.

"I am pleased to look into the faces of the wise men who came from the east, to bring you greetings from hundreds of thousands of the Liberals of the maritime provinces, and also from hundreds of thousands of Conservatives who are sick and tired of the present administration at Ottawa, who will unite with us in turning out the government at the earliest possible moment."—William Duff, M.P. for Lunenberg, N.S.

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The greatest public meeting in the history of the city of Calgary took place in the Victoria Pavilion last evening, when Hon. William Lyon Mackenzie King, Canadian Liberal chieftain, spoke to nearly 3500 persons on the policy and aims of the historic party of which he is the distinguished leader. Never has an audience in this city hung with such eager intensity on the words of a political speaker, never has the handling of the great issues of the day excited deeper interest and never has a public gathering representative of all shades of political thought and opinion, after following with keen critical interest a statement of policy on the great issues of the day, given a greater ovation to any public man than the people of Calgary gave to Mr. King at the close of his address.

Every word of his ringing call to arms was heard by every member of the vast audience in the most distant corner of the pavilion, with as great a clearness as on the platform itself. The meeting was first and foremost a supreme personal triumph for the young man who may be called upon in the near future to direct the political destinies of Canada. To the great majority of his auditors Mr. King has hitherto been a stranger. Whether they share his political creed or not, there can be no doubt that he has established himself as a man fitter for great responsibilities, a deep student, a forceful and statesmanlike speaker, whose grasp of broad questions of principle and of the details of policy is equally firm. Frankness, sincerity, sturdiness and stoutness of principle, a keen sense of the realities of political life combined with an unmistakable idealism, characterized his address.

He called on the forward looking people of Canada of every group to unite for the purpose of overthrowing the reactionary forces. He called upon them to decide whether they will be controlled by an "invisible government, representative of the big interests, or by a party representative of the people without regard to class or creed or race."

"It is," he declared, "for the progressive forces to decide whether they will play into the hands of the interests whose motto is 'divide and rule,' or co-operate for the realization of their aims. I am not here for the purpose of offering opposition to the United Farmers, to Labor, or to the War Veterans, but if they mean business they must be careful not to allow the enemy to play his game in the way he has played it throughout the centuries."

VESTED INTRESTS HAVE BIG FUND TO FIGHT LIBERALS

The scene in the pavilion was a memorable one. It began to fill before 7 o'clock, and half an hour later scarcely a seat was available. At eight there were several hundreds of persons outside the building, many of whom were compelled to turn regretfully away. Behind the speakers' platform the citizens' band played as the crowds assembled and as Mr. King and his party entered and Dr. William Egbert took the chair there was much cheering. Among those on the platform were Ernest Lapointe, William Duff, member for Lunenberg, N.S., W. C. Kennedy, M.P., for North Essex, A. C. Hardy of Brockville, president of the Ontario Liberal association, Hon. John R. Boyle, Hon. Duncan Marshall, Hon. C. R. Mitchell.

Mr. Lapointe, who made a brilliant, humorous, epigrammatic speech, in which he denounced in emphatic terms the method of government by order-in-council, and attacked by ridicule the spectre of Bolshevism which he said Mr. Meighen has raised to scare Canadians from endorsement of progressive policies. He declared that the vested interests of Canada had raised an immense fund to keep the present government in power, that the fund in the last analysis is extorted from the consumers of the Dominion, and that the watchword of the Liberal party ought to be to "fight that fund to a finish, in order that parliament and the people, and not the corporations and privileged interests, shall rule Canada." Mr. Duff brought greetings from Nova Scotia. His declaration that the people of the east are eager to turn the government out at the first opportunity was loudly cheered.

NOT A SINGLE INTERRUPTION DURING THE ENTIRE EVENING

The meeting was unique in that there was not a single interruption of any of the speakers throughout the evening. The audience was too intent upon the message of the various speakers to interrupt with frequent cheers, and reserved its greatest show of enthusiasm till the close of the eloquent appeal for the building of a new social order with which Mr. King closed his speech.

REDUCTION IN EXPENDITURE REGARDED AS BOLSHEVISM

Mr. King declared the two greatest needs of today are the reduction of taxation and the lowering of the cost of living, and that present government has espoused a policy which makes the realization of either impossible. Retrenchment and economy, the revision of the tariff downwards, and the elimination of profiteering, are means, he said, whereby these aims might be achieved. Yet in the present year the vote of the militia department alone had been increased from $8,000,000 to $12,000,000. "I moved in the house," said Mr. King, "that this additional four millions be struck out, and saved to the country or given to meet the needs of the returned soldiers of Canada. The trouble is," he added, "that the government has got the war habit of mind and anything that seems like a reduction of expenditure seems to them like the encouragement of Bolshevism. There is $2,000,000 for barracks which we dont want and wont need, for there is no reason why we should lay the basis of a standing army." Quoting the items for militia and defence, naval service, air service and mounted police a total of $22,588,928, he remarked that this is quarter the amount required in the last year of the Liberal administration. The item for mounted police was $870,000 in that year, as administration for all national purposes compared with $5,270,000 in 1920. He declared that the government in endeavoring to create great agencies for repression is helping to create revolutionary sentiment, rather than to remove it. "If the government can afford to spend that large sum then it is absolute hypocrisy to say that it has not got the wherewithal to do justice to the veterans of the war. If half of this sum were spent in gratuities, the country would be better off." While he had the highest admiration for the high traditions and splendid services rendered by the mounted police, Mr. King declared that the expenditure of such items as $500,000 for a barracks in Ottawa, and the conversion of the force into a great parade institution, was not a cause for pride or satisfaction.

Mr. King with complete frankness confessed that he would not be honest if he gave a pledge in the matter of soldiers reestablishment which would committ a parliament not yet elected, "but this I will say," he added, "that the policy of the Liberals is to meet the needs of the returned men the fullest possible extent, and I can conceive of cases in which $2,000 would be absolutely inadequate to meet such a need."

LIBERAL POLICY AND FARMERS POLICY IN FREE TRADE

The Liberal leader made a direct complaint that the press service of Canada had carried little information on what he has said in the east in regard to the tariff, though he had found inspired despatches which gave a misleading impression of what his position is. "We do not stand for free trade, nor for extreme protection," he said "and it is not true that any party in Canada stands for free trade. But my tariff policy is and always will be, the same when I am speaking in the east as in the west." Mr. King said that apart from the farmers greater demands in respect to the enlargement of the British preference, there was little difference between their policy and that of the Liberals, which was tariff for revenue, and the encouragement of increased production, the only means of solving the problem of the cost of living, by the admission under the best possible terms of all that is required for the development of agriculture, mining, lumbering and fishing.

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WAY WILL BE FOUND TO TURN OVER RESOURCES

Speaking of the policy of the party on natural resources, Mr. King called attention to the pledge in the Liberal platform and added, "I will see to it that this pledge is carried out if we are returned to power, as a matter of sacred obligation." It was in the platform stipulated that fair and equitable consideration must be given to the rights of other provinces, and it was important that every province should be heard, but a way of turning over the resources would be found. "So far as I am concerned there shall be no attempt to defeat the language of the resolution."

Referring to Canada's international and imperial relationships, Mr. King said that policies should not be decided in secret council. He believed in maintaining strongly the autonomy of Canada, as well as the unity of the empire.

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The greatest public meeting in the history of the city of Calgary took place in the Victoria Pavilion last evening, when Hon. William Lyon Mackenzie King, Canadian Liberal chieftain, spoke to nearly 3500 persons on the policy and aims of the historic party of which he is the distinguished leader. Never has an audience in this city hung with such eager intensity on the words of a political speaker, never has the handling of the great issues of the day excited deeper interest and never has a public gathering representative of all shades of political thought and opinion, after following with keen critical interest a statement of policy on the great issues of the day, given a greater ovation to any public man than the people of Calgary gave to Mr. King at the close of his address.

Every word of his ringing call to arms was heard by every member of the vast audience in the most distant corner of the pavilion, with as great a clearness as on the platform itself. The meeting was first and foremost a supreme personal triumph for the young man who may be called upon in the near future to direct the political destinies of Canada. To the great majority of his auditors Mr. King has hitherto been a stranger. Whether they share his political creed or not, there can be no doubt that he has established himself as a man fitter for great responsibilities, a deep student, a forceful and statesmanlike speaker, whose grasp of broad questions of principle and of the details of policy is equally firm. Frankness, sincerity, sturdiness and stoutness of principle, a keen sense of the realities of political life combined with an unmistakable idealism, characterized his address.

He called on the forward looking people of Canada of every group to unite for the purpose of overthrowing the reactionary forces. He called upon them to decide whether they will be controlled by an "invisible government, representative of the big interests, or by a party representative of the people without regard to class or creed or race."

"It is," he declared, "for the progressive forces to decide whether they will play into the hands of the interests whose motto is 'divide and rule,' or co-operate for the realization of their aims. I am not here for the purpose of offering opposition to the United Farmers, to Labor, or to the War Veterans, but if they mean business they must be careful not to allow the enemy to play his game in the way he has played it throughout the centuries."

VESTED INTRESTS HAVE BIG FUND TO FIGHT LIBERALS

The scene in the pavilion was a memorable one. It began to fill before 7 o'clock, and half an hour later scarcely a seat was available. At eight there were several hundreds of persons outside the building, many of whom were compelled to turn regretfully away. Behind the speakers' platform the citizens' band played as the crowds assembled and as Mr. King and his party entered and Dr. William Egbert took the chair there was much cheering. Among those on the platform were Ernest Lapointe, William Duff, member for Lunenberg, N.S., W. C. Kennedy, M.P., for North Essex, A. C. Hardy of Brockville, president of the Ontario Liberal association, Hon. John R. Boyle, Hon. Duncan Marshall, Hon. C. R. Mitchell.

Mr. Lapointe, who made a brilliant, humorous, epigrammatic speech, in which he denounced in emphatic terms the method of government by order-in-council, and attacked by ridicule the spectre of Bolshevism which he said Mr. Meighen has raised to scare Canadians from endorsement of progressive policies. He declared that the vested interests of Canada had raised an immense fund to keep the present government in power, that the fund in the last analysis is extorted from the consumers of the Dominion, and that the watchword of the Liberal party ought to be to "fight that fund to a finish, in order that parliament and the people, and not the corporations and privileged interests, shall rule Canada." Mr. Duff brought greetings from Nova Scotia. His declaration that the people of the east are eager to turn the government out at the first opportunity was loudly cheered.

NOT A SINGLE INTERRUPTION DURING THE ENTIRE EVENING

The meeting was unique in that there was not a single interruption of any of the speakers throughout the evening. The audience was too intent upon the message of the various speakers to interrupt with frequent cheers, and reserved its greatest show of enthusiasm till the close of the eloquent appeal for the building of a new social order with which Mr. King closed his speech.

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From the opening sentence of a witty and forceful speech, Ernest Lapointe was in the favor of the audience. Mr. Meighen has recently declared that Liberalism was dead everywhere except in Quebec. "I wish," said Mr. Lapointe, "that Mr. Meighen was here tonight. We may say to him, My lord, those whom you killed seem to enjoy a good health."

MR. LAPOINTE STRUCK MOST RESPONSIVE CHORD

Mr. Lapointe struck a note which has seldom been heard in recent years, and immediately struck a responsive chord in the audience when he declared that the safety valve of freedom of speech is essential to national well being, that when truth and falsehood struggle together without interference, truth must finally prevail.

Referring to the reluctance of the government to go to the country, the member for East Quebec remarked that the "instinct of self-preservation is a natural one even in politicians, and that to most of the members of the government an election would mean what life would have meant to Cinderella if there had been no fairy prince, and she had to go back to the kitchen." Robert Rogers had described the government, before its ablest members retired, as a government of "second hand dealers, jobbers and tinkers." He had not so referred to the government of late. "The prodigal had come back, and no doubt the fatted calf had been killed in his honor."

tion of a Conservative party as "organ-

Recalling Lord Beaconsfield's definized hypocrisy," Mr. Lapointe surmised that the great British Tory had foreseen the formation of the new party led by Mr. Meighen in Canada.

MESSAGE FROM QUEBEC OF CORDIAL FRIENDSHIP

"My message to you from Quebec," said the speaker, "is one of cordial friendship and true brotherhood. It is an offer of co-operation in the achievement of the great worth and the reaching of a goal that will make our common country more prosperous, greater, better governed and the home of a united and proud nation.

"The aim of Liberalism is to unite Canada, to reunite a country which mischievous hands for low political ends have succeeded to divide and break into fragments.

"We are governed today by a cabinet of usurpers who have no more mandate to carry on the affairs of Canada and who ingloriously cling to office without any constitutional right to do so, in spite of the unmistakable will of the Canadian people.

DO NOT SET UP ANY ARTIFICIAL DIVIDING LINE

"Nothing could be more foolish and more disastrous than to set up any artificial dividing line between progressives and to transform a temporary or incidental difference into a permant political organization or machinery.

"Our enemies wish only to divide us and care not by what means.

"Ideas make a party, interest makes a group. Above the interest of any individual or set of individuals is the sacred interest of the nation and this must not be lost sight of in the framing of any policy, platform or program.

"Liberalism has its principles embedded in the human heart—Toryism finds its well-springs in its own pockets. A Liberal is a Liberal because he loves somebody or something; a Tory is a Tory because he hates something or somebody Surely the Canadian women shall never adopt as their creed a political doctrine based on hatred and selfishness.

Mr. Mackenzie King spoke in part as follows:

"It is my purpose this evening to endeavour to set forth the difference of aims and method of the progressives and the reactionaries; to indicate the principles and policies which the former hold in common and which should unite them in a common effort in the face of a common foe.

FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCES IN POLITICAL PARTIES

"I might describe in a phrase the aim of those who are entitled to call themselves by the name of progressives. I should say it was that of a wider freedom based on popular control, in political, industrial and social relations. Perhaps I could not better illustrate the method of this broadly considered, than by a reference to the Liberal convention held in Ottawa in August of last year, at which time the policies of the party were reconsidered and framed anew in the light of the changed conditions and existing national needs.

In the vast gathering of delegates, it was difficult, if not impossible, to say what proportion had supported and what proportion had opposed the Union government at the last general election. Those present were not thinking of the past; their minds were intent upon the future of Liberalism.

For three days, this assembly, counting its numbers not in hundreds but in thousands, discussed the questions of the day and the attitude which the Liberal party, as a party, should assume towards the several issues presented. By a show of hands, in open meeting, plank after plank of the Liberal platform was adopted unanimously, or by an overwhelming majority. The convention stood for community of control, not single control by any interest, class or group in the determination of policy.

Similarly, in the choice of leaders, no single men or group of men had a controlling voice. To each and every individual was accorded, under the secrecy of the ballot, the freest expression of choice, and no sooner was the voice of the majority made known than, by the generous and chivalrous proposal of others who had shared in the race, it was made the unanimous expression of the entire gathering.

OTHER PROGRESSIVE GROUPS SEEK DEMOCRATIC CONTROL

In method and expression of organization, you will observe a striking similarity to the Liberal method of proceeding in the case of the two parties known as the United Farmers and the Labor party. Each of these organizations aim at a wider freedom, fiscal, political and social, for their members, and have based their organization on popular control. It is a more restricted popular control than that of which I have spoken, for though these movements profess the widest interest in matters of public policy, they are from their very nature, specially representative of particular classes. The political platform of the United Farmers was the creation of a convention composed of representative delegates. The name of the party, its platform and principles and its leaders are none of them the product of the will of an individual or inner circle superimposed upon the majority, but are the evidences of the will of a majority, democratically expressed through some device of representation. The same is true of the Labor party which has chosen its name, its leaders and its platform by methods that are wholly democratic.

MEIGHEN GOVT. REPRESENTS CONTROL BY INTERESTS

In striking contrast to the democracy of aim and method of these political bodies which are outstanding in our political and industrial society today, is the aim and method of the reactionaries, as it has found expression in the National Liberal and Conservative party, to which the parties I have just mentioned are naturally opposed. Nor is it singular that there should be common opposition on the part of the democratic forces to the reactionary forces of our day for, as the former represent an effort to gain for the the mass of men a wider freedom, based on popular control, so the aim of the reactionary party is a restricted freedom based on a monopoly of control by privileged groups and special interests.

For more than a year the country has been made to serve the convenience and personal ambitions of members of the government. Had Sir Robert Borden dropped out, as was his intention and desire, six months ago, the Unionist cabinet and the Unionist party would have fallen to pieces like a house of cards. It required six months of silent manoeuvring among the special interests that held in their hands the fate of the Unionist party, and also the placating of its following in the House of Commons by divers methods, some of which have been only too apparent, to bring things to the pass where an entirely new party could be created, a party platform could be formulated without conference, save in caucus of a chosen few, and a leader chosen in secret council, by a sort of divine right, and subsequently imposed upon the country as its prime minister, without the people being consulted in any way, or any policy of an entirely new administration submitted for their approval.

My colleagues and I in our visit to western Canada, have not come to offer opposition to any progressive group, but rather for the purpose of emphasizing those great features of public policy which all progressives have in common, and the need of co-operation between progressive forces in the face of the common enemy, of which I have spoken, and which has usurped the control of government in Canada today, and which will continue to maintain control unless division in the ranks of those by whom they are opposed gives way to united action.

National Aims of Progressives

What are the national aims which the progressive elements in our political society have in common? I might mention very many. I shall, however, confine myself to a few that are outstanding, and in order that I may at the same time, disclose prominent features of the Liberal platform, I might illustrate these aims from principles to which, as a party, we are committed, and for the recognition of which the Liberal opposition has been contending in parliament, and the advocacy of which throughout the country it is our purpose to further.

First and foremost, there is the need at this time of a representative parliament and responsible ministry;

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in other words, the control of parliament by the people, and the control of the executive by parliament. Here, surely, are aims which all progressives have in common, irrespective of the class or party to which they may be allied.

Taxation and Cost of Living

Another aim which all progressive groups have in common, especially those who are giving consideration primarily to the well-being of the people at large, is relief from the burdens of taxation which, since the war, have become extremely onerous, and a reduction in the high cost of living.

First, there is retrenchment and economy in public expenditures; second, a downward revision of the tariff in the interest of the consumers and producers; and, third, the elimination of profiteering. There may be differences of degree in measures advocated by different groups to secure these great imperative national ends, but there is substantial agreement on the objects themselves and, also I believe, in the wisdom of the policy of the Liberal party with respect thereto. Against the common purpose and aim of the progressive groups there stands the unrelenting opposition of the present administration, as evidenced by its attitude and acts. Let me briefly speak of each of these necessary reforms in turn.

First, as to the need for retrenchment and economy in public expenditures. To appreciate aright how all important this is, it is necessary that we should have a just appreciation of the country's present financial condition, and the extent of the burden which, for generations to come will have to be borne in consequence by the Canadian people. Take first of all the public debt of this country.

In 1910-11, the net public debt in Canada amounted to $340,000,000; today, it amounts to over $2,273,000,000, or an increase in 9 years of 659 per cent. Until that debt is paid off the people of Canada will have to assume the annual interest charge as one element of their taxation.

In 1910 the annual interest charge was slightly over $12,500,000; today, it is about $140,000,000. To realize what this amount signifies, let me mention that the ordinary expenditure of government in Canada, that is to say, the ordinary expenditure payable out of the consolidated fund, amounted in 1910-11 to only $67,774,000. It was the highest point that it ever reached in the history of Canada till then. The total expenditure for that year, including capital account, railway subsidies, and other charges and that was a time when there was large expenditures on accoount of railroad construction and public works was in all $122,861,000.

Enormous Outlays

The estimates for the present year, as presented to parliament at the last session, totaled, in contrast to this amount, the very large sum of $611,704,910. Of this amount the government claimed that some $148,900,000 was in the nature of investments, being loans for different purposes, and money paid out on account of shipbuilding. That, however, leaves an ordinary expenditure amounting to $462,804,000.

The annual interest charge of $140,000,000 on the public debt is one that we cannot escape, and one which can only be lessened as the principal of the debt is paid off.

There is another class of expenditures which is not less a first charge on the revenues of the country, and that is the expenditures arising out of the war, and which are as follows: Soldiers' land settlement, over $50,000,000; soldiers' civil re-establishment, over $40,000,000; pensions, $43,000,000; demobilization, $39,000,000; miscellaneous, $1,000,000, or a total of $175,000,000. This, with the interest on the public debt, amounting to $140,000,000, makes a total of $313,000,000, which must be raised by taxation for these two purposes before a single cent is spent on the ordinary expenditures of government, as these exist today. This being the case, is there anything more obvious than the need for retrenchment and economy, if the people of Canada are not going to be crushed under the burden of enormous taxation?

How little may be expected in the way of retrenchment and economy from the present administration is only too apparent not only from its record during the war, but since the war, and with reference to this very year.

Wasteful Extravagance

May I point out that apart altogether from war expenditure, the public debt of this country was increased during the war. Every department of government shows some considerable increase in expenditure and appointments. In the year immediately following the war, notwithstanding the war was over, $325,000,000 in the way of increase to the public debt was added by the extravagance of the government, and their failure to raise revenue at the time to cover even current expenditure. One need not more than mention the circumstance that for the most part war bonds issued have been exempted from taxation, and that war profits were largely untaxed during the war, to show that the government has been more concerned in protecting wealth than protecting the people against the financial burden occasioned by the war.

Many instances of unwarranted extravagance might be cited. There are the innumerable commissions which the government has appointed, costing the country many millions of dollars, and giving us, in some cases, government by irresponsible commissions rather than government by a responsible ministry and the people's representatives in parliament. There was the wholly unnecessary extra session of parliament last year, which cost the country one and a half millions of dollars, and the time consumed during the last session on the enacting of the franchise act, which was also unnecessary, seeing that there is still on the statutes the Dominion elections act of 1898, which with a few amendments would have adequately met all our electoral needs. The awarding of contracts running into millions of dollars without calling for tenders, which is contrary to law, of which the expenditure of the enormous sum of $70,000,000 on a merchant marine without tenders in a single instance is also a most glaring instance of indifference to economy and law alike on the part of the administration.

There is one item in this later classification to which I would like to draw particular attention: that is the item of $39,000,000 for purposes of demobilization. Notwithstanding the armistice was signed on November 11, 1918, and that many millions have been voted for the demobilization of the military and naval forces, the government asked and received from parliament the sum of $39,000,000 for expenditure on account of demobilization this year. The Liberal opposition in parliament took the view that now that war was over and no menace threatening Canada from any part of the world, with the war commitments heavy as they are, the government, so far at least as the military and naval expenditures of the ordinary kind were concerned, should endeavour to restrict its outlays just as much as possible. Especially did the opposition urge that so long as parliament was being asked to appropriate millions for the purpose of demobilization it should not be asked at the same time to grant vast additional sums for increased military and naval expenditures on ordinary account. The following figures will speak for themselves. This year there has been appropriated for Militia and Defence, in addition to all expenditures to which I have already made allusion an increase of over $4,000,000 above that set forth in the estimates as the total appropriation for last year. For naval service $2,980,000 have been appropriated, for air service $1,150,000, and for the Mounted Police, the enormous sum of $5,270,000. In 1910-11, at which there was, if anything, greater need for the services of the Mounted Police than there is today, the total cost of the force was $753,000, and the total cost of the Dominion Police was $55,000, the two together amounting in all to $808,000. These forces have been combined into the force now known as the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, and from $808,000 the expenditure on these combined forces has been jumped by the present administration to $5,270,000. Taking the military naval, air and police forces combined, the total expenditure on these accounts for the present year amounted in all to $22,588,928, or over one-quarter the total ordinary expenditure in Canada ten years ago; and this, notwithstanding that the war is over, the nations everywhere are more or less crippled or financially burdened, and the danger of an invasion of our Dominion by land or sea is nowhere apparent nor likely to be for many years to come.

The Navy

That you may appreciate how serious this matter is, and how insidious is the government's method of proceeding in the matter of these military and police expenditures, may I cite what took place at the last session of parliament. When the main estimates were brought down, they indicated as regards naval expenditures a proposed outlay of $300,000, or a sum only half of the amount of the outlay last year. The estimates were followed by the pronouncement of the minister of marine and fisheries to the effect that the whole naval service would be reorganized, and that the government would defer the adoption of any naval policy until after the imperial conference, which is to be held in England some time next year. Naturally, the assumption of the people's representatives in parliament and of the country generally was that in this branch of the country's service economies would be effected, which could well be at the present time.

The session had not ended, however, before the minister of marine announced that the government had accepted from the British government,

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without any reference to parliament, two torpedo boat destroyers, two submarines and a cruiser, which were to form the nucleus of a naval service and upon which the country was to be asked to expend an amount additional to the main estimates of $2,200,000. It was in vain that the opposition pleaded that until the government had a policy on naval defence which had the approval of parliament, this expenditure might well be deferred.

The Militia

With respect to the outlays on account of the militia the opposition was more fortunate. Though they failed to reduce the amount asked for in the main estimates, they did succeed in causing the minister of militia and defence to refrain from asking in the supplementary estimates, as he had previously announced his intention of doing, the sum of $2,000,000 for the construction of barracks in different cities and requesting only for the present the sum of $1,000,000

Item after item of military extravagance on ordinary account were questioned by the opposition in the house. We sought to reduce the amount on account of the active militia, annual drill, contingencies and other purposes, to figures corresponding to those of last year, but without success. In every case, the government demanded increased outlays.

The Returned Men

The attitude of the state towards the returned men and the dependents of others, in all that relates to their need, should be one of generosity and of due recognition of their service to the cause of freedom. There may be cases where the amount required to meet the existing need will vastly exceed anything that has thus far been suggested by way of general gratuity; in such cases the need should determine the allowance to be made by the state.

What is needed in Canada today is not increased militia and police, but increased production. At present there are 194 armories and drill halls owned by the government, and 25 experimental farms carried on under its direction. In the province of Ontario there are two federal experimental farms and 107 drill halls and armories. Surely these facts speak for themselves. Whatever the military and police necessity may have been in the past, the need of today is not for men brigaded in forces and housed in barracks, but for men on the farms developing the great basic industries of the country. We have had enough of repressive and destructive agencies; we need now revived interest in the work of construction. For war scarcity and extravagance, we need peace, plenty and retrenchment. This is the policy to which the Liberal party is committed.

The Liberal Tariff Policy

Let me come now to the revision of the tariff, and here let me say that the statement of the Liberal policy as I shall make it in this connection will be the same in this province of Alberta and the sister provinces of Saskatchewan and Manitoba as that which I have already made in the maritime provinces and in British Columbia, and also in the province of Ontario. That is one of the outstanding merits of a great political party, which comprises in its membership people of all classes of the community and embraces in its extent all sections of the country. It is the one policy for all, and all are committed to giving that policy their loyal support.

It is being charged against the Liberal party by its opponents and by those who misrepresent its true position, on the one hand, that it is a party of free traders, identical in aim to the Farmers' party, of which Mr. Meighen, the present prime minister, said "would submarine our whole fiscal system"; and, on the other hand, that it is a protectionist policy on all fours akin to the party which Mr. Meighen himself is leading today. Obviously it cannot be at both these extremes. The same charge was made against the tariff policy of the party, as outlined in Liberal convention which drafted the the Liberal platform. It was said that there were present at that convention Liberals who had protectionist leanings. The inference which our opponents would draw from this is that the Liberal policy on the matter of the tariff must necessarily represent one or other of the two positions. What our opponents fail to recognize, or what they are unwilling to recognize, is that what was sought at the Liberal convention by those who were sent as delegates from all parts of this Dominion, was not a policy which would represent the extreme views of any section or of any class in the Dominion, but a policy which would be so fair in its consideration of the interests of the people of Canada as a whole, that wherever presented to the electorate of the Dominion it would be sure of support by all fair and reasonably minded men and women; and when presented to parliament would be sure of finding expression in our legislative enactments.

With the enormous obligations of the Dominion being what they are, as I have described them, it would not be honest for any political party to try to persuade the people of Canada today that we can do away with all the revenue that is required by direct rather than by indirect taxation. I say it would not be honest for any political party to make such representations, nor do I know of any political party that is making them; and it is dishonest for those who are opposed to the policy of the council of agriculture, not less than to the policy of the Liberal party, to say that the former is a policy of free trade, and that in that regard the policies of the farmers and of the Liberals are alike.

They are alike in that they stand for freer trade, not for free trade; they are alike in that they aim at freedom rather than at restriction in matters of trade; they are alike in that they would reduce rather than increase the burdens of taxation which are imposed upon industry and upon the people by a customs tariff; they are alike in that they would relieve consumers and producers of much of the burden of taxation which is being imposed upon them from this source at the present time; and in this respect they not only resemble each other and are akin in many essential particulars, but also resemble and are akin to fiscal reforms demanded by those who belong to the Labor party in this country, by the war veterans, by the women and by all other classes in our country who are seeking relief in the cost of living, and who desire to find the means whereby the necessaries of life, as they relate to the food, clothing, shelter and warmth of the people, may be brought more within the reach of the great body of consumers; and also the means whereby production in the great basic industries of agriculture, mining, lumbering and fishing may be made easier to those whose labor is devoted to extracting from nature that increase of wealth upon which, in the last analysis, the solution of the problem of the high cost of living must lie. So far as a tariff in this country is concerned, the Liberal party believes that its use should be confined to raising what in the way of revenue may be necessary for the honest and economical administration of the public service, regard being had to what may be raised in taxation from other sources and by other means. We believe that the fiscal requirements of the country should be met in part by the taxation of income, graduated in such a manner as to bear least heavily upon those who are least able to bear the burdens of taxation; by the taxation of business profits, so graduated as to give to legitimate business an adequate return, while at the same time eliminating the possibility of profiteering; and by taxation on luxuries, wherever such taxation can be successfully imposed.

We recognize, however, that the transition from a system of indirect to a system of direct taxation cannot be worked out in a day, but like all changes—unless it is to provoke reactions likely to be prejudicial in the long run—it must be worked out with due regard to the past and the present, as well as the future; and that therefore, for the immediate present at least, these sources of national income must be supplemented by a revenue derived in some measure from a customs tariff.

A Tariff for Producers and Consumers

We believe, however, that the tariff as at present existing needs revision, and that the direction in which revision should be made is downwards. We feel that there is no necessity for tariff commissions or any other like expedients to point the way to what is obviously demanded in the interests of consumers and producers as respects the necessities of life and the instruments of production; but that a downward revision of the tariff and, in some instances, its complete elimination should be immediately effected.

That there may be no misunderstanding of the exact position of the Liberal party and of the Liberal policy in this regard, let me read the text of the resolution respecting the tariff which forms a part of the Liberal platform.

That the best interests of Canada demand that substantial reductions of the burdens 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 principal articles of food, farm implements and machinery, farm tractors, mining, flour and sawmill machinery and repair parts thereof, rough and partly 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 material entering into the same.

That a revision downwards of the tariff should be made whereby substantial reductions should be effected in the duties on wearing apparel and footwear, and on other articles of general consumption (other than luxuries), as well as on the raw material entering into the manufacture of the same.

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

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

It is unnecessary for me to elaborate on the wisdom of such a policy from the national standpoint. Canada is a country of vast area and resources, of which agriculture has been from the outset and still remains the most important. What we must guard against, above all else, is a one-sided development. If we consult the statistics which reveal the trend of population in our country within the past 20 years, we will find that while urban areas have rapidly developed, this development too often has been at the expense of rural life and development.

We cannot make the lives of the people on the farm too contented nor their lot too prosperous. If there was need for a wise agrarian policy in the past history of Canada, there is greater need today for such a policy than ever before.

The Elimination of Profiteering

The elimination of profiteering, is the third method by which the Liberal party will seek to reduce the cost of living and to bring about a larger measure of social justice in the country. We know that while men were sacrificing their lives and their strength, and women were enduring privations of many kinds and the loss, in a multitude of instances, of those nearest and dearest to them, and on whom they were depending, huge fortunes were being made by individuals in this country out of the war, through the provision of war supplies.

What we of the Liberal party believe to be a first obligation of government, is the establishment of machinery which will adequately protect consumers against unjust exactions. This surely is an aim which farmers, workingmen, war veterans, heads of families and consumers generally have in common. It is an aim which is being frustrated by the forces represented in the government of the day. It surely affords ground sufficient for united action on the part of all who regard human well being as of more concern than material wealth, and human life as more precious than anything which can be weighed in the balance against it.

Control of Railway Policy and Rates

This brings me to another great and which the progressive forces have in common, particularly progressive forces of the west, and which is a part of the problem of the cost of living, namely, the more effective control of railway rates and railway policy by all the parties and interests concerned. There is little difference between an increased railway rate and an increase of customs duty in their ultimate effect and incidence. Sooner or later the burden of the increased cost is shifted on to the shoulders of the big body of consumers, and goes to increase their problem of the cost of living. The government of this country has succeeded in bringing under its control, or rather the single control of a group of its own appointees, who constitute a board of management, the railway systems of this country other than the C.P.R.; and allied to the railway systems thus controlled, they have brought under their single control a merchant marine on which they have spent a sum of $70,000,000, taken from the public treasury. The people were told at the time these transactions were consummated that they constituted a mighty achievement in the field of government ownership.

May I pause for a moment to ask what it is that makes government ownership attractive to the people who are its advocates. Is it not that by government ownership they believe that monies accruing in the form of profits to private capital will be saved to the public, who will reap through ownership the benefit of the saving of this amount in the form of reduced rates and prices. Is it not also that they believe that, instead of a single group—the nominees of capital having single control of industrial policy—the people themselves in the government owned enterprises will have a larger voice in the determination of conditions under which these enterprises ought to have some determination of the manner in which these great enterprises are to be carried on.

Let us test our so-called government ownership of railways and merchant marine in Canada today by these two requirements. Has anything been saved to the public by way of profits to private capital? The stock and bonds to the assumed value of half a billion of dollars have been transferred to the nominal ownership of the Canadian people. Until, however, this half billion of dollars is paid out of the public treasury to the bondholders and shareholders, the real ownership of these shares will not pass. Meanwhile the government has enacted that this purchase shall not be made within a period of 20 years, and in the interim a rate of interest is guaranteed to the bondholders and shareholders infinitely more considerable than any which had been assured to them in the past.

As regards the control on industrial policy, instead of the people through their representatives in parliament having the real control which government ownership is supposed to afford, the people's representatives have been told by the minister of railways and canals and by the minister of marine that it is not permissible to question the ministry with respect to the affairs of these enterprises, and that no information other than such as the government's own appointees on the board of management care to submit in the form of a statement of their own preparation need be expected by the people's representatives in parliament. The people of Canada today are getting a taste in the increased cost of transportation in passenger and freight of what this kind of monopolistic control by a government appointed executive—an executive composed not only of government's own appointees, but almost exclusively of its own friends—a part of the invisible government in Canada today—is going to mean to them.

What is wanted today in our industries, railway as well as others, is not monopoly of control by any single group, but joint control by all the parties and interests, and this includes control of industrial policies not alone by management, whether named by the government or by capital, but also by labor employed in these enterprises and by the public or the community, without whose assistance they could not be carried on. There are four parties to industry—not one or two—and the recognition of all four is essential if we are to have our enterprises administered for the benefit of the people as a whole and not for the special benefit of privileged classes.

It is for this reason that in its labor policy the Liberal party is advocating, amongst other things, the right of representation on the board of directors of our national railways of the working men who are employed on its systems.

Lastly, may I say that above all else we as Liberals have committed ourselves to the task of realizing, insofar as that may be possible, the new order of social justice and social equality, which we believe is the only monument worthy of their sacrifice which it is within the power of the people of this nation to raise to the memory of their heroic dead.

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Edmonton Bulletin
Dec 12th 1920

D 4721

King Accuses Union Government of Governing By Order-In-Council At The Dictation of Secret Influences

Federal Liberal Leader Delivers Stinging Attack in Address at Calgary

DIFFERENT POLICIES

Practices of Union Government Compared With Policies of The Liberal Party

Special to The Bulletin

CALGARY, Oct. 11.—The pavilion at Victoria Park here is supposed to seat three thousand people. By that estimate the audience which gathered to greet Hon. W. L. MacKenzie King to night must have numbered about three times that number. The building was packed many times beyond what the architects had anticipated and the overflow was several ranks deep beyond the main entrance. This was in spite of the fact that all the approved and acknowledged Liberals of Calgary had gathered at noon to greet Mr. King at the luncheon tendered to him in the Palliser hotel.

At this event Mayor Marshall of Calgary extended the official welcome of the city to the Liberal leader, while Hon. J. R. Boyle, attorney general for Alberta, Duncan Marshal., minister of agriculture for the province, and W. M. Davidson, member for North Calgary, represented the province. Among the audience who were addressed by Ernest Lapointe, M.P. and Wm. Duff, M.P., as well as by the leader of the opposition. The lady voters of Calgary and district were very strongly represented.

In the evening Mr. King in his address laid stress on the difference between Liberal policies, which aimed for democratic government through the expressed will of the people, as opposed to the practices which he accused the Union government of pursuing in government by order-in-council at the dictation of secret influences which the people of Canada had only too much reason to believe were the influences of the big interests and the monopoly organization of the country.

Attacks Ballantyne's Policies

Previous to Mr. King's address the audience listened with the keenest attention to a strong attack by Wm. Duff, member for Lunnenburg, on the policies of the minister of marine with reference to conducting the shipbuilding and naval policies of the Dominion. "Throughout the country," said Mr. Duff, "the people are dissatisfied with the way the government is being conducted, this being for the most part by order-in-council, the parliament and representatives of the people being ignored. We are asked to vote money and pass legislation after the cabinet has practically carried the legislation into effect."

Mr. Duff instanced the building of sixty-three ships for Canadian mercantile marine by orders-in-council, Parliament having been asked for the money after these contracts had been let. Mr. MacKenzie King, said Mr. Duff, in his speech at Vancouver, showed conclusively that such was the case. The Hon. C. C. Ballantyne a day or two later, gave a statement to the press denying the fact, and saying that Mr. King was mistaken.

"I make the statement here on my reputation as a member of parliament, that Mr. King was absolutely correct, and that Mr. Ballantyne deliberately intended to deceive the public, both on this occasion and on another occasion in the House of Commons. I make the statement that the contracts were not only made before the money was voted, but that the whole seventy millions were spent without tenders being invited—although the law expressly states that no contracts for over five thousand dollars may be let without tenders being called for.

Trying to Mislead Public

"To prove that Mr Ballantyne is trying to mislead the public, I will refer to page 645 of Hansard of March 23, 1920, when Mr. Ballantyne said in a statement in the house of commons: 'Later on I shall have something more to say in this regard, but I shall now pass on to the contracts that have been let.' On the same page he gives the list of contracts numbering 63, this being the total number of vessels contracted for under the 70 million dollar vote. On the following page I asked the minister a question as to the date of the last contract. He replied about a month ago, that he could not give the exact date. This proves conclusively that the contracts were let before the money was voted, and I have no hesitation in saying that a minister of the crown who deliberately misleads the public should be compelled to hand in his resignation.

"This is not the first time that Mr. Ballantyne has misrepresented the affairs of his department before the House of Commons. Last session he was asked to give a statement of the ships of the Canadian mercantile marine in operation. In one particular he reported $1,500,000 in cash and victory bonds to the credit of these ships. After I had questioned him, he was compelled to admit the existence of only $800,000 of this amount.

Should Demand Resignation

"Another instance of the manner in which a supposedly responsible minister of the crown is handling the affairs of a great department is the case of the contracts for two ships being built by United States brokers at Prince Rupert on credit supplied to them by the Canadian government. One of these gentlemen sold out his interest to his partner for a sum of money provided from advances made by the Canadian government through the Hon. C. C. Ballantyne. It is also current rumor on the Pacific Coast that when the department of marine calls for tenders for paint, a notice is sent to the tenderers that only Sherwin-Williams paint wil be considered. This is good evidence that Mr. Ballantyne knows how to look after number one. The people of this country should call for his immediate resignation."

Mr. Duff said a few words on Mr. Ballantyne's record as regards the naval affairs of the country, and amused his audience by describing how men of the Canadian Mounted Police guard the gates of the dock yard at Esquimault and the poor old Rainbow.

Lapointe Takes Up Challenge

E. A. Lapointe, M. P., from Quebec East got a very attentive hearing from the audience. He took up a challenge issued to him to touch on the tariff question with special reference to the industries of his own constituency.

See page 2. for two King speeches.

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"We ask for no privileges for any industry in this country beyond such treatment as will make for the general interests of the whole country." said Mr. Lapointe, "particularly would I not ask for special consideration for any industry, simply because it happened to flourish in my own constituency, we are governed today by a cabinet of usurpers." said Mr. Lapointe. "They have no more mandate to carry on the affairs of Canada and they ingloriously cling to office without any constitutional right to do so."

By Canadian Press

CALGARY, Oct. 11.—More than three thousand people here today heard Mackenzie King, leader of the Liberal party, deliver a stinging attack upon the Union government as a government of orders-in-council, a government of reactionaries which represented control by the interests, who denounced as revolutionists all who dared to disagree with them. Mr. King outlined the policies of his party as the progressive party, and stated their aims ,the chief of which was the installation of a representative government and a representative parliament. He dwelt upon his policy of retrenchment in public expenditure and the need of curbing the profiteering. He urged the policy of joint control of industry by all parties and interests, not control by a single group. He urged a greater control of railway rates.

Common Interests of Humanity

Mr. King spoke as follows;

"The questions today in Canada is 'are you going to stand with the reactionaries who describe as wreckers and revolutionists all who differ from them in aim or opinion, or do you wish to be among those who would realize the splendid vision of those brave sons of Canada, who, with others of the heroic dead, fought and suffered and died in that freedom might become an increasing measure the portion of all classes comprising our common humanity. However far short we may come of the goal towards which we strive, the aim of Liberalism in Canada today is to seek the realization of that larger freedom in our social, political, industrial, fiscal, religious and personal life, which constitutes the basis of a social order that places human well-being above material gain ,and regards human life as of vastly more concern than wealth. This is the mark to which we have set our hands, this is the work we intend to carry on, recognizing that great as are the problems of tariff, finance, of trade ,nd all the rest, greatest of all are the common interests of all humanity.

To Serve Personal Ambitions

"For more than a year the country has been made to serve the conveniences and personal ambitions of members of the government. Had Sir Robert Borden dropped out, as was his intention and desire, six months ago, the Unionist cabinet and the Unionist party would have fallen to pieces like a house of cards. It required six months of silent maneouvering among the special interests that held in their hands the fate of the Unionist party, and also the placating of its following in the house of commons by divers methods, some of which have been only too apparent to bring things to the pass where an entirely new party could be created, a party platform could be formulated without conference, save in caucus of a chosen few, and a leader chosen in secret council, by a sort of divine right and subsequently imposed upon the country as its prime minister without the people being consulted in any way, or any policy of an entirely new administration submitted for their approval.

Impresses Need of Co-operation

"My colleagues and I in our visit to Western Canada, have not come to offer opposition to any progressive group, but rather for the purpose of emphasizing those great features of public policy which all progressives have in common, and the need of co-operation between progressive forces in the face of the common enemy, of which I have spoken, and which has usurped the control of government in Canada today, and which will continue to maintain control nuless division in the ranks of those by whom they are opposed gives way to united action."

Speaking of retrenchment, Mr. King spoke of the 659 percent increase in debt in nine years and the enormous interest charges. Rigid economy was needed, and he instanced extravagance by the government and enormous outlays provided by this year's estimates for military and naval expenditures, just after the war had been concluded.

Many Costly Commissions

He referred to the many costly commissions appointed. He spoke of the huge appropriations for demobilization, for mounted police, for militia and defence and the navy. What is needed is not increased police, navy and militia, but increased production, he said.

Referring to the tariff, he said that his party favored a policy of fairness in consideration to all interests of Canada. He believed, however, that the present tariff needed rivision which should be downwards. There was no need for tariff commissions to decide this, he said.

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D 4723

12 Oct. 1920 Revelstoke, B.C.

POLITICAL CONDITIONS IN CANADA

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Revelstoke - Oct 12 - 1920

D 4424

Liberal Speakers Unite in Demand for Early Election

Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King and Colleagues Reiterate Demand that Present Union Administration is Acting Without Authority of Electors—Its Policies Not Endorsed by Specific Party.

The great wave of enthusiasm that has attended Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, Liberal leader of Canada, and his party throughout their western tour, was tremendously manifested in the big meeting in the Empress theatre on Tuesday evening, no doubt being left in the minds of the audience that an early election is one of the most pressing demands the Liberal party will make upon the government.

In this connection it was declared upon several occasions that with no mandate from the people to carry on, more especially to formulate a fiscal policy, the government must go before the electors. Charges of extravagance and delay in the enactment of taxation measures, thus permitting profiteering, were voiced in no uncertain manner.

Mr. W. I. Briggs acted as chairman and seated with him on the platform were Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King; W. C. Kennedy, M.P.; Wm. Duff, M. P.; A. C. Hardy, President of the Ontario Liberal Association; Hon. Hewitt Bostock, Liberal leader of the Senate; Dr. Sutherland, M. L. A.; John Bucham, M. L. A.; Mayor Bews; Winn Maxwell; Alex. McRae, and Andrew Hayden, National Secretary of the Liberal Party at Ottawa.

Mr. Ernest Lapointe, M. P., was unable to be present, suffering from a severe cold.

The stage decorations were handsome and presented a most patriotic appearance, with the Union Jack on the speakers' table, and a profusion of flowers and smaller flags everywhere in evidence.

Mayor Walter Bews was called upon and extended a most cordial welcome to the distinguished visitors. He said it was a pleasant duty to greet the leader of the federal opposition to Revelstoke, and while he regretted their stay was so short, and dark on their arrival, he trusted they would take with them some pleasant memories of our little mountain city.

Wm. Duff, M. P., of Nova Scotia, brought the greetings of the Maritime provinces. He said the wise men came from the East, which no doubt accounted for so many wise men in Revelstoke, as he had understood that a large number of citizens had come out from the Eastern provinces.

The Maritime provinces had much in common with British Columbia—mining, fisheries, agriculture, lumbering—all these interests were identical in both the extremes of Canada.

The message that he brought from the Maritime provinces was to the effect that the citizens of Canada to the east were agreed with those in the west that it was time to turn out of office the government at Ottawa, which does not fully represent the people. They were elected as a Union government in 1917, for war purposes, and now that that period was over, their mission was ended, and it was up to them to dissolve the government and ask a new mandate from the people of Canada.

Senator Bostock was next called upon, and took occasion to eulogize the leader of the federal opposition, and introduced to the meeting the Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, who was accorded a great ovation of hearty cheering.

Time of Readjustment.

In his opening remarks Hon. Mr. King dwelt on the difference in attitude and outlook of the two parties.

"These are days of transition, of readjustment and of new alignments in social and political matters all over the world," said he.

"A body of voters, so large as to constitute an entirely new electorate, has come to the fore. There are the young men between the ages of twenty and thirty-two, who, up to the present, have not exercised their right to the franchise, save in reference to the election of 1917, which was fought out with relation almost exclusively to the war. There is the great body of the war veterans who were overseas during that election, engaged in a mightier business than that of winning elections. And there is the great body of women voters in Canada who now, for the first time in our history, are to have a voice in determining the policies which are to govern the destinies of our country in the future.

"Apart altogether, therefore, from the records of political parties in the past, it is important that the people should crearly understand the differences which distinguish their policies at the present time.

Difference in Policies.

"It will be found in the last analysis that, irrespective of the names by which they may be called, the choice lies today, as it has lain in the past, between those who are not afraid of change in the social order, and those who resist change; between those who are progressive and those who are reactionary; between those who are prepared to trust the people and those who mistrust the people and are more concerned in keeping intact the strongholds of privilege.

"Let me place concretely before you, by way of illustration, actually what has taken place. When the Liberal convention was called, invitations were sent, months in advance, to every constituency in the Dominion of Canada, calling upon the men and women of Liberal aims and sympathies, to send from among their number delegates to represent them in the reconstruction of the Liberal platform, and the selection of a new leader for the Liberal party.

"For three days this assembly discussed the questions of the day and the attitude which the Liberal party, as a party, should assume towards the several issues presented. By a show of hands, in open meeting, plank after plank of the Liberal platform was adopted unanimously, or by an overwhelming majority. In no direction were extremes of view permitted sway, though all shades of opinion were freely expressed and carefully weighed.

"Contrast now," said the speaker, "the method by which the new leader of the so-called National Liberal and Conservative party was chosen, and the party's platform devised. For more than a year past the country has been made to serve the convenience and personal ambitions of members of the government. What sympathy can any man have with a system of party government where control in the matter of name, leadership and platform alike is decided in secret councils and under the dictatorship of a single individual?

Acquisition of G. T. R.

"Take, first of all, the largest single financial transaction in the history of Canadian Parliament; The acquisition of the Grand Trunk Railway system by the Government of Canada. This matter relates itself not only to the last session of Parliament, but also to the one preceding it. If there ever was a measure over which the people's representatives should have had complete supervision from start to close, it was that which embodied the terms and conditions surrounding this enormous transaction. Not only were the people's representatives entitled to the right to pass upon all phases of the transaction, but any due appreciation of the rights of the people would have reserved to the people themselves the right of passing, at a general election, upon a policy so far-reaching as that involved in the control or ownership and operation by the State of a national railway system.

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"Not only did the administration deny to the people of Canada any opportunity of passing upon the policy of Government ownership and operation involved in this transaction, but they gave neither to the people nor to their represenatives in Parliament the slightest intimation that they themselves were contemplating any such transaction until the matter had been all but consummated. In vain did the Opposition try to reserve to Parliament the right which was reserved to the Grand Trunk shareholders, of passing upon the agreement between the Government and the compan/ before its final acceptance by both parties. The Government, led by the present Prime Minister, as ready to concede to bondholders in Britain rights and privileges which they wholly denied to the taxpayers of Canada, an attitude which, having regard for the magnitude of the transaction, should have caused the present Prime Minister to forfeit forever his right to the confidence of the Canadian people, and to stamp him forever as arbitrary and autocratic in the administration of public affairs.

The Public Debt.

The Liberal leader declared that the public debt was now $140,000,000 annually. Th war liabilities for this present year amounted to $173,000,000, so that $313,000,000 had to be provided in addition to the ordinary expenditures of government. Notwithstanding that $38,000,000 was provided for demobilization this year, the government proposed to expend $22,000,000 for new military organizations, mounted police, etc. It seemed as if it would have been wise to have got all the war forces demobilized before raising a new army.

The tariff policy of the Liberal party was to reduce taxation and duties on the essentials of life and on the instruments of production so as to in every way encourage labor and productive forces. Tht Liberals were not free traders, but believed in reasonable encouragement to industry.

Any deficiencies which would arise through reduction of duties should be made up by increasing revenue from profiteers. The government platform with reference to these matters consisted of platitudes, banalities and evasions.

Industrial Representation.

The speaker pointed out that industrial representation in parliament and a larger voice by the workers in the control of industrial policy was the method by which the Liberal party would seek to end political and industrial unrest.

With reference to inter-imperial relations the government had maintained that it has a perfect right to bind this country without acquainting parliament of what is proposed in that connection. The Liberal party, on the other hand, proposed that in all inter-imperial and international relations there should be an end to secret diplomacy.

Hon. Mr. King concluded with a stirring peroration in which he appealed to the people to stand with the Liberal party against the forces of greed and the lust of power. and in support of the poor and needy for whom it was fighting and for a greater standard of happiness for the nation.

The meeting was brought to a close by singing of the National Anthem.

The party left on No .3 yesterday morning for Kamloops, where a big meeting was held last night.

Mr. Alex. McRae accompanied the party to Kamloops and Vernon.

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THE REVELSTOKE REVIEW

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THE LIBERAL LEADER'S SPEECH

Mr. King's review, at the Empress theatre on Tuesday evening, of the present political conditions in Canada was an able summary of the case from an anti-coalition Liberal standpoint.

In dealing with industrial economics Mr. King speaks with authority, because of his long study of that subject. When he declares that "industrial representation in parliament and a larger voice by workers in the control of industrial policy is the method by which the Liberal party would seek to end political and industrial unrest," he lays down a large and important plank in his propaganda. Industrial representation in parliament can, of course, only be secured, as it is now secured, by the majority vote of the people. But a larger voice by labor in industrial management is in harmony with the spirit of the day, and would doubtless result, as the Liberal leader predicts, in curing much unrest.

For the evils of profiteering also, he prescribes a salutory cure. "Publicity is more effective than penalty." A general adoption of that policy would effect a great reform.

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Globe Oct "13 20

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ROUSING WELCOME FOR LIBERAL CHIEF

Revelstoke's Largest Theatre Jammed to Hear Hon. Mackenzie King

(Special Despatch to The Globe.)

Revelstoke, B.C., Oct. 12.—An official welcome from the Mayor of the city was awaiting the Hon. MacKenzie King when he arrived in Revelstoke late this afternoon. There was an important delegation of local citizens to greet the Liberal leader as he stepped from his car. The principal event of Mr. King's visit here which lasted only for some few hours, was the mass meeting held in the evening in the largest theatre of which Revelstoke boasts.

The building was packed to the doors when Mr. King arrived to be greeted with hearty cheers from the audience. Mr. Duff, M. P., of Lunenburg, was the only one of the visitors who speok besides Mr. King, whose exposition of the principals of the Liberal party was listened to attentively by an audience in which women formed a notable proportion.

Mr King's assertion that the present Government had outlived its mandate and was in honor bound to go to the country for a renewal or a refusal of confidence, was greeted with enthusiasm. Supporting Mr. King on the platform were Senator Bostock and Dr. Sutherland and J. Buckham, members of the Provincial Legislature.

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TARIFF REFORM; NATIONAL RAILWAYS

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KAMLOOPS TELEGRAM – Oct. 14, 1920.

D 4729

Revision of the Tariff to Reduce the Cost Of Living Chief Aim of Liberalism Today

Hon. W. L. MacKenzie King and Ernest A. Lapointe, M.P. for East Quebec, Enunciate the Policy of Liberal Party—Would Reconcile the Extreme Forces Working for Absolute Free Trade and for Still Greater Protection, Effecting the Result of Greater Freedom for the Masses of the People.

Declaring the first great aim of the Liberal party to be the solving of the problem of effecting an immediate reduction in the cost of living, Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, leader of the Opposition delivered a striking address lasting an hour and a half last night, outlining the policy of the Liberal organization. The Opera House was well filled, despite the unfavorable weather, and both Mr. King and Mr. Ernest A. Lapointe, M. P. for East Quebec, the two principal speakers were given a rousing reception.

Mr. J. R. Colley, president of the local Liberal Association was in the chair and in addition to the Liberal leader and the member for Quebec east on the platform were: William Duff, M.P., Lunenburg, N. S.; M. A. Macdonald, M.P.P.; Fred W. Anderson, M.P.P.; Alex McRae, Revelstoke; Senator Bostock, James Leighton, Ashcroft, Arthur Hardie, Brockville, Ont., James Murphy, Ashcroft, and others.

The meeting was formally opened by the chairman who introduced the speakers of the evening. Proceeding them, however, was Mr. James Murphy of Ashcroft who delivered a short but appropriate address of welcome on behalf of the Liberals of this constituency.

Mr. Ernest Lapointe followed Mr. Murphy and then Mr. King addressed the gathering.

The leader of the Opposition dwelt at great length on the important issue of the tariff and did not lose the opportunity to take up the matter of the government purchase of the Grand Trunk railway system, of particular interest to this community where there are so many railway workers.

In the course of that part of his address dealing with the tariff policy of the present government Mr. King announced the receipt of two telegrams which had come to hand since the meeting opened. Both were from Vancouver and the latest contained the announcement that the government, through the Board of Commerce at Ottawa, had just issued an order preventing wholesalers in Canada from purchasing sugar from the United States at the present rate at which sugar was selling on the other side. This provided him with an opportunity to illustrate just how the government's policy was operating to the detriment of the Canadian consumer.

He read the resolution unanimously passed at the last Liberal convention dealing with the tariff. It called for a reduction in the tariff as it affected the necessaries of life and the implements of production for the basic industries of the country.

"To the terms of that resolution this party is definitely committed" he emphasized "and to obtain from the people of Canada support sufficiently strong to enable the party to give expression to this policy in legislation, is the aim of our advocacy of its proposals at the present time."

Referring to the government ownership of railways he told how the Liberal government had fought for the interests of the former employees of the G. T. R. The railway today did not belong to the people, he pointed out, but, he contended, the people should at least derive some benefit from it, at least in the matter of less costly transportation rates. He would also appoint workers on the Board—at least two representatives—to the Board of Directors of the railway, and in other directions he would have the people benefit or have some share in its operation.

An important definition of the Liberal attitude regarding the tariff was made by Mr. King in answer to a challenge issued last night by the Prime Minister in a speech delivered at Stratford, Ont.

"'Mr. Meighen" said Mr. King" is determined to make the issue on the tariff one of protection versus free trade. Unfortunately for Mr. Meighen and his friends there is no political party in Canada which is prepared to join issue with him on this ground. The farmers, whom Mr. Meighen has said are ready to submarine the whole fiscal system by their advocacy of a free trade policy, have been the first to make it clear that such is a wholly false representation of their position. They are demanding a downward revision of the tariff which will result in freer trade, but they reconifze that free trade is an impossibility, and that the tariff as an instrument for raising revenue wherewith to carry on the government of the country will remain a necessary feature of our fiscal system. The Liberal position is clearly defined on the policy of the party as laid down in the platform at the great convention held in August of last year. It is a policy of a downward revision of the tariff in the interests of producers and consumers. It does not aim at free trade but it does aim at freer trade, especially in those commodities which comprise the necessaries of life, and constitute the instruments of production in the great basic industries of the country.

"Mr. Meighen is reported as saying last night at Stratford, Ont., that none knows whether Mr. King stands for tariff on free trade principles or on protection principles and that you may keep on asking him but you will never get an answer. No one knows better than Mr. Meighen himself the reason why. A tariff on free trade principle is a contradiction in turn. Free trade means the elimination of all tariffs. This being so, how can you have a tariff on free trade principles? The issue as respects the tariff is not between protection and free trade; it is between a tariff which is so framed as to serve the interests of specially favored and privileged group as against a tariff which will protect the producers and consumers against the unfair exactions of combinations of this kind.

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"We need not go further than the question of sugar to illustrate the difference between the two. Under the protectionist policy of Mr. Meighen, sugar that sells at a lower figure in the United States than in Canada must not be permitted to come in at the lower figure less, perchance, the privileged position in which a small group of sugar refiners in Canada find themseves as a consequence of existing scarcity should be threatened in any particular.

"The tariff, in other words, is looked upon as an instrument of protection to the sugar monopoly regardless altogether of its effects upon the great body of consumers in Canada, everyone of whom finds sugar in greater or less degree a commodity coming within the classification of the necessities of life. The Liberal policy of a downward revison of the tariff in the interests of producers and consumers would give to the people of Canada relief from undue taxation upon sugar, where prices are what they are today. A tariff can be made help keep up the high cost of living or can be made to help reduce it . A tariff which, as respects the necessaries of life, gives special consideration to existing monopolies, is injurious to consumers through keeping up the high cost of living and is of little use for revenue purposes. A tariff, on the other hand, which has regard primarilly for the needs of consumers serves to reduce the high cost of living, and, in nine cases out of ten, is more beneficial also as a revenue producing measure."

Mr. E. A. Lapointe, speaking first, touched on the tariff issue, declaring that his party asked for no privileges for any industries in this country beyond those which would be of direct benefit to the whole country. He then continued:

"My message to you from Quebec is one of cordial friendship and true brotherhood. It is an offer of cooperation in the achievement of the great worth and the reaching of a goal that will make our common country more prosperous, greater, better governed and the home of a united and proud nation.

"The aim of Liberalism is to unite Canada, to re-unite a country which mischievous hands for low political ends have attempted to divide and break into fragments.

We are governed today by a cabinet of usurpers who have no more mandate to carry on the affairs of Canada and who inglorously cling to office without any substantial right to do so, in spite of the unmistakable will of Canadian people.

"If there is one thing for which the people of Canada are craving, if there is one thing they shall exact from their public men, it is sincerity. They shall not be satisfied with words. Now, do you believe Mr. Meighen is sincere when he claims to be a National, a Liberal and a Conservative. Do you believe he is sincere when he describes himself as a moderate: he is an uncompromising extremist. Do you believe Mr. Guthrie, Mr. Calder and Mr. Ballantyne are sincere when they masquerade as Liberals and ask the Liberals of Canada to merge and disappear in the general mass of the Conservative party of which they are now a mere appendage or wing. They have no more right to call themselves Liberals than smugglers are entitled to the name of free traders.

"This country shall not trust men who have been on every side of all public questions. Mr. Meighen to the contrary notwithstanding. The battle on the fiscal question at the present time is not absolute free trade and protection, but between those who would use the tariff, first and foremost for the advantage of special interests, and those who seek to adjust it so that it will bear less heavily upon the necessaries of life, and so that more of its proceeds will be diverted to the public exchequer and less to the pockets of the few.

As it became obvious during the great war that unity of command was absolutely necessary to enable the armies of Britain, France Canada, Italy and other allied nations to defeat German absolutism and autocracy, so unity of command alone enable the progressive armies of Canada, the armies of democracy, to defeat and crush the combined forces of Toryism, absolutism and privileges. Do not make any mistake, they are a powerful aggregation, their means are unlimited, their resources numerous and their methods unscrupulous. Against a divided and disunited army they might still be victorious. Again I say to you, unity is needed, that unity which can only be derived from a combined and united direction and leadership.

Nothing could be more foolish and more disastrous than to set up any artificial dividing line between progressives and to transform a temporary or incidental difference into a permanent political organization or machinery.

"Our enemies wish only to divide us and care not by what means.

"Ideas make a party, interest makes a group. Above the interest of any individual or set of individuals is the sacred interest of the nation, and this must not be lost sight of in the framing of any policy, platform or programme.

"Liberalism has its principles embedded in the human heart—Toryism finds its well-springs in its own pockets.

A Liberal is a Liberal because he loves somebody or something; a Tory because he hates something or somebody. Surely the Canadian women shall never adopt as their creed a political doctrine based on hatred and selfishness.

Concluding his reference to the subject of the tariff, Mr. King said:

"What we of the Liberal party believe to be a first obligation of government, is the establishment of machinery which will adequately protect consumers against unjust exaction. This surely is an aim which farmers, workingmen, war veterans, heads of families and consumers generally have in common. It is an aim which is being frustrated by the forces represented in the government of the day. It surely affords ground sufficient for united action on the part of all who regard human well-being as of more concern than material wealth, and human life as more precious than anything which can be weighed in the balance against it.

"This brings me to another great end which the progressive forces have in common, particularly progressive forces of the west, and which is a part of the problem of the cost of living, namelly, the more effective control of railway rates and railway policy by all the parties and interests concerned," he continued. "There is little difference between an increased railway rate and an increase of customs duty in their ultimate effect and incidence. Sooner or later the burden of the increased cost is shifted on to the shoulders of the big body of consumers, and goes to increase their problem of the cost of living. The government of this

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country has succeeded in bringing under its own control, or rather the single control of a group of its own appointees, who constitute a Board of Management, the railway systems of this country other than the C.P.R.; and allied to the railway systems thus controlled, they have brought under their single control a merchant marine on which they have spent a sum of $70,000,000, taken from the public treasury. The people were told at the time these transactions were consummated that they constituted a mighty achievement in the field of government ownership.

"May I pause for a moment to ask what is it that makes government ownership attractive to the people who are its advocates? Is it not that by government ownership they believe that monies accruing in the form of profits to private capital will be saved to the public, who will reap through ownership the benefit of the saving of this amount in the form of reduced rates and prices? Is it not also that they believe that instead of a single group—the nominees of capital having single control of industrial policy—the people themselves in the government owned enterprises will have a larger voice in the determination of the manner in which these great enterprises are to be carried on.

"Let us test our so-called government ownership of railways and merchant marine in Canada today by these two requirements. Has anything been saved to the public by way of profits to private capital? The stocks and bonds, to the assumed value of half a billion dollars have been transferred to the nominal ownership of the Canadian people. Until, however, this half billion of dollars is paid out of the public treasury to the bondholders and shareholders, the real ownership of these shares will not pass. Meanwhile the government has enacted that this purchase shall not be made within a period of twenty years, and in the interim a rate of interest is guaranteed to the bondholders and shareholders infinitely more considerable than any which had been assured to them in the past.

"As regards the control of industrial policy, instead of the people, through their representatives in parliament having the real control, which government ownership is supposed to afford, the people's representatives have been told by the minister of railways and canals, and by the minister of marine, that it is not permissible to question the ministry with respect to the affairs of these enterprises and that no information other than such as the government's own appointees on the board of management care to submit in the form of a statement of their own preparation need be expected by the people's representatives in parliament. The people of Canada, today, are getting a taste in the increased cost of transportation in passenger and frieght, of what this kind of monopolistic control by a government appointed executive—an executive composed not only of government's own appointees, but almost exclusively of its own friends, a part of the invisible government in Canada today—is going to mean to them.

"What is wanted today in our industries, railway as well as others, is not monopoly of control by all the parties and interests, and this includes control of industrial policies not alone by management whether named by the government, or by capita, but also by labor employed in these enterprises and by the public or the community without whose assistance they could not be carried on. There are four parties to industry, not one, or two, and the recognition of all four is essential if we are to have our enterprises administered for the benefit of the people as a whole and not for the special benefit of privileged classes.

"It is for this reason that in its labor policy the Liberal party is advocating amongst other things the right of representation on the board of directors of our National raiways of the workingmen who are employed on its systems.

"Just here let me say that if labor had had that voice, or had the government of the country been in the least considerate of their rights, there would not today be doubts in the minds of thousands of the workers on the Grand Trunk railway system as to their pensions rights, and the claims of their dependents for justice in this particular.

"The Liberal party believes that equally with labor and capital and management, the community organized collectively in the form of the state, on one hand, and constituting the great body of consumers, on the other, is entitled to an effective voice in the control of industrial [illegible] as government policy. The all important part which the community plays in the making possible of all forms of industrial enterprises has been lost sight of all to readily, but it is one which needs to be reasserted.

"The community's right to representation in the control of industry, and in the shaping of industrial policies, is wholly similar to that of labor. But for community investment on a local, national and international scale capital, labor and management would be obliged to make scant shift under present day conditions of world competition. But what of the community's part in industry? Here, too, is joint venture on the part of the community just as much as on the part of labor, capital or management. What is 99 per cent. of the expenditure of government in normal times but outlays in the nature of investment in industry; investment in property and services of one kind or another, which alone makes possible the vast co-operation and co-ordination of effort, which is the very lifeblood of industry?

"The vaster industrial organization becomes, the more it depends, in a multitude of directions, upon the investments of the community.

"The party which created the railway commission as a means of a first step in the control and regulation of railroad rates, is capable of expanding that development in a manner which will bring it into fuller accord with the need of our times through more adequate representation where the situation so demands of all classes contributing to and being affected by the carrying on of this enterprise.

"Did time permit I might mention other important matters which we all have in common, and to which it is the aim and purpose of Liberalism to give expression. To the people of the prairie provinces, the granting of the ownership and control of their natural resources within their respective boundaries on terms that are fair and equitable with reference to other provinces of the Dominion's is one so obvious that it requires no comment. The language I have just used is that of the resolution of the National Liberal Convention on this all important matter.

"Open discussion as opposed to secret diplomacy in inter-imperial and international relations is another matter of like mutual concern; so is

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"Did time permit I might mention other important matters which we all have in common, and to which it is the aim and purpose of Liberalism to give expression. To the people of the prairie provinces, the granting of the ownership and control of their natural resources within their respective boundaries on terms that are fair and equitable with reference to other provinces of the Dominion's is one so obvious that it requires no comment. The language I have just used is that of the resolution of the National Liberal Convention on this all important matter.

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the Liberal policy of conference and co-operation between the different parts of the British Empire as a means of maintaining British unity, as opposed to any policy of centralized imperialism. It is Canada's pace as a nation in a community of nations comprising the British Empire that we seek to maintain and develop. We are proud of our British citizenship, but we are none the less proud nor less determined to assert our individuality as Canadians, and our indentity as a distinctive people.

"Lastly, may I say that above all else we as Liberals have committed ourselves to the task of realizing in sofar as that may be possible the new order of social justice and social equality which we believe is the only monument worthy of their sacrifice which it is within the power of the people of this nation to raise to the memory of their heroic dead."

At the conclusion of Mr. King's speech he was accorded a warm ovation. He was then tendered a vote of thanks, together with Mr. Lapointe and the meeting closed with the singing of the National Anthem.

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Kang Kamloops.

D 4733

EFFECT OF FREER TRADE

No better evidence of the effect of the government's protective policy upon the consuming public of Canada could have been provided than that given last night in the Opera House by Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, leader of the Federal Opposition, when he dealt with the sugar situation. Mr. King was about to conclude his reference to the tariff issue when, opportunely enough, he was presented with a telegram from Vancouver announcing the fact that the Board of Commerce had just issued an order in Ottawa restraining Canadian wholesalers from purchasing American sugar.

The order of the Board of Commerce, in effect, means that the Canadian consumer is to be prevented by his government from purchasing one of the most essential necessities of life from a source from which he has a chance to get it at less than one-half the price the Canadian refineries are imposing upon him. There is an abundance of sugar on the American market, it is said, available at 11 cents per pound. The Canadian consumer has been paying as high as22 to 26 cents and has not been given any assurance that there will be any reduction in the near future.

The Board of Commerce order may be the result of the government's desire to be consistent. If so, the government has succeeded in that respect. It has brought it home perhaps more forcibly than ever to the vast majority of the people that "protection" does not mean what the word implies—for the people—but that it means unfailing protection for the big interests. In this present situation, where every consumer in the country is affected, the government has quickly come to the rescue of the little group of Canadian sugar refiners. They have maintained a stated price for their commodity, assuring themselves of certain profits. The government, by its latest step, has virtually informed them that these profits whatever they may be, shall not be reduced. In other words the government's tariff policy discriminates against the consumer, in favor of the manufacturer.

Sugar, of course, is only one commodity. But the Canadian public is obliged to practically maintain Canadian combines in the case of every domestic necessity. Boots and shoes, clothing apparel, and fuel, and to go beyond the range of household requirements into the fields of the farmer, implements of production, are all taxed excessively when they come from the States. Such a policy has only the one result. Prices in Canada may soar as high as they may, but Canadian consumers must pay. The big interests in this country must not be molested in their business of making money.

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There is no class in need of freer trade today than the farmer. And there is no doubt that an immediate solution to the question of bringing about a drop in the cost of living would be found in lifting the embargo on his implements. It stands to reason that with less expensive implements he could afford to sell his products cheaper. The cost of farming implements in Canada has gone so high that farmers are actually being driven from the land. Yet the policy of the government provides that they must pay the prices asked by the Canadian manufacturers or go out of business.

Some manufacturers are affected the same way. Their instruments of production, available in the States, if purchased there, would give them a chance to produce at much less cost than they are today. They would not pay less for their labor. They might almost afford to pay more. At any rate they would have no excuse to keep up the old price for their finished article.

As the Opposition speakers here last night declared, there is a way of bringing down the cost of living in Canada. But it means ignoring the big interests, or some of them, for the time being, reducing the tariff on necessities of life, whether to their detriment or not, lifting the embargo on implements of production, and reducing or eliminating certain taxes, and effecting more direct taxation, levied first from some of the big interests. In other words, the Canadian workingman should be permitted to buy one pound of sugar for eleven cents even though he may go to Czecho-Slovakia for it.

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Toronto Globe
October 15, 1920

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LIBERAL CHIEF ANALYZES THE NATIONAL RY'S

Shows How Public Debarred From Voice in Management of Roads

AND REAP NO BENEFITS

Declares That Government's Friends Largely in Control of People's System

(Special Despatch to The Globe.)

Kamloops, B.C., Oct. 14.—Kamloops is a railway centre, and the crowded audience which packed the opera house to suffocation here last evening to hear the Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King was composed very largely of employees of the C.P.R. and the National lines. With that sense of the appropriate word in season, the Liberal Leader dealt fully with the problems confronting Canada now that the country has embarked so deeply into railway control, and with the vital question of increased costs of commodities, which have been raised by the recent increase in railway freight rates.

"The whole question of effective control of the operation of charges of railways," said Mr. King, "is part of the wider and most vital question of the present high costs of the necessaries of life.

Ultimate Effect the Same.

"There is little difference between the increased railway rate and an increase of customs duty in their ultimate effect and incidence," he said. "Sooner or later the burden of the increased cost is shifted onto the shoulders of the big body of consumers and goes to increase their problem of the cost of living.

"The Government of this country has succeeded in bringing under its own control, or rather the single control of a group of its own appointees, who constitute a Board of Management, the railway systems of this country other than the C.P.R., and allied to the railway systems thus controlled it has brought under its single control a merchant marine on which it has spent a sum of $70,000,000 taken from the public Treasury.

What Was Expected.

"The people were told at the time these transactions were consummated that they constituted a mighty achievement in the field of Government ownership.

"May I pause for a moment to ask what it is that makes Government ownership attractive to the people who are its advocates? Is it not that by Government ownership they believe that monies accruing in the form of profits to private capital will be saved to the public, who will reap through ownership the benefit of the saving of this amount in the form of reduced rates and prices?

"Is it not, also, that they believe that, instead of a single group, the nominees of capital, having single control of the industrial policy, the people themselves in the Government-owned enterprises will have a larger voice in the determination of the manner in which these great enterprises are to be carried on?

Shareholders Reap Reward.

"Let us test our so-called Government ownership of railways and merchant marine in Canada to-day by these two requirements. Has anything been saved to the public by way of profits to private capital? The stocks and bonds to the assumed value of half a billion dollars have been transferred to the nominal ownership of the Canadian people. Until, however, this half billion dollars is paid out of the public Treasury to the bondholders and shareholders, the real ownership of these shares will not pass.

"Meanwhile the Government has enacted that this purchase shall not be made within a period of 20 years, and in the interim a rate of interest is guaranteed to the bondholders and shareholders infinitely more considerable than any which had been assured to them in the past.

Government Monopoly.

"As regards the control of industrial policy, instead of the people, through their representatives in Parliament, having the real control which Government ownership is supposed to afford, the people's representatives have been told by the Minister of Railways and Canals and by the Minister of Marine that it is not permissible to question the Ministry with respect to the affairs of these enterprises, and that no information other than such as the Government's own appointees on the Board of Management care to submit in the form of a statement of their own preparation need be expected by the people's representatives in Parliament.

"The people of Canada to-day are getting a taste, in the increased cost of transportation, in passenger and freight, of what this kind of monopolistic control by a Government-appointed executive, an executive composed not only of the Government's own appointees, but almost exclusively of its own friends—a part of the invisible Government in Canada to-day—is going to mean to them.

Four Parties to Industry.

"What is wanted to-day in our industries ,really, as well as others, is not monopoly of control by any single group, but joint control by all the parties and interests, and this includes control of industrial policies not alone by management, whether named by the Government or by capital, but also by labor employed in these enterprises, and by the public or the community without whose assistance they could not be carried on. There are four parties to industry, not one, nor two, and the recognition of all four is essential if we are to have our enterprises administered for the benefit of the people as a whole and not for the special benefit of privileged classes.

"It is for this reason that in its Labor policy the Liberal party is advocating, among other things, the right of representation on the Board of Directors of our National Railways of the workingmen who are employed on its systems."

Given Attentive Hearing.

The Kamloops meeting presented the same features that have marked all the meetings so far held by Mr. King in the West. A crowded and attentive audience, with a large proportion of women voters, attended. In addition to the Leader, the only other speaker was E. A. Lapointe, M.P. for Quebec East, who was in fine fighting form and evoked considerable applause as he hammered home his points. The chair was occupied by J. R. Colley, while among the prominent Liberals present on the platform were Senator Bostock, W. Duff, M.P., M. A. Macdonald and F. W. Anderson, members of the Provincial Legislature; Alex. McRae, Arthur Hardy and James Leighton.

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D 4736

Montreal Gazette
October 14, 1920

MACKENZIE KING TALKS ON TARIFF

Will Remain Necessary Feature of Canada's Fiscal System

Kamloops, B.C., October 13.—Previous to the opening of the meeting here this evening, the attention of the Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King was called by the Canadian Press correspondent to the statement made by Premier Meighen last night at Straffordville, Ont., in which he said it was difficult to obtain from Mr. King an answer to his standing on the question of tariffs.

Referring to this statement, Mr. King, in the course of a long address, which was listened to by a crowded audience, gave the following definition of the official stand of the Liberal party on the question of tariffs

"Mr. Meighen," said Mr. King, "is determined to make the issue of the tariff one of protection versus free trade. Unfortunately for Mr. Meighen and his friends, there is no political party in Canada which is prepared to join issues with him on that ground. The farmers, who Mr. Meighen has said are ready to submarine the whole fiscal system by their advocacy of a free trade policy, have been the first to make it clear that such is a wholly false representation of their position. They are demanding a downward revision of the tariff, which will result in freer trade, but they recognized that free trade is an impossibility, and that the tariff as an instrument for raising revenue wherewith to carry on the Government of the country, will remain a necessary feature of our fiscal system.

The Liberal position is clearly defined in the policy of the party as laid down in the platform of the Liberal party at the convention held in August of last year. It is a policy of a downward revision of the tariff in the interests of producers and consumers. It does not aim at free trade, but it does aim at freer trade, especially in those commodities which comprise the necessaries of life and constitute the instruments of production in the great basic industries of the country.

"Mr. Meighen is reported as saying last night at Straffordville that no one knows whether Mr. King stands for tariff or free trade principles, or on protection principles, and that you may keep on asking him, but you will never get an answer.

"No one knows better than Mr. Meighen himself the reason why. A tariff on free trade principles is a contradiction in terms. Free trade means the elimination of all tariffs. This being so, how can you have a tariff on free trade principles?

"The issue as regards the tariff is not as between protection and free trade; it is between a tariff which is so framed as to serve the interests of specially favored and privileged groups, as against a tariff which will protect producers and consumers against the unfair exactions of combinations of this kind."

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The Vancouver Sun
Oct" 14/20

D 4[illegible]

Liberal Tariff Polic[illegible] Outlined By Pa[illegible]eader

Hume J. P.
Box 55
18 July 21

Hon. Mackenzie King Answers Meighen at Kamloops.

People Own, But Do Not Profit From Railways.

Reviews C.N. Situation and Points to New Rates.

(Special Despatch to The Sun)

KAMLOOPS, Oct. 13.—Kamloops is a railway centre, and the crowded audience which packed the opera house to suffocation here this evening to hear Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King was composed very largely of employees of the C. P. R. and the National lines. With that sense of the appropriate word in season the Liberal leader dealt fully with the problems confronting Canada now that the country has embarked so deeply into railway control, and on the vital questions of increased cost of commodities which have been raised by the recent increase in rail [illegible] freight rates. The whole question of effective control of the operation of charges by railways, said Mr. [illegible]ing, was part of the wider and most vital question of the present high costs of the necessities of life.

ANSWERS PREMIER

Equally as important as his reference to the railway question was Mr. King's answer to the speech made yesterday at Stratfordville, Ont., by Hon. Arthur Meighen, Prime Minister of Canada, in which the latter was reported as saying that it was difficult to get from the Opposition Leader a definition of the Liberal attitude on the tariff. With reference to this Mr. King said:

"Mr. Meighen is determined to make the issue on the tariff one of protection versus free trade. Unfortunately for Mr. Meighen and his friends there is no political party in Canada which is prepared to join issue with him on this ground. The farmers, who Mr. Meighen has said, are ready to submarine the whole fiscal system by their advocacy of a free trade policy, have been the first to make it clear that such is a wholly false representation of their position. They are demanding a downward revision of the tariff which will result in freer trade, but they recognize that free trade is an impossibility and that the tariff as an instrument for raising revenue wherewith to carry on the government of the country will remain a necessary feature of our fiscal system.

POLICY LAID DOWN

"The Liberal position is clearly defined in the policy of the party as laid down in the platform of the Liberal party at the great convention held in August of last year. It is a policy of downward revision of the tariff in the interest of producers and consumers. It does not aim at free trade, but it does aim at freer trade, especially in those commodities which comprise the necessaries of life, and constitute the instruments of production in the great basic industries of the country. Mr. Meighen is reported as saying last night at Stratford, Ontario, that no one knows 'whetner Mr. King stands for tariff on free trade principles or on protection principles, and that you may keep on asking him but you will never get an answer.'

SUGAR AND THE TARIFF

No one knows the reason better than Mr. Meighen himself. A tariff on free trade principles is a contradiction in terms. Free trade means the elimination of all tariffs. This being so, how can you have a tariff on free trade principles? The issue as respects the tariff is not as between protection and free trade, it is between a tariff which is so framed as to serve the interests of specially-favored and privileged groups, as against a tariff which will protect producers and consumers against the unfair exactions of combinations of this kind.

"We need not go further than the question of sugar to illustrate the difference between the two. Under the protectionist policy of Mr. Meighen, sugar that sells at a lower figure in the United States than in Canada must not be permitted to come in at the lower figure lest, perchance, the privileged position in which a small group of sugar refiners in Canada find themselves as a consequence of existing scarcity should be threatened in any particular. The tariff, in other words, is looked upon as an instrument of protection to the sugar monopoly regardless altogether of its effect upon the great body of consumers in Canada, every one of whom finds sugar in greater or less degree a commodity coming within the classification of the necessaries of life.

"The Liberal policy of a downward revision of the tariff in the interests of producers and consumers, would give to the people of Canada relief from undue taxation upon sugar where prices are what they are today. It would seek to make sugar available to every consumer at as favorable terms as possible, realizing that it is not only a necessary article of daily consumption, but necessary also for purposes of preserving fruits and other articles for winter and subsequent use.

"A tariff can be made help keep up the high cost of living or it can be made to help reduce it. A tariff which, as respects the necessaries of life, gives special consideration to existing monopolies is injurious to consumers through keeping up the high cost of living and is of little use for revenue purposes. A tariff, on the other hand, which has regard primarily for the needs of consumers, serves to reduce the high cost of living and in nine cases out of ten is more beneficial also as a revenue producing measure.

Mr. King's references to the railway question were equally as clear as those he made on the tariff. "There is little difference," he said, "between an increased railway rate and an increase in Customs duty in their ultimate effect and incidence. Sooner or later the burden of the increased cost is shifted on to the shoulders of the big body of consumers and goes to increase their problem of the cost of living. The Government of this country has succeeded in bringing under its control, or rather the single control of a group of its own appointees, who constitute a board of management, the railway systems of this country other than the C.P.R. Allied to the railway systems thus controlled they have brought under their single control a merchant marine on which they have spent a sum of $70,000,000 taken from the public treasury. The people were told at the time these transactions were consummated that they constituted a mighty achievement in the field of Government ownership.

GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP.

"May I pause for a moment to ask what it is that makes Government ownership attractive to the people who are its advocates? Is it not that by Government ownership they believe that moneys accruing in the form of profits to private capital will be saved to the public, which will reap true ownership benefit of the saving of this amount in the form of reduced rates and prices? Is it not also that they believe that instead of a single group, the nominees of capital having single control of industrial policy, the people themselves in the Government-owned enterprises will have a larger voice in the determination of the manner in which these great enterprises are to be carried on?

"Let us test our so-called Government ownership of railways and merchant marine in Canada today by these two requirements.

ANYTHING SAVED?

"Has anything been saved to the public by way of profits to private capital?

"The stocks and bonds, to the assumed value of half a billion dollars, have been transferred to the nominal ownership of the Canadian people. Until, however, this half billion of dollars is paid out of the public treasury to the bond holders and shareholders, the real ownership of these shares will not pass. Meanwhile the Government has enacted that this purchase shall not be made within a period of 20 years, and in the interim a rate of interest is guaranteed to the bondholders and shareholders infinitely more promising than any which had been assured to them in the past.

"As regards the control of industrial policy, instead of the people through their representatives in Parliament having the real control, which Government ownership is supposed to afford, the people's representatives have been told by the Minister of Railways and Canals and by the Minister of Marine that it is not permissible to question the ministry with respect to the affairs of these enterprises and that no information other than such as the Government's own appointees on the Board of Management care to submit in the form of a statement of their own preparation need be expected by the people's representatives in Parliament.

INCREASED CHARGES.

"The people of Canada today are getting a taste in the increased cost of transportation in passenger and freight rates of what this kind of monopolistic control, by a Government-appointed executive, an executive composed not only of the Government's own appointees but almost exclusively of its own friends, a part of the invisible Government in Canada today, is going to mean to them.

"What is wanted today in our industries is not monopoly of control by any single group but joint control by all the parties and interests, and this includes control of industrial policies not alone by management, whether named by the Government or by capital, but also by labor employed in these enterprises and by the public or the community, without whose assistance they could not be carried on.

"There are four parties to industry, not one or two, and the recognition of all four is essential if we are to have our enterprises administered for the benefit of the people as a whole and not for the special benefit of privileged classes.

"It is for this reason that in its labor policy the Liberal Party is advocating amongst other things the right of representation on the board of directors of our National Railways of directors of our national railways of the workingmen who are employed on its systems."

The Kamloops meeting presented the same features that have marked all the meetings so far held by Mr. King in the West, a crowded and attentive audience with a large proportion of lady voters present. In addition to the leader the only other speaker was E. A. Lapointe, M.P. for Quebec East, who was in fine fighting form and evoked considerable applause as he hammered home his points. The chair was occupied by J. R. Colley, while among the prominent Liberals present on the platform were Senator Bostock, Wm. Duff, M.P.; M. A. Macdonald and F. W. Anderson, members of the Provincial Legislature; Alex. McRae, Arthur Hardy and James Leighton.

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14 Oct. 1920

D 4738

Vernon, B.C.

BUSINESS INTERESTS AND THE
CONSERVATIVE GOVERNMENT

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British Columbia Speeches 1920
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Vernon, Oct 14

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Vernon B.C. Oct. 14, 1920

Day by day the real issue between the political parties in Canada as represented, on the one hand, by the government and its supporters, and on the other, by the progressive forces arrayed against them, is becoming more and more clearly defined. We, who are espousing the cause of Liberalism, have been saying all along that the issue ~~was~~ is between invisible government by the big interests, on the one hand, and government by a Parliament representative of the people irrespective of race, or creed or class. Thus far, the big interests have sought to conceal their identity and to have Mr. Meighen and his colleagues - who have usurped the right of government in this country - ~~work their will~~ under the guise of a political party calling itself the National Liberal and Conservative party. It is inevitable, however that sooner or later the identity of some at least of the big interests who are controlling the destinies of the country, through the government they have created, shall become apparent. The identity of one at least of these all powerful interests has been disclosed in the order which the government has just sent forth through its appointees on the Board of Commerce, directing that ~~the~~ transactions as to the buying and selling of refined sugar shall be limited to strictly definite channels, which find their fountain-head in the half dozen refineries which constitute one vast monopoly in this Dominion.

According to the despatches we read in the press this morning, wholesalers, manufacturers and retailers are restrained from buying sugar except from the few refiners included in this privileged monopoly. Wholesalers are restrained from selling sugar to other than manufacturers and retailers, and manufacturers and retailers are denied the right of buying otherwise than from those wholesalers. In other words, the sugar combine in Canada, having through government agency, succeeded in forcing the price of sugar up to a point unheard of and never hitherto reached in the level of sugar prices in Canada, has now through the same agency succeeded in maintaining that price at a monopoly figure, just at the very moment when conditions of international trade would make it possible for relief to be obtained by consumers everywhere throughout Canada, in a manner which would effectively serve to reduce somewhat the high cost of living, which presents the greatest of present day problems to every home.

I doubt whether language which it is permissible to use in public can be found which will adequately express the indignation and outraged sense which the Canadian people have a right to feel at this latest arbitrary and anti-social act of an autocratic executive. There is only one feature about it from which at least some small measure of satisfaction can be derived: it affords irrefutable evidence of the truth of the assertions which we have been making right along as to the contending forces at work in our political and industrial society. It reveals the issue clearly as between the Profiteers and the People; the Profiteers on one hand, protected by a government they have helped to create, and the People on the other who are in need of protection against these all powerful anti-social forces.

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The length to which the government have gone in working the will of the profiteers in the present instance is hardly conceivable. It will require a moment's pause on the part of the public to fully appreciate just the extent to which consumers have been left without protection of any kind, and profiteers permitted to continue the reaping of their rewards at the public expense. In 1919 there was enacted what is known as the "Combines & Fair Prices Act" and the "Board of Commerce Act". The two were intended as measures to be operated in connection with each other: the Board of Commerce was to be an instrument to apply the provisions of the "Combines and Fair Prices Act", in a manner which would protect consumers from unjust exactions and the evils of profiteering.

The Board, however, had not commenced its work before its Chairman resigned, on the ground that he was not in sympathy with its aim and purposes. A little later, the second member of the Board, Mr. W.F. O'Connor resigned, and still a few weeks later, Mr. Hames Murdoch, the sole remaining representative of the Board also resigned.

In tendering his resignation Mr. Murdoch made some very strong charges. In a letter to the Prime Minister, he asserted that a majority of the Cabinet were not in sympathy with the law; that it had no sooner been passed than members of the government began to minimize its provisions; that they repeatedly undertook to thwart its activities, and were in sympathy with the large interests; and they were using their influence to stifle inquiry into instances of profiteering, the existence of which, if known, would startle and arouse the Canadian public. Mr. Murdoch stated further that business men living together under the protection of the tariff had got to know themselves so well, that price-fixing agreements and other agreements were the rule rather than the exception; that combines had fastened themselves on essential food, and had introduced methods injurious to trade and to prevent fair competition; that unfair and excessive profits had been discovered by the Boatd with regard to large numbers of commodities.

He referred specifically to sugar, and said that there was reason to believe that sugar was not the only commodity in which there had been speculation to the detriment of the public. He argued that the public was virtually in the position where it had no organization to watch its interests, that it was unorganized as the sands of the sea and required a protector against the organization of modern business, which was the most complete possible.

When confronted in Parliament with Mr. Murdoch's charges, the present Prime Minister, Mr. Arthur Meighen, instead of meeting the demand of the Opposition for a full investigation, sought to cast ridicule on the charges, just as the other members of the government subsequently sought to minimize the worth, ability and standing of Mr. Murdoch himself.

The order which has now been issued by the Board of Commerce which, since Mr. Murdoch's resignation, has ceased to be in any sense of the word an independent board, but has become a mere official organ of the government, bears out the truth of all that Mr. Murdoch has said.

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namely, that the country in reality is being ruled by a super organization of big business interests, for which the Board of Commerce is but a mere screen.

The public have not yet become aroused to the circumstance that when the government established the Board of Commerce it, at the same time, abolished the Act passed in 1910 by the Laurier administration, known as the "Combines Investigation Act" and which was the only piece of legislation on our statutes affording to consumers means of redress against the exactions of combines, monopolies, trusts and mergers, guilty of the practices of unduly enhancing prices or unduly restraining trade. The consumer was left without any machinery of government at all adequate for his protection. On the other hand, machinery purporting to be for the protection of the consumer was in reality made into an instrument for the protection of profiteers. Having removed from our statutes the only machinery of investigation, of which consumers, on their own initiative, could take adv antage for their protection, the government has now gone a length which it is almost impossible to believe in protecting not the people but the profiteers in their unwarranted exactions.

First let it be remembered that the price to which sugar has risen has enabled individuals to accumulate vast fortunes, which have been made at the expense of the consuming public. When the sugar refiners found that contracts into which they had entered ~~into~~ with firms in the United States were not going to be as profitable as the sale of sugar in Canada, at the price to which sugar had risen in this country, they went to the government to secure an order which would prohibit the export of sugar from Canada, ~~and~~ in ~~this~~ manner secured them in their monopoly. When later the price of sugar began still further to decline in the United States, and the prospect of relief to the consuming public was in sight, through possible competition from the United States, and other countries, the refiners intent on holding the market against all comers were not satisfied with the protection which the law affords them, and which according to the Customs Tariff is $1.93 per hundred pounds on all refined sugars; but intent on maintaining the advantages of the monopoly, invoked the power of the government not to prohibit export, as they had been asking some months ago, but to prohibit imports, until their vast accumulated stocks are disposed of at the high prices to which sugar has mounted. That the government has actually granted them this concession, and has actually secured the refiners in their monopoly of sugar at monopolistic prices, can only be explained on the one ground, that the government is controlled by these interests and prefers to serve their ends rather than to meet the needs of the consuming public.

If any article is a necessary of life, sugar surely is that article. It is required not only for everyday consumption at every meal on every table, but is necessary also for purposes of preserving fruits and other commodities, which are not less necessary articles of consumption, but which without being preserved would be available to the consuming public at special seasons only. The action of the government is injurious not only to consumers of sugar in this twofold way, but it is also injurious to such great industries as the fruit industry, which requires for its adequate marketing all possible facilities for preserving. The action of the government is equally injurious to the great transportation and commercial industries in the country, which depend for their returns upon the volume of trade, which volume is necessarily restricted by action that restricts the possibility of preserving commodities in the quantities required. Not only the carrying trade, the wholesale and retail are bound also to be similarly affected by this adverse order, which by restricting the sale of an all important commodity, serves also

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to restrict the sale of every commodity into which that article enters, in processes of subsequent conservation, preservation or manufacture.

I hesitate to go the length of saying that the personal or business interests of any member of the present administration may help to account for the circumstance that the consuming public of the Dominion of Canada find themselves today so completely at the mercy of a monopoly controlling this all important article of food. I do however think that it is in the public interest that there should be an immediate disclosure of the persons who at the present time and who within recent years have acted as members of the Boards of Directors of the sugar refining companies in Canada, the St Lawrence Sugar Refinery at Montreal, in particular, and by whom and in what amounts the stocks of these companies are held. I challenge the government to see that these facts are immediately given to the Canadian public. A knowledge of them is the necessary first step in helping to clear up the situation which is of concern to every consumer in the Dominion.

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VERNON

D 4745

Montreal Gazette
October 15, 1920

KING CONDEMNS SUGAR ORDER IN VERNON SPEECH

Yale Constituency Scene of Attack by Liberal Leader

WAXES ALLITERATIVE

Commerce Board's Move is "Arbitrary and Anti- Social Act of Autocratic Executive"

(By Canadian Press.)

Vancouver, Oct. 14.—Referring in his speech at Vernon this afternoon to the sugar order passed by the Board of Commerce on the previous night, Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King said:

"I doubt whether language which it is permissible to use in public can be found which will adequately express the indignation and outraged sense which the Canadian people have a right to feel at this latest arbitrary and anti-social act of an autocratic executive."

The Liberal leader was more than two hours late in arriving here and was at once whisked to the Empress Theatre, where a large audience was awaiting him from all parts of the fruit centre of the Okanagan valley. It was his first address in the Yale constituency, where a bye-election is now pending to fill the vacancy caused by the resignation of Hon. Martin Burrell.

When he launched into the sugar question and the effect of the Government's recent action on the cost to the ultimate consumer he said that day by day the real issue between the political parties in Canada, as represented on the one hand by the Government and its supporters, and on the other by the progressive forces allied against them, was becoming more and more clearly defined.

Identifying the present Government with the big interests of the country, Mr. King stated that the nature of one at least of those interests had been disclosed by the order which the Government had just sent forth through its appointees on the Board of Commerce directing that the transactions as to the buying and selling of sugar should be tied to different channels which found their fountain-head in the half dozen refineries which constituted one vast monopoly in this country.

Toward the close of his address he demanded again that the Government should make an appeal to the country.

It was a busy day in Vernon, there having been many gatherings of an important character taking place. As Mr. King and his party arrived in the city, the Railway Commissioners, who were to hear the grievances of the fruit-growers, stepped from a private car attached to the same train on which Mr. King travelled, while the superintendent of the Dominion Express Company and a large party of Grand Trunk officials also emerged from their respective private cars. But all those things did not prevent big interest being taken in the visit of the Liberal leader.

WESTERN ITINERARY.

After tonight's meeting at Penticton, B.C., Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King and party will go to Nelson, B.C., for a meeting to be held Saturday, October 16. The remainder of the western itinerary, according to present plans, will be as follows:

October 18, Cranbrook, B.C.; October 19, Lethbridge; October 21, Medicine Hat; October 22, Moose Jaw; October 25, Regina; October 27, Saskatoon; October 28, Prince Albert; October 30, Battleford, Sask.

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VERNON

D 4746

Ottawa Citizen
October 15, 1920

VERNON HEARS OF SUGAR FROM THE HON. W. L. M. KING

(Canadian Press.)

VANCOUVER, Oct, 14.—Referring in his speech at Vernon this afternoon to the sugar order passed by the board of commerce on the previous day, Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King said:

"I doubt whether language which it is permissible to use in public can be found which will adequately express the indignation and outraged sense which the Canadian people have a right to feel at this latest arbitrary and anti-social act of an autocratic executive."

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The Big Interests.

Identifying the present government with the big interests of the country, Mr. King stated that the nature of one at least of those interests had been disclosed by the order which the government had just sent forth through its appointees on the board of commerce directing that the transactions as to the buying and selling of sugar should be tied to definite channels which found their fountain head in the half dozen refineries which constituted one vast monopoly in this country.

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16 Oct. 1920 Nelson, B.C. D 4747

COMBINES INVESTIGATIONS; TARIFFS

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There are certain evils which publicity will cure more effectively than penalty. Most public wrongs are of this class, especially those that are born of avarice, greed and human injustice. Let the public know the facts, and the public may be expected to take care of itself. It will find a way or make it. It was in this belief that while Minister of Labour in the Cabinet of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, I obtained the consent and support of Sir Wilfrid and my colleagues to the introduction in Parliament of a government measure known as the Combines Investigation Act. It was enacted into law at the session of 1910. It gave to any six persons in Canada who believed that prices were being unduly enhanced, or trade unduly restricted, through the action of any monopoly, merger, trust, or combine, and were able to make out a prima facie case before any judge of any high Court in Canada, the right to demand and compel an investiagtion into the affairs of such monopoly or combine, and to be represented on the Board of Investigation for that purpose by persons of their own choosing. The presence ~~xxxxx~~ of itself of this Act upon the statutes afforded a real protection to consumers against such action as that which the sugar barons of this country have attempted in their efforts to secure through the agency of the Board of Commerce, restricting the purchase of sugar at its present monopolistic prices to the few refineries in Canada which to all intents and purposes constitute a sugar trust. Had that law been allowed to remain on the Statutes, an investigation, such as is greatly needed in the public interest today, might be under way at the present time. Astonishing as it may appear the Unionist government, of which the present so-called Nationa Liberal and Conservative administration is the discredited remnant, repealed that Statute at the time they enacted the law constituting the Board of Commerce. They took away from the public a statute intended for the protection of consumers, and substituted in its place an agency of government which, as Mr. Murdoch has charged, and as its latest order would certainly indicate, ~~was intended~~ for the ~~xxxxxxxx~~ protection of profiteers. Could anything indicate more clearly the powerful influences at work in the administration to protect wealth and privilege, even at the expense of the privation and actual suffering which many humble homes have to endure today, through the cost of living being what it is today.

With that instrument of public protection gone, and nothing substituted in its stead in which the public can have any confidence, I publicly challenged the government at a meeting held at Vernon on Thursday of this week to disclose the names of the directors of the different refineries, and in particular the St Lawrence Sugar Refining Company, of Montreal, as a necessary first step to disclose the influences that have been powerful enough to secure from the Board of Commerce the order which limits Canadian consumers, including retail and wholesale merchants and manufacturers in their purchases to the handful of Canadian refineries, to which it accords this monopoly in ~~xxxxxx~~ one of the most essential of the necessaries of life. Thus far I have seen no reference to any action by the government beyond an intimation that the order of the Board has been suspended, until the government itself hears the case on October 20th. If there was need for the measure of publicity demanded in this matter before the government's suspension of the order was made the need in virtue of it, and of the government's intention to hear the case is vastly greater today. I need not go into this in any detail.

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One example will, I think, be sufficient to shew wherein the Meighen Ministry owes it not less to its own reputation than to the public to remove the suspicion that the facts would seem to warrant that influences are at work within the Cabinet as powerful as any that it would be possible to exert upon its members from without. Inquiry of the office of the Secretary of State will be sufficient to disclose whether or not it be true that according to official statement filed with the Secretary of State in May of this very year, the Honourable C.C.Ballantyne, the present Minister of Marine and Fisheries, and the first Minister ot be sworn in as a Minister of the Meighen administration, is not named as one of the Directors of the St Lawrence Sugar Refinery. I wish to cast no reflections upon Mr. Ballantyne's position much less upon his integrity, but if it be true, as this official record would go to show that Mr. Ballantyne still is, or as recently as May last was a director of this particular refinery, I do not hesitate to say that no man can serve two masters, and that in a situation such as has developed, all regard for the proprieties of public life make it incumbent upon Mr. Ballantyne to resign from the Ministry. How ~~can he possibly~~ can Mr. Ballantyne possibly at one and the same time, do his duty as a director of the St Lawrence Sugar Refinery, in seeking to maintain on behalf of the shareholders the monopoly the Board of Commerce has granted, and his duty as a minister of the Crown to the public, whose trusted servant he is supposed to be, and along with his colleagues in the Cabinet hear and pronounce judgment on this case, on October the twentieth! How with a director of one of the refineries as his left bower, can Mr. Meighen and his colleagues retain in ~~their~~ the public confidence that position of neutrality and impartiality between the sugar monopolists on the one hand and the people on the other, without which their hearing is the merest sham and mockery. Did the influence of the sugar monopolists stop at the control of government in the manner indicated, that would be bad enough, but bad as that is, I have evidence in my hand of an influence which is more subtle and baneful still, the power of wealth used to stifle the voice of the press. Let me read to this audience a copy of a telegram which has been received within the past forty-eight hours by the proprietor of one of the large and responsible dailies in this country:-

> "Will be sending you for publication (date given) four column
> "display advertisement on sugar situation. Would appreciate your
> "withholding comment as far as possible on Comerce Board's order
> "until facts contained in this advertisement are before you."

If that message has been received by one organ of public opinion, I venture to say it has been received by dozens. If that is not seeking to stifle a free expression of public opinion by the attempted purchase of the press, I do not know what is. Thank God we have evidence of a public spirit on the part of the press of the country that is prepared to expose rather than profit by that kind of thing. But it indicates the resources which these powerful influences have at hand to help them to maintain their position of monopoly and privilege, and something of the extent of the influences against which the political party that would espouse the cause of the people are obliged to contend. Poison or corrupt the sources of public opinion and what is there left ? This is a question which the people of Canada will do well to ask themselves.

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Let me say to the people of Canada that this sugar situation and what has already been disclosed concerning it is only a sample, a single illustration of what the consumers of this country are up against, in their efforts to protect themselves against the privileged groups which the present government by its policies and by various agencies and methods is seeking to protect.

The issue is clear cut, it is the Profiteers or the People. It is the former who constitute the invissible government that has brought into being, and is keeping in power, an administration that has usurped all the rights of a free people in matters of government. It is for the people to declare how long they are prepared to endure this kind of usurpation at the sacrifice of their political and economic freedom.

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Nelson. Oct 16-1920

D 4751

MACKENZIE KING URGES UNION OF ALL PARTIES OPPOSED TO GOVERNMENT

Liberal Leader Addresses Political Meeting in Nelson; Says Minor Differences Should be Overlooked; Claims Meighen Not Selected by People; Attacks Government for Sugar Order; Lapointe and Kennedy Speak Also.

An appeal to all opposition groups to join forces on election day against the Meighen administration featured the political meeting addressed by Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, leader of the federal opposition, and two of his parliamentary colleagues, in Sargent's garage Saturday night. The structure was decorated with Canadian and American flags, and a selection by the Kootenay Kilties preceded the opening of the proceedings by Hon. John KeKen, speaker of the legislature, who presided. Short addresses by W. C. Kennedy, M.P. for North Essex, and Ernest Lapointe, M.P. for Quebec East, preceded that by the Liberal leader, and the three speakers between them, consumed nearly three hours.

Mr. King Well Received

Mr. King received a generous round of applause on rising. After acknowledging the good will with which he and his colleagues had been received here, and paying a compliment to the Kootenay Kilties who had "stirred the blood with reminiscences of the Scottish hills," he proceeded to the discussion of politics, first deploring the small amount of political education possessed by the Canadian people.

He regarded the 1911 election as the last real test of public opinion in Canada, and referred to the large number of first voters at that election who had now attained seasoned maturiay, the large number of men from overseas, the large number of foreign born on the western plains who were refused the vote at the 19917 election, and a considerable group similarly treated in this province, and the important body of new electors, the women, who, together, constituted largely a new electorate. It was the duty of the government, he said, to give this new electorate a voice.

He pointed out the fundamental difference between the National Liberal and Conservative party and the great progressive groups, among which he enumerated the Liberal party, the Farmers party, the Labor party, and the G.W.V.A., defining this difference by stating the latter groups chose their leaders and decided their politics by Dominion-wide conventions, while Premier Meighen was the choice of his party as represented in parliament. The Liberal party, he regretted to say, had not always lived up to its name, but the good intent was there, and it always came back. The Meighen government was not popularly chosen, and therefore was usurping the rights of the people. While the people were not consulted in its establishmnt, a certain influence that dared not raise its head because it was not a great social force was consulted. This influence was the invisible government, consisting of the great interests.

The Sugar Order

In the last few days, the speaker said, they had had a revelation of at least one instance of an interest that was able to influence an agency of the government, this being the order by the board of commerce prohibiting wholesalers, retailers and any one else, from buying sugar except from one of the half dozen big refineries in Canada, at the present monopoly price. Could a board that was really in touch with parliament so aid a combine and act against the social interest of the country, quenching the first gleam of hope of the lowered cost of living, he asked. This was only the last of a series of steps showing the government to be really profiteers, instead of being protectors of the people.

When he was a member of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's government, Mr. King said, he introduced a Combine Investigation act, which gave to any six persons in Canada who believed prices were being unduly enhanced or trade unduly restricted, the power to compel an investigation, which would be composed in part by persons selected by those making the complaint. This was enacted, and if it were the law today people could Iro nindustries of this district of J. E. Mars of Port Arthur, who Ontario, e urged that the former did not thin that, with an apparent

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They informed the public these new measures would safeguard their interests.

When the sugar order was announced, he was at Vernon, and he challenged the government to disclose the boards of directors of the refineries, for when they knew the names of the sugar barons they would know who were powerful enough to influence the government. The government suspended the order at once, till Oct. 20, when an inquiry would be held into the matter. It was desirable for a searching inquiry to be made, for it might help to show that within the cabinet itself were influences strong enough to effect this result.

Inquiry of the secretary of state's department would show, Mr. King said, whether Hon. C. C. Ballantyne, the first minister to be sworn into the Meighen cabinet, was not a director of the St. Lawrence Sugar refinery as recently as last May. He did not wish to reflect upon either Mr. Ballantyne's position, or his integrity, but he would say that no man could serve two masters. He could not serve the true interests of the shareholders of the refinery in trying to keep up prices, and at the same time protect the consumers of the country from such an anti-social order. Every consideration of propriety demanded that Mr. Ballantyne resign his position as a member of the Meighen cabinet. Further, the Meighen government, as long as Mr. Ballantyne remained a member of it, must remain under the suspicion of being amenable to these influences.

A telegram hal been received within 48 hours by the proprietor of a large paper, which he would not at present name, in the following words: "Will be sending you for publication (date given) four-column display advertisement on sugar situation. Would appreciate your withholding comment as far as possible on commerce board's order until facts contained in this advertisement are before you." He had no doubt the same telegram had been received by many other papers also. He thanked God for this evidence of independence on the part of the press, that a newspapr was willing to expose this! This was clear evidence of the kind of thing the people were up against—the profiteers were prepared to spend big sums to stifle the press.

Urges Groups to Get Together

The party to which the Liberals were opposed, he said, was not the old Conservative party. Its new name was used to cover the special groups welded together by financial interest. He urged that the various groups opposed to the Union government, all of which had something in common, should unite on election day, instead of splitting their vote, and permitting the government to be re-elected. The opposition groups should stand together on the main issues, letting their minor differences go.

What was true of the sugar situation was true regarding wearing apparel, boots and shoes, and every article of common use. Mr. Murdoch, who had resigned his position on the board of commerce, said the government did not want a remedy applied. He was on the board long enough to learn that the great interests had special influence.

There were at least three ways in which something could be done to reduce the high cost of living, Mr. King said, and all of these were advocated by the Liberal party.

The first was to practice economy in administering the government.

This year's estimates amounted to $700,000,000. Eventually this burden of taxation would find its way to the backs of those least able to bear it, for that was the lesson of the centuries. Economy was not to be expected from the men now in office.

If the government had money to still manufacture small arms ammunition after the war was over, it could not say it did not have money to treat generously the returned men and the widows and children of those who died overseas. H did not care what amount was named as a gratuity, no gratuity was too large for the returned man who was in need. If a tubercular patient needd $4000 a year he should have it. If returned to power he and his friends would see that no returned man or dependent in need would be refused help, up to the extent of the country's ability to pay.

Would Lower Tariff

A second way of reducing the cost of living was by reducing the tariff on the necessaries of life, thus relieving the consumer; and by reducing the tariff on instruments of production used in basic industries.

It was still necessary to have a tarrif, and the system could not be changed all at once. Taxes on incomes, on business profits, and on luxuries would not alone yield the revenue, a tariff would be needed for some time to come.

Because the Liberal party believed the tariff was not fair at present, it demanded its revision, not in a way to destroy any industry, but so as to let the necessaries of life escape with the least possible taxation.

Relieving the instruments of production of some of their taxation should also appeal to British Columbia. Putting a duty on them was the same as taxing capital. Freeing thm would result in increasing production, which would benefit both labor and the manufacturing industry. The farm stood in the same position. Unless there was agriculture, the cost of living in the cities would never be reduced.

The third means of lowering the cost of living, the Liberal leader said, was to end profiteering. It should be possible for the government to erect machinery to end this condition.

Mr. King said the government claimed to have done a great taing in taking over the Grand Trunk system. The two points attractive about government ownership were the lowering of rates because there wre no dividends to pay, and the fact of public control.

Did the people think they owned the Grand Trunk, he asked. The fact was, Canada had guaranteed to the shareholders interest for 20 years in excess of the annual dividends, and at the end of that period the country could take it over by paying $500-000,000. The big interests had been fully cared for. The people's part was to take care of the deficits. The railroad would be administered by a board appointed by this government that had usurped the rights of the people. This helped to illustrate the difference between the two parties. The opposition wanted two representativs of labor on that board, but Mr. Meighen opposed it.

Parliament should be a mirror of the state, Mr. King declared. Each group of the public—farming, manufacuring, and others—should be reflected in parliament, but its representatives should be there as citizens of Canada, not as representatives of a group. There should be party government, but there should not be groups in control of the government.

In international relations, the Liberal party stood for the same principle, Mr. King said. They wanted no secret diplomacy. They wanted the relations between Canada and other countries settled on the floor of parliament, not in secret cabinet council.

Opposes Empire Union

They did not believe in an imperial body to which Canada should send delegates. They believed that Canada's relations within the empire should be adjusted by a system of conference, consultation, and cooperation. By that method, and not by centralization of the empire's authority, would they act in Canada's highest interests.

During the war, he said, they heard much about the interdependence of the country and about the importance of the work of the factory hand, of the farmer, and of the woman in the home. They were told, once the war was over, there would be more of social justice and equality. Were the people going to let that idea be forgotten? Or were they going to try to make the world a better place to live in?

Th people, Mr. King said, had the choice between supporting the party of privilege, and supporting the party of social reform. The Liberals, he said represented the aspirations of the great body of the people. The Liberals wanted to raise to Canada's heroic dead the only monument that was worthy of them, which was to continue in Canada the fight against despotism and avarice which they successfully waged on foreign fields. To accomplish this work, they asked the support of the people of this country.

Mr. King was given hearty applause on taking his seat.

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Ontario Member Speaks

The first speaker was Mr. Kennedy. Speaking of his province, Ontario, he said the Liberals had their troubles in 1917, but he could assure his hearers now that the Liberals of Ontario were solidly united behind the leadership of Hon. Mackenzie King.

In 1917, the Liberal party had few newspapers supporting it, and this was still the case, the speaker said, and to fill this want it was necessary that the members themselves appear before the people to plead their case.

After denying that the Union party had a mandate, the speaker addressed himself particularly to finance, and criticised the post-war expenditure. No one would have objected to this, he said, if the war had still been in progress.

He criticised the Dominion income tax and also the luxury taxes. The latter, he said, were largely on necessaries. He also attacked the government for the decline in the market price of the various kinds of Victory bonds. Sir Thomas White, he stated, had used $60,000,000 of the people's money to stabilize the market for these bonds. The fact was not one year ago the price was a controlled price, and now it was a price determined in the open market. It was about time, Mr. Kennedy contended, that all restrictions on financing should be released, and that money should find its own level.

It would surprise the people to know the number of employees retained by the government, and the sums paid out for their maintenance. Since the armistice, 4000 permanent employees had been added. He criticized this as unnecessary. He claimed that various commissions had been established, and were still floating around. The commission to classify the civil service, he said, cost $100,000. The Canadian Daily Record, published during the war for service men, was retained after the war till there was a protest. Each number contained a kindly reference to some minister. Its late staff was now publishing a somewhat similar paper in New York for the Canadian government. He criticised the appointment of the British trade commission to extend Canada's trade, asserting that the manufacturers should pay for extending their own trade.

Quebec Leader Heard

Ernest Lapointe, Mr. King's Quebec lieutenant, the second speaker, had a pleasant accent, and a quaint gift of expression, and achieved considerable popularity with the audience. He expressed the hope that after the prinicples of the Liberal party were fully explained all the Nelson Conservatives would become Liberals. He said they would receive a grand welcome. (Laughter).

Making an historical reference to the room in which the framers of confederation met, for the purpose of uniting Canada, he said the present purpose of the Liberal party was to repeat this union.

He asserted the Union government had not a mandate to govern now. The election of 1917 was fought on one issue alone, selective conscription. He did not desire to take issue with those Liberals who had thought differently from him on that issue. But there was no doubt as to what the issue was. He declared it was a breach of trust with the hundreds of thousands of electors in Canada who voted for the Union government to use that mandate for the settlement of issues that the government at that time promised would remain open. He claimed it was an especial breach with the returned soldiers to attempt to still use that mandate.

Mr. Lapointe enumerated the by-elections that went against the government last year. The recent by-elections in the maritime provinces, won by the government, he asserted, were won by business men, who used business methods. Doubtful contests, he intimated, were postponed.

There was a general distrust prevalent in the country, he said, both of the present government, and of parliamentary institutions, and for this distrust the government itself was largely responsible. He criticised the governmnt for its use of the order-in-council method during the war, giving as an instance the creation of a purchasing commission which was refused by parliament. He claimed the government had rfused to give parliament information regarding the proposed ambassador to Washington, or to permit it to determine the country's naval policy.

Denies Is Revolutionary

Referring to the recreation of the Unionist party under the name of the National Liberal and Conservative party, Mr. Lapointe found scope for much humorous allusion. He claimed that the real Liberals and Conservatives were as much alike as the square and the circle. Could Messrs. Ballantyne, Calder and Guthrie be sincere when they declared they were still Liberals? He suggested that Mr. Meighen could not be successful in convincing the country that these colleagues were Liberals while they talked like Conservatives. Mr. Meighen had called his opponents wreckers, Bolsheviks, revolutionists, I.W.W.'s and Jacobins. There were no such people in Canada, and it was a bad advertisement for Canada that its premier should call his native land a hotbed of revolution. To apply these epithets was a subterfuge of reactionaries in every age. The persons to whom he applied these epithets were the custodians of the country's institutions.

The speaker said he was regarded as a Bolshevik because he wanted something done to reduce the high cost of living, that spectre that confronted the consumer. The government's solution was to set up a board of commerce. Though several changes had taken place in its personnel, he said the board had not reduced the cost of living one cent. It was, in fact, trying to increase the cost of living. He said the board was trying to prevent the importation of sugar, while it was 21 cents here and 11 cnts across the line. There were men in Canada who should be in the penitentiary, Mr. Lapointe declared, this sentiment arousing applause. These people, the profiteers, were the friends of the government, he said.

Mr. Lapointe claimed that the untaxed war bonds were chiefly in the hands of millionaires.

Heavy loans, he said, had been made to European countries for the purchase of Canadian goods. These were chiefly sold by corporations. Many members of parliament, who always voted with the government, were in these corporations.

He closed with a patriotic reference to Canada's bright future, if its citizenship rose to its high opportunities.

Besides the presiding officer and the three speakers, there were also on the platform William Duff, M.P. for Lunenburg; A. C. Hardy, Brockville, and Andrew Haydon, members of the touring party; D. McPherson, Greenwood; W. T. McDonald, Sandon; J. S. Deschamps, Rossland; Noble Binns, Trail; Mrs. W. J. Mohr, Willow Point; J. Fred Hume, Dr. W. O. Rose, M.P.P., Mrs. W. O. Rose, Mrs. J. Fred Hume, Mayor J. A. McDonald, Ald. Mrs. W. G. Foster, Dr. N. Wolverton, Mrs. N. Wolverton, Mrs. John Keen, Mrs. W. J. Meagher, Mrs. E. R. Redpath, Fred A. Starkey. G. H. Fraser, Nelson.

The meting closed with the National Anthem, after which Speaker Keen led three cheers for the young Liberal leader.

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LIBERAL VSITORS LUNCHEON GUESTS

Mackenzie King Says Canadians Should Build Fine National Edifice.

A very successful "business men's" luncheon, both in point of attendance and of the addresses made, was tendered to Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, leader of the Federal opposition and the members of his party at the Hume at noon Saturday. About 80 residents of the city, and district visitors were present.

J. R. Hunter, president of the board of trade, was in the chair at his right being the Liberal leader and Hon. John Keen, of Kaslo, speaker of the legislature, Dr. W. O. Rose, M. P. P., and the remaiinig members of the parliamentary party, W. C. Kennedy, M. P., Ernest Lapointe, M. P., and William Duff, M. P., were on either side of this group. Among the others present were A. G. Gelinas, Arthur C. Hardy, W. J. MacDonald, W. H. Jones, Kenneth Campbell, Arthur Perrier, J. H. MacDonald, Jas McDougall, Mrs. W. J. Meagher, H. E. Dill, Alex. Carrie, W. J. Gilchrist, R. D. Hall, W. D. Thompson A. L. McCulloch, Robert K. Hedley, J. L. Parker, J. W. Mulholland, J. W. Evans, A. D. McLeod, F. J. Boles, Eric P. Lawson, T. M. Bowman, William Brawn, A. D. Emory, G. A. Hunter, H. W. Smith, G. Millar, Ed Ferguson, W. W. Ferguson, A. B. Gilker, F. R. Jelfs, Fred Irvine, W. H. Vance, P. J. Gallagher, E. F. Gigot, Chas. F. McHardy, C. D. Blackwood, W. W. Wilder, Geo. A. Brown, E. W. Widdowson, Dr. N. Wolverton, Mrs. N. Wolverton, Mrs. John Keen, Mrs. J. Fred Hume, J. Fred Hume, Andrew Haydon, William Duff, Fred A. Starkey, J. G. Bunyan, L. K. Larsen, A. La Pointe, L. E. Murphy, C. H. Stark, E. R. Redpath, E. A. Crease, A. N. Winlaw, W. A. Thurman, J. S. Carter, Alex Leith, R. L. McBride, J. E. Annable, Harry Houston, L. H. Choquette, R. H. Yuill, P. J. Sheran, W. C. Will, W. W. Widdow- and others.

After opening remarks by chairman Hunter, who introduced the visitors as on a pleasure trip, Dr. W. O. Rose, M.P.P., extended a welcome to the party, saying it afforded him a great pleasure to extend this courtesy on behalf of the city and district, to such dis1tinguished visitors of the opposite political party, who included among this number the leader of the Federal opposition. He referred with a touch of humor to the indisposition resulting from Friday's prohibition meeting of Mayor J. A. McDonald, which alone prevented the latter from being present to participate in the welcome.

Mr. King Speaks

Mr. King was received with a friendly round of applause. He said in this and the neighboring province he and his colleagues had received many warm welcomes, but it was typical of the warmth of the heart of the Pacific province that Nelson's welcome should be the warmest of all, and should be extend by a political opponent.

The trip had two objects, Mr. King said. One was to present the Liberal point of view on great public questions to the people. The other was to get acquainted with the people, their problems and their opinions. No man could cross the country as they had done without becoming a better Canadian, and it was a privilege to meet the people in this way. He sometimes felt that the Liberal party was not as strongly represented in parliament as its principles deserved, and lanes sometimes were long in turning, but they turned eventually.

He referred to the representations made to him and his colleagues that morning on the question of transportation, and said they valued highly the information that had thus been placed in their hands by these representative citizens.

A Great Canadian Edifice

It was difficult, the speaker said, to find a topic that did not lead to politics, but he said he could refer to at least one great matter that all Canadians could talk of freely. An incident of the war was the destruction of the parliament buildings, symbolical, he said, of the upheaval and disruption that took place throughout the world. He said he old order, of Prussian dominion, had been shaken to its roots and it was now the part of Canadians to give their attention to problems of reconstruction, and there was now the opportunity to build of Canada a finer and a greater national edifice than before. The beautiful new parliament buildings, far excelling the old in conception and execution, were symbolical of this national policy.

In this conviction he issued a warning against some of the factors that Canadians should be careful to exclude from the conceptions, one of these was the material spirit, that measured things by material considerations. Human values should be the standards of comparison.

Although the heroism drawn out by the war was a fine thing, nevertheless war was in itself a thing abhorrent. This war had been followed by hatred and jealousy.

Spirit of Goodwill

Ilwill should be banished and a spirit of goodwill should be established between the classes. Races should learn to appreciate each other, and to realize the ideal that comes from the wealth of variety rather than of uniformity. The same principle applied to religion.

In both the relations of national life—domestic and international — all should aim at a spirit of goodwill, conference, and purity of intention.

If these ideals were followed, Mr. King declared, Canadians could build up the magnificent nation worthy of the sacrifices that had been made in its behalf.

Other Speakers

Mr. Lapointe, M.P. for Quebec, expressed appreciation of the welcome extended to the visiting Liberal parliamentarians, and especially to his leader. He emphasized the value of mutual confidence between section and section.

There were differences between section and section, Mr. Lapointe declared, but the ties that bound them together were stronger than those differences.

The different provinces had a common history, common ideals and a common national life. Every Canadian should feel it his duty to cement those ties more firmly.

Though from the province of Quebec he claimed British Columbia as part of his native country, and he knew no difference of race, language or creed, in considering the vital interests of this common country. (Applause.)

Mr. Kennedy, M.P. for North Essex, said the members of the party would take back with them a new conception of British Columbia, and also a new conception of hospitality.

He referred to the representations made by the board of trade and said they would do their best to iron out the district's difficulties, on their return to Ottawa.

Mr. Duff, M.P. for Lunenburg, also ezpressed appreciation of the hospitality extended to the party, and they valued it the higher he said, because it was non-partizan. They would take back with them, as Eastern men, the conviction that the province of British Columbia deserved every consideration.

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Toronto Globe
October 18, 1920

KING SUGGESTS BALLANTYNE IN THE SUGAR RING

Demands Minister Resign if Records Show Him Refinery Director

DOESN'T DOUBT HONESTY

At Same Time He Points Out No Man Can Serve Two Masters

(Canadian Press Despatch.)

Nelson, B.C., Oct. 17.—Strong criticism was levelled against the Union Government in connection with sugar control last night by Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, who spoke here at a meeting presided over by Hon. John Keen. W. C. Kennedy and Ernest Lapointe also spoke.

The party to which the Liberals were opposed, he said, was not the old Conservative party. Its new name was used to cover the special groups. When the sugar order was announced he was at Vernon and he charged the Government to disclose the Boards of Directors of the refineries, for when they knew the names of the sugar barons they would know who were powerful enough to influence the Government. The Government suspended the order at once until October 20, when an inquiry would be held into the matter. It was desirable for a searching inquiry to be made, for it might help to show that within the Cabinet itself were influences strong enough to effect this result.

A Broad Hint.

Inquiry of the Secretary of State's development would show, Mr. King said, whether Hon. C. C. Ballantyne, the first Minister to be sworn into the Meighen Cabinet, was not a director of the St. Lawrence Sugar Refinery as recently as last May. He did not wish to reflect on either Mr. Ballantyne's position or his integrity, but he would say that no man could serve two masters. He could not serve the true interests of the shareholders of the refinery and at the same time protect the consumers of the country from such an anti-Social order. Every consideration of propriety demanded that Mr. Ballantyne resign his position as a member of the Meighen Cabinet. Further, the Meighen Government, as long as Mr. Ballantyne remained a member of it, must remain under the suspicion of being amenable to these influences.

Would Stifle Comment.

A telegram had been received within 48 hours by the proprietor of a large paper, which he would not at present name, in the following words:

"Will be sending you for publication (date given) four-column display advertisement on sugar situation. Would appreciate your withholding comment as far as possible on Commerce Board's order until facts contained in this advertisement are before you."

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He thanked Heaven for this independence on the part of this Editor, who showed that a newspaper was willing to expose. This was clear evidence of the kind of thing the people were up against—the profiteers were prepared to spend big sums to stifle the Press.

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D 4756

The Daily News

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NELSON

MONDAY MORNING, OCTOBER 18, 1920.

Mr. King's Appeal

Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King's speech Saturday night followed the lines of his addresses at other cities during the present tour. It was listened to with that close attention which Nelson audiences always give public speakers and deserves nohing but fair consideration and analysis.

The opposition leader devoted some time to the charge that the Meighen government has no mandate from the people and that it had "usurped" its power, contending that the method of calling a national party convention which was employed when he was selected as leader of the official Liberal party was the only correct method. There are many who still differ from Mr. King on this point. His argument that the method by which he was selected as leader is the one and only correct method is a condemnation of the selection of George Blake, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Gladstone and the majority of other men who gained fame as leaders of the party to which Mr. King belongs. It does not seem to matter much whether a party leader is elected, as was Mr. Meighen, by the elected representatives of the people, the members of parliament, or by the nominated delegates of local party conventions, who formed the body which chose Mr. King, though there are strong grounds for favoring the parliamentary method.

As to there having been no real test of public opinion since 1911, there will again be found many who will disagree with Mr. King. The 1917 election, when the official Liberal party to which Mr. King belongs, played such an unsatisfactory part that so many of its greatest and most influential supporters broke away from it and joined the Union government which Mr. Meighen now leads, was one of the most remarkable tests of true public opinion on the most vital issues that Canada has ever witnessed. The fact that a large number of foreigners of enemy origin were not allowed to vote and will have the right to vote and perhaps support Mr. King when another election is held is not a very strong argument against the present government.

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The board of commerce in its order fixing the price of sugar may be right or wrong. That is an issue to be decided by an inquiry which Premier Meighen has ordered. But an attack on the board of commerce is not an attack on the Meighen government. The board is an independent body modeled on the railway commission. It does not take orders from the government. While Mr. King was a member of the Laurier government, which constituted the railway commission, the railway board, like the board of commerce, sometimes gave decisions in favor of the railways, sometimes in favor of the public. Would Mr. King then have said on an occasion when the railway board decided in favor of a railroad that the government was responsible and was a "tool of the big interests"? He would not have claimed anything of the sort. It would not have been the fact, if he had. The situation with regard to the board of commerce is identical. The government has power to suspend and review decisions by either board if there is doubt as to their wisdom. That is just what the Meighen government is doing in the case of sugar. The government did not set the price of sugar. On the contrary it has decided that it is necessary to exercise its power of review in the matter. Up to this time board of commerce decisions have been in the direction of keeping sugar prices down, in some instances from 1 to 10 cents a pound below American prices, with consequent savings of millions to the Canadian people. Like the railway commission the board has given decisions sometimes in favor of one side, sometimes in favor of the other.

It is natural that Mr. King should plead with all groups who disagree with any action whatever of the Meighen government to get behind him and place him in office. But the difficulty here, from the viewpoint of Mr. King, is that while these groups may disagree with the government on some issues they do not feel inclined to tie themselves to Mr. King, with whom they may disagree to a much greater extent. He mentioned the war veterans. This organization does not show any desire to tie itself to either party, but the members of the Union party who are now supporting Premier Meighen have little to fear in any comparison which may be made from the war veterans' viewpoint of the record of the Unionists on the one hand and that of the official Liberal party which Mr. King leads on the other hand.

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D 4758

18 Oct. 1920 Cranbrook, B.C.

THE FINANCIAL POLICY AND METHODS
OF THE CONSERVATIVE ADMINISTRATION

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Cranbrook Oct-18th-1925 D 4759

MACKENZIE KING IS GUEST OF HONOR AT TRAINMEN'S BALL

Cranbrook, B. C., Oct. 18.—Thanksgiving Day is a notable holiday with the railway workers who form a large proportion of the population of Cranbrook. They had planned a big ball for this afternoon, and they postponed it until 11 o'clock, so that they could attend the meeting called to hear the Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King. In return they extended an invitation to Mr. King to attend their dance, and after his meeting, the Liberal leader escorted by a large number of the trainmen, who had been in the auditorium to hear him speak, went to the dance, and met the railway workers of Cranbrook and their wives, and daughters. This incident was typical of the attitude of this place towards the distinguished visitor and his lieutenants.

Minister Heads Deputation.

They were met several stations out by the Hon. Dr. King, minister of public works in the Oliver cabinet, heading a deputation of prominent Liberals of the district, who traveled into Cranbrook with Mr. King in the modest C. P. R. sleeper in which he is making his long trip. The Liberal leader and his party ate their Thanksgiving dinner at the Cranbrook Hotel, as the guests of Dr. King, the seat on the host's left being occupied by Mayor Genest, who welcomed Mr. King to Cranbrook on behalf of the citizens of the place. As has been exeprienced by Mr. King throughout his western tour so far, the auditorium was packed with a remarkably interested and intelligent audience, numbering among them a large proportion of railway men and other industrial workers. Mr. King's plea for a Government based on the will of the elected representatives of the people, expressed in Parliament as opposed to a Government by committee methods dictated by the large industrial interests, touched a responsive chord, as also did his references to the recent attempt through the appointees of the Government to protect the profits of the sugar refiners at the expense of the consumers. The chair at the meeting was taken by the Hon. Dr. King, while Mayor Genest of Cranbrook was also on the platform.

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D 4760

Ottawa Citizen
October 19, 1920

TWO KINGS MEET THANKSGIVING DAY AT CRANBROOK, B.C.

CRANBROOK, B.C., Oct. 18. — Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King spent Thanksgiving Day on the final lap of his tour through British Columbia. He arrived here this evening and his party ate their Thanksgiving dinner as the guests of Hon. Dr. King, provincial minister of public works, and a number of prominent Liberals of the city and district, who had gathered to honor the head of the Liberal party and his lieutenants.

At this evening's meeting, Mr. King was supported by W. C. Kennedy, M. P. for North Essex and E. A. Lapointe, M. P. for Quebec East.

Mr. King's Criticism.

Mr. King confined himself to a criticism of the financial policy and methods of the present administration in Ottawa. He believed one of the causes of the present unrest was the sight of extravagance in national methods of government. He pointed to the fact that commissions without number are being appointed and stated that during the present tour of British Columbia, the sleeping car in which Mr. King and his party were travelling was often sandwiched between, or hitched behind a long array of private cars carrying various government officials about the country at enormous expense to the taxpayers who are looking for relief and not for additional burdens. He made a vigorous attack on the methods which the government has been pursuing to raise revenue to meet unnecessary expenses especially the luxury tax, which, he said, was simply a means to extort higher prices from the consumer in order to provide income tax free securities for enriched profiteers.

Mr. Lapointe said it was the urgent duty of the government to establish a national budget, to build a tariff policy which would give protection to the consumer as well as the producers and to work out a better understanding between capital and labor. The present parliament, he said, had no mandate to settle these questions and its continuance was a breach of faith with the electors of the Dominion.

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D 4761

Montreal Gazette
October 19, 1920

MACKENZIE KING'S OWN SLEEPING CAR GETS SECOND PLACE

Sandwiched Between or Hitched Behind Government Officials' Coaches

LIBERAL LEADER PEEVED

Feels Slighted and Declares Taxpayers Are Being Put to Enormous Expense

(By Canadian Press.)

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CRANBROOK, - Cranbrook Courier, Oct. 22, 19

D 4762

Liberal Leader Outlines Policy of Party

Hon. W. L. Mckenzie King and Earnest Lapoint Enunciate the Policy of Progressive Government

Hon. W. L. McKenzie King, leader of the Liberal party in Canada, was tendered an ovation when he addressed a monster gathering of citizens from every corner of East Kootenay at the Auditorium Monday evening last. Hon. Dr. King, minister of public works in the British Columbia government, and member for Cranbrook, was in the chair. Accompanying the Liberal leader was Mr. Ernest A. Lapointe, member for East Quebec, William Duff, member for Lunenburg, Nova Scotia; W. C. Kennedy, member for North Essex and Andrew Hayden.

Occupying seats on the platform were Mr. A. I. Fisher, M.P.P., of Fernie; Mayor Genest, Mr. A. A. MacKinnon, president of the Cranbrook Liberal Association; Mr. C. D. McNab, of Waldo and James McLean of Fernie

Mr. Kennedy briefly addressed the meeting, making mention of the large number of citizens present to hear the issues before the electorate of Canada discussed. He wished to make way for the important message from the Liberal leader, who would follow Mr. Lapointe.

f Waldo and James McLeon, of Fernie ber for Quebec East, the seat held by the late Sir Wilfrid Laurier, who at once launched into the issues enunciated by the Liberal party. He characterized the new title acquired by the National Liberal and Conservative party as meaningless, provoking a laugh when he asked the audience, in view of the forthcoming plebiscite, if they ever heard tell of a "Wet-Dry". The Unionist party had, by their contortions, placed themselves in that category. Mr. Lapointe was pleased to see a French-Canadian at the head of civic affairs. He felt that Cranbrook was in safe hands with a fellow-countryman of his at the helm.

When Dr. King introduced the Liberal leader there was an outburst of enthusiasm that fairly shook the big auditorium, the applause being almost deafening. The new Liberal leader on being introduced to the people of East Kootenay, thanked the large audience for the good will in which he and his colleagues had been received by the people of East Kootenay and said that he was glad to recognize the fact that although it was Thanksgiving night, many of the electors had given up pleasures to attend his meeting. The government was really the people and those in the House of Commons at Ottawa were acting as their representatives. He esteemed it a pleasure and privilege to have his meeting presided over by the Hon. Dr. King, and referred to the confidence which the late Liberal chieftain, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, had in the member for Cranbrook, an announcement which was greeted with vociferous applause.

Before proceeding with the main issues of the policy of the Liberal party, he expressed his regret at not arriving in Cranbrook Sunday afternoon to enable him to participate in a reception which the ladies of Cranbrook had prepared for him on the following afternoon. He would, however, take advantage of the invitation handed him at the door of the Auditorium by representatives of the Ladies Auxiliary to the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen to participate in a social dance after the meeting.

The leader of the Opposition dwelt at great length on the important issue of the tariff and did not lose the opportunity to take up the matter of the government purchase of the Grand Trunk railway system, of particular interest to this community where there are so many railway workers.

He read the resolution unanimously passed at the last Liberal convention dealing with the tariff. It called for a reduction in the tariff as it affected the necessaries of life and the implements of production for the basic industries of the country.

"To the terms of that resolution this party is definitely committed" he emphasized, "and to obtain from the people of Canada support sufficiently strong to enable the party to give expression to this policy in legislation, is the aim of our advocacy of its proposals at the present time."

Referring to the government owner shop of railways he told how the Liberal government had fought for the interests of the former employees of the G. T. R. The railway today did not belong to the people, he pointed out, but, he contended, the people should at least derive some benefit from it, at least in the matter of less costly transportation rates. He would also appoint workers on the Board—at least two representatives—to the Board of Directors of railway, and in other directions he would have the people benefit or have some share in its operation.

An important definition of the Liberal attitude regarding the tariff was made by Mr. King in answer to a challenge issued by the Prime Minister in a speech delivered at Stratford, Ont.

"Mr. Meighen," said Mr. King, "is determined to make the issue on the tariff one of protection versus free trade. Unfortunately for Mr. Meighen and his friends there is no political party in Canada which is prepared to join issue with him on this ground. The farmers, whom Mr. Meighen has said are ready to submarine the whole fiscal system by their advocacy of a free trade policy, have been the first to make it clear that such is a wholly false representation of their position. They are demanding a downward revision of the tariff which will result in freer trade, but they recognize that free trade is an impossibility, and that the tariff as an instrument for raising revenue wherewith to carry on the government of the country will remain a necessary feature of our fiscal system. The Liberal position is clearly defined on the policy of the party as laid down in the platform at the great convention held in August of last year. It is a policy of a downward revision of the tariff in the interests of producers and consumers. It does not aim at free trade but it does aim at freer trade, especially in those commodities which comprise the necessaries of life, and constitute the instruments of production in the great basic industries of the country.

"Mr. Meighen is reported as saying at Stratford, Ont., that none know

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whether Mr. King stands for tariff on free trade principles or on protection principles and that you may keep on asking him but you will never get an answer. No one knows better than Mr. Meighen himself the reason why. A tariff on free trade principle is a contradiction in turn. Free trade means the elimination of all tariffs. This being so, how can you have a tariff on free trade principles? The issue as respects the tariff is not between protection and free trade; it is between a tariff which is so framed as to serve the interests of specially favored and privileged group as against a tariff which will protect the producers and consumers against the unfair exactions of combinations of this kind.

"We need not go further than the question of sugar to illustrate the difference between the two. Under the protectionist policy of Mr. Meighen, sugar that sells at a lower figure in the United States than in Canada must not be permitted to come in at the lower figure less, perchance, the privileged position in which a small group of sugar refiners in Canada find themselves as a consequence of existing scarcity should be threatened in any particular.

"The tariff, in other words, is looked upon as an instrument of protection to the sugar monopoly regardless altogether of its effects upon the great body of consumers in Canada, everyone of whom finds sugar in greater or less degree a commodity coming within the classification of the necessities of life. The Liberal policy of a downward revision of the tariff in the interests of producers and consumers would give to the people of Canada relief from the undue taxation upon sugar, where prices are what they are today. A tariff can be made help keep up the high cost of living or can be made to help reduce it. A tariff which, as respects the necessities of life, gives special consideration to existing monopolies, is injurious to consumers through keeping up the high cost of living and is of little use for revenue purposes. A tariff, on the other hand, which has regard primarily for the needs of consumers serves to reduce the high cost of living, and, in nine cases out of ten, is more beneficial also as a revenue producing measure.

Concluding his reference to the subject of the tariff, Mr. King said:

"What we of the Liberal party believe to be a first obligation of government, is the establishment of machinery which will adequately protect consumers against unjust exaction. This surely is an aim which farmers, workingmen, heads of families and consumers generally have in common. It is an aim which is being frustrated by the forces represented in the government of the day. It surely affords grounds sufficient for united action on the part of all who regard human well-being as of more concern than material wealth, and human life as more precious than anything which can be weighed in the balance against it.

"This brings me to another great end which the progressive forces have in common, particularly progressive forces of the west, and which is a part of the problem of the cost of living, namely, the more effective control of railway rates and railway policy by all the parties and interests concerned," he continued. "There is little difference between an increased railway rate and an increase of customs duty in their ultimate effect and incidence. Sooner or later the burden of the increased cost is shifted on to the shoulders of the big body of consumers, and goes to increase their problem of the cost of living. The government of this country has succeeded in bringing under its own control, or rather the single control of a group of its own appointees, who constitute a Board of Management, the railway systems of this country other than the C. P. R.; and allied to the railway systems thus controlled, they have brought under their single control a merchant marine on which they have spent a sum of $70,000,000, taken from the public treasury. The people were told at the time these transactions were consumated that they constituted a mighty achievement in the field of government ownership.

"May I pause for a moment to ask what is it that makes government ownership attractive to the people who are its advocates? Is it not that by government ownershdip they believe that monies accruing in the form of profits to private capital will be saved to the public, who will reap through ownership the benefit of the saving of this amount in the form of reduced rates and prices? Is it not also that they believe that instead of a single group—the nominees of capital having single control of industrial policy—the people themselves in the government owned enterprises will have a larger voice in the determination of the manner in which these great enterprises are to be carried on.

"Let us test our so-called government ownership of railways and merchant marine in Canada today by these two requirements. Has anything been saved to the public by way of profits to private capital? The stocks and bonds, to the assumed value of a half a billion dollars have been transferred to the nominal ownership of the Canadian people. Until, however, this half billion of dollars is paid out the public treasury to the bondholders and shareholders, the real ownership of these shares will not pass. Meanwhile the government has enacted that this purchase shall not be made within a period of twenty years, and in the interim a rate of interest is guaranteed to the bondholders and shareholders infinitely more considerable than any which has been assured to them in the past.

"As regards the control of industrial policy, instead of the people, through their representatives in parliament having the real control, which government ownership is supposed to afford, the people's representatives have been told by the minister of railways and canals, and by the minister of marine, that it is not permissible to question the ministry with respect to the affairs of these enterprises and that no information other than such as the government's own appointees on the board of management care to submit in the form of a statement of their own preparation need be expected by the people's representatives in parliament. The people of Canada, today, are getting a taste in the increased cost of transportation in passenger and freight, of what this kind of monopolistic control by a government appointed executive—an executive composed not only of government's own appointees, but almost exclusively of its own friends, a part of the invisible government in Canada today—is going to mean to them.

"What is wanted today in our industries, railway as well as others, is not monopoly of control by all the parties and interests, and this includes control of industrial policies not alone by management whether named by the government, or by capital, but also by labor employed in these enterprizes and by the public or the community without whose assistance they could not be carried on. There are four parties to industry, not one, or two, and the recognition of all four is essential if we are to have our enterprises administered for the benefit of the people as a whole and not for the special benefit of privileged classes.

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"It is for this reason that in its labor policy the Liberal party is advocating amongst other things the right of representation on the board of directors of our National railways of the workingmen who are employed on its systems.

"Just here let me say that if labour had had that voice, or had the government of the country been in the least considerate of their rights there would not today be doubts in the minds of thousands of the workers on the Grand Trunk railway system as to their pensions right, and the claims of their dependents for justice in this particular.

The Liberal party believes that equally with labor and capital and management, the community organized collectively in the form of the state, on one hand, and constituting the great body of consumers, on the other, is entitled to an effective voice in the control of industrial as well as government policy. The all-important part which the community plays in the making possible of all forms of industrial enterprises has been lost sight of all too readily, but it is one which needs to be reassured.

"The community's right to representation in the control of industry, and in the shaping of industrial policies, is wholly similar to that of labor. But for community investment on a local, national and international scale capital, labor and management would be obliged to make scant shift under present day conditions of world competition. But what of the community's part in industry? Here, too, is joint venture on the part of the community just as much as on the part of labor, capital or management. What is 99 per cent. of the expenditure of government in normal times but outlays in the nature of investment in industry; investment in property and services of one kind or another, which alone makes possible the vast co-operation and co-ordination of effort, which is the very life-blood of industry?

"The vaster industrial organization becomes, the more it depends, in a multitude of directions, upon the investments of the community.

"The party which created the railway commission as a means of a first step in the control and regulation of railroad rates, is capable of expanding that development in a manner which will bring it into fuller accord with the need of our times through more adequate representation where the situation so demands of all classes contributing to and being effected by the carrying on of this enterprise.

"Did time permit I might mention other important maters which we all have in common, and to which it is the aim and purpose of Liberalism to give expression. To the people of the prairie provinces, the granting of the ownership and control of their natural resources within their respective boundaries on terms that are fair and equitable with reference to other provinces of the Dominion's is one so obvious that it requires not comment. The language I have just used is that of the resolution of the National Liberal Convention on this all important matter.

"Open discussion as opposed to secret diplomacy in inter-imperial and international relations is another matter of like mutual concern; so is the Liberal policy of conference and co-operation between the different parts of the British Empire as a means of maintaining British unity, as opposed to any policy of centralized imperialism. It is Canada's pace as a nation in a community of nations comprising the British Empire that we seek to maintain and develop. We are proud of our British citizenship, but we are none the less proud nor less determined to assert our individuality as Canadians, and our indentity as a distinctive people.

"Lastly, may I say that above all else we as Liberals have committed ourselves to the task of realizing insofar as that may be possible the new order of social justice and social equality which we believe is the only monument worthy of their sacrifice which it is within the power of the people of this nation to raise to the memory of their heroic dead."

At the conclusion of Mr. King's speech he was accorded a warm ovation. He was then tendered a vote of thanks, together with Mr. Lapointe and the meeting closed with the singing of the National Anthem.

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19 Oct. 1920

D 4765
Lethbridge, Alta.

TARIFF AND AGRICULTURAL POLICY

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Lethbridge Herald Oct-20th 1920

D 4766

Pertinent Points In Hon. M'Kenzie King's Address

"Old alliances and friendships have broken up in the great upheaval, but it takes time to get back to forgotten ties."

"Long after a storm has passed there continues the ebb and flow on the ocean, but once more there comes the calm."

"It is only rational that after great emotion there will be some little time before the normal relations of our political and other life are restored."

"The people are the Government, their representatives are their servants."

"We believe that the time has come when a downward revision of the tariff is necessary."

"The Government must take the responsibility of what its servants do."

"The aim of Liberalism today is to seek a wider freedom for the masses in social, political, religious and industrial life."

"What will be the good after the battle is lost for wiseacres to say we would have saved the situation by being united."

"We stand on the firm foundation of complete autonomy of self-government of concern to our Dominion."

"In all things that really count our interests are common interests."

"It is not a question of free trade or tariff. Under Liberal policy it will be a tariff for consumers and producers."

"Change of tariff means the interests of consumer and producer and putting an end to profiteering."

"Pay off debts partly by income tax. Begin with the men who made millions out of the war."

"If the Government by its tariff policy is going to add to the size of Canada they might give others a little credit."

"The Liberal policy and the Farmers' policy in the great fundamentals are similar."

"Cut down the tariff on all necessaries of life."

"Substantial reductions or taking off the duties on the implements used in our basic industries of farming, lumbering, mining and fisheries, is our tariff policy."

"There is no time more than the present for a great agricultural policy."

"It is a good thing to have towns and cities, but an evil thing if towns and cities are to develop at the expense of rural centres."

"As you develop the great basic industries so you increase the amount of raw material for manufacture."

"The workmen's position is no better if the cost of living is not reduced."

"You must get raw material at low prices if our manufacturers are to compete with other countries."

"It is a sound economic policy which, in all its branches, will benefit the masses."

"The four essentials for success are labor, capital, management, and the community."

"Monopoly in any form is injurious. So monopoly of Government or by groups is injurious."

"The solution is not to substitute one monopoly by another but to get rid of monopoly."

"Let us try and weld into one great group for the benefit of the country."

"Only by good will can we become a great and prosperous people."

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Lethbridge Herald, Oct. 20-1920

D 4767

HON. MACKENZIE KING TELLS LETHBRIDGE AUDIENCE MEIGHEN GOVERNMENT IS FRIEND OF MONOPOLISTS AND THE SUGAR BARONS

Liberal Leader, on First Official Visit, Gets Splendid Reception in Lethbridge—Hammers Government for Extravagance—Declares Sugar Order Is But Manifestation of Monopolistic and Autocratic of Remnant of Union Government—Makes Strong Appeal for Unity of Farmer and Labor Groups With Liberals to Oppose Government—Wm. Duff Calls on Hon. C. C. Ballantyne to Resign.

Lethbridge turned out en masse to greet Hon. William Lyon Mackenzie King, leader of the Liberal Party of the Dominion at the Majestic Theatre last night and to hear him expound Liberal doctrines on the problems of the day. If the meeting lacked anything in the fire of an active political campaign, Hon. Mr. King went away assured at least that his big audience was in a receptive mood and carried away a clearer conception of his policies and those of his party than might have been gained during the partizanship preceding a general election. Frankly Mr. King stated that the purpose of the present tour of the party leaders was educational; the audience accepted his statement, and listened to him in corresponding mood. There were flashes of applause as he made telling points at the expense of the present administration. There was a keen appreciation of the young leader's oratory, especially in his finished peroration when he launched his appeal for unity among all groups, rather than dissension and pulling at cross purposes. Altogether Hon. Mackenzie King created a distinctly favorable impression on his first visit to Lethbridge in his official capacity as leader of the Liberal opposition.

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No New Material

Hon. Mr. King kept pretty well to his subject as he has handled it throughout his tour of the west, introducing little new material. He was content, he said, to make his address educational rather than strive for sensational climaxes. It had been hoped by many in the audience, especially by farmers who had braved the muddy roads to be present, he would touch on one of the subjects dear to their heart—irrigation. But he made no mention of that isue which is of particular import to Southern Alberta. He reserved his brief mention of the subject for the banquet following the mass meeting. But he did touch on a number of matters in which the farmers present were vitally interested, especially the tariff, and the farmers' movement. He declared that, to all intents and purposes, the farmers' platform as regards the tariff is identical with that of the Liberals, and he urged that the two groups should unite to fight the monopolistic control now so evident in the new party which holds the reins of government. Throughout his address he attacked the government of Premier Meighen as being the government of monopolies, of sugar barons and other big interests, which all friends of responsible and representative government should combine to fight.

That Sugar Deal

The one new note of the meeting was introduced not by Hon. Mr. King, but by Mr. Wm. Duff, member for Lunenburg, N. S. Answering Hon. C. C. Ballantyne, on the sugar controversy, called on Premier Meighen to ask for Mr. Ballanytne's resignation because, up till May last, he was the director of one of the big Montreal sugar refineries whose interests were to be protected by the amazing order of the Board of Commerce issued a few days ago; because though Mr. Balantyne had stated that he had resigned as director of the company and had sold his stock it had not been shown who controlled Mr. Ballantyne's stock now; and because, he declared, ships of the Canadian merchant marine, controlled by Mr. Ballantyne's department, had been held in Cuban and other points for sugar cargoes for three weeks and a month at a time last spring to bring cargoes of raw sugar to Montreal at a freight rate the same as charged for bringing cargoes to Halifax, though the distance to Montreal was 1500 miles greater. This improper use of his influence for the benefit of an industry in which he was interested, was sufficient cause for his resignation, and the people should demand it.

Mr. Lapointe Called Home

Mr. W. C. Kennedy, member for North Essex, was the other speaker of the evening. He dealt chiefly with the finances of the Dominion, charging the government with gross wastefulness, and declaring that it had outlived its mandate and its usefulness. Mr. Kennedy spoke in place of Mr. Ernest Lapointe, M. P., who was suddenly called home on Tuesday afternoon on receipt of a telegram from the family physician stating that his only child, a little son nine years old, was so seriously ill that small hope was held out for his recovery. The big audience had hoped to hear this fiery young orator from the province of Laurier, and the unfortunate circumstance had a dampening effect on the spirits of the other speakers.

Mr. E. B. Tainter, of Taber, president of the Liberal Association for the Lethbridge riding, acted as chairman and briefly introduced the speakers, expressing the hope that Hon. Mr. King, the party leader, would be the next premier of the Dominion. Seated with the distinguished party on the stage were Senator DeVeber, Hon. Duncan Marshall, Hon. A. J. McLean, Hon. J. R. Boyle, George Skelding, M. L. A. for Macleod, F. S. Leffingwell, M. L. A. of Warner, Martin Woolf, M. L. A. of Cardston, and J. W. Woolf, ex-M. L. A.

Hon. Mr. King

Hon. MacKenzie King, who was introduced by Chairman Tainter as the leader of the Liberal party in Canada, who, he hoped would be the next Premier of the Dominion, received a splendid ovation in rising. He said he appreciated the reception which had been tendered him by the people of Lethbridge, as had been the case all along the line. He took this as no personal compliment, but rather as an evidence of the interest of the people in the responsibility of government, and in some measure of the interest in the members of the party as members of the historic Liberal party. He thanked His Worship the mayor who had met him at the depot and extended him the courtesy of welcome, which he took as an expression of good will towards public men in general. He expressed also his pleasure at being greeted by Senator DeVeber and W. A. Buchanan, M.P., regretting that the latter had appeared at the mass meeting sitting in a box rather than on the platform, where he ought to be; and he hoped that "the next time we visit Lethbridge he will not half way between the two parties but with us where we know he will feel more at home." Thanks were also extended to the local committee in charge of arrangements, to the ladies of the city for the reception tendered him during the afternoon, and appreciation expressed for the fine representation present on the platform from the Alberta administration and legislature.

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After expressing his regret that Mr. Ernest Lapointe, one of the members of the party, had been suddenly called home owing to the serious illness of his little son, and extending the greetings of Quebec to the people of Alberta on behalf of Mr. Lapointe, Hon. Mr. King launched into the subject matter of his address. The ground covered was much the same as in oth- places in his itinerary, but the speaker proved himself a master of the platform, and was listened to with rapt attention punctuated by applause as he made some telling point.

The Present Unrest

In opening his address proper, Hon. Mr. King dealt with the political situation as it had developed in Canada since the war, described as the greatest upheaval in the world's history. It will be some time before we get that calm where we can see the trend of events in their true light. There is unrest, like the unrest of the sea following a great storm. In this case, therefore, we must view with patience the new movements and the new aspirations of the people. During the war there were many resolutions for ...r things when peace came—resolutions that we would have greater equality in government and that many needful changes would be made. These have taken the form of the new farmers' party, the labor party, the women's movement, the aspirations of the war veterans, "movements which ought to be welcomed, and I welcome them as the revival of a new Liberalism."

A New Electorate

Basing his argument on the unrest of the people as indicated by the popular movements of the day, and declaring there was need of educating a great new body of voters who have come into the franchise since the election of 1911, which was the last election campaign in which the economic issues of the country were really considered; pointing to the fact that at the last election the soldiers overseas considered not at all the domestic problems of the Dominion, that the great group of women electors have not yet exercised their Dominion franchise, the Liberal leader declared that, with practically a new electorate it was necessary that there be some education in the elementary principles of government in order that they may decide whether they will align themselves with the progressives or the reactionaries.

Reactionary or Progressive

It was into these two groups that Hon. Mr. King placed those who are striving to hold power in this country —the one group which desires to keep things as they are, the other which desires to take a new step, which is ready for a change, for progress; the forces of reaction and the forces of progress, or Liberalism, as he liked to call it.

The Liberal chieftain then proceeded to place the two political parties in their proper places in the groups which he had described as those of progress and reaction respectively. The example of the Liberal convention of 1918 he instanced as showing to which group his party belonged. That group, in open convention of delegates called in a democratic way from all parts of the Dominion had proceeded to lay down its platform bringing the policies of the party up-to-date, and had chosen a leader by a ballot of the delegates. That method, he declared, showed faith in the people of the country.—it was the party of a popular government. The farmers had proceeded in the same way to draw up their platform and to name their leaders. So had the labor men. All these are progressive groups.

The Contrast

"Contrast with these the origin of the party in power today. How much does that party represent the will of the people? How was it formed? They say it's a new party, the National Liberal and Conservative Party. But whether it is old or new, its action has condemned itself. If it is the old party it is masquerading under a new name because it is ashamed of the acts of the old. If it is a new party, how was it formed? Was any convention ever called to choose a platform or a leader or a name? No one ever heard that there was. Is there any man or woman within hearing of my voice who had anything to do with the formation of the new party, the choosing of the leader or the selection of a name?

"There's the contrast—the progressives and the reactionaries. Powerful interests have taken control of the government of the country, and are holding it against the will of the people, monopolizing and controlling the government against the people. Either you are a reactionary or you are a progressive—you can't be neutral.

"And the big issue in Canada today is between the invisible government of the big interests and a government by the people."

Big Interest Control

The speaker went on to quote a few examples showing that while the big interests control the government of the day, they have betrayed themselves. They cannot always remain in the dark. We have, he said, an example only a few days ago in the sugar order of the Board of Commerce. Do you suppose a commission composed of three civil servants would dare to issue an order compelling us all to buy our sugar from one of the refineries of the great Canadian sugar monopoly without having been influenced by someone higher up to do so? They wouldn't dare to do so, and the government cannot hide behind the excuse that the edict was issued without its knowledge or sanction. "You couldn't get even a city council to act in that sort of fashion," declared Hon. Mr. King amidst roars of laughter. Someone at Ottawa influenced the board in some way. The sugar barons were powerful enough to get that edict out of the board. Who created the board? First of all, we used to have an act on the statutes, the Combines Investigation Act, put there by the Laurier administration a couple of years before it went out of power. The act was for the protection of the people against unfair dealings of trusts and combines. It was repealed by the present government and the Fair Prices and Combines Act put in its stead with a Board of Commerce to carry out the act for the protection of the public. The first board broke up. The chairman, Judge Robson, resigned. Mr. O'Connor resigned. Then Mr. Murdock, the labor representative resigned, and in resigning he made some exposures. He said the government was using the board merely to screen the big interests which were making 70 per cent., and 100 per cent. and 300 per cent. profits, that the government stayed the hand of the board when it tried to do something for the protection of the people, and that the board's usefulness was done. They all disappeared. We asked on the floor of the House for an investigation. Mr. Meighen laughed our request out of court. He ridiculed Mr. Murdock. And then the government, to keep up the screen for the big interests, put or as members of the commission three civil servants. Now anyone who knows anything about the duties of civil servants knows they cannot look after their regular duties and serve on the board as well. "I know," said the speaker, "for I was deputy minister of labor for eight years myself, and I know the deputy minister of labor who is now on the board is too busy a man to attend to board of commerce duties in addition to those of his official position." To all intents and purposes, Mr. King declared, the members of the board, sincere as they may be, are three figureheads. The government which will appoint men in this way to administer this act must accept the responsibility. It must accept the responsibility for this edict limiting our sugar market. It is only an expression of the powerful big interests which dominate it.

Attempt to Stifle Press

As showing to what lengths these big interests will go in endeavoring to control the people of the Dominion, the Liberal chieftain declared he had in his pocket a wire from a sugar baron to a big daily newspaper in one of the Canadian cities. This wire asked that the editor of the paper, following the issuance of the recent sugar order, withhold all comment "until you receive our four colum... display advertisement stati... side of the case. "A clear at... to stifle the free press of the coun... try," said Hon. Mr. King. "But I am glad to say that we have a press that refuses to be stifled." So with a protective tariff of $1.95 per hundredweight on sugar, we have a monopoly which has the government of the country in a grip strong enough to put over the sugar order, and then attempt to buy up the press to keep

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quiet and make the people think the deal is alright.

Mr. King stated that he had another letter in his pocket from a boot and shoe manufacturer threatening to withdraw his advertisement from a newspaper if the editor continued to advocate the tariff policy which Mr. King was advocating. "I have a pair of shoes on my feet at this moment made by that manufacturer, and if it wasn't for the high cost of living I'd chuck them away,' 'said the speaker amidst applause. "That's another insidious effort to control the press of the country and hide things from the people, but if that's the game we're up against let's know about it. I have faith in the press and the people of this Dominion, and am willing to abide by their decision as to whether we'll be governed by powerful, invisible forces of this kind, anti-social and reactionary. We mustn't allow this group to continue to hold their grasp on the government of the country for another five years."

Appeal for Unified Party

Hon. Mr. King then turned to consideration of the various groups which are striving for power. He likened the big interests' group to the powerful, militaristic, money-grasping Germany before the war. Against Germany was arrayed the forces of the right, a ring around them represented by the Allies, Britain, France, Italy, Russia, Belgium and the U. S. Germany was powerful because she was centralized and power was centrally directed. But for many years the allies had no unified command, and in spite of every effort Germany was fighting a winning fight. Then the allies unified their comand and won. The allies in the present political situation in Canada are the various groups arrayed against the government, the Liberals, the farmers' party, the labor party, the war veterans. The present government is using the same tactics as did Germany during the early days of the war, hitting where the allies were weakest, where their command was divided. It happened thus in Colchester and St. John. It is happening in Yale, B. C. And the government, by winning in these seats is endeavoring to create a public feeling that the government is right, that the government is strong because the forces arrayed against it are divided. "Let me bring home to the people that our interests, those of the Liberals, the farmer, the labor party, the soldiers, are common interests. They are the interests of the groups which want representative, progressive government. They want representation in parliament, and, said the speaker, the present parliament does not represent the people, while the administration is award ministration by the order-in-council.

Economic Measures

In addition to the general desire on the part of the people for a representative parliament and an administration responsible to the people, the public is most keenly interested in the problem of the high cost of living, and Hon. Mr. King proceeded to deal with economic issues involved therein. "The high cost of living—how is the government trying to solve it? They blame it on the war, a handy excuse. But I claim it is also due to the extravagance of the administration. This is a question which it takes time to settle, and for that reason I say there should be no delay in making a start. How can it be accomplished. There are three ways. First, rigid economy in administration; second, a change in the tariff in the interests of the producer, and third, put an end to profiteering."

Economy in Administration

The speaker charged that it was useless to expect this government to be economical in the administration of its departments. It is the remnant of an old government which had spent two billions extravagantly. We must begin to pay that debt back, but how can we begin when we have men in office who are so used to spending millions that they cannot think in thousands, while hundreds are beneath their contempt. We have men in office who talk of the unrest sweeping the country, and the only solution they can see is a big military organization, more militia, more mounted police, an aerial service, and a navy—all big tax eaters. This year the government is asking between six and seven hundred millions for administration. The interest alone on the debt has jumped from $12,000,000 to $140,000,000.

"What is Mr. Meighen's financial policy? Go in debt no further. Not a very bright outlook in face of our present taxes. What is the Liberal policy? Our policy is to begin to pay back what we have borrowed and begin on the men who made millions by profiteering." (Cheers.)

Tariff Policies Contrasted

Contrasting the tariff policies of the two parties, or the second item entering into the high cost of living, Hon. Mr. King read Premier Meighen's tariff policy as enunciated in his first speech at Stirling. He described it as childish. It began by stating that his party wants a tariff which will keep Canadian mills running and keep Canadian workmen busy, and then contradicts itself by stating that a commission is to investigate to find out what the tariff policy should be. But the Liberal tariff policy, instead of being a vague jumble of words, is clear cut, declared the speaker. That policy, he declared further, is very close to the tariff policy enunciated by the farmers in fundamental principles.

The Liberal Policy

The Liberal tariff policy is based on the principle that, where a country has a big debt, and where indirect taxation is its present method of raising revenue, it is impossible and unwise to jump from indirect to direct taxaton in a year. But the Liberal policy calls for direct taxation to the extent of a stiff income tax, a business profits tax, and a luxury tax; then having exhausted all these means of raising revenues directly, revise the tariff to raise what additional revenue is needed by indirect taxation. In that revision, cut down the tariff on all the necessities, food, clothing, reducing the duties in some instances to the vanishing point, especially on the implements of production used in farming, mining, lumbering and fishing, the four basic industries of the Dominion.

Help Basic Industries

Hon. Mr. King charged the government forces were trying to becloud the issue by stating that the Liberal party did not where it stood on the tariff, charging that one day it was for free trade, and the next day for protection, but the statement of Liberal tariff policy was clear—it was tariff for revenue only, and a tariff in the interests of the consumers and producers, and not in the interests of the monopolies and big interests. The speaker read the platform of the party on the tariff issue as laid down by the Liberal convention in 1918, declaring, "On that platform I will stand or fall. I made the same assertion in the House and I repeat it here. There has been no hedging on that platform, no circumvention. We stand on the one policy clear across the continent. What I have said on the tariff here tonight, I said in Toronto and the big manufacturing centres of the east. I believe the tariff platform of the Liberal party is in the interests of the whole people of Canada. The cry today is against the high cost of living, for cheaper food. But take agriculture under our present tariff. What is the tendency induced by our present tariff? The movement of the population is all away from the farms and toward the cities—less producers of food, more consumers. The tendency is to so discourage our farmers as to make them quit the farm, quit producing the food the workers in our city factories must have cheaply if they are to produce cheaply in competition with the workers of other countries of the world. Our manufacturers should have an interest in anything which will work to that end, but they see only their own selfish intrests.

"We must make broad the basis of our economic structure. It is a good thing to have towns and cities, but a bad thing to have towns and cities at the expense of our agricultural development. We must develop our basic industries in Canada if we are which our manufacturers depend. to have available raw products on That is a sound economic policy. The development of the farm, the mine, the forest and our fisheries must be encouraged if our manufacturers are to branch out and prosper on a sound basis. That is the fundamental principle of our tariff policy."

Railway Matters

The Liberal leader then turned his attention to railway matters, and was sharply critical of the administration. The recent increase in railway rates paved the way for his criticism. In-

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creased railway rates tend to restrict the movement of people and commodities, and have a bad economic effect. The government's national railway policy is public ownership of the railways. Why do people want public ownership? Because they want to save paying interest on privately invested capital, and by escaping this payment, to reduce the rates. Instead of capital control they want people control. But in the case of the "acquisition" of the Grand Trunk Railway, the government has neither one thing or the other. They have merely an agreement to purchase, if desirable, 20 years from now the G. T. R. at a valuation of some $500,000,00, guaranteeing in the meantime to pay private capital a fixed interest on that valuation. The people are now beginning to reap the first fruits of this peculiar government ownership plan in increased freight and passenger rates. "All we get is making good the deficits," said the speaker. "And there you have it again—the government looking after the big interests." Mr. King charged autocracy in the refusal of the governmen to table a copy of the agreement between it and the G. T. R. shareholders. The first inkling of the nature of the agreement came from shareholders of the company in Great Britain. It is the same autocracy in the management of the roads. When the minister of railways was asked for statements showing the finances of the government roads he was told that the roads were being run just as a private corporation would run them, and the parliament and people of the Dominion would get nothing about the operation of those roads except what the management might decide.

A Brilliant Peroration

It is on industrial matters that Hon. MacKenzie King displays a splendid grasp of the great questions of the day, the questions which are the underlying cause of present-day unrest. And in the peroration which showed the Liberal leader at his best on the platform, he dealt with those questions, issuing an appeal for unity among all groups of Canada's citizenship in order that Canada's bright future might be realized. He held, he said, no brief on the industrial question, but he held that no one group should have monopoly of control in any great question in which other groups are interested. The harm of such control is instanced by the present upheaval in Britain where the coal miners are on strike. In all great enterprises there are four interested groups—capital, labor, management and the consumer. The government or community has a big place in the scheme. It provides the natural resources on which the industry depends for its raw materials, for its transportation facilities and for its market. The place of labor, capital and management is each important. "If you need all four groups for the success of an industry, then we should have an arrangement whereby all groups have a voice in the control. We must have the four groups in partnership. All groups must have a knowledge of the essential facts of the industry. Monopoly in any form is dangerous. There is no room for monopoly.

Groups of Parliament

"And it is the same way with our government. Labor, the farmers, the professional man, the manufacturer, all must be represented, but none must have a monopoly or control if there is to be no harmful result. Today we see the farmer and the labor movement—both group movements. Why? Because we have had too much manufacturer control—too much lawyer control. I hold that the solution is not to substitute one monopoy with another, but let us have all groups represented in parliament, not each working for its own interests, each against the others, but all working together as citizens for an ideal, for a better Canada. We have lived through the period of the fight of race against race, of creed against creed, of nation against nation; don't let us add group against group. Let us have good will as between race and race, and creed and creed, and group, and group, and let us attack the great problems of reconstruction in that spirit." In that way only declared the speaker, can we provide gainst building up a division of the classes that is the curse of civilzation, and save to ourselves that liberty for which the boys who fought in the great war gave their lives. That is the great work of the future, to make liberty and freedom a reality. We must seek that new freedom made possible by the war, freedom in fiscal, industrial, economic, religious and personal matters and all unite to that end. The Liberal party, said the speaker in conclusion is seeking to give expression to this new freedom in acts of parliament which will make it possible, and that is why the people are being apprised on the present tour of the party leaders of the principles for which the party stands.

The meeting came to a close with the singing of the National Anthem.

W. C. Kennedy Speaks

W. C. Kennedy, M. P. for North Essex, Ontario, was the first speaker. He congratulated the committee on the excellence of the arrangements made in connection with Mr. King's visit to Lethbridge stating that the large audience was an inspiration to the members of the party. One of the pleasant features of the this western tour, said the speaker, was the renewal of old acquaintances from Ontario. He had been repeatedly asked by them about the political situation in that province, and he had answered that the Liberals of Ontario were all united under the leadership of Hon. Mackenzie King.

The objects of the western tour of the Liberal leader and party were explained by Mr. Kennedy as being twofold. They were, first, to familiarize themselves with the conditions and needs of the country, and second, to place before the people the platform of the Liberal party. They believed that the proper way to meet the electors was face to face on the public platform.

Demands Election.

The first question referred to by the speaker was the demand by the Liberal party for a general election. The Meighen government, lacking a mandate from the people, should appeal to the electorate. The present government is not representative, he contended. There was one issue and one alone, conscription, at the last general election, and the people were told that when the extraordinary conditions of war had passed and the union government had finished its duty, an appeal to the country would be made. The speaker said that the Liberals were not alons in demanding an election, supporting this assertion by reading the words of the president of the Great War Veterans' association in which he said that "parliament has outlived its mandate."

The government contended that they still had a working majority in the House, but the records showed that they had constantly lost strength. After the election in 1917 they had a amjority of 71, but at the last division taken in the House, the vote on the budget, the result showed a government majority of 26.

Extravagance Charged

Turning to the finances of the country under the present government, Mr. Kennedy made a vigorous charge of extravagance in the various departments of government. His criticism of the government on its financial policy was scathing, charging that the vast accumulation of the national debt was due to reckless spending. Its method of taxation was also criticized. The government had openly exempted the profiteers and taxed the people.

The speaker accused the government of co-operating with the brokers of Montreal and Toronto in fixing the price of the war bonds. The value of the various issues of Victory bonds had gradually depreciated until today bonds bought a year ago for 100 were selling for 93. The government had spent $60,000,000 to stabilize the bond market.

Comparing the increase in the national debt since the return of the Borden government in 1911, Mr. Kennedy pointed out that when Sir Wilfrid Laurier turned over the reins of government the national debt was $340,000,000, and today it is $2,340,000. There would be no criticism, the speaker averred, if the money had been used in legitimate war expenses, but this had not been the case.

Inefficiency At Ottawa.

No business man could go to Ottawa, continued Mr. Kennedy, without noticing the inefficiency of the employees of the government and the large number of them swarming the various departments. The government had machinery for a country of 30,000,000 of people, while Canada had only a population of 8,000,000.

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Aside from the regular governmental offices $600,000 annually was being paid for office rentals in Ottawa. It was astounding, said the speaker, to note the army of emp oyees that had ben added to the payroll of the country since the signing of the armistice. The number of 27,000, he declared.

"Then we have employment in Ottawa in Ottawa for every theorist and faddist that happens to come along," the speaker said. They came under the guise of efficiency experts and always got a job. The government had even sent to Chicago for some of these men to reclassify the Canadian civil service, and $108,000 had been paid out to educate these gentlemen into the mysteries of our civil service. This work should have been done by the ministers of the various departments who are supposed to be men of business and executive ability.

The Daily Record

Referring to the Daily Record, a daily news bulletin supplied the soldiers, Mr. Kennedy charged that it had ben used for propoganda purposes during the war, and now that peace had come the government had subsidized a New York press agency to the tune of $30,00 a year, to tell the American people through the newspapers what a wonderful people we are, and to attend banquets and other a Board of Trade commission, said the social functions.

Then the government had appointed speaker, whose duty it was to assist Canadian manufacturers to sell their good abroad. They argued that it was the function of the government to advance Canadian interests in foreign countries. This commission is still on the other side, Mr. Kennedy remarked, but they are not selling much. They are, however, still on the pay roll.

All this wasteful expenditure, the speaker averred, should be stopped. The Liberal party stood firmly on a policy of economy in governmental expenditures.

"In conclusion I want to say this, that the Liberal party believes there should be an election as the present parliament is not representative of the people,' said the speaker. "If the people are given an opportunity to voice their feeling that is all we ask. And I can say this: that if the Liberal party is returned to power it will labor, as it ever has done, to further the interests of the people of this Dominion." (Applause.)

Goes After Ballantyne

Charges that practically amounted to graft by Hon. Mr. Ballantyne, were made by William Duff, representative of Lunenburg, N. S., who followed Mr. Kennedy and preceded the Liberal leader. Mr. Duff trained his guns on Hon. Mr. Ballantyne, minister of marine and fisheries and claimed that that gentleman was trying to get all out of the government and the people that he could. He also charged that Mr. Ballantyne was operating in the interests of his friends and business associates.

Mr. Duff put forward the claim, as did the previous speaker that the Union government has outlived its mandate, and maintained, backed by arguments, that a general election should be held to give the people a chance to pass a verdict on whom they wish to control this country for the next four or five years.

During his opening remarks he extended greetings from his fellow citizens of Nova Scotia to former citizens of that province who have moved to the prairie to live. He continued by giving a message from thousands of Conservatives, who he claimed, are "tired and sick of the Union Government and are just waiting a chance to throw them out of power."

The speaker referred to Mr. Kennedy's reasons why the Union Government should go to the people and told the audience that he was going to give them some more. He prefaced his a guments with the statement that he has no fault to find with the people who, in 1917, voted for the Union government because then the whole cry was to successfully end the war.

Many Resign

Continuing he reviewed the men who went from the ranks of the Liberals to those of the Union Government and then told of those who, believing the Union government had finished its mandate resigned. He named Hon. Frank Carvell, who publicly stated that he had finished his contract. Then came Hon. Mr. Mewburn and Hon. N. W. Rowell, Sir Thomas White and last of all Sir Robert Borden.

"Sir Thomas White was a man who did not have the courage to go to the country and ask for a third victory loan," said the speaker. Referring to these resignations Mr. Duff said: "It seems to me we are quite justified in assuming the gentlemen in Ottawa have no mandate and that they should immediately appeal to the people for a new verdict and a new mandate."

"Some still cling," he continued, and then launched on his discourse of the doings of Hon. Mr. Ballantyne. He spoke of a statement in the newspapers from Mr. Ballantyne which was to the effect that he considers himself a businessman and that is why he is staying in office. 'He is trying to get out of the government and the country all he can," charged Mr. Duff.

The shipbuilding program of the government, which was launched in 1918, next attracted the speaker. Mr. Duff wants to see a mighty fleet of merchant ships for Canada as he believes that is the one best way for the country to become rich. "I want to say that I believe the policy enacted by the government at that time is not a policy in the best interests of all the people," continued Mr. Duff.

He spoke of the time when submarines were sinking ships wholesale, and at the same time the cry was being raised throughout the allied world for increased shipping bottoms to carry ammunition and soldiers overseas. Lloyd George called for increased merchant marine and the people were willing to answer the call.

No Right To Spend

"What we say is that this government had no right to take money from the people and spend it without getting the consent of parliament. Mr. Ballantyne has denied that allegation, but I say on my honor as a member of parliament the records will prove this fact," said Mr. Duff as he charged that $70,000,000 was spent on the shipbuilding program without first obtaining the consent of parliament to the expenditures.

Continuing he charged that deliberately contracts were made with shipbuilders without obtaining the consent of the parliament of Canada. Mr. Duff alleged that $70,000,000 was spent by Mr. Ballantyne on the shipbuilding program without calling for public tenders and that the laws of parliament call for the receiving of the consent of parliament for expenditures amounting to $5,000 or over.

When Mr. Ballantyne was questioned about this procedure, the speaker said, the minister of justice was consulted and the judgment was that there was an emergency. Mr. Duff agreed that there was an emergency at first but when the government finally did act much of that emergency had passed and another six months could have waited so that the consent of parliament could have been obtained. He charged that Mr. Ballantyne let contracts as late as February, 1920, without obtaining public tender.

Does Not Trust People

"This shows conclusively the government does not trust the people or the representatives of the people in parliament," said Mr. Duff.

Continuing he referred to a statement of Mr. Ballantyne's in which it was claimed that Canadian ships sailing the seas were making money and after being pressed Mr. Ballantyne alleged he had $1,500,000 to the credit of the Canadian merchant marine. Mr. Duff, coming from Nova Scotia thought he knew something about shipping matters and doubted this statement. He asked questions and finally when Mr. Ballantyne submitted a report he was unable to find that more than $800,000, half in cash, was in the banks to the credit of the ships. In searching the liabilities statement he was not able to locate an account of 5 per cent. alleged by the minister to be put aside for depreciation.

Such state of affairs, Mr. Duff alleged, prove conclusively that Mr. Ballantyne is endeavoring to deliberately mislead parliament, the people and the country." It seems as it is quite a natural thing for him to do," continued Mr. Duff.

Sugar and Ballantyne

He then launched into the sugar situation which has been prominent

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before the people lately. He told of a statement of Hon. Mr. King's in which the Liberal leader argued that the order should never have been issued.

Ballantyne, stated Mr. Duff, was a director of the St. Lawrence Sugar Refining Co. and as such should not have held the office of Minister of Marine and Fisheries, argued the speaker, Ballantyne said he dispoed of his stock early this year but Mr. Duff would lke to know in whose name this stock is held. He thought this information would be interesting.

He returned to the shipbuilding question and said that ships were being built in Canada for the Dominion government for $200 a ton when they could have been constructed in England for half that sum. While Mr. Ballantyne was still director of the sugar outfit Canadian government ships stayed in southern ports for several weeks when they should have been out after cargoes.

They returned to Montreal and brought sugar there at the rate of 42 cents a hundred, the same rate as charged to New York, St. John and Halifax and by that Montreal refiners saved greatly on freight rates over their more eastern competitors. The speaker said the St. Lawrence outfit secured these rates.

"Surely there is a nigger in the woodpile somewhere," he said. At this point Mr. Duff made the allegation that Ballantyne is acting as a salesman instead of a businessman and is looking after the interests of his business associates.

He said that Nova Scotia will return fifteen out of sixteen seats for Liberals, P. E. I., four out of four, and New Brunswick seven out of eleven.

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Lethbridge Herald Oct-20th 1920

D 4774

Lib. Leader Congratulates Women of Leth. on Their Desire to Understand Issues

Splendid Reception Under Auspices of Local Council of Women Addressed by Hon. Mr. King.

"The fundamental duty of Canadians today is to supplant ill-will with goodwill, to bury our hates and prejudices, whether they be racial or religious, for we cannot have a great nation without unity. The wounds inflicted by the war must be healed, and in this process of healing these national wounds the women can play an important part having natural capacities for ministration in these imperative problems."

In these words Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King summed up the paramount responsibility of the citizenship of the Dominion, more especially of the enfranchised women, in an address before a large audience of women in the Y. M. C. A. auditorium Tuesday afternoon. The Liberal leader was closely followed by the ladies present and as he touched briefly the vital issues before the people outlining the policy of the Liberal party with respect to the same, he was often greeted with warm applause.

The meeting was held under the auspices of the Local Council of Women, Miss Susan Bawden, president of the council, occupying the chair. In a pleasant mood Miss Bawden referred to the honor which the women of Lethbridge had in meeting the leader of the Liberal party and the privilege of hearing his views on the questions of the day as they affect women.

Women Eager To Be Good Citizens

Miss Bawden, in a clear, thoughtful way told Mr. King that the women were eager to become conversant with the platforms of the various parties. She said that in this new era, an era in which the women would play a prominent part, there must be no east and no west, but rather a united Canada. The day of the private, personal canvass of the politicians had past, and the women would only be influenced by honest men whose policies could best serve humanity. "We want men and women elected to parliament (for women will doubtless be elected sometime) who put first the well-being of society," said Miss Bawden. "Men and women who will force such issues as public health, child welfare and housing.

The high cost of living Miss Bawden said was the uppermost problem confronting the women. She said a law was needed against the profiteers also an embargo on the exportation of commodities such as eggs and potatoes. "Six million dozens of eggs were exported from Canada last year and 4,000,000 dozens imported due to a manipulated market," she said.

Miss Bawden then introduced Mr. King, who was greeted with applause as he took the platform.

The Leader Speaks

The Liberal chieftain said they had two objects in making the western tour. first, to get acquainted with the needs and opportunities of the west; and second, to place before the people the Liberal platform.

Mr. King said he was pleased to hear the women's viewpoint so ably and carefully defined. He entirely agreed with what had been said by Miss Bawden that the human side must be the big consideration in the future. In the new vision tariffs, taxes, railway policies, etc., must give way for this human element. The Liberal platform had been reconstructed to apply to the new era which followed the war.

The war had destroyed an old civilization and we are now building a new one.

How To Beat the H. C. L.

Referring to the high cost of living the speaker stated that the removal of the duty on many of the important articles of food would help materially to reduce prices. The tariff is an invisible tax, he said, and wherever it is levied it increases the price. Increased production, however, was a tremendous factor. Mr. King, alluding to the fixing of sugar prices, said it was unjust and wholly catering to the great sugar refiners.

Mr. King continued by appealing for good will and unity among all classes, races and creeds in the Dominion. The great elements need to be bound together, he said, and a new and finer kinship fostered. Little feelings must be forgotten in the bigger outlook.

"We welcome the new political and social movements. To me it is a new Liberalism bred out of the suffering of the war. The only danger I see is that these groups may begin fighting each other, whereas a consolidation against the reactionary forces is needed.

"We must be tolerant also in matters of religion,' 'continued Mr. King. "Greatness does not come out of uniformity but out of diversity. Different human temperaments make for different forms of religion, but behind it all is the same Great Spirit."

Canada as a Nation

Mr. King, touching on Canada's position as a nation, characterized her as the link that would bind together the two great divisions of the Anglo-Saxon world—Britain and the United States.

Following Mr. King's address a little humor was injected into the meeting when Miss Bawden, deploring the fact that Premier Meighen would not speak in Lethbridge, suggested that Mr. King use his influence with the premier to the end that he might yet speak here.

"I fear that I can give you little assistance here," said Mr. King, smiling broadly, "for I havn't much influence with the premier myself."

Before the meeting Hon. Mr. King and party were served with refreshments by the executive of the local Council of Women. The ladies comprising the reception committee were, Miss Bawden, Mrs. A. Smith, Mrs. Holman, Mrs. Senator De Veber, Mrs. W. A. Buchanan, Mrs. J. S. Stewart and Mrs. E. J. Sehl.

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Hon. Mackenzie King Makes Statement About Irrigation

Guarded Declaration Sympathetic to Irrigation as Means of Developing Natural Resources Made at a Banquet Given in Honor of Leader on Tuesday Night—Many Attend Banquet.

What may be said to be a particular and intimate interest attached to the visit of the Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, so far as it touches the people of Southern Alberta, was reserved for the banquet following the meeting at the Majestic. This was a guarded declaration obtained from the leader of the Opposition as to how he stood in regard to the subject of irrigation. The matter was broached by W. A. Buchanan, M. P., in a short speech he made at the assembly in which he expressed the opinion that it would never do for Mr. King to go away before he had expressed the view he held in regard to irrigation as a government policy.

Mr. Buchanan emphasized the fact that irrigation in the south country was so vital that it superseded any thought of a lower tariff, however much this was deemed important in the West, in that in this particular portion of the Province, no matter how low the tariff were placed, the benefits of this would not be felt failing that production which on irrigation the people here so strongly depended and on which the low tariff had to bear in its application.

Mr. King and Irrigation

Mr. King took up the challenge thus thrust on him and referred to the policy of irrigation as bearing on the policy of natural resources as adopted by the Liberal convention. He stated that the Convention held that the resources should be returned to the prairie provinces on equitable basis, with satisfaction to the claims of the eastern provinces. In this respect it was also laid down that the convention would further the development of these provinces. As development in this part of the Province depended on the regular supply of water, so it followed that the encouragement of irrigation as a means of development must necessarily be regarded as a policy of the government which he would lead were he called to power.

The banquet was attended by some one hundred guests, and following it short speeches were made by the speakers who had already spoken at the Majestic, and in addition to them, in order, Mr. Buchanan and the Hon. Duncan Marshall.

Messrs. Kennedy and Duff expressed the pleasure they had derived from their visit to the West and to the city. They dwelt on the nature of the hospitality they had received both in the west and in the city. Mr. Duff expressly states that it was his first visit beyond the Great Lakes and the novelty and the appreciation of what he had met with were all the more appealing. The speeches were brief.

W. A. Buchanan, M.P.

Mr. Buchanan said that his principles had not changed in regard to the great question of the tariff. There was one thing it was necessary that the people should be convinced of and that was that politicians should stand on the pledges they made. He was constrained to refer to this in the fact that the promises so far as they regarded the return of the natural resources, made so far back as 1911, had not yet been fulfilled. The solution was as far away as ever. It was such things as these that helped the people to lose faith in promises made and pledges given. The people were made to believe that they were so many bribes for support. There was no doubt that while Mr. King was a national leader and dealt with national questions he could not have helped in the course of his tour coming across what may be said to be sectional questions which had their importance to the people of particular localities such as the fruit growing to the people of the Okanagan Valley and fishing to the people of Prince Rupert. So in this part of the country irrigation, though it was a sectional question, was one of vital importance, and he might say one which overshadowed the tariff, in that without the substance to which a lower tariff may apply that tariff was not of much worth. This substance lay in irrigation on which the production in this part of the country so largely depended. The leader of the Opposition should not be allowed to go away without saying a word on this important matter. He should let the people know how he stood on the question.

Hon. Mackenzie King

Mr. King in the sentiment of his address covered that which he enunciated at the Majestic. We may have our political differences, he said, but he hoped we were large enough to respect the differences of others. He was glad to see that these differences were gradually disappearing. The most gratifying of all features was the advocacy and spread of the principles of Liberalism in Canada. It was not only in the West but also in the East that this was perceptible, and he could see a welding of the people in the great ideals of Liberalism. He looked at Liberalism in the retrospect and in the anticipation, and he noted that the traditionary inspirations were present today to be a guide for the future. It was part of the business of Liberalism to repair the breaches that had been made, resting the foundations of Liberalism on what our forefathers had fought for. It was the business of Liberalism to make parliament truly representative of the people and government truly representative of parliament.

Irrigation

Coming to irrigation, the Leader of the Opposition said "The Liberal party at its convention were quite emphatic on the matter of the natural resources being returned to the prairie provinces on an equitable basis with satisfaction to the claims of the other provinces. They then came to the question of the development of the natural resources. I feel that it was fortunate that this had been laid down on the platform in that it has come up in the matter of irrigation. It has come to be a matter of great concern to this part of the Province. The policy of development here lay in irrigation. We stand for increased production, and that in Southern Alberta is a question of irrigation. When irrigation comes up to be considered it must be considered in its relation to greater production. If I said I will give you irrigation right away you may be inclined to think that it was only in the nature of an election bribe, much the same as it would have been said had I promised the people at Prince Rupert a daily service on the G.T.P. Each constituency has its own problem as part of a great problem. I shall regard irrigation as an important matter to be considered in relation to development in this part of the Province."

Hon. Duncan Marshall

Hon. Duncan Marshall created a great deal of good humor in the trenchant manner in which he dealt with the Government, emphasizing the point that they would not go to the country because they had no particular preference for committing suicide. He took up the sugar question pointing out that it was now proven that the sugar refineries had an ample stock in store at the time the rise in the price of sugar was explained as being due to the scarcity of the commodity in the market. The price was kept up then through want of the commodity; now it was sought to be kept up in that the refiners had a surplus stock which they did not want to place on the market when the prices were taking a tumble. He punctuated his remarks with witty anecdote, paying a compliment to Hon. MacKenzie King on his policy and the manner in which he had enunciated it, saying that his name would be coupled with traditionary leaders of the name and fame of MacKenzie and Blake.

Luxury Tax

Mr. Louis Keel asked Mr. King whether in the event of his being returned to power he would take away from the merchants the onus of collecting the luxury tax. The merchants did not object to the tax but to the collection of it by themselves. In reply Mr. King said that when the luxury tax came up in the House he expressed the opinion that it should be brought nearer to the source than it was made to apply in the present legislation.

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Lethbridge Herald Oct-20th/1920 D 4776

THE MEETING AT THE MAJESTIC.

A note of sincerity, an expression of goodwill, a bid for the reunion of the scattered forces of the Liberal Party, made with eloquent force and logical appeal, were the predominating features in the address delivered by Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King at the Majestic Theatre on Tuesday. The address culminated in an exalted peroration, the sentiments expressed therein being such as may be applicable to any Party. Without any favor and without any prejudice, the Leader or the Opposition may be said to have created a favorable impression amongst those who had come to hear him with an open mind and who were willing to allow the man the merit of the convictions he held.

It is true there was a note of bitterness in the speech of Mr. King when he assailed the present government in its usurpation of office as it appeared to him. That is a question which has its appeal in the way men choose to view it. No doubt that was within the proper function of a leader of the Opposition, and he had the argument in the way the course taken by the Government appeared to him. But to be fair, it must be said that an election at the present time is not one which the people of the West would consider altogether fair to themselves, in the nature of the present redistribution of seats and in the better opportunity the West will have for a fair and equitable representation should an election follow the redistribution of seats after the taking of the census. When this happens the West will be entitled to greater representation than it has at the present time. It may be argued that the Opposition holds the matter of an election on its knees by the simple process of resigning in a body, thus precipitating the election asked for. No one will admit that such tactics are in any way exemplary or worthy to be practised, but the thought could not but be forced in hearing the denunciations of the Government in its seeking to monopolize power as Mr. King viewed it. However, no doubt, he took the stand that it was a moral obligation on the part of the Government to seek the endorsation or otherwise of the people, in the understanding that the specific reason for which it was created no longer existed. It is a matter of argument as against expediency in the view of how an election at the present time would affect the West. This, however, does not discount the general trend of what the Leader of the Opposition had to say.

* * * *

Hon. Mackenzie King cleared away the notion that we have seen expressed that he seasoned his sentiments in regard to the tariff according to the eastern or western atmosphere which he at the time being may happen to be. Of this he gave no token in the sentiments he expressed or the views he held forth in regard to the tariff. He nailed his colors to the mast and, whether under eastern or western breezes, they blew in the one straightforward direction. He had one and one only exposition of what should be the future tariff policy of the country. That was the tariff policy as laid down by the Liberal Party at its last convention, in which its platform was framed, and in this, to give Mr. King well deserved credit, he showed no variation or shadow of turning. Whatever of the politician there might be in Mackenzie King was submerged in the man who stood firmly by the principles he believed in and had taken on himself to enunciate and to bring home to his hearers.

It cannot be denied that the statement of policy in regard to the tariff, as declared by the Leader of the Opposition, was in the true spirit and in the true sentiment as it appealed to the people of the West. When he laid this down as the note of the principles of progress with which the Liberal Party is allied and on which it was embarked on in its political fortune, no one can gainsay that he exemplified the principles of that party.

No greater truth was expressed by Mr. King than when he said that what the country is in need of at the present time is a great agricultural policy, which lies at the root of western aspirations. Nor did it need emphasis from a man like Mr. King that the building of towns and cities was a good policy but an evil one if towns and cities are to be built at the expense of rural centres. No man of thought can dispute the argument or contradict the truth of what he said.

There was a basic truth in what Mr. King laid down that the basic industries of the country should be relieved from the factors that prejudice these industries to the detriment of the country at large, in the placing of burdens on the implements of production. He brought his argument home when he exemplified its truth in the statement that only by the production of cheap raw material could the manufacturers of the country hope to be able to compete with other countries.

Mr. King well and truly laid the foundations of prosperity in its true sense when he laid down the four essentials for this. These were labor, capital, management and community. There could not have been better or happier material for building up an edifice of domestic and national prosperity than that used by the Leader of the Opposition.

In the declaration of policy of the party with whose destinies he is allied Mr. King placed his case very forcibly before the public. There were sentiments which he expressed which could not but have gone home with an unfailing appeal, and his cause was greatly strengthened in the manner he dealt with the downward revision of the tariff with a fairness, it must be conceded, to both agricultural and manufacturing interests. He cannot be said to have left anything unsaid as it applied to the political principles of the party he leads and in which he himself has without doubt a conscientious belief. In the matter of the tariff the man and his address attuned themselves to the particular needs of the West and, be it said, to the Dominion as a whole.

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Montreal Gazette Oct-20th/1920 D 4777

MACKENZIE KING MAKES CALL FOR GENERAL ELECTION

Declares at Lethbridge Canada Is Governed By Order-in-Council

DUFF ASSAILS MINISTER

Lunenburg M.P. Echoes Leader's Request for Resignation of Hon. Mr. Ballantyne

(By Canadian Press.)

Lethbridge, October 19.—Before an audience which filled the Majestic Theatre here tonight, Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King set forth the platform of the Liberal party, demanded a general election, which would give all groups within the Dominion a voice in Parliament and would do away with what he termed "the autocratic control of the big interests which are now governing Canada by order-in-council."

Hon. Mr. King introduced no new subject matter in his address, which was well received by the audience. No mention was made by him of irrigation policy, but on this matter, it is expected, he will make some pronouncement before he proceeds on Wednesday night to Medicine Hat. On Wednesday, delegations representing the Blood Indians, the returned soldiers and farmers desiring irrigation extension will wait on him.

Wm. Duff, M.P., and W. C. Kennedy, M.P., were the other speakers of the meeting.

William Duff, M.P. for Lunenburg, made a reply to Hon. C. C. Ballantyne's denial of Mr. King's charge that he was actively identified with the big sugar interests of the country. "Some ten days ago," said Mr. Duff, "I intimated that Mr. Ballantyne should retire in view of the way he handled the business of the Canadian Merchant Marine. Since that time Mr. King has drawn the attention of the Canadian public to the fact that Mr. Ballantyne was actively connected with the St. Lawrence Sugar Refinery as a director as late as May of this year. In a statement given out at Ottawa, Mr. Ballantyne attempts to draw a red herring across the trail by stating that he had ceased to be a stockholder in the St. Lawrence Refinery early in the year. That may be quite true, but it is still possible that Mr. Ballantyne maintains a paternal interest in the affairs of the refinery. The records show that he was a director in May last.

Was it because Mr. Ballantyne had a paternal interest in the St. Lawrence Sugar Refinery that the ships of the Canadian Merchant Marine, which belong to the people of the Dominion, were held in Cuban and other West Indian ports last year and then loaded with sugar cargoes for Montreal, only receiving the same freight rates as were paid for ships going to St. John and Halifax. In other words, somebody in authority ordered sugar carried to the Montreal refinery at lower rates than the business warranted, therefore placing the refineries at St. John and Halifax in a position where they could not advantageously compete with the St. Lawrence Refinery, which is situated in Mr. Ballantyne's home town. In view of these circumstances, Mr. Ballantyne should immediately resign his portfolio or his resignation should be demanded by the Prime Minister.

"Mr. Ballantyne says in his Ottawa statement that he is a business man. In view of all the facts connected with the sugar business and the sale of paint to Greece and Rumania, I would say that he is a salesman."

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20 Oct. 1920 Medicine Hat, Alta.

THE LIBERAL PARTY AND THE
NATURAL RESOURCES OF THE
PRAIRIE PROVINCES

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MEDECINE HAT

In the course of his address Mr. King referred to the remarkable reception which he and his colleagues had met with in all the localities which they had thus far visited in western Canada. As the Medecine Hat meeting concluded the schedule for Alberta, Mr. King took occasion to thank anew the Premier and his colleagues for the hearty manner in which they had co-operated in making the gatherings the success they had been; and also the people of Alberta generally for the evidences of enthusiastic good will which have been so apparent on every side. He remarked that in the course of the four weeks during which he and his colleagues had been speaking, notwithstanding they had addressed over twenty thousand people, there had not been, either in the province of British Columbia or the province of Alberta, a single unfriendly interruption in all the meetings held; while on the other hand there had been the most remarkable demonstration of approval of the attitude taken in condemnation of the present government's usurpation of the right of the people to have a Parliament that was properly representative, and a ministry that recognized its responsibilities and obligations to Parliament and the people. He doubted if a more conclusive answer could be given to the impression that the Prime Minister and his colleagues were endeavouring to foster, that Canada was given over to unrest, which was finding expression in Bolshevism, and similar movements. He had seen nowhere evidence of anything of that kind. Such discontent as had revealed itself was all in the nature of indignation of the government's usurpation of power. Were there grounds to believe in turbulence of any kind, such action would have found expression at political gatherings. He thought that unless the members of the government were really intent upon libeling the good name of the Dominion, they had better cease their references to nation-wrecking and social unrest. It is true there was political discontent, but it was discontent which could be wholly removed by the constitutional method of affording the people the right which was theirs to govern themselves through representatives and a government of their own choice.

In speaking of the Liberal policy in the matter of the transfer to the Prairie Provinces of their natural resources, Mr. King mentioned that during his visit through southern Alberta, many representations had been made to his colleagues and himself concerning the neglect of that part of the province in the matter of adequate irrigation facilities. People had been permitted to settle and build homes in large numbers through a wide belt of territory in which year after year there had been serious droughts, necessitating the relief of the settlers by financial aid on the part of the federal and provincial authorities. He thought that the doling out of assistance to make good lossess incurred through neglect was beginning at the wrong end; that it was an endeavour to alleviate the ills of the situation without going to its roots and seeking to remove the cause. he believed that in a matter so important to so large a percentage of the population, not only of the province but of the Dominion, that both the federal and provincial authorities should co-operate in a constructive way.

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It was not sufficient that the federal government should seek to throw the onus of the solution of a national problem wholly on provincial authorities. Both had a resppnsibility which they should seek adequately to discharge in a statesmanlike way.

The Liberals believed that increased production in the great basic industries and especially that of agriculture, is the most important of all the needs of the present time. It was to make pnssible increased production on a larger and cheaper scale that the Liberal party was advocating substantial reductions, and in some cases complete removal of customs duties on the instruments of production.

Irrigation, if not an instrument of production in a technical sense of the word, was at least an important aid to production. To develop irrigation, where justified by national needs was, therefore, a part of the liberal policy, a part which will not fail of proper consideration once the Liberal party was entrusted with power and the administration of national affirs by the people of the Dominion.

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Mackenzie Hall Provenance

Richard Roberts

Nathan Kessler

Jerzykow

Agriculture

Prairie -

Ben Hudson - Mayor

Oshawa

White

Kuhner

Barnett

McKean

Brothers - Mr Ph

Burrett -

Breeze -

Ponsett

Borden - Sir R

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D 4780

Medicine Hat News, Oct. 22. 1920. D 4782

HON. MACKENZIE KING PRESENTS PLATFORM OF LIBERAL PARTY AT GREAT MEETING OF CITIZENS

Strongly Criticizes Method of Formation of Present Government and Its Handling of the People's Affairs—Makes Clear Statement of Liberal Party's Policy on Tariff and Other Great Issues—He and Members of His Party Warmly Welcomed by All Classes in the West as Men in Public Life.



HON. MACKENZIE KING

An important announcement concerning irrigation was made by Hon. Mr. King in his address last night. During the past two or three days he had seen irrigation systems in Southern Alberta, he said, and he had been informed of Medicine Hat's irrigation projects. Settlers had come in at the instance of the government, but drought had caused some to leave and had brought hardship to many. Dominion and provincial governments had been coming to the rescue by means of doles or relief, but to his way of thinking that was going the wrong way about it. If the matter were to be settled properly the cause must be removed, and the two governments should recognize that each has responsibility and should co-operate instead of "passing the buck."

Part of the Liberal party's policy was increased production, and, as an aid to production, irrigation would, he believed, come to be included in the party's policy. "We will take up this question with the provincial government and endeavor to work it out in the interest of the province," he stated.

In one of the finest and most thoughtful speeches ever delivered in Medicine Hat, Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King last night presented the main planks of the platform on which the Liberal party will appeal to the electors of Canada. He was followed with the closest attention by an audience which packed the Empress theatre, and was given an enthusiastic reception, as also was Mr. William C. Kennedy, M.P. for North Essex, Ont.

Hon. C. S. Pingle, as chairman, introduced the speakers in an interesting and appropriate manner, and a hearty welcome to the city was extended by Deputy Mayor Huckvale. The theatre, to which many were unable to gain admission, was attractively decorated, and the meeting was an unqualified success.

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Following an interesting introduction by Hon. C. S. Pingle, in which the leading points in Mr. King's career were mentioned, the Liberal leader was greeted with hearty and continued applause. It was a great pleasure, he said, to see this city, to meet so many representative citizens and to address such a vast audience, and he stated that when going through the industries and about the city he felt that Medicine Hat would be a great commercial and industrial, as well as agricultural centre, and also a great distributing point.

Western Canada Sets Example to Dominion.

Having stated that he greatly appreciated the welcome extended by the deputy mayor and others, Hon. Mr. King said that on this trip he finds, irrespective of politics, a disposition to welcome himself and members of his party as men in public life. That was an attitude that would help to bring men into public life, and much had been lost to Canada because men in public life had been censured harshly in many instances. What Canada needed more than Liberals or Conservatives was simply good men, and western Canada had set an example to the whole Dominion on the welcoming of men in public life.

He regretted the absence of Mr. Lapointe, who had been called east on account of the serious illness of his son, and regretted also that this was the last meeting in Alberta during this tour. And he heartily thanked the premier and citizens of Alberta for the warm welcome given to himself and party in this province.

They had had an exceptionally pleasant although very busy time in Alberta and British Columbia, said Hon. Mr. King, having spoken in the two provinces to about forty thousand people. And there had not been a single interruption of an unfriendly character at any of their many meetings. Conservatives, led by Premier Meighen, had been telling of divisions among the people of Canada and saying that the country was seething with discontent. But in these meetings which had been attended by all classes of citizens, he and his party had been met with nothing but courtesy. "There is discontent, but it is discontent with the government for usurping the powers of the country," he declared. The people, however, had the right to send to parliament men who would represent them. It was single votes that returned any government, and much of the future depended on where the people threw their allegiance at the present time.

The Liberal Party Wants Justice for All.

In the last ten years there had been but little discussion of public questions, the election of 1911 being the last in which purely domestic questions were discussed. The government had not hesitated to deprive a great many people of the vote but now, unless deprived by some other electoral scheme, all the citizens, including the great body of women, would have the right to vote. The government wanted to keep things as they are but the other great democratic party wanted justice for all.

At the large convention held in Ottawa last year to redraft the Liberal platform, representatives had been sought from all over Canada. Some 1,500 delegates and about as many alternatives met for three days, and the great value of such a convention was the arriving at a policy in which extremes of view were not permitted sway. The convention might have chosen a better leader, said Hon. Mr. King, but the method of choosing the leader was a proper one. Also Liberals were not ashamed of their name and didn't try to conceal its identity by adding such terms as "Union" or "National" to the name "Liberal." In this and other provinces the farmers had formed organiza-

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tions which he believed were in the interests of the country. They had drawn up a platform, chosen their leaders and named their organization in a democratic manner. And the same was true of the Labor party; everything was done in the open and originated in the people themselves. Some people regretted to see Labor and the farmers forming parties, but to the speaker that seemed the expression of a new Liberalism, the idea being that now in time of peace the people want progress. The only danger was that these parties might begin to fight each other instead of the enemy. "As Liberals we have come to the west not to oppose nor antagonize any group, but to consult and co-operate against the common enemy."

Says Usurpers Control Govt. of Canada.

The National-Liberal-Conservative party had come into being on July 1st, and the prime minister had announced that it was governing the Dominion of Canada. But had the people, the real government, had anything to say in the creation of the party that was handling the reins of government? Ask, as the speaker had done, in meetings all over Canada for a man or woman who had had a voice in the choice of the name, the leader or the policy of that party and no one would rise and say, "I had." The explanation was that the influences that had been at work were unwilling to show their hand. If it was the good of the many that had been sought there would have been open conventions, but the government of this country was controlled by a group of men who could only be called usurpers and who represented only those who seek privilege. They had thrown out the Conservative party and tried to bury its name but it would be amazing if Conservatives stood for action which said, in effect, "This is the Conservative party all right, but we're trying to fool the people with the name."

Today, said Hon. Mr. King, it is not so much a question as to whether the Conservative or Liberal party would be placed in power but whether there would be rule by the interests or by democracy. "Are you going to endorse secret influence, working in the dark or would it be better to have a government representative of the broad, democratic views of the people. The democratic forces, unfortunately were not united, and the group which controlled the government of this country was telling the farmers to kill the Liberal party and telling Labor to kill the independents. He believed that he could name one or two ministers of the crown who had been encouraging the farmers to attack the Liberals.

It was better to see the enemy before having gone down to defeat. The controlling group wanted men who would stand for what the group had done; the Liberals claimed that the only way to reform is to get the progressive group working together as citizens of Canada. The great Liberal party offered the opportunity of obtaining the best in country and city and making parliament a mirror of the whole Dominion.

He was not surprised that various groups had asserted themselves. He had nothing to say against lawyers but it was curious that practically every Liberal who went into the Union government was a lawyer—Mr. Maclean, Mr Carvel, Mr. Guthrie, General Mewburn, Mr. Rowell, Mr. Calder and Mr. Sifton. "Add those to the lawyers who were already in the government and you have a real union, a union of lawyers" (laughter).

That was class rule, and having class rising against class wouldn't bring good government. He believed that it would be unfortunate, even for agriculturists, if the farmers became all-powerful because a government was not merely for a day, and they would array others against their government. Farmers, labor, returned men and other groups should have more representation but he wanted to see them all come forward as citizens of Canada.

The Sugar Situation

An example of how nearly the country was gripped by the neck was furnished by the sugar situation, said Hon. Mr. King. It must have been powerful interests that caused an order to go forth that sugar must be bought from only a half a dozen

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refiners and at a price of 21 cents per pound when it was much cheaper in the United States. It was all very well for the government to say that it had nothing to do with the order but the suspension of the order was made "on the ground that the refiners didn't object to the suspension." Parliament passed an act creating the Board of Commerce, presumably to protect the people but the members of the board, Judge Robson, Mr. O'Connor and Mr. Murdock had resigned when they realized the situation they were facing and Mr. Murdoch had said that the government had done everything in its power to prevent the board carrying out its work. Then Mr. White, the secretary of the board, had been made chairman, and two other estimable gentlemen, Mr. Acland and Mr. Dillon, had been taken from their regular work as civil servants and placed on the board. It was nonsense for the ministers of the crown to try to blame these three men whose work on the board had shown up the government.

Such things as the sugar situation would make the electors, especially the women, come out for a government that would represent the people and not the interests. He was glad that the women had the vote because they particularly knew the struggle it was to live under presents conditions. If that was hard years ago he could not see how some people managed to live today.

High Cost of Living

The great question today, said Hon. Mr. King, was the high cost of living and the Liberal party proposed the following three ways of meeting it: 1. Reduction of government expenditure; 2. Reduction and, in some instances elimination, of the duties on the necessities of life and the implements of production; 3. Put an end to profiteering. (Loud applause).

Canada's Huge Debt

"In 1910-11, the net public debt in Canada amounted to $340,000,000; today, it amounts to over $2,273,000,000, or an increase in 9 years of 669 per cent," said Hon. Mr. King. "Until that debts is paid off the people of Canada will have to assume the annual interest charge as one element of the taxation."

The interest on that debt had to be paid by money raised from the people by taxes, and if things went on as at present Canada would get into a condition of bankruptcy.

"In 1910, the annual interest charge was slightly over $12,500,000; today it is about $140,000,000 To realize what this amount signifies let me mention that the ordinary expenditure of government in Canada, that is to say, the ordinary expenditure payable out of the consolidated fund, amounted in 1910-11 to only $87,774,000. It was the highest point that it ever reached in the history of Canada till then. The total expenditure for that year, including capital account, railway subsidies, and other charges—and that was a time when there were large expenditures on account of railroad construction and public works—was in all $122,861,000.

"The estimates for the present year, as presented to parliament at the last session totalled, in contrast to this amount, the very large sum of $611,704,910. Of this amount, the government claimed that some $148,900,000 was in the nature of investments, being loans for different purposes, and money paid out on account of shipbuilding. That, however, leaves an ordinary expenditure amounting to $462,804,000.

"The annual interest charge of $140,000,000 on the public debt is one that we cannot escape, and one which can only be lessened as the principal of the debt is paid off.

"There is anothher class of expenditures which is not less a first charge on the revenues of the country, and that is the expenditures arising out of the war, and which are as follows: Soldiers' Land Settlement over $50,000,000; Soldiers' Civil Re-Establishment, over $40,000,000; pensions, $43,000,000; demobilization, $39,000,000; miscellaneouss, $1,000,000, or a total of $173,000,000. This, with the interest on the public debt, amounting to $140,000,000 makes a total of $313,000,000, which must be raised by taxation for these two purposes before a single cent is spent on the ordinary expenditures of government, as they exist today. This being the case, is there anything more obvious than the need for retrenchment and economy, if the people of Canada are not going to be crushed under the burden of enormous taxation."

"If you do not already know the facts, you will, I am sure, be surprised to learn that instead of seeking to reduce the ordinary expenditures on these accounts, the government actually asked and obtained from parliament sums vastly exceeding those set out in the estimates as the amounts expended in the preceding year. The following figures will speak for themselves. This year, there has been appropriated for militia and defence, in addition to all expenditures to which I have already made allusion, increase of over $4,000,000 above that set forth in the estimates as the total appropriation for last year. For naval service, $2,980,000 have been appropriated, for air service, $1,150,000, and for the mounted police, the enormous sum of $5,270,000. In 1910-11, at which there was, if anything, greater need for the services of the mounted police than there is today, the total cost of the force was $753,000, and the total cost of the Dominion police was $55,000, the two together amounting in all to $808,000. These forces have been combined into the force now known as the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, and from $808,000, the expenditure on these combined forces has been jumped by the present administration to $5,270,000. Taking the military, naval, air and police forces combined, the total expenditure on these accounts for the present year amounted in all to $22,588,928, or over one-quarter the total ordinary expenditure in Canada ten years ago; and this, notwithstanding that the war is over, the nations everywhere are more or less crippled or financially burdened, and the danger of an invasion of our Dominion by land or sea is nowhere apparent nor likely to be for many years to come.

Naval Expenditure

"That you may appreciate how serious this matter is, and how insidious is the government's method of proceeding in the matter of these military and police expenditures, may I cite what took place at the last session of parliament. When the main estimates were brought down, they indicated, as regards a naval expenditure, a proposed outlay of $300,000, or a sum only half the amount the outlay of last year. The estimates were followed by the pronouncement of the Minister of Marine and Fisheries to the effect that the whole naval service would be reorganized, and that the government would defer the adoption of any naval policy until after the Imperial conference, which is to be held in England some time next year. Naturally, the assumption of the people's representatives in Parliament and of the country generally was that in this branch of the country's service economies would be effected, which could well be at the present time.

"The session has not ended, however, before the Minister of Marine announced that the government had accepted from the British government without any reference to parliament, two torpedo boat destroyers, two submarines and a cruiser, which were to form the nucleus of a naval service, and upon which the country

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was to be asked to expend an amount additional to the main estimates of $2,200,000. It was in vain that the opposition pleaded that until the governments had a policy on naval defence which had the approval of parliament, this expenditure might well be deferred. The government would listen to nothing in the way of suggestion or reason, but pressed these estimates through parliament, notwithstanding the combined opposition of Liberals and those members who compose the Farmer and Labor group in the House of Commons."

Example of Extravagance

"As an example of their extravagance let me cite the appropriation for small arms ammunition at the Dominion arsenals at Lindsay, Ont., and Quebec, Que.. It was admitted by the government that it has on hand at the present time between 35 and 40 million rounds of ammunition; notwithstanding it asked parliament for expenditure on this account an amount of $252,000 to be paid to the Dominion arsenal at Lindsay, and an amount of $532,000 to be paid to the Dominion arsenal at Quebec, and refused to accept the opposition's proposal of reduction of this amount by $150,000 in the first instance and $250,000 in the second. In defence of his action, the Minister of Militia and Defence said that in 1910 Lord French had furnished a report to the government stating that the government should have on hand 90 million rounds, and the government proposed to bring the amount up to the figure which Lord French had recommended. As every one knows, Lord French's report was made prior to the war and in anticipation of war."

The Spending Habit

The government, said Hon. Mr. King, had spent $70,000,000 million dollars for a merchant marine but not a single tender had been asked for and the ships had been ordered before the money was voted by parliament.

"There's the way this particular group is spending the people's money," he said. "They have been spending so much money during the war that they have lost the sense of proportion. They spent two billion dollars in four years and are so used to spending without criticism, due to the emergency of war, that now they can think only in millions."

Liberals and War Veterans

The Liberal leader stated that the veterans of the Great War had asked him to give a "yes or no" answer to several questions, a sample of which was "Do you think that a disabled man can live on $100 a month?" He stated that in some cases that sum might be sufficient but that in many cases it was insufficient. Having made it clear that he was not attempting to evade answering the questions, he stated that the important point was not what he thought but what parliament would think. The question to which the returned men and all others needed an answer was as to whether the men of a party were such as would be fair. At British Columbia points he had been asked to promise certain railway and river services and in Alberta he was asked to promise asssistance for irrigation projects. Everywhere he went it was a case of give us this or that. "I intend to keep whatever promises I make but I don't intend to promise where I can't see my way clear to carry out the promises."

The liberal party's platform called for pensions such as would enable soldiers and their dependents to maintain a liberal standard of living and similar treatment for permanently or partially disabled men. In his own election in 1917 the government had had in North York 70 of the representatives of its system of enumerators and not one of them was a returned soldier whereas "we, the disloyal party, had a returned soldier in our committtee room."

"The first duty of the state is to be just as generous as sthe finances of the country will permit to the needs of the returned men and their dependents. I believe that the ques- more or less a sham. The government of today was more autocratic than any Canada had ever had before. But today they are back and the liberals of Ontario are fighting behind Mackenzie King. Be the time long or short when the election comes they will give a good account of themselves.

M.P.'s Should Tour Country

It would be a splendid thing for the country if members of parliament were compelled to travel throughout the country from the Atlantic to the Pacific and familiarize themselves with the country. If he had any criticisms of Canadians it was that they didn't know enough of Canada. This applied more particularly to the east and he thought it would be a good thing if casterners came to the west to see our wonderful heritage. It would lead to a better acquaintanceship between east and west, do away with racial prejudices and result in a wider vision of the needs of the country as a whole. That was partly the object of the present trip but they had also another object in view and that was purely political. He would say what they had said all through "the government had no mandate from the people and should resign. Time was when political meetings were held and questions of the day discussed but this practise had fallen off during the last few years. They were reviving the old method and held meetings at which they told the people why they believed the present government should be turned out. There was only one issue in 1917 and the people were asked to forget party and vote for conscription. When the war was over a return could be made to the old lines. But the government talks differently now.

He mamtained that the enormous increase in the national debt was largely the outcome of government's extravagance on the one hand and the failure of the government to collect taxation on the other. During the early days of the war no effort was made to tax the profiteer and it was not until 1916 that the Income Tax was imposed. Then tax free bonds were issued which meant that the profiteers invested their profits in tax free bonds instead of paying Income Tax. In effect it meant exemption for the profiteer and the throwing of the whole burden of taxation upon the public. In parliament the liberals had strenuously opposed any more tax free bonds.

The price of the bonds was artificially fixed and last year $60,000,000 had to be used to stabilize the market.

He referred to the gross inefficiency in the government departments and the number of employees in excess of those actually needed to do the work. After the war it would naturally be expected that the number of employees would be reduced, yet inquiry in the house had revealed the fact that 4,000 more had been added to the pay roll. Is it any wonder that the people are being taxed heavily? asked Mr. Kennedy.

After alluding to other instances of government's extravagance Mr. Kennedy declared that the people of Canada should be allowed to say what kind of a government they wanted. "We Liberals," he said, "will do in the future what we have done in the past, what we consider is in the best interest of the whole of the people of Canada."

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Gazette Oct-22nd 1920

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MACKENZIE KING IN MEDICINE HAT

Speaks in Behalf of Farmers in Alberta Dry Belt

(By Canadian Press.)

Medicine Hat, Alta., October 21. — The reception of the Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King and his party at this city today was in line with that accorded throughout their trip through the West. Mr. King's sleeper was detached from the train early this morning and the Liberal leader emerged, to be met by a number of prominent local Liberals, who hardly gave him opportunity to have breakfast before they had him and his lieutenants in cars bound for a tour of the city and vicinity. The trip ended at the hotel, where a hundred prominent citizens sat down to luncheon, at which Mr. King and his lieutenants were the guests of honor. Among the guests at the top table, in addition to Mr. King and W. C. Kennedy, M.P., were the Hon. J. R. Boyle, Attorney-General of Alberta, and Captain Pringle, Speaker of the Alberta Legislature.

Following the luncheon the leader of the Liberal party was conveyed to a reception tendered by the ladies of the city. In the evening the big new theatre was packed to the doors, but, owing to the fact that Mr. King had lost the assistance of Ernest Lapointe, and of W. Duff, M.P., who was confined to bed with a cold, the overflow meeting, which was planned, was abandoned. The speakers of the evening were Mr. King and W. C. Kennedy, M.P. for North Essex.

References to the peculiar problems of Southern Alberta, notably the matter of irrigation, evoked a responsive echo from the large audience. Mr. King expressed the opinion that the federal and provincial authorities must co-operate in a constructive way to settle the problem of the farmers who had been allowed to settle and build homes in a wide belt of territory in which year after year there had been serious droughts. He stated that it was not sufficient for the Federal Government to seek to throw the onus of the solution of a national problem wholly on provincial authorities.

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Edmonton Bulletin Oct-22nd 1920

D 4788

LIBERAL CHIEF ENDS TOUR IN THIS PROVINCE

Hon. W. L. M. King and Party Enthusiastically Received at Medicine Hat

IRRIGATION PROBLEM

Says Federal and Provincial Government Must Co-operate in a Solution

Special to The Bulletin

MEDICINE HAT, Oct. 21.—The usual whole-hearted welcome awaited the Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King and his coleagues when they arrived at this city this morning. There was the usual luncheon attended by over a hundred busines men of the city, followed by a reception from the ladies. Owing to the depletion of Mr. King's forces by the departure of Mr. Ernest Lapointe and by the sickness of Mr. W. Duff, the member for Lunenburg, who was confined to his bed by a cold, the overflow meeting for the evening was cancelled and those who could not force their way into the theatre had to go without hearing the Liberal leader and W. C. Kennedy, M.P., who were the speakers of the occasion.

The deputy mayor of Medicine Hat, in the absence of the mayor, gave an official address of welcome, while the chair was occupied by the speaker of the Alberta legislature.

Thanks People of Alberta

In the course of his address Mr. King referred to the remarkable reception which he and his colleagues met with n all the localities which they had thus far visited in western Canada. As the Medicine Hat meeting concluded the schedule for Alberta, Mr. King took occasion to thank anew the premier and his colleagues for the hearty manner in which they had cooperated in making the gatherings the success they had been and also the people of Alberta generally for the evidences of enthusiastic good will which have been so apparent on every side.

Not One Unfriendly Interruption

He remarked that in the course of the four weeks during which he and his colleagues had been speaking notwithstanding they had addressed over forty thousand people, there had not been, either in Alberta or British Columbia a single unfriendly interruptino in all the meetings held while on the other hand there had been the approval of the attitude taken in condemnation of the present government "usurpation of the right of the people to have a parliament that was properly representative and a ministry that recognized its responsibilities and obligations to parliament and the people. He doubted if a more conclusive answer could be given to the impression that the prime minister and his colleagues were endeavoring to foster, that Canada was given over to unrest which was finding expression in Bolshevist and similar movements. He had seen no evidence of anything of that kind.

Indignation at Government

Such discontent as had revealed itself was all in the nature of indignation of the government usurpation of power. Were there grounds to believe in turbulence of any kind such action would have found expression at political gatherings. He thought that unless the members of the government were really intent upon libelling the good name of the dominion, they had better cease their references to nation wrecking and social unrest. It is true there was political discontent but it was discontent which could be wholly removed by the constitutional methods of affording the people the right which was theirs to govern themselves through representative and a government of their own choice.

Irrigation Problems.

His references to the peculiar problems of Southern Alberta notably the matter of irrigation, evoked a responsive echo from the large audience. Mr King expressed the opinion that the federal and the provincial authorities must co-operate in a constructive way to settle the problem of the farmers who had been allowed to settle and build homes in a wide belt of territory in which year after year there had been serious droughts. He stated that it was not sufficient for the federal government to seek to throw the onus of the solution of a national problem wholly on provincial authorities.

Tomorrow Mr. King and his party leave for Moose Jaw.

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22 Oct. 1920 Moose Jaw, Sask.

GOVERNMENT AUTOCRACY VS. THE
PROGRESSIVES

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Moose Jaw News, Oct 23, 1920

D 4790

THE DAILY NEWS – Moose Jaw

King Opens Sask.

Takes Strong Knock at Farmers' Party And Says They Take the Same Stand the Liberal Party Did---Claims He Is Not a Free Trader But Freer Trader ---Says Reform a Matter Of Time And Cannot Be Carried Out In a Day.

Strong criticism of Premier Meighen and the present Government by Hon. MacKenzie King, leader of the opposition and even stronger criticism of Hon. C. C. Ballantyne by William Duff, M.P. for Lunenburg, N.S., who is accompanying the new Liberal chieftain on his Western tour, marked the first campaign meeting of the Liberal party in Saskatchewan, when the opening gun was fired at the Armouries last night, and incidentally the farmers of the province came in for a fair amount of criticism at the hands of the speaker also for the stand they took on the tariff question when introduced into the House last year by Mr. McMaster.

Not Free Traders

He declared that the Premier's insistency in making issue one of protection versus free trade was altogether wrong, and that the Liberals did not want free trade but "freer" trade. He also endeavored to point out that there was a very big difference between a tariff to keep up the high cost of living by protecting monoplies, which he alleged was the chief aim of the preesnt government and a tariff to protect consumers and producers, something the Liberal Party itself adhered to.

"The platform of the Liberal Party adopted at the great convention in Ottawa provides for a revision of the tariff," he said. "It does not aim at free trade but at freer trade, especially in those commodities which comprise the necessities of life and constitute the instruments of production in the great prairie provinces of the country. If the farmers of the province had stood with the Liberals when Mr. McMaster introduced his amendment, the Government would have been compelled to capitulate, and today you would have had what the Liberals were seeking to give you. They did not do so, but on the contrary fought against it and defeated the issue."

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HON. W. E. KNOWLES PAYS HIS TRIBUTE TO LIBERAL LEADER

In introducing the speaker of the evening and outlining the objects of the meeting, Hon. William Erskine Knowles, Provincial Secretary for Saskatchewan in his capacity as chairman, stated that first of all he himself was on the platform as a citizen of Moose Jaw and as a supporter and promoter of the principles of Liberalism and the Liberal Party of Canada. Seated with him in addition to the Hon. Mackenzie King, were Premier Stewart of Alberta, William Duff, M.P. for Lunenburg, N. S., J. H. Grayson and Ed. Anderson of the local Liberal association.

After stating how proud he was to be afforded the opportunity of introducing Mr. Mackenzie King to a Moose Jaw audience, the Provincial Secretary said, "I have learned my Liberalism at the feet of the great citizen of the Dominion, Sir Wilfred Laurier and since the death of that venerable statesman I have not seen fit to change my views. It therefore gives me even greater pleasure to support a gentleman who learned his Liberalism in that self-same school, a gentleman whom I believe to be just as true a Liberal as Sir Wilfred Laurier himself.

"As regards my own position I might in all frankness say that there is not the slightest doubt that in the next election in Saskatchewan I might find it my duty to support men in Saskatchewan ridings who may not be Liberals in name, but who if sent to Ottawa will support the old Liberal principles, be he working under the name of Farmer or Progressive.

"As far as Mr. King himself is concerned I know him as well as anybody for I worked with him on the floor of the House under the same chief. I believe every man and woman in this audience will like him the more after his address has been delivered and I have no hesitation in saying that in their choice of him as Leader, the Liberals of the Dominion made the best selection possible.

"His work has always been for the common people. He has labored hard for them and with them and it is absolutely impossible for him to do otherwise, despite the assertions of a paid and prejudiced press. His sympathies are all with the common people and I know from my own experience that it would not be possible for any party or any man to have him work against them.

PREMIER STEWART OF ALBERTA ASKS SASKATCHEWAN TO HELP

Hon. Charles Stewart, Premier of Alberta, referred to by Mr. Knowles as another true type of Liberal and a gentleman for whom he had the highest regards was then introduced to the audience. In a short address the Alberta Premier appealed to the Progressives of Saskatchewan to work shoulder to shoulder with those of Alberta, for at the next election he felt sure that the next Western province would give a good account of itself.

"The interests of Alberta and Saskatchewan are so closely interwoven," said he, "that the citizens of both provinces were naturally interested in the doings of each other. I am more than pleased to note the progress you in Saskatchewan are making and I trust that the aims, the hopes, the ideals and the aspirations will be the same, as the Governments of both provinces are working in conjunction with each other on many questions.

"Hon. Mackenzie King, chosen in Ottawa last year to succeed Sir Wilfred Laurier as Liberal chieftain is a big man and known from one end of the Dominion to the other and I feel confident that after you have heard him speak tonight, there will not be the division among the people of Saskatchewan that there has been in the past."

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Mr. Chairman, Premier Stewart,
Ladies and Gentlemen:

It is indeed a source of great gratification to us that on an evening such as this, when it is so untoward out of doors, there should be assembled in this great building such an audience as we have here tonight, and it is, I assure you, no small matter that we have with us as chairman on this occasion one whose name itself stands for all that is best at all time and on all occasions.

(After speaking of his long connection with Mr. Knowles, he continued):

We have toured the province of British Columbia and Alberta and I believe we have still two provinces which we have to complete our schedule. In British Columbia and Alberta we spent nearly four weeks speaking there, every day and every night as far as we were able, and during the whole of that time we met with no sort of interruption of an unfriendly or ill-natured character.

The Two Great Parties

The purpose that I have in view this evening in this address is to make clear to this audience just what are the fundamental principles of the two great parties in this country which are contending against each other in our present controversy and political riding. People are divided into one or other of two great classes. There are those who want conditions as they are. These are the groups that in time of transition are more or less autocratic.

On the other hand you have that great body of men and women who do not fear change but do rather look for a change as a means of improvement. There are those who believe in the few and will not trust the many, and, on the other hand, there are those who believe in the many, that trust the many and are willing to advance in the interests of the many.

The chair has referred to a convention which was held in the city of Ottawa last summer, the National Liberal Convention. Now let me draw your attention to certain facts in regard to that convention. That convention was not to change the Liberal principles in any way. Those who were there were not asked whether they voted in the last election or whether they favored the government, but did they believe in Liberal principles.

What is Liberalism?

Now I may now and then this evening say one or two things about Liberalism and what it has stood for in the past. I have been told on different occasions as we have passed through, "When you reach Saskatchewan and Manitoba, do not say too much about the Liberal purposes; everybody is more or less concerned with new methods." That may be very good advice, and I can assure you I would follow it out as a matter of fact, if I did not thoroughly believe they were for the common welfare.

Let me draw your attention to the method adopted by one of the great political parties that has recently been formed in this part of the Dominion, "The National Farmer's," "Grain Growers," or whatever name they are called. What was the method adopted by the farmers when they decided to form a political party? They took exactly the same method as the great Liberal party did. They sent to the different groups and asked for those who were interested in this movement to send delegates to a convention. They sent their delegates and in open meeting they discussed what were the essential features of the programme which they would like to put forward. They based their whole purposes on the people themselves. What they were trying to do was to bring into existence a political platform that would represent the freedom of the people.

Liberal-Conservative Party

Go back to the first of July of this year and you will remember there appeared in the press of this country a statement that a new political party had been formed, known as the National Liberal and Conservative Party, and today we have that party actually in possession of the government of this country, and its leader the Prime Minister of Canada at the present time.

Now, what I want to ask you is this: Is there any man or woman in this Dominion of Canada who is prepared to stand out of the audience and say that he or she had to do with the creation of that party? Is there a man or woman in this audience who had anything to do whatever with the creation of the platform of the National Liberal and Conservative Party? Is there anyone who had anything to do with the choice of the representatives of that party, who had anything to do with the selection of one of that party? Well, you see the answer I get. Not a single voice in this great audience, and it has been precisely the same as I have asked these same three questions all through Alberta and British Columbia, coming from the Pacific Ocean, working back towards Ottawa. Up to the present time I have not been able to find one man, or one woman, who will stand up in any of the great audiences we have addressed and say he or she directed, or had anything whatever to do with, the creation of that party.

Well now, is not that something to make men think? especially when you realize that that party is governing the country today? Now our colleagues and myself wish to make clear our visit to the west. We have not come here for the purpose of saying that the Liberal Party is better than the Farmer's party or better than the Conservative party. That is not the purpose we have in view at all. In fact the purpose is quite the reverse. We have come to say to our friends the farmers and to our friends the workmen and to other classes that are forming their own particular groups, that you and we are fighting a common enemy and as I say to you, men and women let us be reasonable and sit down and look at this thing we have in common, instead of allowing little differences to come up, which are really in the last analysis, the same thing as you yourselves are fighting for.

The Big Interests

I spoke of the big interests. Now let me state to you that a few days ago, there was an order issued in Ottawa restricting the purchase of sugar from any one of half a dozen of the big sugar refineries in this country, and sugar was not to be sold under twenty-one cents per pound although just across the line it was selling at eleven and twelve cents per pound and could be brought in and pay duty on it and still sell at a figure very much less than could be purchased in Canada.

Do you think two or three men sitting on a board, just on the spur of the moment could make out some order without any considerable kind of pressure being brought to bear upon them? You have all seen when out sailing on a lake, every now and then some one of the fish jumps out of the water and shows his head every now and then. Well, that is exactly what occurred with this at this time. One of the big interests took his head out of the water for a moment and we got a glimpse of him. Now there is an instance of what I mean by the big interests.

Sugar Advertisements

The other day the editor of one of the large papers in this country told me he had received from Montreal a message asking him to defer any comment in his paper on the sugar question until he should receive a four column advertisement which would give particulars justifying the board's action. Well, I happened to be speaking to the editor of another paper about this same thing and he told me that he had received exactly the same message and that the four columned advertisement appeared in his newspaper that day.

All over this country you will find that same advertisement in the different newspapers and what does it mean? Well, when a great sugar trust sends to the different newspapers of this country, broadcast, a wire, asking them not to comment unfavorably until they receive an advertisement which will bring them a large sum of money, it is a pretty good indication that there is a very determined effort at least to corrupt the press and to stifle public opinion. Where are we going to get to in our efforts in this matter, when we cannot rely upon the press of this country? The press, like every one else, is human. I was shown, while in the west, a letter which the editor of one of the large daily papers had received from a boot and shoe company, which was to this effect:

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"We notice your paper has authorized some reduction on boots and shoes. We look after our own business and unless you change your not and support, Mr. Meighen, we intend to withdraw our advertising."

Wears Old Boots

Then I was talking with another editor in that way and he told me he had received the same thing from the same firm. I am sorry to say I have a pair of their boots on my feet at the present moment. If the st of living were not what it is I should throw them away. But stop and think of it. Is not that something which the Farmer's party has got to fight? Is it not something which the Labor party has got to fight? Is that not something which all citizens of this country have to fight, if the producer and the consumer are to be protected? I might go on and state other cases, but let me come to the things that I think you are more or less particularly interested in here in the west.

The greatest of all problems today is the high cost of living. Now we say the only way in which the cost of living can be changed in this country is, in the first place, by reducing taxation. Then the next thing we say is this cost of living can also be brought down by change in tariff. There is great need at the present time for reduction of the tariff and a further reduction on all duty on the necessities of life, food, clothing, boots and shoes, and there should be substantial reduction of duty on instruments of production, in the grain growing, lumbering and fishing businesses. Let me take these things up in turn.

Take the matter of economy in public expenditure. Do you realize what the public debt of this country is at the present time? Just for the sake of comparison let me give you figures as it has been within the period of the last ten years.

The National Debt

In 1910-11 the total public debt of the country was $340,000,000. In 1920, the total public debt of the country is $2,273,000,000. Of course, that debt accrued very largely out of the war. In the main it was, of course, through expenditure made during the war. Had all that expenditure been made simply for war purposes that occurred we would probably have very little criticism to make, but anyone who has followed the course of war expenditure will see where they have spent millions of dollars that might well have been saved. Since the war is over this last debt has to be faced. Now notice what the interest on that debt is. Until this debt is cleared off, we will have to pay the interest on it every year.

In 1910-11 the interest on the public debt amounted to $125,000, Interest on the public debt today is $140,000,000. The government is asking one hundred and seventy-three millions of dollars for various undertakings and that with one hundred and forty millions for debt makes a total of three hundred and thirteen millions which amount has to be raised for this purpose before we receive a single cent for business carried on in the country.

Ten years ago it only cost $87,000,000 to run the whole business of the Dominion, and now the interest alone on the public debt is $140,000,000. The trouble with the Government is that they have grown money mad. They can think only in war figures. During the great conflict the people loaned the Government $2,000,000,000 and now we all have to pay it back with interest. The real truth of the matter is that the Government has grown autocratic in the matter of expenditure. There is only one way to change this and that is to change the Government.

The Liberal policy is an immediate downward revision of the tariff. The Liberals do not want free trade; they want freer trade and the farmers of the country want the same thing, yet both realize that such a state of things cannot be brought about in one day. It will take time and the whole thing will have to be done gradually. There must be a policy of direct taxation rather than indirect taxation. Tax luxuries, business profits and incomes, and after all these measures have been resorted to, there will still be large sums of money needed and it must come from a tariff. Still a substantial reduction should be made in the tariff with the object of reducing the burden upon the consumer in respect of the prime necessities of life, and with the object of delivering the consumer from the bondage now imposed upon him by the exactions of monopolies, trusts and combines. Revise it for the people as a whole, not merely for the big interests alone.

As I have already said, the Liberal Policy is that there should be an immediate reduction of the tariff. This is the exact position of the Liberal party. What we say is this: part of our platform is to raise funds by taxation of incomes, taxing incomes least heavy where it is least able to be borne and most heavily where it can be borne.

Matter of Misrepresentation

In Ottawa Mr. Meighen said that "Mr. King is the same as we are, there is very little difference between us." This is the kind of thing they send to you out here, and in the east they say that the Liberals are taking the same position as the farmers in the west. It is a matter of misrepresentation all through. Now, fortunately, the Liberal position has been stated in a way that it cannot be called in question, and in the convention at Ottawa the whole party policy was carefully considered and carefully discussed and I am glad to be able to read to you tonight exactly what is set in the platform of the Liberal Party. In so doing I want to say I have addressed meetings in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island clear through to the provinces of British Columbia and Alberta and other provinces, including this province of Saskatchewan and the province of Manitoba and at every one of these I have read the plank of our platform which Iam going to read to you tonight. We have not one message for the west and another for the east. We have got the one plank in our platform on this question. It is a plank that can be fought for by everyone irrespective of the class to which he belongs.

The Liberal party today in parliament, giving preference to the assistance of the west, has a very large representation from all east of the Great Lakes. It is true we have not a very large number of Liberals from Ontario, but we have several; we have a very large representation from Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, and a still larger one from Quebec. That whole group stands for a revision of the tariff, and that is just what you people out here want.

McMaster Amendment

In Ottawa, the session before last, Mr. McMaster introduced as an amendment the following, and had the farmers of the west stood by the Liberals the government would not have dared turn us down and the revision of the tariff would have come about. The farmers did not stand by us, they opposed us, and the amendment was, of course, defeated.

This was the amendment introduced by Mr. McMaster:

"Whereas, in order to meet the great expenditure necessitated by our national obligation, it is imperative that the labor and capital of this country should be directed to the obtaining of the greatest economic return, and that the energies of our people should be freed in order that the most may be made of our national resources and the strength and intelligence of our people be utilized to the fullest extent.

"That without derogation from the provisions of paragraph (b) hereof, all farm and garden implements, machinery and tools, including farm tractors; all mining, flour and sawmill and repair parts therefor, as well as the raw material entering into the same; lumber, illuminating, lubricating and fuel oils, cement and fertilizers be added to the free lists —it being understood that the tariff benefit proposed to be conferred upon raw material entering into the manufacturing of the articles above set forth may be granted by way of rebate or drawback; it always being provided that in the event of any difference of duty existing under the provisions of diffent parts of the resolution, the lower duty or freedom from duty prevail.

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"That having regard always to the requirements of the public revenue and the necessity of affording reasonable opportunities for adjustment to those affected by the proposed changes, substantial reductions should be made in the tariff with the object of reducing the burden upon the consumer in respect of the prime necessities of life, and with the object of delivering the consumer from the bondage now imposed upon him by the exactions of monopolies, trusts and combines."

Fielding Resolution

Again, this year Mr. Fielding introduced the subject in the house and the only difference was that "pending" wider revision of the tariff, substantial reductions of the burdens of customs taxation should be made. This was the Fielding resolution, seconded by myself:

"That in view of the continued increase in the high cost of living, of the greatly increased burden of taxation, of the hardship which many of the people suffer from these causes, and the unrest naturally arising therefrom; and in view of the desirability of adopting measures to increase production and effect such relief to consumers and producers as may be within the powers of parliament, the house is of the opinion that, pending a wider revision of the tariff, substantial reductions of the burdens of customs taxation should 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 costs 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."

Farmers Voted Against

All the Liberals of Ontario, of Quebec, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island voted for that resolution. Why, then, was the measure not carried? Simply because the farmers of the west voted against it. The farmers themselves made impossible the work the Liberals had started out to do for the help of the farming community and the agrarian parts of the Dominion.

The farmers' representatives in Parliament voted against it. These gentlemen have had several opportunities to give you the tariff relief you wanted, but they have not done so. The press of the west has criticized the Liberal party on the ground of not being sufficiently progressive in this regard. Why blame us? The Liberals gave the farmers the chance they said they wanted and they did not take it. I do not say that all of the members of the prairie provinces voted against it, but out of the Saskatchewan members eight voted for it and eight against it, the majority of those against it representing farming communities. I look up the records and I find, when we come to Moose Jaw, that your own representative, Hon. J. A. Calder, voted against it. Of the Alberta members, four voted for and eight against. That means this: Twice sixteen is thirty two. Had the sixteen men from these two provinces voted with the Liberals of the east for this amendment, the Government's majority of twenty-six would have been destroyed, the Government would have been defeated and the Government would not be in power today.

Attacks Hon. Mr. Calder

To come back to the Moose Jaw member for a minute, Hon J. A. Calder stated "The present Government in its original constitution was not created to make a general revision of the tariff, but for the purpose of carrying on the war." Yet Mr. Calder permitted his name to go out as one of the members of the Tariff Commission that has recently sat in the west. He may have given you people his reasons for not sitting with that commission. I have not heard them and have only this to say, and that is that when you are attempting to size up a man in the House of Commons, consider his actions and his deeds and never mind what he calls himself. Any man who opposes the principles upon which that amendment was founded is not a Liberal. The people are being fooled all along the line today and it is to stop that fooling that brings us to Moose Jaw today.

Canadian Industries

There can be absolutely no doubt about the future development of Canadian industries, especially the basic industry of the west—agriculture. Agricultural production must be increased. Only as you have a large quantity of raw material so will you have the finished product. Increase your natural resources and you help the whole country to thrive and prosper. That is why we are appealing, not to one class, but to all classes. Our interests are all the same and we must combine together to fight the common enemy, the big interests.

The apparent attempt of the protected interests to influence and corrupt the press is well known, and it is an alarming state of things to have in our midst. Some are falling, but, thank God, while there are some weak sisters among our newspapers, the great majority are too public spirited to fall for the subtle influence now at work. There is something in this attempt to corrupt the press that the farmers should think over seriously. It is extremely shortsighted for those who have to fight these things to allow themselves to be divided.

It is the main plan of attack of the enemy to divide the forces opposing it. This is exactly what Germany did all the way through the war and she would won out had the Allies not got together at the last moment and worked under one common head. The enemy realizes that in division there is weakness. That is why an attempt is made to divide the Liberals, the farmers and the workers. The minute one class comes out for one particular thing, another class rises up to fight it. It always happens, but when you get one great political party, with all the various groups in that party allied with it, division is impossible and it is absurd for anyone to rise up against it. A party in itself is not the main thing. It is merely an instrument, and the larger you can make it, the better your success will be.

Lawyers' Government

In dealing with this matter of class it is an astonishing fact that the present government is really a lawyers' government. All the early members who entred it with the one exception of Mr. Crerar were lawyers. Look over the list and every individual one is a lawyer. Add to this the fact that both Premier Borden, Premier Meighen and Hon. Mr. Doherty are lawyers and you have a real laweyrs' government, a one class government. The complexion is really very funny you must admit.

Representation and large representation is what is needed. In addition to the lawyers we must have the farmers, the labor men and the returned soldier. When they go in they must not go in as farmers, lawyers, labor men or returned soldiers, however, but as Canadians, not as representatives of any one group, but as representatives of all the people. This will make for unity and strength and give us a democratic government, not an autocratic government, a government who will consult parliament, not an autocratic council. All parties must get together and come to some understanding, for only in this way can the common enemy be successfully fought.

Forces Must Unite

The only manner in which autocratic government now in control of the country can be destroyed demands that the forces co-operate and show a solid front. We are not here to say that the Liberal party is better than the Farmers' party or the Labor party. We are here to say, though, that we are out to fight a great enemy that has already chang-

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ed the Franchise Act, that wants to keep in power long enough to jerry-mander itself back again.

Natural Resources

To deal with another thing of particular importance to you people in the west, I might state that the Liberal party has always stood for the provinces managing and owning their own natural resources, and it is our idea that until the provinces do own their own natural resources the work of Liberalism has not been completed. The rights of all the provinces must, of course, be considered, but if it is right for the prairie provinces to own their own natural resources, just as it is right for the others to do so, where is the fear of the matter going before parliament?

Responsible Government

Responsible government is the only thing that will suit Canadians, and no one by any flight of imagination can say that we have responsible government now. No one will pretend for a moment that the present government is a democratic government responsible to parliament. It rules, as I have said, by orders-in-council, and parliament is not consulted. That is very far from and exactly the opposite to responsible government. Take the matter referred to by Mr. Duff, the matter of the expenditure of $71,000,000 for shipbuilding. Not a word said to parliament about it until it was all cut and dried. Then, again, think over the matter of the appointment of an ambassador to the United States. Never a word said to parliament until the whole matter was arranged. And so it is with dozens and dozens of other things that might be mentioned. All rushed through and done by orders-in-council without parliament being consulted in the matter at all.

Taxation and Representation

It is purely an autocratic government ruling for the big interests, and it is only the big interests that keep that government in power. There certainly should be no such thing as taxation without representation, yet thousands who have been disfranchised are compelled to pay taxes. When all these things are taken into consideration, you will see how very important it is for all parties to join together into one great whole and hurl this government from power. It was lack of this binding together that put the government in. At the last election, as you all know, it was class against class, party against party, race against race, creed against creed, province against province.

As Mr. Knowles has stated, I went down to defeat in the 1911 election on the reciprocity pact, yet I am proud to go down to defeat on any such question. Look at the thing reasonably and you will come to the conclusion that men are being misled. It was Sir Wilfrid himself that established the British preference, and this was the advocacy of the Liberal party when it went down to defeat in 1911. It is the same now as it was then. No great reform was brought about in a day. It took time, and the only way that freedom can be preserved is to join together, for the forces of reaction always at work are seeking to destroy us, and preserve themselves.

Neutrality Impossible

A fight against big interests must be waged. Do not wait until the battle is over and you are licked. Come together now and decide. The farmers are either earnest in their desire for tariff revision or are in a party for some other game. If the farmers have men in their party who are afraid to stand up for their rights they should not be allowed in the party, for if he is afraid of showing what he stands for he isn't worth fighting for. Neutrality now is impossible, men must come out for one thing or the other. In fiscal reform, it is up to every man to come out squarely for or against and tell the people honestly whether he is on their side or on the side of the big interests. Trying to improve the present conditions is the only sure way to end profiteering.

The New Society

Just one more thing and I am done. That is the matter of the returned soldier. During the war and since we have heard a great deal about the sacrifices of the soldiers, the hardships of the trenches, the service and heroism of the soldiers who went to fight the empire's battles, the service being rendered by all at home, the endurance and privation of the women, the equality of the trenches and all that sort of thing, and we were all promised that when the war was over there would be a new society in Canada. These were all issues in the great war fought out with the Germans, and in one form or other we have the same struggles in our own country at the present time. Conditions have not improved. On the one hand we have classes wishing to dictate and dominate and on the other hand we have the party that stands for the economic freedom for the whole. On such questions there can be no such thing as neutrality. You must either come out for the party that stands for economic freedom for all or for the party that seeks to dominate in everything.

We will never put an end to the social injustice of the present day until freedom is made a reality—a greater economical, political, personal, fiscal, religious, business freedom, and this can never be obtained until the people whose interests are most affected join together and wage battle with the forces that seek to divide them and keep them where they are.

That is what the Liberal party is committed to, and we seek to unite all others who are with us in this respect. We wish to unite the forces and go across from the Pacific to the Atlantic preaching a patriotism that will make for unity and freedom. There is nothing in the Liberal policy that is antagonist to that of either the farmers or labor, and I ask all to join with the Liberal party in the fight against the big interests, the autocratic big interest and protectionist government that is now usurping power at Ottawa.

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WM. DUFF M. P. INDIGNANT AT BEING CALLED PROTECTIONIST

William Duff, M.P. for Lunenburg, who followed Premier Sewart declared that he represented the people of the Maritime Provinces on Hon. Mackenzie King's tour and that before making any speech he desired to extend the greetings of the people of the Maritime Provinces to the people of Saskatchewan. He then stated that before starting for the Armoury his attention had been called to an article in the Daily News in which the editor had given him a lot of free advertising. He wished to thank the editor for this and yet at the same time he wished to state that the West was not so very different from the East in some respects. In all localities there were men who were only too willing to—well, depart form the truth and it had been his experience to notice that an editor of a Tory paper was only too willing to do likewise.

"The editor of the Moose Jaw Daily News in thearticle referred to," said he, "called me a protectionist. I am not a protectionist and the editor of the News does not know anything more about my views on that question than he does about the size of my shoes. I am a member of the Liberal party and an adherent of the Liberal policy laid down in 1914. I believe that men should buy where the buying is cheapest and sell where the selling price is the highest. At the same time I am willing to give away once in a while with my party for the good of the country as a whole.

"The article in the News also gave my qualifications to speak on the issue and named some of the companies I am interested in. To start with the shipbuilding company, there is no protection in it and we do not want it. There is no protection in the fishing business and we do not want it. In 1911 I was strongly in favor of the Reciprocity Pact and I spoke in its favor and gave out an interview to an Eastern paper. I was approached shortly afterwards by others in the fishing business and rebuked for the interview I had given out.

"If I cannot stand on my own bottom and compete with any Yankee that ever lived, then I am willing to go down and out. I am just as much opposed to a protectionist government as I am to protection, and it is purely as a protest to that Government that I am on the platform tonight. The present Government was formed as a war measure and it was understood that it would cease to be when the war was over. The war has now been over for some considerable time, yet there are Cabinet Ministers who still cling to the Government despite their assertions when entering it.

"Some have resigned. The first to take the step was the Union Minister of Agriculture, Hon. Thomas Crerar. Then Frank Carvell resigned and both stated why they did so. Later General Mewburn went, then Mr. McLean, then Mr. Rowell, later Mr. Burrell and eventually Sir Thomas White. Then in 1919 even the Premier, Sir Robert Borden himself resigned and in view of all these facts I consider it the right and proper thing for Mr. Meighen to have formed a Government when requested to do so and then dissolve Parliament and appeal to the people.

"He did not do so. His government is still in power. They say they are a new party, the National Liberal Conservative Party. Personally I do not know how a man can be a Liberal and a Nationalist at the same time, but a man who wishes to retain office is only too willing to call himself anything. The present government has not the confidence of the people. It is ruled by Orders-in-Council rather than by Democratic Parliamentary procedure. Take the shipbuilding episode for instance. The Government decided on a policy and spent seventy-one million dollars on the scheme without consulting parliament in the matter at all. Further the law specifically states that all such work should be let by contract where the amount exceeds five thousand dollars. All contracts were made before the Houses of Parliament were consulted and not one single tender was called for.

"Again, two years ago the War Purchasing Commission Bill was introduced but the opposition was so great that the bill was withdrawn. Last year the same Bill was again introduced but again the Government was forced to withdraw it, yet within two weeks after Parliament had prorogued the Commission was formed by Orders-in-Council and the men for the Commission were named. Again, some little while ago, Lord Jellicoe made a tour of the Dominions including Canada on questions of Naval policy. Hon. C. C. Ballantyne, Minister of Naval Affairs wanted something done in connection therewith and acting like a boy rather than as a Minister of the Crown he threatened to scrap the Canadian Navy. This policy was not liked by many of the Government supporters even and Ballantyne made a counter-proposal. I am not opposed to a Canadian Navy, but I am opposed to the tactics of Ballantyne. He accepted the offer of the Mother Country without consulting Parliament and the whole deal was put through by Order-in-Council. This is autocratic not democratic government.

"Now to refer to something else, the Sugar question. I asked Mr. Ballantyne several questions and instead of answering me, he passed one or two abusive remarks. This is no way for a Minister to act and I am going to keep asking him to resign. In Montreal there are several shipping and engineering concerns, among them the Hall Engineering Company and I am now going to ask Mr. Ballantyne two or three more questions. I would like to know how much stock Mr. Ballantyne has in this company? Why all repair work was given to them? How much the company received from the ships? What relationship Mr. Ballantyne has to this company or to the President thereof? All these questions I would like him to answer.

"To sum up, the sooner Premier Meighen asks Mr. Ballantyne to resign the better it will be for him, for all concerned and for the country as a whole."

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Moose Jaw Times, Oct. 23 - 1920

CLARION CALL TO PROGRESSIVE ELEMENTS OF WEST TO COME UNDER LIBERAL STANDARD AND FIGHT AUTOCRATIC GOV'T CONTROLLED BY BIG INTERESTS

LIBERAL LEADER IN STRIKING MANNER EXPOSED CONTROL OF GOVT. BY BIG INTERESTS—DECLARES HISTORY OF AUTOCRATIC GOVTS. HAS BEEN TO DIVIDE THE OPPOSING FORCES AND WARNS ALL PROGRESSIVE ELEMENTS THAT GOVT. IS BEHIND EVERY MOVE WHICH WILL KEEP ELEMENTS FAVORING REFORM FROM UNITING—NECESSITY FOR UNITY BEFORE NEXT ELECTION WAS STRONGLY EMPHASIZED—LIBERAL PLATFORM IS PEOPLE'S PLATFORM, HE ASSERTS—MR. WM. DUFF ASKS HON. MR. BALLANTYNE TO EXPLAIN SOME MORE OF HIS DEALINGS.

Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, Liberal leader and leader of the Opposition at Ottawa, before an audience of fifteen hundred people who had braved a blinding rain storm and a forty-mile-an-hour nor'wester, fired the first gun in his campaign to expose the government by big interests, at the Armoury last evening. Mr. King dealt with his subject in a most exhaustive manner exposing the machinations of the big interests in control of the Meighen Government. He likened the recent sugar order, brought about by the "sugar barons," to the appearance of a fish above water, only to suddenly dive again into its depths. He appealed to the progressive elements as represented in the Farmers' Party, the Labor Party, the Great War Veterans, and all other organizations which advocated reform to unite with the Liberals in one great party to fight the common enemy—the big interests. The time for unity was now, not after the next election.

Mr. William Duff, of Lunenburg, N.S., made another broadside attack upon one "big interests" member of the Meighen Government, Hon. C. C. Ballantyne, Minister of Marine and Fisheries. Mr. Duff called upon Mr. Ballantyne to give the people of Canada the truth of his connections with the Hall Engineering Co., of Montreal. The speaker asserted that this company, in which Mr. Ballantyne is interested, had a monopoly of government work, which was given the company without tenders ever being called. He challenged Mr. Ballantyne to disclose his connection with the company, and the members of it.

With Mr. King on the platform were Hon. W. E. Knowles, K. C., chairman of the meeting; Premier Charles Stewart, of Alberta. Mr. William Duff, M.P., of Lunenburg, N.S.; Mr. Charles Kennedy, M.P., of Windsor Ont.; Mr. Hayden secretary of the Liberal Association of Canada; Mr. J. H. Grayson, president of the Liberal Executive of the Moose Jaw federal riding, and Mr. E. E. Anderson, president of Moose Jaw City Liberal Executive.

HON. W. E. KNOWLES.

Hon. W. E. Knowles, member for Moose Jaw City and Provincial Secretary and Minister of Telephones, as chairman of the gathering, in his opening remarks complimented Mr. King upon having before him such an audience when the weather had been so stormy. He explained that the gathering was under the joint auspices of the Liberal executives of the federal and city constituencies. Mr. Knowles stated that he had desired to make a few personal observations and wished to make his own position clear. He had no desire to travel under false colors. He had learned his Liberalism at the feet of the late illustrious chieftain, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and he had not changed. In the next Federal election he believed that he would find himself supporting men in some parts of Saskatchewan who, while advocating the principles of Liberalism would not be supporters of the Liberal party. Liberals, farmers, and other progressive elements advocated the same principles and he urged that these progressive elements get together and forget the ardor for party and put principles first above everything else. Mr. Knowles then introduced Premier Stewart, of Alberta, who, he explained, was a business visitor in the city.

PREMIER STEWART.

Premier Stewart stressed the common interests which bound Saskatchewan and Alberta so closely together. He complimented the Moose Jaw dis-

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trict on its progress and as the aims and aspirations of the two provinces were alike in so many respects, he hoped that they would be able to work together for their mutual benefit.

One of the things that had especially impressed him concerning Mr. King's addresses at the different meetings within the province of Alberta had been the apparent fact that Mr. King had satisfied Alberta that if the opportuniyt were given in the future, Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba would not be fighting to gain control of their natural resources. He expressed his conviction that the progressive sections would stand shoulder to shoulder and Alberta would give a good account of herself.

WILLIAM DUFF, M.P.

Although suffering from a very bad throat, William Duff, M.P. of Lunenburg, N.S., made himself heard in the remotest portions of the big auditorium. In his preliminary remarks Mr. Duff brought greetings from the Maritime Provinces to the people of Saskatchewan.

He then directed his attention to the attack which was made upon him by the Daily News in its editorial columns on Friday, in which he had been charged with being a protectionist, because he was a director in a large number of companies. Mr. Duff said that he wished to thank the paper for the free advertising. He was afraid that he would have to admit that everyone in Moose Jaw did not tell the truth, and here as he had found elsewhere the editor of a Tory newspaper usually took the lead in that regard. Mr. Duff stated that he had been charged with being a protectionist and he would say that the editor of that paper knew no more about whether he was a protectionist or not than he did as to whether he drank tea or coffee for breakfast. He would state, that he was a Liberal not a protectionist, and a subscriber to the Liberal policy enunciated in the platform drawn at Ottawa in August, 1919. He would go further and say that that policy did not go far enough for him. He believed that a man should be privileged to buy where he could buy cheapest and sell where he could get the most money. (Cheers.)

Mr. Duff continued, saying that he was engaged in the shipping business in Nova Scotia and more particualrly in the construction of wooden vessels and asked his audience if there were anything connected with that industry which meant protection. There was the duty which a protectionist government forced him to pay on the fittings and provisions which he had to place on the vessels which he built.

As far as the fish business which he was interested in was concerned, he went on to the open market with other men in the fish business to sell their product. He did not want protection for the fish business and declared amidst an outburst of cheering "If I can't hold up my end with any Yankee then I am ready to go down and out."

Mr. Duff declared that he was against protection and against the government which now governed Canada. He stated that it lost the confidence of the people of Canada though it was still clinging to office. It was a government which had been elected for a purpose and when it had accomplished the purpose for which it had been elected it should have appealed to the people. Mr. Crerar had resigned and stated his reasons. Mr. Carvell had done likewise and he had been followed by General Mewburn, Hon. A. K. MacLean, Hon. N. W. Rowell, Hon Martin Burrell and Sir Thomas White. In July last Sir Robert Borden, premier of the government, had resigned, and in view of these happenings he honestly believed that the right and proper thing for the new government to have done was to appeal to the people.

The National Liberal Conservative government was the same party with the same interests behind it attempting to hold on to office. They could call themselves what they wished. It reminded him of a story which he had heard about a school board which had been advised by an inspector that it must erect a new school. One trustee at the meeting of the board moved that a new school be built. A few minutes later another trustee moved that the new school be built out of material in the present school, and a few minutes later another trustee moved that the school be held in the present building until the new school was ready.

Mr. Duff then turned his attention to the government's policy and actions in regard to ship-building. He stated that 70 millions of the people's money had been voted by order in council and contracts let for ships before parliament was asked to vote on the matter. Furthermore, no tenders had been called for the ships. This was done in spite of the fact that it was provided by law that no public money greater than $5,000 would be legally spent unless tenders were called.

Two years ago the government introduced a bill providing for the formation of a purchasing commission. The bill was opposed by members of government as well as by Liberals. Last session the same measure was revived and the government was forced to withdraw it. Two weeks after parliament prorogued the government by order in council created the purchasing commission and named its members.

The speaker then referred to the visit of Lord Jellicoe and the action of Hon. C. C. Ballantyne, minister of marine, which followed this visit. He declared that Mr. Ballantyne presented a statement to the caucus of the government and the caucus had decided that the proposals of Lord Jellicoe meant too large an expenditure. Mr. Ballantyne, like a "big boy," got mad and issued a statement that it had been decided to scrap the Canadian navy and close all the naval works down. He then brought in a counter proposition which in effect is what he, the speaker, had voted for in 1911 and which Mr. Ballantyne had voted against. He considered that this was evidence that it was time that government by order in council ceased.

Mr. Duff then referred to the recent sugar monopoly exposure and the connection therewith of Mr. Ballantyne. Instead of answering the charges which Mr. Duff had made Mr. Ballantyne had retaliated with abusive remarks. The speaker said that he would repeat his demand that Mr. Ballantyne resign and that if he did not do so that Premier Meighen request his resignation.

The speaker then turned his remarks to the connections of the Minister of Marine with the Hall Engineering Company of Montreal, saying:—

"Perhaps he will answer some more questions which I will propound. The minister of marine for Canada is the Hon. C. C. Ballantyne. Canada also possesses the Canadian government Merchant Marine. There is in the city of Montreal a well-known marine repair engineering business known as the Hall Engineering Company. The questions I want to ask Mr. Ballantyne are, first, how much stock does he own in this company or how much of his money is invested in it? Second, why is it that practically all of the repairs for ships of the Canadian government merchant marine entering the port of Montreal are done by these people while other responsible firms do not get a chance either to tender for or do the work? Third, what amount of money has this company received for repairs on these ships since their launching? Fourth, what are the exact relations between the president of this company and the Minister of Marine? In replying to these questions will Mr. Ballantyne be good enough to remember that calling names is no answer and that better than this is expected from a Minister of the Crown. Mr. Ballantyne's resignation is still overdue."

HON. MACKENZIE KING

"It is a pleasure for me to begin my meeting in the province of Saskatchewan in the Moose Jaw district, which is represented in the provincial house by Hon. W. E. Knowles." said Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King in his opening remarks. "The best thing after all is loyalty to principles so long as those principles are sound and true and Mr. Knowles has always stood true to those which support the common people.

"I am also pleased that Mr. Stewart is with us on this occasion," said the Liberal Leader. "During the time that our party was in Alberta, he could not do too much for us and I wish to tender him the appreciation of the party for the good will manifested during that time.

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"There is one thing which has made a big impression on our party during the four weeks of our tour in British Columbia and Alberta, when meetings were held practically every night, and some 40,000 people were addressed," said Mr. King. "That was the fact that there were no unfriendly interruptions at any of the meetings. This is an answer to the propaganda spread by the government that would lead people to believe that there were only two classes of people in Canada, those who think as they do and the Bolsheviks, Reds, I.W.W., etc. In fact the farmers of the prairies were practically classed in that category because they expressed an opinion that was different from that held by the government.

"It is my purpose now to show the fundamental differences which lie underneath," continued Mr. King. "Reviewing history, it will be seen that periods of transition occur when perplexing movements spring up. Sooner or later, however, the contending forces fall into two classes. The one class is composed of those who are profiting by the conditions as they are and are therefore satisfied with the existing state of affairs. They tend to become reactionary and autocratic. The other class is composed of those who desire a change and welcome the opportunity to advance into wider freedom. The mass of the people after the strain and stress are looking for something better and are ready for a change.

BEING ASSERTED TODAY.

The speaker said that the two forces were now asserting themselves in Canada in two groups, one of which stood for progress and the other for reactionary principles. The convention which had been held in August, 1919, at Ottawa had not sought to change Liberal principles for they were eternal principles, but the purpose of the convention had been to make a new application of those principles to present day changed conditions.

Fifteen hundred delegates and as many more alternatives had been selected by the Liberals of Canada to accomplish this and also to select a new leader of the Liberal party. The choice of a new leader had been made on Democratic principles by the secret ballot. The method of selection had shown faith in the will of the people and willingness to abide by the verdict of the people and the choice had been accepted by all of the representatives of the people.

Mr. King thn directed the attention of his hearers to the methods which had been followed by the Farmers in the drafting of their platform and the selection of their leader. He pointed out that it had been done on exactly the same lines as had the Liberals. The political platform embraced the views of the people. The Labor party had followed similar principles in drafting its platform and the popular will of the people had been followed as with the Liberals and Farmers.

HOW ABOUT THE GOVT.

"What method was used by the forces in opposition?" asked the speaker. "What principle was followed by the so-called National Liberal-Conservative party?"

On the first of July last a new party known as the National Liberal-Conservative party was brought into being and its platform given to the people. Then followed the announcement of the new leader. Today that party leader and the government which he formed is in possession of the government of Canada. "Is there any man or woman in this audience," asked the speaker, "who had anything to do with the framing of that policy, the creation of that party or the selection of that leader?"

"Not an answering voice," said Mr. King, "and it has been the same all over British Columbia and Alberta, wherever I have asked that question.

"This is a situation which should cause every man and woman in Canada to think carefully," declared Mr. King.

THE GUIDING HAND.

"Do you think that there was no guiding hand behind the framing of that policy, that there was no secret influence at work and still at work keeping that party in power? It is ludicrous to think so," continued the speaker. "There is a powerful influence at work. It is a more powerful influence than all the forces arrayed against it. While the great mass of the people are demanding their rights, yet this force is keeping the government, which has ceased to represent the people, in power. It created the government. It does not show its hands in the open. It is a force of darkness. It is the invisible government of the big interests. It is impossible to conceive that this group of men at Ottawa should usurp the powers of government unless back of them are the all powerful influences of the big interests.

AN AUTOCRATIC GOVT.

"Why are they holding on?" demanded the speaker. "Because it is a government by autocrats whose game is to divide and rule. The history of Germany is that of rule by autocrats who held sway by keeping the opposing forces divided. Germany launched her blow against the world when she thought the opposing forces were divided, and Germany would have been victorious today had the Allies failed to bring about unity.

"The policy of the autocrat is in unity there is strength, while at the same time they seek to keep the forces arrayed against them divided. I want to make this very clear to my friends in the West. I have come to the West to say to the Farmers and to the workingmen: Let us unite to fight our great common enemy."

The speaker then went on to say that the government at Ottawa had manipulated the franchise law so that it would make it easier for them to win an election and beyond any doubt it was the government's intention to gerrymander the country so that it would be impossible to defeat them unless the forces of progress united shoulder to shoulder and refused to allow the enemy to cause differences.

THE INVISIBLE POWER ASSERTED.

"One instance of the invisible power behind the new party that holds the reins of government without the sanction of the people of the country is the order issued by the Board of Commerce a few days ago in regard to the sugar question," said Mr. King. "This board appointed by the government, actually issued an order that retailers should not buy sugar from any but two or three big sugar refineries, which have a monopoly on the sugar industry of the country. Sugar was not to be sold under 21 cents per pound, when at the same time it was selling in the United States for 11 and 12 cents per pound and could be shipped here and sold under the price set by the board.

"Two or three men did not issue that order without pressure being brought to bear from some source," continued the speaker. "Right there one of the big invisible powers showed its head and that one was powerful enough to force the Board of Commerce to issue an order, which was directly opopsed to the interests of the people, which the government is supposed to represent. Of course, when public opinion rose to such a height that the government found it necessary to cancel the order to save themselves, the order was cancelled. That is an example of what the progressive forces have against them.

ATTEMPT TO BRIBE PRESS.

"Another example of the subtle influence at work is given by a statement made to me by an editor of one of the most influential daily papers in the country," said Mr. King. "This man told me that he received a telegram asking him to defer comment on the sugar order issued by the board until he had received a four column display advertisement giving the reasons for the board's action. These advertisements were sent to newspapers all over the country. What a condition of affairs exists when a sugar trust sends out telegrams in an effort to stifle public opinion and corrupt the press. There are weak sisters among the press as well as other places but some of them are too public-spirited to fall for this propaganda. Another instance of an effort to corrupt the press was given by Mr. King. A certain paper was told by a boot and shoe concern that they would get no more advertising from them as long as the paper supported Mr. King in his policy of reducing the protection on boots and shoes.

"Protection is one of the things, the Farmer, the Labor and in fact all citizens must fight as consumers," Mr. King stated. "It is foolish then for those with a common interest to be divided instead of united to fight against the big interests, who will even endeavor to corrupt the press."

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Mr. King then stated that the government had failed to make any attempt to reduce the cost of living, but had on the other hand done all within its power to protect the big interests. It had failed to get the war wealth and had granted to the great financial institutions special privileges, by the bond issues free of taxation. The result had been that these institutions had invested their funds to the extent of $1,212,000,000 in tax free bonds. There was only one way, the speaker asserted, to reduce the cost of living and that was to reduce taxation of the people. The only way to reduce was to retrench public expenditure. The cost of living could be reduced by changing the tariff and removing all duties on the necessaries of life and upon the implements used in the basic industries of agriculture, lumbering, mining and fishing. The tariff should be eliminated altogether from farm implements, Mr. King asserted.

ECONOMY NECESSARY.

Economy in public erpenditure was necessary, the speaker asserted, because of the financial situation of the country. In 1910 the national debt had been three hundred and forty millions while in 1920 it stood at two billion two hundred and seventy-three millions. There was of course a great portion of this due to the war, but millions of the war accumulated debt could have been saved. It was, however, since the war that the Government had shown recklessss in expenditure, which is continuing today. The interest charges on the national debt in 1910 had been $12,550,000, while today it was $140,000,000 annually. Ten years ago, $87,000,000 sufficed to run the whole of Canada. The Government of that day had been charged with extravagance, but what of the Government of today which had to find 313 million dollars, 39 millions of which was for demobilisation before the ordinary requirements of administration were provided for.

Canada today was suffering from the effects of the war. The men who were spending the country's money today were men who, during the war spent with a free hand and had actually lost all true sense of the value of money. They were men with the autocratic war habit of mind.

Premier Meighen had endeavored to convey to audiences in the East that all those who were opposed to his administration were Bolshevists or something of that variety and had said that the farmers were out to "submarine" the fiscal system of the country. The Premier had attempted to make other audiences believe that the Western farmers were out for free trade. The speaker declared that there was no party in Canada today which was demanding free trade but the progressive elements were demanding "freer trade." The tariff could not be dispensed with, but it should be maintained for revenue purposes only and not for the purpose of protection for privileged interests which are anti-social in action.

Farmers Missed Chance

The question of whether or not the West got the support of Quebec on the matter of tariff reform was a question which Mr. King said he believed the West should take into consideration. The Liberals of Canada, both east and west, stood on common ground as regards changing the tariff. The speaker then referred to the tariff amendment brought before the House of Commons by the Liberals. Had the Farmer representatives in the House of Commons voted in support of the Liberal amendment the Government would have been compelled to give it. Last session the Hon. Mr. Fielding had introduced an amendment which had one difference from the amendment of the previous session in the fact that it called for a wider revision of the tariff. Mr. Fielding's provided for an immediate reduction of the tariff on necessaries of life and on the instruments of production. His amendment, had it been carried, would have provided the means to reduce the tariff without a commission.

All the Liberals of Ontario voted for the resolution which called for the removal of duties on implements, tractors and the instruments of production necessary for the development of the basic industries and on the necessities of life. The Liberals of Quebec had voted for the resolution as did the Liberals of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island. There was not a single exception in the ranks of Liberalism in the House of Commons, but the resolution was not carried because the farmers of the West failed to support it.

In the province of Saskatchewan eight of the members had supported and eight had voted against it. The vote of Hon. Mr. Calder, member for Moose Jaw, had been against it. In Alberta there were four for it and eight against. It was not the fault of the Liberals of Canada that it did not carry.

At this juncture Thomas Teare of Marquis interrupted Mr. King, asking that he give the vote of the Saskatchewan members.

Mr. King furnished the information from the records of parliament, apparently to the satisfaction of Mr. Teare.

The Liberal proposal was defeated in the Commons because the Government was successful in splitting the opposition into groups.

Mr. Calder's Actions

"Mr. Calder, on the floor of the House of Commons, in speaking to this bill said that the present Government was not formed for the purpose of revising the tariff," said Mr. King. Yet he allowed his name to go out as one of the commission appointed to see how such a revision could be made. That is the reason the tariff reforms were not carried. Possibly Mr. Calder gave his own reasons why he did not appear on the committee, but when you are looking at groups in parliament judge by their actions and not by what they say. Anyone who opposes this measure are not Liberals in the true sense of the word.

"The people are being fooled by the big interests," continued the speaker. "Look what is being done in this province to put candidates in the field. One man states that he was asked to get the Grain Growers' nomination in a certain district and the constituency would be carved to ensure his election, provided that he supported those who did the carving.

"The Montreal Gazette, a powerful government organ, says in regard to Premier Meighen's trip through the West that he goes to fight the agrarian low tariff movement in its own home. I came here to point out the necessity for a tariff revision. The Liberals are trying to reduce the tariff in the interests of the consumer.

Where Future Lies

"The future of Canada depends on the development of agriculture and other basic industries of the country," said Mr. King. "Increased production means increased prosperity. As all other industries spring out of the basic industries, they all stand to benefit. It is therefore not because it will inteerst one, but because it will interest all, that tariff revision was made a part of the Liberal platform. I think that the Liberal party can gain for the farmer what he could not gain by a class movement because a class movement is always looked upon with suspicion by the other classes, but when all stand for the same in a great party no class can rise against them. Great reforms have always been brought about through great parties. The party in itself is not the main thing but only the instrument used to get what is wanted."

The Liberal party was the only instrument which could bring about tariff reform because, Mr. King asserted, there had to be unity of the parties who were opposed to the group which now controlled the government.

The Liberals, Mr. King declared, felt that the Parliament should be a mirror of the nation with larger representation from Labor, Farmers, Great War Veterans. They were all progressive elements working for reform.

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The speaker then asserted that the Liberals were asking the right to complete what they had promised to do, namely, to restore the natural resources to the Western provinces. Now was the time for the progressive elements to get together, avoid all conflicts and show a united front.

Unity was needed to fight against a Government which instituted the War Measures Act, the War-time Elections Act and other similar electoral methods which would not stand the light of day. The Liberal party stood for—and history showed that it had fought for—the policy of no taxation without representation. Today in Canada under the present regime there were thousands who were heavily taxed by the Government at Ottawa but who had no vote in Parliament.

Mr. King declared that he was proud to say that he had supported the Reciprocity Pact, for he believed that it was a policy in the interests of all the people.

The speaker then issued a warning note to the Farmers' party. He declared that there were many Conservatives within its ranks. They must be there either sincerely advocating reform or there for political motives, playing the game in the interests of someone else. The day had arrived when every man and woman should decide whether he or she stood for the rights of the people or was on the side of the big interests.

"The whole issue is one of economic freedom," continued Mr. King. "On the one side there are those who hold the position of power today and want to dominate, and on the other side there are those who want to enlarge the privileges of all men. We heard a great deal about the sacrifices of the men overseas during the war, the service of those at home, the work of the women and the equality of the trenches. A new social order is what is required and not the old gods of power and might. Political and industrial conquest is what the Germans fought for and we have the same struggle here against those who wish to dominate.

"No one can remain neutral in such a struggle," concluded the Liberal leader. "Our pledge to those who fought and died is to see that the freedom for which they gave their lives is made a reality. This can never be brought about so long as the difference between classes continues. Liberals have always fought for a greater freedom and to widen the opportunity for the great mass of the people, but to carry it through to success all the forces of progress must unite in an attitude of good-will instead of the ill-will left in the wake of the war. Then we will help to raise the name of the British Empire to a high standard."

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AUTOCRAT ATTACKED BY KING

MOOSE JAW, Oct. 22.—Before an audience of thirteen hundred people, who braved a heavy rain, driven before a 30-mile northwester, Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, leader of the Opposition, made an eloquent appeal to the progressive groups in Canada and more particularly in the West to unite and fight "the common enemy."

To Unite Progressives

Mr. King declared that the so-called National Liberal and Conservative party, which is in power at Ottawa, was not a representative government but a government dominated by the big interests and autocratic in everything which it attempted. He declared that proof of autocracy lay in the fact that it proposed to hold itself in office by the same game which history showed all autocrats had held power. Germany had struck her blow when she believed the forces against her were divided, and she would have been victorious had the Allies not been successful in uniting.

The policy of the National Liberal and Conservative party was that of the autocrats, because it aimed to keep the forces of the progressive elements divided. He declared that he wished to make this point clear to the friends of progress in the West that he had come to the West to say to the farmers and working men: "Let us fight the common enemy."

Premier Charles Stewart of Alberta, who spoke briefly, declaring that he confidently believed that the progressive elements in Alberta would stand shoulder to shoulder when the time came and would give a good account of themselves.

Hon. W. E. Knowles, chairman, declared in his address of introduction that he today stood for the same principle of Liberalism as he had in the past. He urged that Farmers and Liberals, Labor and other progressive groups unite and place the principles for which we are striving above everything else.

William Duff, the member for Lunenburg, was the only other speaker besides Mr. King. Mr. Duff took up the cudgel again with the Minister of Marine with reference to Mr. Ballantyne's retort to the charges previously made against him in connection with business affiliations with the sugar refineries and paint concerns.

Puts Up Questions

"Mr. Ballantyne's vague insinuations will not satisfy the public," said Mr. Duff. "Perhaps he will answer some more questions which I will propound. The Minister of Marine for Canada is the Hon. C. C. Ballantyne. Canada also possesses the Canadian Government Merchant Marine. There is in the city of Montreal a well-known marine repair engineering business known as the Hall Engineering Company. The questions I want to ask Mr. Ballantyne are: First, how much stock does he own in this company, or how much of his money is invested in it? Second, why is it that practically all the repairs of the ships of the Canadian Merchant Marine which enter the port of Montreal are done by these people, while other responsible firms do not get a chance either to tender for or perform the work?

Wants Facts

Third, what amount of money has this company received for repairs on those ships since their launching? Fourth, what are the exact relations between the president of this company and the Minister of Marine?

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PROGRESSIVES URGED TO COME IN UNDER LIBERAL BANNER AND STAND TOGETHER IN UNITED EFFORT TO OVERTHROW SPECIAL INTERESTS' DOMINATION

MEATY REMARKS MADE BY KING

"The time for all the progressive elements in Canada to unite is now."

"The Liberal party is based on the welfare of the whole people of the whole Dominion."

"An autocratic government can stay in power only so long as it is successful in keeping its enemies divided."

"Had the sixteen men from these two provinces voted for the tariff amendment the Government would have been defeated."

"When you are attempting to size up a man in the House of Commons, consider his deeds and not what he calls himself."

"The great National Liberal convention held in Ottawa a year ago last August was founded upon democratic methods."

"The Farmers' representatives have had two or three opportunities to give you the tariff relief you wanted and they have not done so."

"The very low tariff could have been had at the last session of the house if the members from Saskatchewan and Alberta had voted solidly."

"This union cannot be a success unless it wears the colors and fights under the banner of the Liberal party."

"The Farmers party and the Labor party and the G.W.V.A. and all who stand for lower tariff should sit down together and talk over their common aims like reasonable men."

LEADER OF OPPOSITION OPENS TOUR OF SASKATCHEWAN WITH ADDRESS AT MOOSE JAW—EMPHASIZED ABSOLUTE NECESSITY OF UNITY AMONG PROGRESSIVE ELEMENTS

MACKENZIE KING STATES BIG INTERESTS HAD HAND IN CREATING PRESENT MEIGHEN ADMINISTRATION—CANADIAN PEOPLE NOT GIVEN CHANCE—LIBERAL PLATFORM PEOPLE'S PLATFORM

(By Staff Correspondent)

MOOSE JAW, Oct. 22.—A blinding rainstorm that made life out-of-doors something to be shunned did not deter over three thousand men and women of Moose Jaw from turning out last night to welcome to Saskatchewan the Leader of the Opposition in the Canadian House of Commons, and listen to his stirring appeal to all of the progressive elements in the country today to get together and stand together in the fight against the special interests that are now dominating the Government of the Dominion.

Anyone who went to hear the Hon. Mackenzie King's opening gun in this province with an idea that he was going to listen to nothing more than a reiteration of platitudes or the statement of a passyfooting policy got more than he bargained for. Mr. King handled his subject without gloves and that subject was the necessity of the Farmers' party and the Labor party and the G.W.V.A., and all the other groups of forward-looking Canadians who stand for lower tariff to sit down together and talk their common aims over like reasonable men. The time to do that is now, said Mr. King, and not after the next general election, when it will not be so easy for groups that have fought each other to come to a working agreement.

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He had been warned before he came into Saskatchewan, said Mr. King, that he should go easy on this get-together stuff until after election. "Were I ashamed of being a Liberal or letting the people know exactly where I stand, I might take their advice. I am not ashamed of being a Liberal, and for that reason I say that the time for all of the progressive elements in Canada that are earnestly and sincerely desirous of overthrowing the present domination of the country by the big interests to unite, is now. An autocratic Government can stay in power only so long as it is successful in keeping its enemies divided, and that is what this Government is attempting to do.

Is National Party

Mr. King made it very plain that this union cannot be a success for the purpose for which it may be created unless it wears the colors and fights under the banner of the historic Liberal party of Sir Wilfrid Laurier and those who went down to defeat with him over the reciprocity question. There were two reasons why the groups now professing to work for the same ideal as the Liberal party should come into that party and make it greater and stronger and eventually invincible. The Liberal party, said Mr. King, was a National party, whose platform was based on the welfare of the whole people of the whole Dominion. It had no preferences for any particular race, creed, color, class or section of the people, consequently any movement engineered under its auspices would have strength that comes from the universality of composition and impartiality of rewards. The same thing could not be said of any group or party that erected the welfare of a particular class above that of any other class, and that was what the Farmers' party was apparently in danger of doing. What the Liberals and the Farmers and the Laborites were all contending against at this time is class government. Government under the influence of and for the interest of the big business. With what countenance could any other single class attempt to overthrow this Government when it was looking first and primarily to the benefits to accrue to its own particular class, or with what hope of success.

United Effort is Necessity.

Coming down to still harder tacks, Mr. King told his audience that the very low tariff for which the Farmers' party asserts itis working for, could have been had at the last session of the House if the members of the House from Saskatchewan and Alberta had voted solidly, as did the Liberals of Ontario, Quebec and the Maritime provinces for the Liberal tariff amendment introduced at that time. There was not a single Liberal member for a riding east of the Great Lakes, said Mr. King, who did not vote for that amendment. There was not a single exception in the Liberal ranks. Why then was the amendment defeated? Simply because the Farmers' representatives did not vote for it with the same solidity. They have had two or three opportunities to give you the tariff relief you wanted, and they have not done so. The press of the West has criticized the Liberal party on the ground of not being sufficiently progressive in this regard. Why blame us? The Liberals gave the Farmers the chance they said they wanted. And they did not take it. I do not say that all of the members for the prairie provinces voted against the Liberal low tariff amendment. Out of Saskatchewan members, eight voted for it and eight against it, and of Alberta members, four voted for and eight against it. That means this: twice sixteen is thirty-two. Had the sixteen men from these two provinces voted with the Liberals of the East for this amendment, the Government's majority of twenty-six would have been destroyed, the Government would have been defeated, and the Government would not be in power today.

Names of Members

W. J. Orchard, president of the N.N.P.P.A., who was in the audience, asked the speaker to read the names of the Saskatchewan members who voted for the low tariff amendment and those who voted against it. Mr. King did so to the considerable amusement of the audience.

Then Mr. King said a few things about attitude towards tariff matters that brought prolonged applause. He quoted Mr. Calder as saying, anent the amendment, that the present Government in its original constitution was not created to made a general revision of the tariff but for the purposes of carrying on the war." "Yet," continued Mr. King, "Mr. Calder permitted his name to go out as one of the members of the Tariff Commission that has recently sat in the West. He may have given his reasons for not having sat with the commission. I have only this to say in this connection; when you are attempting to size up a man in the House of Commons, consider his deeds and not what he calls himself. Any man who opposes the principles on which that amendment was founded is not a Liberal. The people are being fooled all along the line today."

Opening his address, which lasted for nearly two hours, Mr. King congratulated Moose Jaw in being represented in the Provincial Government by so distinguished a gentleman as his old colleague in the House of Commons, Hon. W. E. Knowles, provincial secretary and chairman of last night's meeting. He alluded to Mr. Knowles as a man known through the province and the Dominion as one that was loyal to his leaders, and loyalty to principles where such were sound and true, the greatest thing in life.

That difference should occur among peoples and parties was inevitable, continued Mr. King, and it was his purpose to make clear the fundamental difference between the two great parties in Canada today. When one looked back over the history of the world it became evitable that in periods of great transition movements spring up from the people that continued for a time perplexing and it is difficult for one to say where his allegiance should lie, but sooner or later all such movements fall into one or two categories; either movements by those who have profited by conditions as they are and who wish those conditions to remain unchanged and eventually become reactionary; or movements by great numbers of men and women develop out of this period of strife something better. The latter are ready to go ahead and to give up some of the things they have enjoyed in order that others may share them. Those two categories are represented in Canada today by the so-called Union Government and the Liberal party.

Reviews Convention

Mr. King reviewed the history of the great National Liberal convention held in Ottawa a year ago last August and showed how its proceedings in every respect had been founded upon democratic methods. The convention itself was made up of delegates sent by those who held true to Liberals ideals whatever way they may have voted in 1917. The purpose of calling it was not to alter the principles of Liberalism, which are eternal, but to determine upon the new applications of those principles which changed conditions demanded. There were about 1,500 delegates to the convention and the same number of alternates, who represented all parts of the country and all classes of its citizens. This great gathering debated for three days the relation of Liberalism to the tariff and the fiscal and other questions arising out of the war, and then drew up its platform. Could anything have been more democratic in method than this or more like the manner in which the Farmers' party the Labor organization conduct their proceedings? When it came to the choice of a leader a secret ballot was taken. While this may not have resulted in the choice of the best man for the position at least it was the fairest and most democratic way of obtaining the desired end. So far as the adoption of a name went, there was no one at the convention ashamed of the name Liberal, so they neither sought to obscure it by hyphens nor to throw it out altogether and take up with a new one. When the Liberal party, the Farmers' party, and the Labor organizations are based upon principles so similar and conducted along lines so nearly alike, they should have no difficulty in arriving at their common objects by frank, open and above-board methods.

Mr. King then referred of the manner in which the present Government acquired its position and the domination which it now exerts. "The press carried a story that a new party had been formed in Ottawa," said Mr. King. "Then the next thing we knew was that Mr. Meighen was at the head of it. I want to ask if there is any man or woman in this audience who had anything to do with the creation of the platform of this party or with the choice of its leader or with the choice of its name?" There was no answer.

No Answer to Question

"I have asked that question at meetings all the way from the coast to Moose Jaw," continued Mr. King, "and I have not found one man or woman in all these audiences who could answer yes. Is not that astonishing, especially when that party is governing the country. Don't you think that something had a hand in the making of that party? Certainly. A force greater than all the progressive forces that are now arrayed against it and demanding a return to constitutional government. That something is the big interests, forces unwilling to come out and fight in the open that work only in the dark."

The other day when the Board of Commerce issued its now famous sugar order, a glimpse was had of one of these big interests, as one occasionally sees a fish jump out of the water and then disappear into it again. Only the popular outcry

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against the order caused the Government to take action and that action was taken not in the interest of the great consuming public but by the Government in self defense.

The only manner in which autocratic Government now in control of the country can be destroyed, said Mr. King, demands that the forces operating it unite and present to it a solid front. We are not here to say that the Liberal party is better than the Farmers' party or the Labor party. We are here to say; our friends, we are here to fight a great enemy that has already changed the Franchise Act, that wants to keep in power long enough to gerrymander itself back again. Now let us sit down and see what we have in common. That is our purpose.

Common Purposes.

Then Mr. King recited the several things held in common by the Liberals and the Farmers, among them immediate downward revision of the tariff, freer trade and not free trade. He stated that his attention had been drawn by two editors of newspapers in the west that they had received letters from a boot and shoe concern in the east, threatening to withdraw their advertizing if the papers did not cease supporting Mackenzie King and low tariff and took up arms in defense of Mr. Meighen and high tariff.

"I am ashamed to say," added Mr. King, "that I am now wearing a pair of shoes made by that firm. Were it not for the high cost of living, I would throw them away."

Attempt to Corrupt Press.

The apparent attempt of protected interests to influence and corrupt the press was viewed by Mr. King with alarm. What was the country coming to when the press could not be depended upon to give both sides a fair hearing? "Thank God," said the speaker, while there are some weak sisters among our newspapers, there are some newspapers too public spirited to fall for these subtle influences now at work. Yet is not there something in this attempt to corrupt the press of the Farmers to think over? How shortsighted for those who have to fight these things to allow themselves to be divided.

About the high cost of living, Mr. King ascribed it in a great measure to the fact that the men at the head of the Government who should be working to bring it down, have contracted the war habit of mind, and are incapable of working economically. "The high cost of living," said he, "can be reduced only by reducing taxation of people, and that can be reduced only by economy and retrenchment in public expenditures." He then cited financial statistics to show that the present Government has done little or nothing towards this end.

Mr. King referred to the attempt of Mr. Meighen to represent to the East that the Liberals were hand and glove with the farmers of the West, and to the West that they were linked up with the protectionists of the East and answered the charge by the statement that the Liberal party had but one platform which was for neither East nor West but the whole country and for every class of people in it. He read portions of the platform adopted by the National Liberal convention in Ottawa, and then left the subject with the challenge:

On that platform we stand or fall.

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D 4806

Pithy Paragraphs Heard at Meetings Last Night

In the courses of his addresses last night Mr. King declared:

"All have resigned except Calder and that is the reason that we have not a general election today."

"As long as this Government is in power, you have not representative government."

"Liberalism has fought for toleration and moderation in all matters of creed and race."

"The next Parliament should not be representatives of any one group but representative of all the people in this country."

"The purpose of the convention was not to change liberal principles but the application of liberal principles to new conditions."

"I would rather have a union of workingmen running this country than lawyers, because they represent a far more important community."

"I see in the new parties an expression of a new liberalism and I most heartily welcome it.

"The country is in the reforming stage and men and women are taking seriously the obligations of citizenship which make them a part of the real government of any country."

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D 4807

25 Oct. 1920 Regina

REUNION OF THE LIBERAL PARTY WITH
FARMERS AND LABOUR

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Montreal Gazette Oct-26th 1920

D 4808

MACKENZIE KING'S PLEA FOR REUNION

Claims Liberal Party Has Common Ground With Farmers and Labor

Regina, Sask., October 25.—Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King addressed two meetings here tonight. Both were well attended. Assisting the Liberal leader were W. C. Kennedy, M.P., Wm. Duff, M.P., and the Hon. W. F. Turgeon, Provincial Attorney-General. Mr. King made an appeal to his audiences to strive for a reunion of the progressive forces of the country against what he described as "the reactionary influences dominating the present administration at Ottawa." These forces, which Mr. King stated have common grounds of agreement in their various platforms, publicly adopted, are the Liberal party, the farmers of the west, the labor organizations and the organized bodies among the women voters.

He alleged that the present attempts to break up the progressive forces into various opposed groups were inspired by the backers of the National Liberal and Conservative party.

At noon Mr. King and the members of his party were entertained at the Assiniboia Club, with the Hon. W. M. Martin, Premier of the province; the Hon. Geo. Langley, Minister of Agriculture, and other members of the provincial cabinet. After the luncheon a round-table conference of those present was held, the subjects of discussion being the present relationship of various political forces in the West, with special reference to the movement back to the Liberal party of those members who supported the Union, in the West in 1917.

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MEIGHEN GOVERNMENT IS LOUDLY DENOUNCED BY SPEAKERS AT CITY HALL OVERFLOW MEETING

HON. MACKENZIE KING IS GIVEN ROUSING RECEPTION BY CROWD—EXTRAVAGANCE OF UNION GOVERNMENT SCATHINGLY CRITICIZED—LIBERAL POSITION MADE CLEAR

Scathing criticism of the extravagance of the Union Government was made by W. C. Kennedy, M.P., speaking at the overflow meeting held in the City Hall auditorium. William Duff, M.P., at this meeting spoke of the inconsistencies of the Hon. J. A. Calder and of the farmer representatives from the west who are supporting the Government. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King was given a rousing reception on his entrance and again at the conclusion of his address in which he outlined in detail the policies on which the Liberal party will endeavor to seek the support of the people of Canada.

Hall Is Crowded.

More than 800 people crowded into the auditorium and when the Liberal leader arrived from Westminster Church about nine o'clock every seat was occupied and people were standing all around the aisles and out into the corridors. More than 25 per cent. of the audience were women.

John J. Galloway, who was chairman of the City Hall meeting, said in his opening remarks that the presence of so large an audience at an overflow meeting indicated that the people of Canada are getting back to earth after the war, and are once more taking an active interest in public affairs and in the great questions pertaining to the welfare of the country. The great question of the day, said Mr. Galloway, is undoubtedly tariff revision. For 42 years the baby has been kept on the bottle and it is now about time that he is given some other kind of nourishment. The west wants and demands a low tariff.

Greetings From Ontario.

W. C. Kennedy, M.P., who represents the constituency of North Essex in Ontario, was the first speaker called on. He brought, he said, to the citizens of Regina greetings from the people of Ontario and an assurance that the Liberal party in Ontario is united in the great principles of Liberalism and in the leadership of the Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King.

At one time, said Mr. Kennedy, public meetings were a common means of transmitting political opinions and policies to the people. In recent years, with the advent of the telegraph and the development of newspapers, political meetings have become a rarity, except at election times. Now it has been thought advisable to get back to the old system so that political leaders may present to the people their views on current political topics.

People Have No Choice.

Continuing, Mr. Kennedy referred to the advent of the Union Government in 1917. The Government was returned to power on one important question only—that of selective conscription. It had not been given a mandate for any other purpose yet, despite this fact and despite the promises then made by its leaders and its followers, it is still carrying on the government of Canada and pledging the country to great issues upon which the people have never had an opportunity to pass judgment.

At this point Mr. Kennedy read from a speech made by Hon. J. A. Calder at Winnipeg during the election campaign of 1917, in which the Minister of Immigration and Colonization made the statement that he was then still a Liberal and always would remain a Liberal. Yet, continued Mr. Kennedy, when Hon. Mr. Calder was put to the test he failed. He, with other supporters of the Government, failed to vote for the amendment to the budget calling for a reduction in the tariff.

When Union Government went into power in 1917 it was shown on the first division in the house that it had a majority of 71. At the last division on the budget its majority had dwindled to 26. Had the 14 seats won for Liberalism in that election on the home vote but turned over to Union Government by the soldiers' vote, returned Liberal members, then the Government in the last division would have found itself with a minority of two.

Due to Extravagance

When the Liberal Government went out of power, the country had a national debt of $340,000,000. Today the national debt is $2,374,000,000, or $265 per capita. Had all of this debt been contracted entirely due to the war, said Mr. Kennedy, there would not have been any criticism. But there could be no doubt in the mind of any reasonable person that this huge increase in the national debt had been brought about by Government extravagance.

The profiteers were allowed to flourish and to make enormous profits out of the sacrifices of the people. What did the Union Government do to stop this profiteering? It put on the market certain issues of bonds which were free of income tax. These bonds were readily bought up by the profiteers out of the huge war profits which they had made. Today the people of Canada are paying the interest on those bonds through the so-called luxury taxes, which are really taxes on the necessities of life.

In extravagance the Union Government had surpassed in the employment of large numbers of inefficient civil servants. It had naturally been expected that with the cessation of hostilities the number of persons in the Government employ would be considerably reduced. From the signing of the armistice to May of this year, according to a return brought down to the House, the number of civil servants was increased by 27,000. Every faddist or theorist who went to the Government since 1917 had been refused a commission, had been given a staff of employees and then had been turned loose. Many of these commissions had never yet reported, and many of them never would.

Such extravagances would have to stop, and the only way to get a cessation of reckless expenditure would be to demand a general election and turn the Government out of power.

Should Choose "Captain"

William Duff, M.P. for Lunenburg, N.S., was the second speaker. He referred to the fact at the commencement of his address that many of the Liberals who entered the Union Government for a specific purpose had since then left its ranks. Hon. Mr. Crerar was the first to go and he was followed by Hon. F. B. Carvell, Gen. Mewburn and a host of others. Finally, even Premier Borden himself left the ranks of the cabinet, and surely, contended Mr. Duff, when the captain leaves the ship, the people should have a voice as to who the new captain should be.

Since coming to the West, the speaker said, he had heard the comment that the Liberals of the East are not in accord with the Liberals of the West. The suggestion had been made that Eastern Liberals supported high tariff. Such was not the case. When the amendment to the budget was introduced, calling for a reduction in the tariff, all the Eastern Liberals had supported, as had the Western Liberals. It was only the so-called Liberals from the West representing farmers' constituencies who had failed in their duty by voting with the Government.

Quebec Support Lacking

There had recently come to Saskatchewan a member of the Government who was reported to have said that in the next election the Government would get 25 seats in Quebec. He was greatly mistaken. Ernest Lapointe, M.P., estimated that is would be fortunate if it got one out of the 65 seats in the province.

The same minister had failed to support the amendment of the Liberals in the House on tariff reduction. Instead, he had voted with the Government in favor of high tariff.

There had recently come into existence, said Mr. Duff, the National Liberal-Conservative party.

"A pretty good party," interrupted a member of the audience.

"I am glad," said Mr. Duff, "to find that it has even one supporter in Regina, for in the other cities we have visited we could not even find a single supporter."

"It will be an awful shock," retaliated the interrupter.

The present Government, continued Mr. Duff, has run the country by orders-in-council. In 1919 it proposed to appoint a purchasing commission but so strong was the criticism of both the opposition and its own members that the scheme was dropped. This year it again proposed to introduce a measure into the house providing for the appointment of this commission and again the objections of the members had prevented

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the passing of the proposed legislation. What then was the surprise of the country when immediately after the house had adjourned it was announced that the Government had had appointed this commission by order-in-council.

Similar conditions prevailed with regard to the construction of ships. During the war ships were ordered by the Government under powers given it by order-in-council and the house was afterwards asked to authorize the expenditures. During the war there was no criticism of this expenditure but in 1919 the Government again asked for $30,000,000 to cover the expenditures for ships ordered by order-in-council.

At this stage Hon. Mr. King entered the hall and was given a splendid erception, every member of the audience rising to his or her feet and cheering the Liberal leader for several minutes. Hon. Mr. King had just come straight from his meeting at the Westminster Church, where he spoke for more than an hour and a half, and he showed evident signs of the heavy strain on him. He had not been on his feet many minutes, however, when the natural enthusiasm which he puts into his subject and cause, brought forth continuous applause from the audience.

Outlines History

Hon. Mr. King outlined the history of the Liberal party and enumerated the principles for which it had stood in the past. He reviewed the work of the Union Government and of the dissatisfaction which was general throughout the country as a result of its arbitrary methods. This had given rise to the formation of new elements in the political life of the country and there had arisen farmers and labor movements. It was not the desire of the Liberal party to antagonize such parties, but rather to try to co-operate with them and endeavor to co-ordinate the work of good government. Any government should be a mirror of the people and should contain all the progressive elements in the country. In one respect only had the Union Government proven itself successful and that was that it had established a union of lawyers.

At the conclusion of the meeting many of the persons present in the audience took the opportunity of meeting Hon. Mr. King personally.

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D 4811

THE PAPER WITH THE WESTERN VIEWPOINT

THE MORNING LEADER

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REGINA, SASK., MONDAY, OCTOBER 25, 1920

Mr. King in Regina

The hearty welcome extended to Mr. Mackenzie King on his arrival in Regina on Saturday evening expresses the sentiments towards him of the people of Regina, regardless of political considerations. It is always a gratification to them to entertain any of the leading figures in Canadian public life whether they be Cabinet Ministers or the equally prominent personalities representative of the Opposition.

Only two weeks have elapsed since the members of the tariff committee were visitors whom Regina was glad to welcome. Today there will be an even more general and extensive greeting to Mr. King and his companions. At the public reception in the Council Chamber at the City Hall this afternoon the citizens will have ample opportunity to meet and talk with them, while at the public meetings in Westminster Church and the City Hall this evening the Leader of the Opposition in the House of Commons will go at length into the public questions of the day.

Mr. Mackenzie King follows in the footsteps of one of the most distinguished of Canadians, the late Sir Wilfrid Laurier, who for many years led the Liberal party both in office and in opposition. That fact does not render his position less exacting; and it entitles Mr. King to the sympathetic consideration of the electors.

The present outlook in Canada makes Mr. King's views of peculiar interest to the people of the West. In the political struggle which is clearly foreshadowed the West has a great deal at stake. The tariff, the natural resources question, railway policy and immigration prospects involve so many Western interests that it is essential that there should be the clearest possible understanding of the opposed policies in regard to them. There can be no doubt that the desire to hear the Liberal position explained at first hand will attract here similar audiences to those which Mr. King has addressed at other places in the West.

tained. While demanding the repeal of the Board of Commerce Act Parliament ought to secure that a permanent judicial Board of Investigation into the operation of trusts and combines and the manipulation of prices is set up.

A Board of Investigation should undoubtedly possess many of the powers conferred upon the Board of Commerce, excluding that of fixing prices; but it should be a judicial body, responsible as law courts are responsible, and subject to appeal from and revision of its judgments when necessary. What is wanted is a commercial and economic branch of the judicial machinery which would enable justice to be done between consumers and traders, within the limits of normal economic conditions.

Between such a body and the Board of Commerce as it existed is a vast difference. The former is needed. But it should not be able to make law; it should simply administer the laws made by Parliament. The House of Commons will be gravely remiss in its duty if it permits the Board of Commerce to remain and if it does not insist upon such changes in the law as will enable combinations in restraint of trade to be prevented or regulated, and the makers of unfair prices or profits to be punished.

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Regina Citizens Meet Liberal Party Leader At Public Reception

MACKENZIE KING IS GUEST OF HONOR AT LUNCHEON AT ASSINIBOIA CLUB—WORKS DURING MORNING HOURS

Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, leader of the Liberal party, was the guest of honor at a luncheon given today in the Assiniboia Club by the executive of the Regina Federal Liberal Association.

Premier Martin and members of the Provincial Government of Saskatchewan were also present as guests of the association. E. S. Miller, chairman of the association presided.

Others present at the luncheon were: Hon. George Langley, Hon. Charles Dunning, W. C. Kennedy, M.P.; William Duff, M.P.; Andrew Haydon, Arthur Hardy, George Bell, Burford Hooke, John J. Galloway, A. E. Darby, J. F. Bole, James L. Clarke, W. Ross McKenzie, A. E. Hodgert, J. N. Fish, K.C.; P M. Anderson, KC., and C. McPherson.

Following the luncheon, the guests held a round table conference with the members of the local executive. There were no speeches made at the gathering.

Spends Busy Morning

This morning the Liberal leader remained in his suite at the King's Hotel, cleaning up some of the work which has accumulated during his Western trip. It had been intended to take Hon. Mr. King and the members of his party for an automobile trip around the city, but owing to the unfavorable weather conditions the trip was called off.

Other members of the party were out and around the city during the morning hours and Mr. King was intercepted and persuaded to join the party just long enough to have a group photograph taken in front of the hotel.

Holds Reception

This afternoon Hon. Mr. King held a reception at the City Hall when hundreds of local citizens of both shades of politics took the opportunity of meeting personally the leader of the Opposition. Many ladies attended the reception.

Two meetings will be addressed by Hon. Mr. King tonight. The first meeting will commence in Westminster Church at 7.30 o'clock. This meeting will be presided over by E. S. Miller. The first speaker will be W. C. Kennedy, M.P., who will speak for about half an hour. He will be followed by Hon. Mr. King, who will speak for about an hour and a half.

A Second Meeting

The second meeting will be held in the City Hall auditorium and will be presided over by John J. Galloway. William Duff, M.P., will be the first speaker at this meeting and he will occupy the platform until Hon. Mr. King arrives, which should be about 9.30 o'clock.

Considerable interest is being manifested locally in both meetings, and it is expected that the standing room only sign will be up at both buildings early in the evening.

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Toronto Globe Oct" 25 20

D 4813 - 1400 (Mackenzie King)

LIBERAL CHIEF GAINS SUPPORT AT ALL POINTS

Many Reject Meighen Administration to Rejoin Old Party

IS WARMLY RECEIVED

Cabinet Ministers Form Part of King Train During Tour

(Special Despatch to The Globe.)

Regina, Oct. 24.—As the Western tour of the Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King progresses it is becoming increasingly apparent that the speeches of the Liberal Leader and his lieutenants are acting as a precipitant on the uneasy solution in which political affairs in the West have been held since the election of 1917.

At each of the cities and towns of the Prairie Provinces in which Mr. King has held meetings he has been given the opportunity of welcoming many who joined the Unionist Government during war time.

Unique Reception.

Typical of the receptions Mr. King is being tendered wherever he journeys in the West was the luncheon yesterday at Moose Jaw given by a number of the prominent Liberals of the city. Of those who sat down with the Liberal Leader only three had remained steadfast supporters of the Liberal party. All the others had voted the Unionist ticket in 1917, including the Chairman himself, Hon. W. E. Knowles, Provincial Secretary for Saskatchewan.

Prophets of Evil.

There were many prophets of evil in Ottawa who predicted that Mr. King would receive a cold reception from the Liberal Governments of the Prairie Provinces. How these predictions have been falsified is shown by the manner in which throughout his tour of Alberta one or more members of the Stewart Cabinet accompanied Mr. King wherever he journeyed and occupied prominent places at his meetings. Premier Stewart himself journeyed to Moose Jaw to bid Mr. King farewell on his departure from Alberta and occupied a seat on the platform and spoke at the meeting on Friday night.

On entering Saskatchewan Mr. King was met by the Hon. W. E. Knowles, Provincial Secretary and Minister of Telephones. To-day the Liberal Leader, together with W. C. Kennedy, M.P., the financial critic of the existing Government; William Duff, M.P., whose exposure of the close relationship between the Minister of Marine and the big interests has caused a sensation; Andrew Haydon, the man who directs the activities and records the doings of the Liberal party, and Arthur Hardy, the former classmate of Mr. King and his warm personal friend, are the guests of the Hon. William Martin, the Premier of the Province.

Rally Around Leader.

It was believed that, with an uneasy eye on the Farmers, the Liberal politicians of the Western Provinces would hold aloof during the present tour. Exactly the contrary has happened, and nothing could be warmer than the reception they have given to Mr. King and his party.

The Liberals of the prairies, now that the causes for division which existed in 1917 have vanished, are rallying to the leader who is carrying without compromise the banner inscribed with the motto of lower tariffs and the removal of restrictions on the implements of production. They are finding their natural aspirations voiced in his demand for a tariff framed in the interests of the producer and consumer.

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27 Oct. 1920 Saskatoon

THE DOCTRINES OF THE LIBERAL
PARTY

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Montreal Gazette
Oct 28/20

D 4815 f 00
(Mackenzie King)

LIBERAL MEMBER SPEAKS OPENLY FOR FREE TRADE

Party Moving in That Direction, Declares Onesiphore Turgeon, M.P.

IN HIS LEADER'S PRESENCE

William Duff Contradicts Mr. Calder and Requests Government to Step From Office

(By Canadian Press.)

Saskatoon, Sask., October 27.—Before an audience of probably 2,500 people completely filling the Third avenue Methodist Church, of this city, the doctrines of the Liberal party in Canada were expounded here tonight by Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, its leader; by Wm. Duff, M.P., and by O. Turgeon, M.P., who supported the Opposition leader on the platform. Hundreds of other men and women were unable to secure even standing room in the building.

"The real issue in Canada," declared Mr. King, "is whether we are to have an invisible government by the big interests, or government by a representative Parliament." The Liberal leader was severe in his criticism of the Meighen administration in failing to bring on a general election. He said three things were necessary in dealing with the cost of living from the interests of the consumer. They were: "retrenchment and economy in public affairs; revision downward of the tariff on the necessities of life and the implements of production; and the elimination of profiteering."

J. F. Cairns, a prominent Liberal of Saskatoon, was chairman of the meeting. Mr. King and his party later left for Prince Albert.

DUFF'S PROPOSITION.

William Duff, the member for Lunenburg, Nova Scotia, the first speaker, attacked what he called the Government's desire to hold on to office, although from all parts of the country, he said, came a demand for an election. The Union Government had ceased to function, said Mr. Duff, and the people should be given a chance at the polls to express their desires.

A few days ago, he continued, in reply to a question as to why the Government did not dissolve Parliament and appeal to the electors, Hon. Mr. Calder is reported to have said that the people were not in a fit frame of mind to make a proper decision; that they had not recovered from the nervous strain due to the war.

Mr. Duff's answer was that the people were safe and sane, but that the members of the Government were suffering from political hysteria, due to the fact that they had been weighed in the balance and found wanting. "Mr. Calder also said in several places," said Mr. Duff, "that the Liberals do not want an election and that several times last session when an important matter came up and it was thought that the vote might be close, they came to him and other Government members and arranged that rather than see the Government run any danger of being defeated, or have a close call, they would absent themselves from the chamber when the vote was being taken."

CONTRADICTS CALDER.

"I have no hesitation in giving this statement of Mr. Calder's the most unqualified denial," continued the speaker.

"There is not a scintilla of truth in it, and because it constitutes a serious reflection on the honor of certain members of Parliament, I demand that Mr. Calder, at his Vancouver meeting, retract the statement, or give the names of the Liberal members to whom he alludes. If he fails to do this the public will draw their own conclusions."

Mr. Duff said that Mr. Calder has also stated that there was no difference between the tariff policy of the Eastern Liberals and the Eastern Tories, and asserted that when amendments were introduced in the House, which would have had the effect of reducing the tariff, every Liberal member of Parliament voted for the amendments, and that Mr. Calder and sixteen members from the two prairie provinces supported the Government and voted against a tariff reduction, although they were representing farmer and low tariff constituencies.

Mr. Duff denounced the present tour of the Premier and Mr. Calder through the West.

"The business of the country demands," said the speaker, "that the Premier should remain at his desk in Ottawa, if he knows his business, instead of gallivanting around the country like a distracted hen which has lost its chickens."

TURGEON FOR FREE TRADE.

Onesiphore Turgeon, M.P. for Gloucester, N.B., who spoke briefly, following Mr. Duff, was introduced as the father of Hon. W. F. Turgeon, Attorney-General of Saskatchewan, and J. J. Turgeon, M.L.A., of Alberta. Mr. Turgeon said that as he came to know better the party's new leader he asked himself if Mr. King was not to be "a second Laurier." He said he favored "more freedom of trade; and free trade as soon as it was possible in Canada."

Premier Meighen was described as an advocate of "the old Tory doctrine of politicians."

"I do not say," stated Mr. Turgeon, "that we are prepared today for free trade, but I say that is the direction in which the Liberal party is moving, with their advocacy of lower duties on the commodities of life."

Mr. Turgeon declared that if Canada had carried reciprocity in 1911 the present exchange situation would not have arisen, and there would have been no necessity for the Farmers' political party, because the farmers would have had all they desired.

MACKENZIE KING SPEAKS.

"The manufacturers," he said, "have been protected long enough in this country." He hoped for a union of the Farmers' Party and the Liberal party, "in which," he added, "is the only salvation of Canada.

Mr. King was given an enthusiastic reception when he came forward to speak. The leader of the Opposition said it was natural that there should be great interest at this time in the questions of the day, since it was ten years since the last federal election campaign on purely domestic issues was fought. He welcomed the Farmers' movement and the new political movements in the cities as "expressions of Liberalism in the true, broad sense of the word." There were, broadly, he said, two great forces of reaction and of progress, and the Liberal leader traced the characteristics of these forces as he saw them.

Some mighty influence, said Mr. King, was behind the organization of the National Liberal and Conservative Party and the present administration—an anti-social influence which stood for monopoly of its own privileges as against the rights of the people.

"The real issue in Canada," continued Mr. King, "is whether we are to have an invisible government by the big interests or government by a Parliament representatives of the people of the country." There was a reactionary party seeking a monopoly of control of the Government for the benefit of the few, as, opposed to the great progressive forces of the nation.

ADMITS DIVISIONS.

The Meighen Government, he said, with no right whatever to hold office only remained in office because the Opposition groups were divided and perhaps more or less contending among themselves—"foolish and futile divisions among men and women thinking alike at heart," Mr. King said.

The speaker said the Government had sought to be independent of Parliament, and stated as an instance that contracts for building of ships had been let before the money had been appropriated by the Commons, while at the same time, he added, the law of the land had been violated in that contracts were let without tender.

Mr. King referred to Hon. J. A. Calder as Premier Meighen's bower in defending the reactionary forces, and said he was "afraid Mr. Calder's political soul was lost beyond redemption."

Mr. King accused the Government of extravagance, and said it had "the war habit of mind."

"We feel," said Mr. King, in discussing the tariff, "that the tariff should be resorted to only for the purpose of supplementing revenue from other sources. We believe that revenue should be raised increasingly by direct, rather than indirect, taxation, to one of direct taxation all at once; but we think the tariff now is far too high; we hold that there should be all-around revision in the interests of consumers and producers, and substantial reductions in two great particulars—the necessaries of life and the implements of production in the basic industries. We say also there should be a free list, in which would be included agricultural machinery and implements. What we need is less taxation and increased production." He appealed for all Opposition groups to get together in tariff demands which were coming within their grasp.

"How about land tax?" inquired a man in the audience.

Mr. King explained that there had been an understanding that this possible source of revenue should be left to provincial governments, and that was the only reason it had not been made a federal issue by the parties.

The leader said western provinces should control their own natural resources, and this was part of the Liberal policy.

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W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Volume D 9

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D 4816

Accuses Meighen of Gallivanting Around Country Like Distracted Hen Which Has Lost Its Chickens

Wm. Duff, M.P., at Enthusiastic Meeting of Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King at Saskatoon Denounces Present Tour of Premier And Mr. Calder Through The West—Demands That Mr. Calder Make Retraction of Statement —Liberal Leader is Given a Great Reception

SASKATOON, Sask., Oct. 27.—Here in the centre of the arena where the historical political parties of Canada are facing the western movement for the disruption into classes and groups of the peoples political representation, the Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King addressed an audience of over 2,500 and laid down clearly and distinctly the arguments for the continuance of the Liberal party distinct from any watering down of principles or disregard of historical traditions. Mr. King met with a great reception from his audience while the more intensely practical outburst from William Duff, M. P., met with a ready response. The big meeting came at the end of an arduous day.

The night before, immediately on his arrival here, Mr. King together with his lieutenant had been present at a dinner of local Liberal leaders. At this dinner only one of the local guests had voted the Liberal ticket in 1917. The remaining of these present had voted Unionist but were now ready to return to the fold. This noon George McCraney, K.C., a distinguished citizen of Saskatoon, a prominent Liberal and formerly a member of parliament, entertained Mr. King, Mr. Kennedy, Mr. Duff and Mr. O. Turgeon, M.P., at luncheon in his home.

Sets Marathon Under Way

After that Mr. King fired the shot that set in motion the annual Marathon of the Saskatoon Collegiate institute pupils, and motored around to see the finish of the race. When he arrived at the Third Avenue Methodist church shortly after three-thirty, a vast assemblage of citizens, a majority of whom were laborers was waiting to meet the leader of the opposition. The reception continued until 5 o'clock, with a steady stream of citizens pouring in and out of the reception chambers. All told well upwards of a thousand people met and shook hands with the Hon. Mr. King and his associates during the afternoon.

Tonight the Hon. Mr. King, and William Duff, M. P., for Lunenburg, addressed an audience that packed the Third Avenue Methodist church to the street and this is said to be the largest church west of the Great Lakes. Hundreds of other men and women were unable to secure even standing room in the building.

Real Issue in Canada

"The real issue in Canada," declared Mr. King, "is, whether we are to have an invisible government by the big interests or a government by a representative parliament."

The Liberal leader was severe in his criticism of the Meighen administration in failing to grant a general election.

The Liberal leader said three things were necessary in dealing with the cost of living from the interests of the consumer. They were: "retrenchment and economy in public affairs: revision downward of the tariff on necessaries of life and implements of production; and elimination of profiteering."

J. Cairns, a promenent Liberal of Saskatoon, was chairman of the meeting after which Mr. King and his party left for Prince Albert.

General Election Demanded.

William Duff, the member for Lunenburg, Nova Scotia, the first speaker attacked what he called the government's desire to hold on to office, although from all parts of the country he said, came a demand for an election. The Union government has ceased to function said Mr. Duff and the people should be given a chance at the polls to express their desires.

"A few days ago," he continued, "in reply to a question as to why the government did not dissolve parliament and appeal to the electors, Hon. Mr. Calder is reported to have said that the people were not in a fit frame of mind to make a proper decision; that they had not recovered from the nervous strain due to the war."

Mr. Duff's answer was that the people were safe and sane but that the members of the government were suffering from political hysteria due to the fact that they had been weighed in the balance and found wanting.

"Mr. Calder also said in several places," said Mr. Duff, "that the Liberals do not want an election and that several times last session, when an important matter came up and it was thought that the vote might be close, they came to him and other government members and arranged that rather than see the government run any danger of being defeated or have a close call they would absent themselves from the chamber when the vote was being taken."

Demands Retraction by Calder

"I have no hesitation in giving this statement of Mr. Calder the most unqualified denial," continued the speaker. "There is not a scintilla of truth in it and, because it constitutes a serious reflection on the honor of certain members of parliament, I demand that Mr. Calder at his Vancouver meeting retract the statement or give the names of the Liberal members to whom he alludes. If he fails to do this the public will draw their own conclusions."

Mr. Duff said that Mr. Calder had also stated that there was no difference between the tariff policy of the western Liberals and the eastern Tories and asserted that when amendments were introduced in the house which would have had the effect of reducing the tariff every Liberal member of parliament voted for the amendments and that Mr. Calder and sixteen members from the two prairie provinces supported the government and voted against a tariff reduction although they were representing Farmer and low tariff constituencies.

Denounces Premiers' Tour

Mr. Duff denounced the present tour of the premier and Mr. Calder through the west.

"The busines of the country demands," said the speaker, "that the premier should remain at his desk in Ottawa if he knows his business instead of gallivanting around the country like a distracted hen which has lost its chickens."

O. Turgeon, M.P. for Gloucester, N. B., who spoke briefly following Mr. Duff, was introduced as the father of A. W. F. Turgeon, Attorney-General of Saskatchewan, and J. J. Turgeon, M.L.A., of Alberta.

Mr. Turgeon said that as he came to know better the party's new leader, he asked himself if Mr. King was not to be a second Laurier. He said he favored more freedom of trade; and free trade as soon as it is possible in Canada.

Premier Meighen was described as an advocate of "the old Tory doctrine of protection." "I do not say," stated Mr. Turgeon, "that we are prepared today for free trade, but I say that it is the direction in which the Liberal party is moving, with their advocacy of lower tariff duties on the commodities of life."

Had Reciprocity Carried

Mr. Turgeon declared that if Canada had carried reciprocity in 1911, the present exchange situation would not have arisen and there would have been no necessity for the Farmers' political party, because the farmers would have had all they desired.

"The manufacturers," he said, "have been protected long enough in this country." He hoped for a union of the Farmers' party and the Liberal party "in which," he added, "is the only salvation of Canada."

Gets Enthusiastic Reception

Mr. King was given an enthusiastic reception when he came forward to speak. The leader of the opposition said it was natural that there should be great interest at this time in the questions of the day since it was ten years since the last federal election campaign on purely domestic issues was fought. He welcomed the Farmers movement and the new political movements in the cities as "expressions of Liberalism in the true, broad sense of the word." There were broadly, he said, two great forces of reaction and of progress, and the Liberal leader traced the characteristics of these forces as he saw them.

Some mighty influence, said Mr. King, was behind the organization of the National Liberal and Conservative party and the present administration —an anti-social influence which stood for monopoly of its own privileges as against the rights of the people.

Defines Issue Facing Electors

"The real issue in Canada, continues Mr. King, "is, whether we are to have an invisible government by the big interests, or government by a parliament representative of the people of the country." There was a reactional party seeking a monopoly of control of the government for the benefit of the few, as opposed to the great progressive forces of the nation. The Meighen government, he said, with no right whatever to hold office only remained in office because the opposition groups were divided and perhaps more or less contending among themselves—"foolish and futile divisions among men and women thinking alike at heart."

Mr. King said the government had sought to be independent of parliament and stated as an instance that contracts for building of ships had been let before the money had been appropriated by the commons, while at the same time, he added, the law of the land had been violated in that contracts were let without tender.

Mr. King referred to Hon. J. A. Calder as Premier Meighen's right bower in defending the reactionary forces and said he was "afraid Mr. Calder's political soul was lost beyond redemption."

Mr. King accused the government of extravagance and said it had "the war habit of mind."

Revenue by Direct Means

"We feel," said Mr. King, in discussing the tariff, "that the tariff should be resorted to only for the purpose of supplementing revenue from other sources. We believe that revenue should be raised increasingly by direct rather than by indirect means. We feel that no jump can be made from the system of indirect taxation to one of direct taxation all at once; but we think the tariff now is far too high, we hold that there should be an all-round revision in the interests of consumers and producers, and substantial reductions in two great particulars—the necessaries of life, and the implements of production in the basic industries. We say also there should be a free list in which would be included agricultural machinery and implements. What we need is less taxation and increased production."

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"How about land tax?" enquired a man in the audience.

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London Advertiser
Oct" 28 20

D 4817

CALLS BLUFF OVER STATEMENT ABOUT LIBERALS IN HOUSE

Nova Scotia Liberal Demands Retraction of Assertion That Liberal Members Voted in Commons To Prevent Election—Crowds Swarm To Hear Mackenzie King At Saskatoon.

SASKATOON, Sask., Oct. 27.—At the Liberal mass meeting here tonight to welcome Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, the first speaker was William Duff, M. P. for Lunenburg, who paid his respects to Hon. Mr. Calder. Mr. Calder had stated, according to reports, said Mr. Duff, that a general election was undesirable because the people had not recovered from the strain of the war.

People Were Safe.

The people were safe and sane enough, said the member for Lunenburg, but the Governmnt were suffering from political hysteria. Mr. Calder had also stated that the Liberals did not want an election, and that several Liberal members last session had offered to absent themselves from the House of Commons when a vote was coming on rather than vote the Government out.

Challenges Calder.

Mr. Duff said that this was wholly untrue, and he challenged Mr. Calder to either withdraw the statement at his Vancouver meeting Friday or else give the names of the members concerned.

Gallivants Around.

Mr. Duff denounced the present tour of the premier and Mr. Calder through the West. "The business of the country demands," said the speaker, "that the premier should remain at his desk in Ottawa, if he knows his business, instead of gallivanting around the country like a distracted hen which has lost its chickens."

Interest in Questions.

Onesiphore Turgeon, M. P. for Gloucester, N.B., was introduced as the father of Hon. W. F. Turgeon, attorney-general of Saskatchewan, and J. J. Turgeon, M.L.A., of Alberta, and spoke briefly.

Mr. King was given an enthusiastic reception. The leader of the Opposition said it was natural that there should be great interest at this time in the questions of the day, since it was ten years since the last federal election campaign on purely domestic issues was fought. He welcomed the Farmers' movement and the new political movements in the cities as expressions of Liberalism in the true, broad sense of the word. There were, broadly, he said, two great forces of reaction and of progress, and the Liberal leader traced the characteristics of these forces as he saw them.

MONSTER OVATION.

[Special to The Advertiser.]

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Great Reception.

Mr. King met with a great reception from his audience, while the more intensely practical outburst from William Duff, M.P., the Nova Scotian, met with a ready response. The big meeting came at the end of an arduous day. The night before, immediately on his arrival here, Mr. King, together with his lieutenants, had been present at a dinner of local Liberal leaders. At this dinner only one of the local guests had voted the Liberal ticket in 1917. The remainder of those present had voted Unionist, but were now ready to return to the fold. This noon George McCraney, K.C., a distinguished citizen of Saskatoon, a prominent Liberal and formerly a member of Parliament, entertained Mr. King, Mr. Kennedy, Mr. Duff and Mr. Turgeon at luncheon in his home.

Starts Marathon.

After that Mr. King fired the shot that set in motion the annual marathon of the Saskatoon Collegiate Institute pupils, and motored around to see the finish of the race. When he arrived at the Third Avenue Methodist Church, shortly after 3:30, a vast assemblage of citizens, a majority of whom were ladies, was waiting to meet the leader of the Opposition, the reception continuing until 5 o'clock with a steady stream of citizens pouring in and out of the reception chamber. All told, well upwards of 1,000 people met and shook hands with the Hon. Mr. King and his associates during the afternoon.

Tonight the Hon. Mr. King and William Duff, M. P. for Lunenburg, addressed an audience that packed the Third Avenue Methodist Church to the street, and this is said to be the largest church west of the Great Lakes.

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Saskatoon Phoenix, Oct. 28, 1920.

D 4818

THOUSANDS TURNED AWAY WHEN THE HON. W. L. MACKENZIE KING ADDRESSES A LOCAL AUDIENCE

Leader of Opposition Outlines Doctrines of Historical Liberal Party—J. F. Cairns Acts As Chairman

Saskatoon

Third Avenue church last night proved inadequate to hold the crowd which came to hear Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King repeat his plea for the co-ordination and co-operation of all the progressive groups in Canada in order that "invisible government" by the big interests may be overthrown. It was necessary to turn away practically half of the crowd, and scores of people, among whom were included a considerable sprinkling of women, stood in aisles and doorways for two hours and a half, listening with the keenest attention while the Liberal leader delivered his message. Enthusiastic and prolonged applause frequently interrupted the speaker.

Mr. J. F. Cairns acted as chairman of the meeting and in his opening remarks referred to the last occasion upon which a leader of the opposition had visited Saskatoon—ten years ago, when Sir Wilfrid Laurier, then in the heat of the reciprocity campaign, had delivered an address here. On the same point, Mr. King in his address declared that the people of Canada had not since 1911 had an opportunity of declaring their wishes on the fiscal questions of the Dominion.

Mr. King was interrupted only once in the course of his long address. When he was discussing the sources of federal revenue, one of his hearers asked, "How about the land?" Mr. King explained with considerable care that revenue from land taxes belonged by mutual consent to the provincial governments.

The other two speakers were William Duff, M.P., and O. Turgeon, M.P. Mr. King's address follows:

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KING RECEIVES OVATION

The leader of the Liberal party as he was introduced by the chairman was received with loud and continuous applause. As soon as he could be heard above the tumult, Mr. King started to express his appreciation of the welcome that had been accorded to him in Saskatoon. "I realise," he said, "that this welcome is not in any sense a personal matter, but is an appreciation of the mission of a great historic party. It is natural that large audiences should attend political meetings in these times. It is ten years since the Canadian public received any kind of political education. In 1917 we were thinking of the mightier business of war and the success of the British arms. There has been no real discussion of political questions relating to domestic policy since the reciprocity campaign of 1911. Since that year a new electorate has been created with an increased sense of responsibility. Four years of war have made every elector take his duties more seriously. A group of young men who were twenty years old in 1911, now at the age of almost thirty have their first opportunity to express their opinions on public affairs. A large body of men who have returned from overseas are in the same position.

A THIRD GROUP

"There is a third group, who were disfranchised at the last election. It is a British principle much talked of that there should be no taxation without representation. Yet hundreds of thousands of citizens have been paying taxes without a right to vote for representatives. We trust at the next election this group will have an opportunity to express their views.

"The women of Canada at the next election will also have the opportunity of exercising their franchise for the first time in the history of the country.

CAREFUL THOUGHT

"There is another reason why more than ordinary careful thought is being devoted to questions of the day. This is a period of transition. It is difficult to see beneath the surface the underlying trend of development. The heart of humanity is like the ocean, which requires a few days after a storm to regain its normal calm. The men and women of this country require some time to view things calmly and in the right perspective.

"Those who have been students of history will notice that in periods of transition there have always been two tendencies, one represented by a group who wish to keep things as they are and to maintain the position they have secured; the other by a group more progressive and not afraid of change. The two tendencies correspond to contending forces within our own natures. At times we are inclined to resist encroachments on what we call our special preserves. In more generous moods we would wish to share. So in Canada today we have on the one hand forces of reaction, and on the other hand the forces which are making for human progress. There are many evidences of the latter in this western country. The Grain Growers' movement, the Labor movements in every city, whose object is is that the workingman should have more to say in the direction of public affairs. I welcome these movements as exprerssions of liberalism.

FUNDAMENTAL ISSUES

The purpose I have most at heart this evening is if possible to bring home to this audience the fundamental differences as I see them between the forces that are contending for government in our country and those who control the government. What are the differences between the parties who are seeking to gain control, political control in this country and who will exercise it for the coming period of years?

"I will try to discuss that difference by first dealing with what seems to me to be the outstanding features which certain of these parties have in common because I think as one studies the situation, one sees that certain of the progressive groups have a great deal in common, particularly in contrast to what the forces arrayed against them are demonstarting.

"May I commence with the party to which I have the privilege of belonging, the Liberal party, and with what it did at its great convention in Ottawa in August of last year. It was some little time before Sir Wilfrid Laurier's death that he had decided that in the interests of the future of Liberalism that a convention should be held which would reframe the Liberal platform in the light of the new conditions which had developed in the preceding years. But while he was not privileged to preside at that gathering, the convention was held and it carried out the purposes which he had in view. First, it was determined that at that gathering there should be no distinction that large body of Liberals who supported the Union government in 1917 and the large body of Liberals who opposed the Union government and were unable to give it their support. The question of the past was not the question which the convention was called on to consider. It was the future. And so the invitation which was sent out to the different constituencies was one extended alike to those who had referred themselves as Liberals or Liberal-Unionists.

"At that gathering there was this further feature. There was no distinction as between class, race, creed in any part of the country. The invitation was extended from the Atlantic to the Pacific. All that was asked was that men, irrespective of these different characteristics, who though, were alike in regard to the Liberal movement, should send their representatives to Ottawa in order to assist in the redrafting of the political platform.

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"That gathering of some 1,500 people in all met and for three days discussed together the various problems and questions of the day. And as a result of that discussion a platform was drafted which was intended to bring the Liberal policies together to serve best the needs of the country.

"The platform when it was drawn up was expressive of this new thought and outlook. When it came to the question of choosing a leader the democratic method of selection by ballot was adopted. When it came to the matter of the name of the party there was no need of consideration. Liberals who are Liberals at heart will never be ashamed of the word.

"The point I am trying to make clear is that Liberalism as expressed in that convention demonstrated its truth to itself in that it placed its faith in the people themselves. It was a method to give expression to the will of the people through its representatives chosen by the epople themselves. It gave that expression in a form that would carry weight from the Atlantic to the Pacific and to call for the support of men and women of moderate view from one end of the country to the other.

"As I have indicated, there are other parties. One of them is the Grain Growers' party, another is the Labor party. Personally I see in these movements an expression of the new Liberalism, and I most heartily welcome it.

"When the Grain Growers undertook to give their organisation a political complexion they sent to the different locals and asked for representatives to attend a great convention. Assembled in convention, they drew up a platform of principles which they believed expressed the policies which in their interests and in the broader interests of the country they though should be given expression to in legislation. When it came to the choice of leaders, similarly the method was adopted of the democratic type.

"So with the Labor party. They adopted the same methods. They have said to their different unions, 'Elect delegates to assemble in convention.' They have drawn up a platform of principles which give expression to the views of the people themselves as expressed through their representatives. They have chosen their leaders in the same way, and so forth.

"All of these great groups which stand for progressive ideas have adopted one great fundamental principle—relying on the people themselves. We think that perhaps we have got a larger expression than any of the other groups, inasmuch as we have not confined ourselves to the representatives of a class, but have had in our convention representatives of all the classes, and our discussions have been in the nature of a consideration of national interests as viewed by men of different classes working together. But the great point that is fundamental is the democratic method, faith in the people, that all these groups have shown.

PARTY FORMED WITHOUT DELEGATES

"Let me contrast the method of the party arrayed against these forces—the National Liberal-Conservaive party, so-called. I do not need to ask you to accept my interpretation of the party or its methods. All of it is history, well-known to us. It was about July 1 of this year that from one end of this country to the other there was flashed across the wires the great pronouncement of the birth of this new political party. We were told it was not the old Unionist party. No one wanted to be called a Unionist. They were ashamed of the name. This was a new political party come into being. There was published later in the press the platform of the party. It was set out in extenso, given to the people as the platform.

"A day or two later came the announcement of the leader of that new party, the present prime minister. These announcements all came from Ottawa. The point I want to make is: did any one of them have their origin in any convention in any way representative of the people of this country, of any class, of any section of the country, of any particular group of our people? Let me put it more directly; is there any man or woman in this audience who at the instance of the people themselves had, in any way, a voice in the creation of that party? Is there any man or woman in this audience who, at the instance of anyone, as a delegate of the people of any constituency had any say in the choice of the name of the party; Is there any man or woman in this audience who had anything to do with the policy of that party, the creation of it, the laying down of it?

"Is there any man or woman in this audience, of this province or any party, that had anything to do with the choice of the leader? I have asked that question of every audience I have addressed, some 40,000 people, in the course of the past month, and I have yet to find the man or woman who will rise to their feet and will say that they had anything to do with the creation of the party, its choice of name, platform or leader.

"Let me ask this question: Do you think this new party was brought into existence without anyone having some influence? It did not fall out of the heavens. There was some influence at work. It was a mighty powerful one, so powerful that it could not only create that party and the leader and the name, but so powerful that it got possession of the government of the country and enabled it to hold it against the will of the people and their rights.

"That is the position at the present time. You have a party, a leader, a new creation that is ruling the country at the present time, which refuses to give to the people the right of ages—their own representatives.

"I can tell you what this power is. It is the 'Big Interests' of the country that have got possession of power during the course of the war, that have been working in close relationship with each other, some of them Liberals, most of them of the old-fashioned Conservative affiliation, privileged groups that have got a strangle hold, that have become so powerful that they can do this thing. They work invisibly. There is an invisible government by the 'Big Interests' of this country.

"That brings me to state the real issue in our political situation today. It is a question of whether we are to have invisible government by the 'Big Interests' or government by a parliament that will be representative of all classes, irrespective of all classes, race or creed. These invisible interests and the reason we cannot see them is very apparent. They ar anti-social. They are selfish. They are not like the progressive groups to which I have referred, the Liberals, the Grain Growers, the Labor party, out in the open for the good of the people. They are under cover for the sake of themselves. They dare not show themselves. The moment they do we know who they are and the people will then look after their own rights.

"Let me make this point; let me emphasise the folly of great progressive groups that are seeking to control the government of the country playing the game of these invisible forces, the 'Big Interests,' by fighting each other. When you think of an enemy that is powerful enough to usurp government, you who belong to any one of these groups, does it not seem the height of absurdity for you to do the only thing that can help to make them more permanent in the matter of government? That has been the maxim of autocracy all through the ages, divide and rule, divide the forces opposed to you. As long as progressive forces are divided, these selfish groups can control things themselves. That is the mesage I want to give you, to give the people of Sakatchewan. I wish to bring home the wisdom of looking to the strength of the forces opposed to us and to suggest that the great progressive groups that are standing for the same thing, instead of fighting each other, unite together and work for the common end.

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A GOVERNMENT OF LAWYERS

"I do not know whether you have stopped to really think of Union Government, but it is amusing. I will not speak of the gentlemen who belonged to the old Conservative party, but take the Liberals who went into that administration. Did you ever stop to think that practically every one of them was a lawyer? Start with A. K. Maclean, a lawyer; Carvell, a lawyer; in Ontario, Guthrie and Mewburn, lawyers; Rowell, lawyer. Saskatchewan? Well, Mr. Calder was admitted to the bar and, I suppose, is entitled to be called a lawyer. Alberta, Sifton, a lawyer. There you are. And then there is Sir Robert Borden, a lawyer himself, and Meighen. The Union Government was a union of lawyers.

"Naturally, the farmers say, if we can have a lawyers' union in Canada running the country why should we not have a union of farmers? Give me a union of farmers every time. The same with the working man. I would rather a union of working men running this country than lawyers, because I think they represent a far more important community. I would not say anything against the legal profession. The cure for one monopoly is not a substitution of another one. The cure of control of Parliament is to have a community of control rather than control by any particular group, and that is why the national Liberal party represents the point of view and the interests of all.

Take the manufacturers. Suppose they decided to become the party in control? Suppose they said we will form a great national party and make sure that everyone belongs to it. Is there a farmer in this country who would have anything to do with it? He would say we do not trust you; you represent a group. The same with the working man. One of the advantages of a national party is that in its relationship to groups it stands for certain broad policies which all men and women irrespective of their calling can come in and work for.

"The purpose of our visit to the west is not to offer interference or opposition to any group. We have come to state our position, but our primary object is to talk of co-operation—language which is familiar in this part of the Dominion, among the different progressive groups—and see if we cannot bring about such an arrangement, and when the time comes, express our views together, to fight for the principles for which these groups stand. The party that is not big enough to come to such an arrangement in a great agricultural province like Saskatchewan, to give to the farming community its quota of representation, is not deserving of being called the Liberal party.

ANSWERS MR. CALDER

"Mr. Calder in his speech at Moose Jaw last night repeated what he has said several times before, that the Liberal party does not want an election.

"If Calder or anyone else tells you that the Liberals do not want a general election it is untrue. If anyone represents me as not sincere in this, he is stating what is untrue. The Liberal party stands for the right of the people to exercise their rights in the franchise and to a representative Parliament.

"But that is a digression. I want to tell you of the peculiar position of Mr. Calder himself. He is the only member of the 'Union Government' who has resigned. When he went into the Union government he went in as a Liberal—as a member of that group who distinctly understood that Union government was for the duration of the war.

"On November 11, 1919, he spoke in the House of Commons and is reported in Hansard as follows:

"Let me ask honorable members of this House what would be the consequences if all followed the course taken by the honorable member for Marquette (Mr. Crerar)? Suppose the Minister of Public Works (Carvell) resigned and the Acting Minister of Trade and Commerce and others? What would happen? Do not be too sure, my friends. The task of carrying on the government of this country and its responsibilities are not so alluring as some honorable gentlemen seem to think. If these resignations did take place there would immediately be a political crisis in this country and one thing and one thing only could happen—either the prime minister would have to appeal to the country or have to advise the Governor-General to call on my friend the leader of the opposition to form a new Government.'

"That is to say, if Carvell Maclean, Rowell, Burrell, Calder and the others resigned there would be nothing to be done but the holding of a general election or calling on the leader of the opposition to form a new Government. All have resigned, except Calder, and that is the only reason we have not a general election today. Calder is hanging on. If he comes here with Meighen it might be interesting to have him explain whether he really had in mind at the time he made that statement that he was going to be the means of avoiding the possibility of a general election. That is the only interpretation to place on his statement.

"A CHANGED MAN"

"Now, what did Mr. Calder have to say about this at Moose Jaw last night? 'I am a changed man, mentally and politically,' he said, according to the press report which I hold in my hand, 'from what I was three years ago.'

"We are well aware that Mr. Calder is a changed man politically but of course as to the change in his mentality he can only speak for himself.

"What are the great questions of the day? I suppose the most important question is the cost of living. There are two phases that are universally of interest, the question of taxation (reduction of it) and a decrease in the cost of living. Are these not needs which we all have in common? Are the farmers not interested in the reduction of taxation on implements and machinery? There are three ways in which these things may be accomplished, economy and retrenchment in governmental expenditure, revision of the tariff in the interests of consumers and producers, and elimination of profiteering.

"As to the first. Ten years ago our public debt had reached large proportions. The interest on the public debt was $12,500,000. Today it is $140,000,000. The public debt is $2,250,000,000, and until that is paid we will not get rid of paying interest. In addition to the ordinary business of government, there is 50 millions for soldiers' land settlement, 40 millions for soldiers' civil re-establishment, pensions, 43 millions, demobilization, 39 millions, a total expenditure of 173 millions. There are over 313 millions to be raised in taxation before we have started to raise anything for carrying on ordinary business of government. The actual amount the government got through this last year was six or seven hundred millions. We have to meet that in taxation.

"Again I ask, is it not absurd that the bodies that are representing the bulk of the people of the country are fighting each other and allowing these expenditures by a group of men that have acquired the habit of expenditure of money? They have become so accustomed to spending money during the war period that anything in the thousands does not appeal to them.

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ment wanted half a million to put up a barracks for the Mounted Police. Where? Somewhere in the west which is the home of this splendid force? No. In Ottawa. Take the navy. We asked the government what its policy was. They said they would not have one until next year after the Imperial conference. They brought down estimates for $300,000 for naval expenditure. The minister announced he was going to reorganize the whole service? That looked all right. Just before the session ended they came along and announced the acceptance of a couple of torpedo boat destroyers, two submarines and a cruiser and asked a vote of $2,500,000. They had no policy. We said it was a waste of money.

THE TARIFF

"The tariff. That is an important matter, especially in this western country. Mr. Meighen started off by saying that the Liberals and the farmers were free traders, out to submarine the fiscal system, and they belonged to the class of wreckers and so on. When the farmers came forward and made it clear that they were standing for free trade, but wanted freer trade and agricultural implements, it became free trade as against protection."

DEMANDS REDUCTIONS

"I want to read you the resolution that was passed at the conference, the plank of the Liberal party as it was drawn up as follows:

"That the best interests of Canada demand that substantial reduction of 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; reducing the cost of the implements of production in the industries based on the natural resources of the Dominion, the vigorous development of which is essential to the progress of our country. That to these ends, wheat, wheat flour, and all products of wheat, the principal articles of food, farm implements and machinery . . . should be free from customs duties as well as the raw materials entering into the same; that a revision downwards of the tariff should be made whereby substantial reductions should be effected in the duties in wearing apparel and footwear and on other articles of general consumption other than luxuries, as well as the 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 revision when returned to power.

"Everywhere I have spoken I have read this plank, and I want to make it clear that I have the same message for the people of the West as I have for the people of the East.

"In the House of Commons last session we brought in an amendment to the budget. It suggested a certain revision of the tariff. A year before we had brought in an amendment to the budget which went the full length of the platform, and we were told by the government that all these things could not be enacted in a single session. So we brought down an amendment last session. things that could be done in one session, a downward revision of the tariff. We placed that amendment before parliament and it was voted down. The platform to which I have referred was not copied from the farmers' platform. There is not a thing in it that has not been advocated over and over again by the Liberal party since the defeat of reciprocity. What I would say to my farmer friends is this: You present your platform in the different cities and towns where your movement is not so well known as it is, and what happens? The people are not all too educated in many directions, and they say this is a class thing. They are going to take something from us, they say. I am putting all the cards on the table. If things are to be brought to the point that Liberals and farmers will be fighting each other in the different constituencies, what is going to be the result? It will result in none of us getting the platform effective. We have the principle. Let us then adopt the best method to make sure of it. I think the platform is just as much in the interest of the cities and towns as the country. If you take statistics of the last few years you will see that the whole trend of population has been from the country to the cities. The high cost of living will never be solved until we get more production from the land. That is why we say make production possible in as large and free a way as possible. All manufacturing is the transference of raw materials into the finished commodity. Without large production, manufacture cannot be carried on on a big scale. Thus the manufacturer has to gain.

"The resolutions to which I have referred would have carried if the representatives of Alberta and Saskatchewan had voted for them. Let me point out this: The handful of Liberals in the House from Ontario, those from Quebec, and the representatives from Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and P.E.I., every one of them voted with us and lined up for tariff revision. We were supported by a few of the farmers' representatives. There were a large number of representatives of farming communities that voted against us. And because of that, the resolution was defeated. It was defeated by 26 votes. Of the Saskatchewan representatives eight voted for the amendment and eight against; Alberta, four for, eight against; Manitoba, four for and eleven against. If you take Alberta and Saskatchewan alone and leave out Manitoba, and if we had got the support from these two povinces the measure would have been through,

Mr. King in concluding his address rather briefly summarised several points in the Liberal doctrine. Speakon the recent increase in freight rates, he pointed out that the "government ownership" of railways introduced by the union government was not government ownership at all, but a system whereby the shareholders had been guaranteed a higher dividend than the roads could ever have naturally been expected to pay, with the "privilege" to the Canadian people of buying the roads at the end of twenty years for the sum of 500 million dollars. This was merely a step which entrenched the capitalist and made his postiion more secure.

There were four vital factors of production, said Mr. King: Labor, capital, management, and the community. Each of these had certain interests peculiar to itself, and national government which represented only one of these factors was bound to do harm to some or all of the other three.

The provinces should control their natural resources, said Mr. King, and he pledged the Liberal party to turn over the natural resources to the provinces on coming into power.

"I might give many more illustrations," he said. "This much, however, will surely be sufficient to demonstrate the value and the worth of an historic party and the need for continuity of policy which an historic party alone is in a position to give, as well as of combined effort on the part of progressive groups if such great policies are to be made to prevail in our national economy.

"To restore, to repair, to rebuild wherever the ramparts of freedom have been reduced or destroyed, this is only a part of the work of Liberalism, and it is a work that never was so greatly needed as in our own day.

CONCERNS FUTURE

"But Liberalism looks not only to the past or the present, it is concerned above all else with the future, and here the need of a party that is wider than any class or group is more than ever apparent, if national unity, which is all important in every great political endeavor, is to be maintained.

"We ask you in the future to join with us, believing as we do in our Liberalism to carry on this great work. In so doing you will be erecting to the heroic dead the only monument worthy of their great sacrifice which lies within our power as a nation to erect."

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Regina Leader Oct. 28 - 1920

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MEIGHEN'S ADMINISTRATION IS SHARPLY CRITICIZED BY KING WHEN SPEAKING AT SASKATOON

WM. DUFF DECLARES DEMAND FOR ELECTION FROM ALL PARTS OF DOMINION—DENOUNCES CALDER'S REMARKS THAT PEOPLE NOT ABLE TO MAKE DECISION

DECLARES SERIOUS REFLECTIONS CAST UPON HONOR OF CERTAIN MEMBERS OF PARLIAMENT AND ASKS THAT STATEMENT BE RETRACTED OR NAMES OF LIBERALS GIVEN

(Special Staff Correspondence and Canadian Press)

SASKATOON, Sask., Oct. 27.—The University City is swinging into line with the new Liberalism and accepting the Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King as its prophet. The life of the city today has conformed to the movements of Mr. King and his party.

This noon George McCraney, K.C., a distinguished citizen of Saskatoon, a prominent Liberal and formerly a member of parliament, entertained Mr. King, Mr. Kennedy, Mr. Duff and Mr. Turgeon at luncheon in his home on the heights of Nutana. After that Mr. King fired the shot that set in motion the annual marathon of the Saskatoon Collegiate Institute pupils, and motored around to see the finish of the race.

When he arrived at the Third Ave. Methodist Church, shortly after 3.30, a vast assemblage of citizens, a great many of whom were women, were waiting to meet the leader of the opposition to the present Government of Canada. A crown upon the monument of political faith was erected to Mr. King last night when the banquet given in his honor was attended to the capacity of the room in which it was held, and every one of the guests, with one exception, was one who had voted for Union Government at the last election. Saskatoon is falling into line.

Tonight, the Hon. Mr. King and William Duff, M.P. for Lunenburg, N.S., addressed an audience that packed the Third Avenue Methodist Church to the street, and this is said to be the largest church west of the Great Lakes. The leader of the opposition repeated his plea for co-operation by all progressive groups under the banner of a party that can give to them the prestige of historical continuity and replied caustically to Premier Meighen and the Hon. Mr. Calder. Spontaneous applause greeted many of his poignant thrusts at the present Government, and rapt attention marked the interludes between these expressions of popular sympathy with the ideals enunciated by the speakers.

"The real issue in Canada," declared Mr. King, "is whether we are to have an invisible government by the big interests or government by a representative Parliament." The Liberal leader was severe in his criticism of the Meighen administration in failing to grant a general election.

The Liberal leader said three things were necessary in dealing with the cost of living from the interests of the consumer. They were: "Retrenchment and economy in public affairs; revision downward of the tariff on necessaries of life and implements of production; and elimination of profiteering."

J. F. Cairns, a prominent Liberal of Saskatoon, was chairman of the meeting, after which Mr. King and party left for Prince Albert.

William Duff, the member for Lunenburg, Nova Scotia, the first speaker, attacked what he called the Government's desire to hold on to office, although from all parts of the country, he said, came a demand for an election. The Union Government has ceased to function, said Mr. Duff, and the people should be given a chance at the polls to express their desires. "A few days ago," he continued, "in reply to a question as to why the Government did not dissolve Parliament and appeal to the electors, Hon. Mr. Calder is reported to have said that the people were not in a fit frame of mind to make a proper decision; that they had not recovered from the nervous strain due to the war."

Mr. Duff's answer was that the people were safe and sane but that the members of the Government were suffering from political hysteria due to the fact that they had been weighed in the balance and found wanting. "Mr. Calder also said in several places," said Mr. Duff, "that the Liberals do not want an election and that several times last session when an important matter came up and it was thought that the vote might be close, they came to him and other Government members and arranged that rather than see the Government run any danger of being defeated or have a close call they would absent themselves from the chamber when the vote was being taken.

"I have no hesitation in giving this statement of Mr. Calder the most unqualified denial," continued the speaker. "There is not a scintilla of truth in it and, because it constitutes a serious reflection on the honor of certain members of Parliament I demand that Mr. Calder at his Vancouver meeting retract the statement or give the names of the Liberal members to whom he alludes. If he fails to do this the public will draw their own conclusions."

Mr. Duff said that Mr. Calder had also stated that there was no difference between the tariff policy of the eastern Liberals and the eastern Tories and asserted that when amendments were introduced in the house which would have had the effect of reducing the tariff, every Liberal member of Parliament voted for the amendments and that Mr. Calder and sixteen members from the two prairie provinces supported the Government and voted against a tariff reduction although they were representing Farmer and low tariff constituencies.

Mr. Duff denounced the present tour of Premier Meighen and Mr. Calder through the west.

"The business of the country demands," said the speaker, "that the Premier should remain at his desk in Ottawa if he knows his business, instead of gallivanting around the country like a distracted hen which has lost its chickens."

Hon. O. L. Turgeon, M.P. for Gloucester, N.B., following Mr. Duff, said:

"Sixteen years ago I paid a visit to Saskatoon; it was then a city of a few shacks and one street with a sidewalk on one side. On seeing it again today I am amazed by the progress which has been made. The University of Saskatchewan, which the members of our party visited this morning, represents what would have taken a century to produce in an older country and here it is the result of fifteen years.

"Let me assure you that in the main principles for which the Liberal party stands today, a low tariff and freedom of trade which alone can make a nation, the east is with the west. I believe that Canada, with a greater freedom of trade remaining always a part of the British Empire, may become the leading power for civilization under British institutions. Joseph Howe referred to Canada as the new center of the British Empire. When this day comes, the only

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question Canada will have to decide is whether the capital shall be Ottawa, Saskatoon or Regina."

Mr. Turgeon then referred to the new leader, of whom he said he was a faithful and devoted follower as destined to be "perhaps the second Laurier of Canada. Mr. Meighen," said Mr. Turgeon, "has come on a mission to this country preaching the old Tory doctrine of protection. Mr. Meighen is very dogmatic. Everyone who disagrees with him is either a wrecker, a Bolshevist or a humbug. I have often disagreed with Mr. Meighen in the House of Commons. I must be the greatest wrecker and the greatest humbug in Canada. The Liberal party do not preach the doctrine of absolute free trade but they move in that direction always. Canadian industries, after the profitable war period, are able to face competition which greater freedom of trade involves. In this respect the Liberal party is in agreement with the farmers. There is nothing in the program of the farmers which is not in the program of the Liberal party.

The speaker next referred to the question of the present rates of exchange between Canada and the United States. "Mr. Meighen asks," he said, "do you wish to buy from the United States under these conditions. In 1911 Sir Wilfrid Laurier concluded his reciprocity pact which had the solid support of the western provinces. Had that pact been carried Canada would have been in a better situation today with access to the markets of the United States. No such conditions of exchange would exist. There would be no thought of having a Farmers' party. The farmers would have all they wanted, all they could expect in this world.

"I hope that the Liberal party when it has the opportunity will introduce tariffs on luxuries and a tax on the property of syndicates in these western provinces such as the C.P.R. and Mackenzie and Mann, who possess vast tracts of land. Place one per cent. tax on these, and more revenue would be collected than from the present hampering and destructive tariffs.

"The union between the farmers and the laborers," said Mr. Turgeon, "with the Liberal party is the only salvation of Canada."

The leader of the Liberal party, as he was introduced by the chairman, was received with loud and continuous applause. As soon as he could be heard above the tumult, Mr. King started to express his appreciation of the welcome that had been accorded to him in Saskatoon. "I realize," he said, "that this welcome is not in any sense a personal matter, but is an appreciation of the mission of a great historic party. It is natural that large audiences should attend political meetings in these times. It is ten years since the Canadian pubic received any kind of political education. In 1917 we were thinking of the mightier business of war and the success of the British arms. There has been no real discussion of political questions relating to domestic policy since the reciprocity campaign of 1911. Since that year, a new electorate has been created with an increased sense of responsibility. Four years of war have made every elector take his duties more seriously. A group of young men who were twenty years old in 1911 now at the age of almost thirty have their first opportunity to express their opinions of public affairs. A large body of men who have returned from overseas are in the same position.

"There is a third group, who were disfranchised at the last election. It is a British principle much talked of that there should be no taxation without representation. Yet hundreds of thousands of citizens have been paying taxes without a right to vote for representatives. We trust at the next election this group will have an opportunity to express their views. The women of Canada at the next election will also have the opportunity of exercising their franchise for the first time in the history of the country.

"There is another reason why more than ordinary careful thought is being devoted to questions of the day. This is a period of transition. It is difficult to see beneath the surface, the underlying trend of development. The heart of humanity is like the ocean, which requires a few days after a storm to regain its normal calm. The men and women of this country require some time to view things again calmly and in the right perspective.

"Some mighty influence," said Mr. King, "was behind the organization of the National Liberal and Conservative party and the present administration—an anti-social influence which stood for monopoly of its own privileges as against the rights of the people.

"The real issue in Canada," continued Mr. King, "is whether we are to have an invisible government by big interests or government by a Parliament representative of the people of the country. There was a reactionary party seeking a monopoly of control of the Government for the benefit of the few, as opposed to the great progresssive forces of the nation." The Meighen Government, he said, with no right whatever to hold office only remained in office because the opposition groups were divided and perhaps more or less contending among themselves. "Foolish and futile divisions among men and women thinking alike at heart," Mr. King said.

The speaker said the Government had sought to be independent of Parliament and stated as an instance that contracts for building of ships had been let before the money had been appropriated by the Commons, while at the same time, he added, the law of the land had been violated in that contracts were let without tender.

Mr. King referred to Hon. J. A. Calder as Premier Meighen's right bower in defending the reactionary forces, and said he was "afraid Mr. Calder's political soul was lost beyond redemption."

Mr. King accused the Government of extravagance and said it had "The war habit of mind." "We feel," said Mr. King, in discussing the tariff, "that the tariff should be resorted to only for the purpose of supplementing revenue from other sources. We believe that revenue should be raised increasingly by direct rather than by indirect means. We feel that no jump can be made from the system of indirect taxation to one of direct taxation all at once; but we think the tariff now is far too high. We hold that there should be an all-round revision in the interests of consumers and producers, and substantial reductions in two great particulars—the necessaries of life, and the implements of production in the basic industries. We say also there should be a free list in which would be included agricultural machinery and implements. What we need is less taxation and increased production."

He appealed for all opposition groups to get together in tariff demands, which were coming within their grasp.

"How about land tax?" enquired a man in the audience.

Mr. King explained that there had been an understanding that this line of revenue should be left to Provincial Governments and that was the only reason it had not been made a federal issue by the parties. The leader said western provinces should control their own natural resources, and this was part of the Liberal policy.

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Many Saskatoon People Meet Hon. W. Mackenzie King At Reception

OVER THREE HUNDRED PEOPLE PRESENT AT THIRD AVENUE CHURCH; MR. KING GIVES BRIEF ADDRESS

Flags and tall vases of autumn foliage and flowers made the Sunday school auditorium of Third Avenue Church very attractive yesterday afternoon, on the occasion of the public reception to Hon. W. L. MacKenzie King at which many of Mr. King's personal and political friends were given the opportunity of meeting him and hearing him speak. Scott's orchestra contributed pleasing musical selections during the afternoon.

In a brief and pleasing address Mr. King expressed his great pleasure and satisfaction in meeting so many of the ladies of Saskatoon under such auspicious circumstances. He referred to this new experience of meeting the women of the west as political factors in national life, as inspirational and helpful. The coming of women into political life in this particular time of reconstruction augured well for the future. The bitterness and hatred of the war period had left wounds that needed healing. For this work of healing, of replacing ill-will by good-will, of creating an attitude of mind kindly disposed and charitable in judgment, women are especially fitted. While our country's affairs must be administered by an executive force, and we call that force a party, it does not necessarily follow that a party preference need be expressed in narrowness of judgment or bitterness.

Let us learn in these days of new forces and new developments to agree to differ with mutual respect, to cultivate nationalism rather than sectionalism. While in government the necessity for earnest consideration of those things closely associated with temporal prosperity and the development of our material resources will ever remain. Yet it is to the things that are spiritual in our national consciousness that we must give greatest heed. In this connection Mr. King quoted effectively from one of our Canadian poets, Wilfrid Campbell.

MANY VISITORS

Among those who had the pleasure of meeting the visitor were:

Mr. and Mrs. J. F. Cairns, Mrs. Coulthard, Dr. and Mrs. A. McG. Young, Mr. and Mrs. W. J. Bell, Mrs. E. E. Robinson, Mr. Francis Mrs. Fisher, Mrs. Palmer, Mrs. A. M. McIntyre, Mrs. Jackson, Mrs. W. R. Motherwell, Mrs. L. G. Calder, Mrs. J. C. Bell, Mrs. F. McKenzie, Mrs. W. W. Houlding, Mrs. C. Houlding, Mrs. J. Hall Mrs. Geo. MacDonald, Mrs. R. McGowan, Mrs. W. B. Sexsmith, Mrs. Marr, Mrs. Geo. McLaren, Mrs. Stevenson, Mrs. McLaggan, Mrs. M. Grant, Mr. C. Locke, Mr. J. T. North, Mrs. Sunderlin, Mrs. C. H. Riche, Mrs. Agnes Strong Mrs. J. Mallin, Mr. A. A. Fraser, Mrs. R. J. Boyd, Mrs. D. M. McLeod, Mrs. Geo. Yates, Mr. C. D. Fisher, Mrs. J. C. Murphy, Mrs. G. H. Clare, Mr. Russell Roome, Mrs. E. R. McMillan, Mr. and Mrs. L. McEown Mrs. Mahoney, Mrs. E. Chantry, Mrs. V. A. Silver, Mrs. E. Hardy, Mrs. John Valens, Mrs. Russell Hartney, Mrs. J. H. Hartney, Mrs. John Black, Mrs. R. J. Brown, Mrs. J. W. Gable, Mrs. T. W. Pollock, Miss Green, Mrs. H. E. Bingham Mrs. F. M. McNeil, Mr. Carl Niderost, Mr. H J. Reid, Mrs. N. Emery, Mrs. G. Yule, Mrs. E. J. Gallup, Mrs. J. C. Thompson, Mrs. John Gunn, Mrs. W. C. Kyle, Mrs. R. Douglas, Mrs. M. Aitcheson Mr. E. A. Hewitt (Harris), Mr. J. C. Bell. Mrs. A. E. York, Mrs. E. Maxwell, Mrs. A. M. Drewry, Mrs. W. T. Francis, Miss Gladys Francis, Hon. W. R. Motherwell, Mr. McKinnon (Wilkie), Mr. C. F. Graham, Miss Margaret Hickok, Mrs. Clarke (Delisle), Miss Rowan (Toronto) Mrs. W. Rose, Dr. Lackner, Miss V. A. Lackner (Biggar), Mrs. Sam. McLure, Mr. J. W. Miller, Mr. Wm. Grant, Mrs. T. N. Laing. Mrs. R. J. Laing, Mrs. T. A. Vandrick, Miss Lulu Walmsley, Mrs. Payne Miss Badger, Miss Marion Walker, Mrs. Robt. Robinson, Mrs. George E. Donald, Mr. H. E. Meilicke, Mrs. Jas. Isbister, Mrs. I. F. Vail, Mrs. E. J. Shaver, Mrs. Buchan, Rev. W. B. and Mrs. Cumming, Mr. and Mrs. J. E. Coombes, Mr J. W. Hopkins Mr. T. C. Atkinson, Mr. H. E. Fruden, Mrs. J. Brownrigg, Miss Gordon, Mrs. F. W. Kerr, Mrs. R. W. Caswell, Mrs. A. W. Caswell, Mrs. R. Lawrence, Mr. and Mrs. J. N. Roy, Miss Bashford, Mr. W. T. Warner Mrs. C. Rathbun, Mrs. McGregor, Mrs. F. E. Skinner, Mrs. G. S. Donn, Mr. T. E. Cormick, Mr. and Mrs. H. A. Whyte, Mr. C. Pitman, Mrs. G. E. Munroe, Mrs. Geo. Chisolm, Rev. Wylie C. Clark, Mrs. G. R. Chambers Mr. and Mrs. W. Holmes. Mrs. G. M. Donald, Mrs. J. P. Murphy, Mrs. M. C. Geary, Mrs. J. W. Hedley, Mrs. Asseltine, Mr. E. F. Crawford, Mr. and Mrs. A. H. Hanson, Miss Margaret Lewin, Mrs. W. L. Kirkpatrick, Mrs. F. R. McMillan Miss Norah Lewin, Mrs. M. R. Sheridan. Mrs. F. Elson, Mrs. M. Fox, Mr. A. Munro, Mrs. M. Thayer, Mrs. C. L. Brown, Miss Edith Hedley. Mrs. J. O. Hettle, Mrs. W. H. Cleveland, Mrs. A. E. Torrance, Mrs. E. H. Trickey, Mrs. D. M. Smith Mrs. W. B. Doyle, Mrs. D D. Campbell, Mrs. Silverwood, Miss I. Fraser.

Mrs. Harold Weir, Anson Dulmage, Mrs. Herbert Cheetham, Mr. and Mrs. R. P. Brookes, Mrs. A. H. Campbell, Mrs. J. A. Trask, Mr. F. M. Borland, Mr. A. M. McIntyre, Rev. Dr. Milliken and Mrs. Milliken; Mr. L. D. Peterkin, Mrs. Wm. Oliver, Mrs. A. E. Kyles, Mrs. Clifford McLean, Mrs. E. S. Andrews, Mrs. W. F. Marshall Mrs. Hugh Sheasgreen; Mrs. Frank Switzer, Mr. J. M. Hackney, Mrs. A. W. Hutchinson, Mrs. J. B. Kendrick, Mrs. A. E. Harshaw, Mrs. H. E. Meilicke, Canon E. B. Smith, Dr. and Mrs. G. W. Sahlmark (Saltcoats), Mrs. D. McKenzie, Mrs. Creerar (Govan), Hon. F. W. A. and Mrs. Turgeon, Mrs. Andrews, Mrs. R. M. Keating, Mrs. W. G. Deifenbaker, Mrs. Mallory, Mr. H. E. Munroe, Mr. L. H. McConnell, Mr. and Mrs. J. A. Aiken, Mrs. Roy Todd, Mrs. Crawford, Mrs. Gilchrist, Mrs. V. J. Ferguson, Mr. D. Hanes, Miss K. Smith, Mrs. Harris Turner, Mrs. C. R. Bigler, Mrs. S. E. Leovitt, Mrs. M. Madill, Mrs. T. M. Murphy, Mrs. H. Munroe, Mrs. McConnell, Mrs. Fletcher, Mrs. Lord, Mrs. Scully, Mrs. E. B. Smith, Mrs. Hawkins, Mrs. E. L. Pipe, Mr. and Mrs. G. E. McCraney, Miss S. J. Stewart, Mrs. C. Murphy, Mrs. W. H. Orme, Mrs. W. P. Frazer, Mrs. J. Nicholson, Mrs. Andrew Smith, Mrs. E. H. Sumner, Mrs. R. J. Underwood, Mrs. D. Rosche, Mrs. Colin G. Young, Mrs. S. J. Anderson, Miss Darling, Dr. Lynch, Miss Willoughby, Miss Hearsum, Mrs. Geo. Stewart, Mrs. H. B. Sinclair, Mrs. Inskip, Mrs. Coad, Mrs. N. Sproule, Mrs. Heaslop, Mrs. H. H. Smith, Mrs. Andrew Croll, Miss Sybil Croll, Mrs. Sproule, Mrs. Fisher Landon, Mrs. Russell Roome, Mrs. G. Willoughby, Mrs. Elliott, Mrs. G. B. Cleveland, Mrs. Stevenson, Mrs. Wylie C. Clark, Mrs. McNab, Mrs. Butler, Mrs. Chisholm, Mrs. McKinnon, Mrs. Govan, Mrs. P. E. McKenzie, Mrs. J. Freethy, Mrs. Farman, Mrs. A. H. McDonald, Mrs. Law, Mrs. Champ, Mrs. F. J. Searles, Mrs. Ada Smith, Mrs. L. G. Feinstein, Mr. Loran, Mr. Ferguson, Mr. Johnston, Mrs. W. Hardwell, Mr. and Mrs. C. J. Porter, Mrs. A. A. McLeod, Mrs. N. Nicholson, Mrs. Griffiths, Miss Clara Holmes, Mrs. J. W. Holmes, Mrs. A. B. McKenzie, Mrs. Headley, Mrs. V. Brodrick, Mrs. T. W. Fair, Mrs. Leachman, Mrs. S. Herrington, Mrs. Alex. Chisholm, Mr. and Mrs. H. M. Schiedel, Mrs. M. E. Marshall, Mrs. W. T. Birney, Mr. and Mrs. J. R. Wilson, Mrs. G. Taylor, Mrs. H. Feig, Mrs. Kenny, Mr. J. A. Wilson, Mr. John McDougal, Mr. W. J. Bell, Mrs. McLean, Mrs. J. W. Hamilton, Mrs. Strebb, Miss Connell, Miss Smith, Mr. A. Clark, Mrs. Myers, Mrs. Berry, Mrs. C. Sandy, Mrs. Owens, Mrs. Galbraith, Miss Galbraith, Mrs. J. C. Clinkskill, Mrs. B. O'Sullivan, Mrs. M. Gardiner, Mrs. R. C. Johnston, Hon. A. P. McNab, Mr. Hettle, Miss Phillion, Mrs. A. Phillion, Mrs. Blofield, Miss Baird, Mrs. J. P. Walker, Mr. H. McCulloch, Mrs. N. Mathers, Mrs. McRae, Mrs. Campbell, Mr. J. M. Goldenburg, Mr. J. T. Keyser, Mr. W. Abrams, Mr. and Mrs. R. J. Townsend, Mrs. Saunders, Mrs. Williams, Mrs. Gould, Mrs. Stapleton, Miss Plumptre, Mr. H. Rosson, Mrs. H. Sager, Mrs. Hill, Mrs. Barnes, Mrs. Block, Mrs. G. R. Chisholm, A. H. Gebbie, Mrs. Ferguson, Mr. and Mrs. Findley, Miss Elliott.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

D 4826

The Saskatoon Daily Star

W. F. HERMAN, Proprietor

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 28, 1920

Mr. MacKenzie King

Mr. King was heard to advantage in Saskatoon last night. What impression does he create?

He is a purposeful man, is Mr. King; purposeful, forceful, direct, and serious-minded. He believes what he is saying, and few public men in Canada convey more strongly the impression of absolute security in their speeches.

At the same time Mr. King is not altogether convincing, for the reason that as regards the past and present his thoughts seem to soar high above the important realities, while only in regard to the future is he definite and practical. Inasmuch as the doubt of the prairie people is founded on uncertainty about the Liberal party of the present, on account of its past record, Mr. King is least definite about those matters on which they are looking for most accurate and detailed information. The thought voiced by Hon. George Langley when he said that under certain circumstances a victory for the Liberal party would be as great a disaster to Canada's national interests as a Unionist triumph, does not seem to have presented itself to Mr. King at all. Mr. Langley voiced the fear that influences which surrounded the Laurier government and made of it a strongly protectionist and rather reactionary administration would continue to direct the course of the Liberal party as a whole, a fear that is in many minds in the West. Mr. King makes no effort to dispel this fear. It is well enough to speak so eloquently of the traditional Liberal party as the protector of the common people and the standard-bearer of the masses against the forces of special privilege. In a broadly historical sense that is true, but what the people of the West are wondering is, is Mr. King satisfied to maintain the Laurier rather than the truly liberal tradition? Does he admit a flaw in the Laurier halo at all, and is he content to maintain, as Laurier did, liberalism in theory and reaction in practise? Mr. King is in a section of the country where the late Sir Wilfrid had as solid support as ever a political leader of Canada secured; but nevertheless these, crudely stated, are the thoughts in the minds of a great number of them, and they get no relief in their perplexity by hearing Mr. King.

Mr. King says many good things, and they lose nothing in the telling. He manifests grasp of the situation confronting the Dominion, and offers his valiant services freely to remedy it. His criticisms of the gov tion of Liberal princip aid, without effect. B ove altogether the in arty is composed la office on a set of dec

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CANADA

Montreal Herald
Oct" 28
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D 4827

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LIBERAL LEADER ATTACKS GOV'T OF BIG INTERESTS

Real Issue Before the Country is Representative Versus Minority Rule

Saskatoon, Sask., October 28.—Before an audience of probably 2,500 people, completely filling the Third avenue Methodist Church, of this city, the doctrines of the Liberal party in Canada were expounded here tonight by Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, its leader; by Wm. Duff, M.P., and by O. Turgeon, M.P., who supported the Opposition leader on the platform. Hundreds of other men and women were unable to secure even standing room in the building.

" The real issue in Canada," declared Mr. King, "is whether we are to have an invisible government by the big interests, or government by a representative Parliament." The Liberal leader was severe in his criticism of the Meighen administration in failing to bring on a general election. He said three things were necessary in dealing with the cost of living from the interests of the consumer. They were: "retrenchment and economy in public affairs; revision downward of the tariff on the necessities of life and the implements of production; and the elimination of profiteering."

William Duff, the member for Lunenberg, Nova Scotia, the first speaker, attacked what he called the Government's desire to hold on to office, although from all parts of the country, he said, came a demand for an election. The Union Government had ceased to function, said Mr. Duff, and the people should be given a chance at the polls to express their desires.

Mr. Calder also said in several places," said Mr. Duff, "that the Liberals do not want an election and that several times last session when an important matter came up and it was thought that the vote might be close, they came to him and other Government members and arranged that rather than see the Government run any danger of being defeated, or have a close call, they would absent themselves from the chamber when the vote was being taken."

Contradicts Calder.

"I have no hesitation in giving this statement of Mr. Calder's the most unqualified denial," continued the speaker.

"There is not a scintilla of truth in it, and because it constitutes a serious reflection on the honor of certain members of Parliament, I demand that Mr. Calder, at his Vancouver meeting, retract the statement, or give the names of the Liberal members to whom he alludes. If he fails to do this the public will draw their own conclusions."

Mr. King was given an enthusiastic reception when he came forward to speak. The leader of the Opposition said it was natural that there should be great interest at this time in the questions of the day, since it was ten years since the last federal election campaign on purely domestic issues was fought. He welcomed the Farmers' movement and the new political movements in the cities as "expressions of Liberalism in the true, broad sense of the word. There were, broadly, he said, two great forces of reaction and of progress and the Liberal leader traced the characteristics of these forces as he saw them.

Some mighty influence, said Mr. King, was behind the organization of the National Liberal and Conservative Party and the present administration —an anti-social influence which stood for monopoly of its own privileges as against the rights of the people.

"The real issue in Canada," continued Mr. King, "is whether we are to have an invisible government by the big interests or government by a Parliament representative of the people of the country." There was a reactionary party seeking a monopoly of control of the Government for the benefit of the few, as, opposed to the great progressive forces of the nation.

Admits Divisions.

The Meighen Government, he said, with no right whatever to hold office only remained in office because the Opposition groups were divided and perhaps more or less contending among themselves—"foolish and futile divisions among men and women thinking alike at heart," Mr. King said.

The speaker said the Government had sought to be independent of Parliament, and stated as an instance that contracts for building of ships had been let before the money had been appropriated by the Commons, while at the same time, he added, the law of the land had been violated in that contracts were let without tender.

Mr. King referred to Hon. J. A. Calder as Premier Meighen's bower in defending the reactionary forces, and said he was "afraid Mr. Calder's political soul was lost beyond redemption."

Mr. King accused the Government of extravagance, and said it had "the war habit of mind."

"We feel," said Mr. King, in discussing the tariff, "that the tariff should be resorted to only for the purpose of supplementing revenue from other sources. We believe that revenue should be raised increasingly by direct, rather than indirect, taxation, to one of direct taxation all at once; but we think the tariff now is far too high! we hold that there should be all-around revision in the interests of consumers and producers, and substantial reductions in two great particulars—the necessaries of life and the implements of production in the basic industries. We say also there should be a free list, in which would be included agricultural machinery and implements. What we need is less taxation and increased production." He appealed for all Opposition groups to get together in tariff demands which were coming within their grasp.

"How about land tax?" inquired a man in the audience.

Mr. King explained that there had been an understanding that this possible source of revenue should be left to provincial governments, and that was the only reason it had not been made a federal issue by the parties.

The leader said western provinces should control their own natural resources, and this was part of the Liberal policy.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
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28 Oct. 1920

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Prince Albert

AGRICULTURAL POLICY

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Prince Albert, Oct. 28, 1920

In the course of his address tonight Mr. King dwelt at some length upon the necessity of encouragement to agriculture as the great basic industry of the Dominion. He pointed out that the latest federal revenue figures indicated that out of a total of $220,000,000 only $2,000,000 had been spent on agriculture, or slightly under One per cent; whereas enormous sums of the public money were being spent in ways that were wholly unproductive. No country can attain to greatness where the backbone of its propperity receives such unfair treatment.

He cited the circumstance that there were in Canada at present 194 armouries and drill-halls owned by the government, which were being maintained even in time of peace at great expense, and but 25 experimental farms. In the province of Ontario alone there were 2 experimental farms and 107 drill halls and armouries.

The government is spending this year over 22½ millions of dollars for military and naval defence and police, in addition to $173,000,000 on other military expenditures occasioned by the war in the nature of appropriations for Soldiers Land Settlement, Soldiers Re-establishment, Pensions and Demobilization. For the latter item alone $39,000,000 had been voted.

Mr. King took no exception to any expenditure being made on account of the returned soldiers but stated that, apart from necessary in this connection those outlays, the country should turn its attention primarily to the fostering of production rather than to matters that were wholly unproductive in their nature.

At the present time only one-tenth of the arable land of our country is under cultivation. The duty of a government at this hour is to make the other nine-tenths of Canada's lands yield food for the population within and the peoples without, and to help lift the load from the shoulders of workingmen, their wives and children by lowering living costs. We need more acres under crop, more orchards, more herds, more swine, more silos and fewer skyscrapers. tenements and

There is a man in this country who produced the best wheat that the world has ever seen. Was he given any recognition for this great achievement ? They have honoured and singled out men who have built large business enterprises, but they passed up this man who is also a benefactor to mankind. Men of this caliber are the real great men of Canada; they should be honoured and helped to still greater achievement. has been passed by unnoticed.

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Mr King also pointed out that it was an integral part of the Liberal platform and programme to encourage co-operation and induce greater investment in farming. The Liberal Convention had declared in favour of utilizing the national credit to assist co-operative agricultural credit associations, to provide capital for agriculture at the lowest possible rates; also to extend the principle and system of Canadian government elevators as a means of reducing the high cost of living, by eliminating as far as possible the expense of handling food products between producer and consumer; to provide interior and terminal cold storage facilities for the assembling, assorting, storing and grading food products, in order that co-operative organizations and others may have available to them reliable modern equipment for the distribution of farm products in superior condition and at less cost, either for domestic consumption or for export.

He said further that it was part of the Liberal policy that cold storage transportation facilities should be provided at cost of operation for the shipment of food products throughout Canada and for the carrying to the markets of the world the surplus farm products of this country, and delivering them in such a condition that would make Canadian foodstuffs a standard of quality in the world.

Mr. King also said that in the interests of agriculture, in aid of greater production and for the conservation of the soil, the Liberal party were of opinion that the government should arrange for the distribution of fertilizers at the lowest possible cost.

He maintained that the greatest question in Canada was the cost of living and that its only ultimate solution lay in greater production. It was for this reason that the Liberal party felt that in the interests of Canada as a whole too much encouragement could not be given to the agricultural industry.

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Prince Albert Herald
Oct 28/20 1920

D 4831

MACKENZIE KING LIBERAL LEADER IS TENDERED A GENIAL WELCOME TO PRINCE ALBERT ON FIRST VISIT

Is Presented With Address By City Council, Women's Liberal Association and the Federal Liberal Association—Makes a Pleasing Reply to Felicitations of Organizations—Is Tendered Banquet This Afternoon and Will Speak at Public Meeting at Empress Theatre Tonight

Declaring in reply to an address from the city of Prince Albert, which expressed the hope of future provincial control of Saskatchewan's natural resources, that it was part of the policy of the Liberal party to grant that control, Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King received hearty applause from those who attended the civic reception to the Liberal leader, held in the city council chamber at eleven o'clock this morning.

Mayor McLeod presided, and the civic address was read by E. F. Webb, city clerk. The address from the Ladies' Liberal association was read by Mrs. R. L. King, while Major J. H. Lindsay, K.C., read the address from the Liberal association of the constituency of Prince Albert. Hon. W. R. Motherwell attended the reception and occupied a chair near the mayor and Mr. King.

Address from the City

The address on behalf of the city was as follows:

The Honorable W. L. Mackenzie King, M.P.

Sir,—

On behalf of the citizens of Prince Albert and the residents of Northern Saskatchewan it gives us great pleasure to welcome you to this city.

Prince Albert is always glad to have a visit from the distinguished leaders of the historic political parties of the dominion and on this occasion is exceptionally glad to welcome you, on this, your first visit since your election to the position held for so long by your late revered chief, Sir Wilfrid Laurier.

We are glad that the leaders of political life in this country are at this time taking the opportunity of making themselves acquainted with the various constituencies in the west. It is, we believe, right and proper that the people of this western country should have an opportunity of listening to and meeting Canada's leading statesmen, especially in times such as the present when there is a certain spirit of unrest abroad in the land. Gatherings of this kind enable the leaders of the parties to learn, at first hand, conditions and the people have a better opportunity of learning just what the various parties stand for, and what manner of men their leaders be.

Prince Albert, where you are today, is the centre of the finest and largest mixed farming district of this province and is known as Northern Saskatchewan. While this part of the province is called Northern Saskatchewan as a fact Prince Albert lies some sixty miles south of the geographical centre of the province. The known agricultural areas extend in northerly directions for some hundreds of miles and beyond that a country rich in minerals, timber and other natural resources. We are not without hope that one day a government will accede to the unanimous desires of the province and return to us our natural resources. It will then be a far more simple matter to explore and develop for ourselves just what lies in the big hinterland, to the north.

The provincial government has just sent a party out which returned with information of big coal deposits, and prospectors from time to time bring down evidences of the great mineral wealth which lies there. The completion of the Hudson Bay line and of the line now under construction from Prince Albert to connect with this road north of The Pas will be of valuable assistance in opening up this wonderful area and we cannot too strongly urge the necessity for this as well as the fulfilling of a duty to those who have entered this country as pioneers and brought it into a state of wonderful production.

As previously indicated, we are in the midst of an exceptionally fertile mixed farming area. Crops here are never a total failure and the prosperity of the district testifies to the wisdom of the methods of farming employed here. The city is the centre of the livestock industries in this part of the province as signified by the presence of the provincial stockyards and the abbattoir plant. Our people on the whole are as prosperous as conditions generally warrant, and are looking forward to the development which is now coming to this part of the province in particular, and we hope, Canada in general.

In conclusion we once more bid you a hearty welcome to Northern Saskatchewan.

The address presented by the Prince Albert Liberal association was signed by Dr. R. L. King, president, and James H. Lindsay, K.C., secretary. It was as follows:

To the Honorable W. L. McKenzie King, M.P.:

The Liberal associatiion of the constituency of Prince Albert extend to you a hearty welcome to our city.

We are sure that you share with us the deep sorrow which all Liberals, and in fact all Canadians, felt at the death of our late leader, Sir Wilfred Laurier, particularly because you were a close personal friend of his. We rejoice, however, that the Liberal party has secured such an able successor, and we note with satisfaction that, according to the policies outlined by you as leader of the Liberal party, the old traditions of that party are to be upheld.

The old Conservative party, now known under the name of the National Liberal and Conservative party—which name deceives no one—has been, and is now, opposed by the Liberals of our country, and will be so long as it stands for class legislation in the interests of the few, and we are satisfied that under your leadership the Liberal party will, as it always has done, advocate the rights of the people as against the moneyed interests.

During your western tour it is apparent to us that the question which most vitally interests the electors is that of the tariff, and your views meet with the approval of all who are in favor of cheapening the cost of living.

We believe that in the near future you will be called upon to form a government and to put into force the precepts which you teach.

We assure you at all times of our heartiest co-operation and support, and will use our utmost endeavor to further the interests of the Liberal party and your leadership.

Address From Women

The address presented by the Women's Liberal association was as follows:

To the Honorable W. L. McKenzie King, M.P.:

We, as representatives of the ladies of the Liberal association for the constituency of Prince Albert, wish to extend to you a cordial welcome on this your first visit to our city.

We have watched with great interest your career since you have taken upon yourself the leadership of the Liberal party, and have noted with pride the manner in which you have upheld the traditions of the Liberal party.

We assure you of our hearty support in the policies outlined by you as leader of the Liberal party, which we consider to be in the best interests of Canada as a whole, and Western Canada in particular.

We trust that you will be long spared to lead the Liberal party, and that your progress on this tour will be one long continued success.

The city council was represented by Mayor McLeod, Aldermen T. C. Davis, E. T. Bagshaw, A. S. Fraser, P. W. Mahon, and A. McL. Mathieson.

E. A. Moore, vice-president, J. P. M. Sibbald, treasurer, and J. S. Woodward, secretary, represented the board of trade.

Some of Those Present

Among those present were: Chas. McDonald, M.L.A., Dr. R. L. King, F. W. Halliday, K.C., Graham Neilson, Robert Stanley, W. O. McDougall, Gordon Macdonald, Edward Hodgson, W. R. McLeod, J. B. Kernaghan, Louis E. Valade, W. E. Gladstone, Robert Young, J. Mitchell, M. Budgeon, J. E. Lussier, Robert Clunie, W. B. Bashford, M.L.A., Allan Holmes, Dr. Mylks, of Birch Hills.

Mr. King expressed his pleasure at the presence of representatives of the people in the legislative assembly, and also the mayor and members of the city council. He was certainly surprized at the size and solid appearance of Prince Albert.

With Mrs. King

The Liberal leader, who is a bachelor, caused much amusement by his acknowledgment of the address of the Ladies' Liberal association read by Mrs. R. L. King, when he stated that it was a novel and pleasant occasion for him, as it was the first time he had appeared in public with "Mrs. King." He did not know how she liked the experience, but to him it was highly delightful.

As to the federal constituency Liberal association address, Mr. King declared he would deal with the Liberal policy in his address at the Empress theatre this evening.

The Liberal leader expressed the view that women in public life would do much to raise the standard, as women were the guardians of the home, and if the homes were secure the nation would be secure. They would undoubtedly bring that guardianship into public life.

Arrival in City

Mr. King arrived in the city this morning at 9.40 accompanied by W. C. Kennedy, M.P., North Essex, Ontario; W. Duff, M.P., Lunenburg, N.S.; O. Turgeon, M.P., Gloucester, N.B.; Andrew Hayden, the general secretary of the Liberal organisation, Ottawa; Lucien Giguere, private secretary to Mr. King, and F. Phillips of the Vancouver Sun.

A large crowd of citizens was at the station and extended a hearty welcome to the Liberal leader on his arrival. Officially Mr. King was welcomed on the train by Dr. R. L. King, the president of the Prince Albert Liberal Association and Major J. H. Lindsay, K.C., the secretary. Chas McDonald, M.L.A., also entered the train and extended a word of welcome.

On the train were Hon. W. R. Motherwell, W. B. Bashford, M.L.A.; Hon. W. F. A. Turgeon, attorney-general for Saskatchewan, G Ens and J. G. Brown of Rosthern.

Among those present at the station were Chas. McDonald, M. L. A.; Mayor S. McLeod, J. S. Woodward, W. O. McDougall, E. F. Webb, J. E. Lussier, F. W. Wright, F. W. Halliday, K.C., W. R. McLeod, A. Renuart, P. W. Mahon, Graham Neilson, Gordon McDonald, W. W. Rutan, W. E. Gladstone, R. Young and G. L. Dempster.

On alighting from the train Mr. King was presented to a number of ladies who had assembled to meet him.

The party then left in cars for a drive around the city and met at the city hall at 11 o'clock, where the civic welcome took place.

Successful Tour

In conversation with a reporter for The Herald, Mr. Hayden said that the tour throughout the west had been a very successful one and some very enthusiastic meetings had been held. He did not anticipate any general appeal to the country until next year as the government evidently intended to pass some measure of redistribution of seats before a general election. In this connection he expected to see an attempt to carve up the present constituencies in Saskatchewan.

Today's Program

Mr. King and the other speakers with him will address the public meeting at the Empress theatre this evening at 8 o'clock. This afternoon a complimentary banquet was tendered Mr. King and the other visitors at the Empress hotel by the Liberal association. Mayor McLeod presided at this function. Chas. McDonald, M.L.A., will take the chair at the public meeting this evening.

Regina Leader, Oct. 29 - 1920.

LIBERAL LEADER RAPS PRESENT GOVERNMENT FOR EXPENDITURES IN WHOLLY UNPRODUCTIVE WAYS

MACKENZIE KING ADDRESSES PRINCE ALBERT CITIZENS POINTING OUT NECESSITY FOR ENCOURAGEMENT TO COUNTRY'S MOST IMPORTANT INDUSTRY

STATES CANADA'S GREATEST PROBLEM IS SOLUTION OF HIGH LIVING COSTS AND GREATER PRODUCTION OF FOODSTUFFS ONLY MEANS TO THAT END

(Special Staff Correspondence.)

PRINCE ALBERT, Sask., Oct. 28—Asserting that enormous sums of money are being spent by the present Dominion government in wholly unproductive ways, when they might be spent more profitably on agriculture, and pointing out that it is an integral part of the Liberal platform and program to encourage co-operation and induce greater investment in farming, the Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King appealed here tonight for the support of this riding in the next general election before an audience that packed the Empress theater to the sidewalk. Mr. King's address was the closing feature of a day that had been crowded with events for himself and those associated with him on his present tour.

On arriving in Prince Albert this morning the party was given the freedom of the city and was presented with addresses by the city and local Liberal Association, and later dined by the local Liberal executive. At this dinner short speeches were delivered by Mr. King, W. C. Kennedy, M.P. for North Essex; Wm. Duff, M.P. for Lunenburg, N.S.; Onesiphore Turgeon, M.P. for Gloucester, N.B.; the Hon. W. F. A. Turgeon, attorney-general of Saskatchewan; and Mr Knox, who represents the Prince Albert riding in the House of Commons. At 4 o'clock this afternoon Mr. King visited the teachers' convention now in session here and addressed it for about twenty minutes.

Charles MacDonald Presided

When he had resumed his seat, Colonel Perrett, principal of the Normal School in Regina, suggested that all engagements for the night which the delegates to the convention might have, be cancelled, and that they all attend the meeting to be addressed by Mr. King, a suggestion that met with the hearty endorsement of the delegates. The meeting tonight was presided over by Charles MacDonald, M.L.A. for Prince Albert.

Onesiphore Turgeon was the only speaker other than Mr. King, and he confined his remarks largely to the necessity for national unity as a means to the aggrandisement of Canada as a whole and criticised those who had done their best at the last election to sow seeds of racial and religious ill-feeling across the Dominion.

A splendid reception was accorded to Mr. King and he drove home again, as he has throughout the province, the necessity for all progressive groups getting together and fighting the enemy rather than each other.

Agriculture Should Be Encouraged

Mr. King, in the course of his address, which was made before an audience composed largely of farmers, dwelt at some length upon the necessity of encouragement to agriculture as the great basis industry of the Dominion. He pointed out that the latest federal revenue figures indicated that out of a total of $220,000,000 only $200,000 had been spent on agriculture or slightly under one per cent., whereas enormous sums of the public money were being spent in ways that were wholly unproductive. No country can attain to greatness where the backbone of its prosperity receives such unfair treatment. He cited the circumstances that there were in Canada at present, 194 armouries and drill halls owned by the Government, which were being maintained, even in time of peace at great expense, and about 25 experimental farms. In the province of Ontario alone, he said, there were 2 experimental farms and 107 drill halls and armories. The Government is spending more than $22,500,000 for military and naval defense and police, in addition to $175,000,000 on other military expenditures occasioned by the war in the nature of appropriations for soldiers' land settlement, soldiers re-establishment, pensions and demobilization. For the latter item alone $39,000,000 had been voted.

Mr. King took no exception to any expenditure being made on account of the returned soldiers, but stated that, apart from necessary outlays in this connection, the country should turn its attention primarily to the fostering of production rather than to matters that were wholly unproductive in their nature.

Assist Cultivation of Lands

At the present time only one-tenth of the arable land of our country is under cultivation, he said. The duty of the Government at this hour is to make the other nine-tenth's of Canada's lands yield food for the population within and the people without, and to help lift the load from the shoulders of working men, their wives and children by lowering living costs, continued Mr. King. "We need more acres under crop, more orchards, more herds, more swine, more silos, and fewer skyscrapers."

"There is a man in this country who produced the best wheat that the world has ever seen. Was he given any recognition of this great achievement? Men who have built large business enterprises have been honored and singled out but this man who is also a benefactor to mankind has been passed by unnoticed. Men of this calibre are the really great men of Canada. They should be honored and helped to still greater achievements."

Mr. King also said that in the interests of agriculture in greater production and for the conservation of the soil, the Liberal party were of the opinion that the Government should arrange for the distribution of fertilizers at the lowest possible cost. He maintained that the greatest question in Canada was the cost of living and that its only ultimate solution lay in greater production.

It was for this reason that the Liberal party felt that in the interests of Canada as a whole, too much encouragement could not be given to the agricultural industry.

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Prince Albert Herald - Oct. 29 - 1920.

D 4833

McKenzie King Scores Government and Calls For a General Election

Liberal Leader Tells Crowded Audience at Empress Theatre That Meighen Cabinet is Reactionary and is Ruling Without Mandate From Electorate—Declares Big Interests is Power Behind National Liberal and Conservative Party—Urges Co-Ordination and Co-Operation of Liberals, Farmers, Labor and Other Progressive Elements to Defeat Present Regime—Tells of Newspaper Threatened by Manufacturer Who Would Withdraw Advertising

Condemning the present government of Canada as reactionary and unrepresentative of the people of Canada, the Hon. W. L. Mckenzie King, leader of the opposition in the house of commons, last night demanded a general election. Mr. King spoke to a crowded audience in the Empress theatre for two hours, dealing with what might be termed the paramount issues of the day; the high cost of living, taxation, the tariff. He criticised the government for its railway policy and advocated the handing over to the provinces of their natural resources. The policy of Liberalism today, declared Mr. King, was based simply, solely and entirely on the platform as formulated at the great Liberal convention held in Ottawa some time ago.

With respect to the high cost of living, Mr. King declared himself in favor of a reduction, if not the elimination of the tariff on the necessities of life, the encouragement of agriculture and the country's basic industries by the removal of the tariff on implements and other machinery of production, and a greater production of foodstuffs. He urged economy of expenditure and the encouragement of agriculture . Canada had 194 armories, he declared and only 25 experimental farms.

As to taxation and the tariff, Mr. King believed practically in tariff for revenue only. He favored a tax on incomes and luxuries and the gradual removal of the burden of taxation on necessities. An increase from 33 1-3 to 50 per cent. in the British preference was another plank in the Liberal platform.

Had No Mandate

That the present government had no mandate from the people, was reactionary and supported by special interests and privileges was the charge made by Mr. King against the present administration. The members of the elected government had all resigned and the people had not been consulted as to the present government, as to the new National Liberal and Conservative party or any af its policies. He urged a coordination of the Liberal Farmer, Labor and other parties which he termed progressive, to fight the N L.C. group which he designated as reactionary.

Large Audience

The Empress theatre was packed to its utmost capacity last evening when Mr. King addressed the large audience, composed of electors from almost every part of the exhaustive federal constituency of Prince Albert, under the auspices of the Prince Albert Liberal Association.

Ladies formed a large number of the audience the ladies of the Ladies Liberal organization occupying the boxes, and they followed the presentation of the great economic problems of the day with keen attention.

Chas. McDonald, M.L.A. for Prince Albert presided and had Mr. King on his right and O. Turgeon, M.P., the father of Saskatchewan's attorney general on his left. On the platform were Lt. Col. Jas. Wilson, W. W. Rutan, Dr. R. L. King, Mayor S. McLeod, George Taylor, M.L.A.,Kinistino; Hon. W. R. Motherwell, Hon. W. F. A. Turgeon, W. C. Kennedy, M. P. Essex, Andrew Hayden, general secretary of the Liberal Union, Ottawa; W. Duff, M.P., Lunenburg, N. S.; F. W. Halliday, and Dr. R. C. Bain.

Natural Resources

Chas. McDonald M.P. opened the meeting with extending congratulations to the citizens of Prince Albert on the visit of the leader of the liberal party, and to the committee in charge in the splendid enthusiasm which had drawn such a large audience.

Saskatchewan with its huge territory producing more grain than the rest of the Dominion, was deeply and vitally interested in the tariff and transportation questions.

They had heard much of tariffs which was contradictory. Mr. Ballantyne said all the country needed was a moderate tariff while the premier said that any inadequate tariff would be ineffective.

Another question of the [illegible] importance to the province was the return to the prairie provinces of their own natural resources and that they should be placed on equal terms in this matter with British Columbia and the eastern provinces.

Parental Affection

O. Turgeon M.P. said he knew that the splendid audiences was anxious to hear the chief speaker but he could not resist an expression of gratitude to the citizens of Prince Albert for the kindly sympathy and generosity and affection they had extended to his son the Hon. W. F. A. Turgeon, M.L.A., and he as a parent felt that whatever success his son had achieved it was mainly due to the support which he had been given by the good citizens of Prince Albert and he would feel for them a measure of gratitude which would go with him to the grave.

He would not touched upon the great questions except to say that if the liberal party came into power one of the first actions would be to return to the prairie provinces the natural resources for their own administration.

It had been said that the country would not see another Sir Wilfred Laurier for a century but he ventured to say that the gentleman who would address them that evening would prove to be another of the great leaders of the old party. He had watched his progress from a young politician to his present position and the better he knew him the greater his admiration and confidence in his ability increased.

Appreciative Welcome

Mr. King in opening thanked the electors of Prince Albert for the reception accorded him and his colleagues. Prince Albert had given them the best welcome in the west.

Plunging at once into a discussion on the tariff Mr. King stated that it was not altogether a surprise to see the interest the people of western Canada were taking in public affairs. For ten years there had been no political education in the west. In 1911 there had been the reciprocity campaign and in 1914 the war had broken out and since that time the war had taken up all the nations thoughts.

In the two years subsequent to the war matters had gone back more to pre-war standards though things would never be the same again. At the present time the country was in a period of transition and it was difficult to get the trend of affairs and to perceive the various forces at work and to see where they were leading.

Two Great Forces

At the present time there were two great forces of reaction which aims to put matters back to what they stood before the forces of progress which were working for a better and bigger future, to make it better than

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the past has been.

This was true of all the great epochs in history. After a great upheaval there were always these two forces contending.. It was not easy however to distinguish between reaction and progress. When these two factors were rightly appreciated it would be more simple to see the real trend of affairs.

New Electors

Mr. King referred to the appearance of entirely new additions to the electorate, the young people who have become enfranchised during the past few years as well as the returned soldiers. In 1917 domestic issues were not at stake so that the future would see the new electors dealing with the great public issues.

There was still another great class who might have a voice—the great group of citizens who were defranchised at the last Dominion election. At the instance of an autocratic government hundreds of thousands of citizens had been disfranchised—a case of taxation without representation. He hoped to see them enfranchised for the next election.

There was a fourth group, the women who had been enfranchised and who at the next election would be exercising that franchise for the first time. Thus with these four groups and the newcomers to the country having a say in the next election it was all the more important that the issues of the day be dealt with from an educational point of view.

Mr. King then went into a discussion of the various political groups, the liberal party, the farmers group, the labor organization and others, all part of a great progressive body. There was also a group diametrically opposed to these groups.

The Liberal Convention

The late Sir Wilfrid Laurier had conceived the idea of the great liberal convention which was held in Ottawa. The convention was called with a view to bringing the liberal platform up to date. The invitations were sent irrespective of the opinion of 1917 or with reference to the elections of 1917. It was not for one liberal to judge another. This had no part in liberalism, and no count was taken as to whether a liberal voted for or against the unionist platform in 1917.

The invitations were sent irrespective of race, creed or geographical domicile. There were 1500 delegates and as many alternates. After three days' discussion of the issues at stake, the convention chose a leader by the democratic method of relying on the people to make their own choice by secret ballot of their selecter representatives.

Liberalism and Freedom

Mr. King referred to the meaning of Liberalism which had always carried the banner of freedom to the fore, as against autocracy. There was therefore no change in the name of the party when the matter was discussed at the convention. One consideration was paramount; that the people should decide all questions and the Liberal program was created in this manner.

The farmers had adopted the same methods. They met in open convention, and openly discussed the great questions of the day. In the choice of leadership the same method was followed, being done in truly democratic fashion. Again in the case of the Labor party; the unions had appointed delegates and affairs had been conducted in the open. All these parties, therefore, had carried out the same fundamental democratic principle in formulating their platforms and appointing their leaders.

A Contrasted Method

Mr. King then referred to what he termed a contrasted method in the case of the other group. About July 1, the name of the new National Liberal and Conservative party was announced and was sent broadcast over the country. Its platform was sent out in the same way and finally its leader, the premier of Canada, was announced. No convention, no democratic method of choice, no consulting of the people. The electors had been given no opportunity to express any opinion on the question of a name, platform or leadership of this party. Mr. King asked the audience if any had been consulted or given any opportunity to express any opinion. None answered and the speaker said it was the same in the case of every audience he had spoken to an his tour.

Taxes Without Authority

This National Liberal and Conservative party had taken over the government of this country and had inflicted taxes amounting to $600,000,000 without a word of authority from the people of Canada.

Big Interests Ruling

There must be some powerful influences behind these people to enable them to do this thing, said Mr. King, powerful anti-socialist interests. These interests must have been powerful or the government would not have been able to do what it did do. The real question in Canada today was as to whether this country will continue to be governed by the big interests or by the forces of progress as representing the masses of the people. That was the big issue, the fundamental question.

Every man must decide for himself whether he shall cast his lot with the big anti-socialist interests or the great progressive parties. It was not a choice to be ignored. The ballot must be cast for artocracy and special privilege or the institutions of democracy and freedom.

All should therefore be careful to see that they understood the great political question of the day and decide whether autocracy must continue or democracy take the reins.

Autocracy always ruled by force and by dividing the opposing forces, getting them to dispute among themselves, while autocracy got solidly behind its men and put them into power. Democracy must guard against these tactics.

Mr. King declared that the big interests were using their power to combat the forces of progress in many ways. A newspaper at the Pacific coast had informed him that a big boot and shoe concern had written the paper announcing that it would withdraw its advertising because the paper was supporting McKenzie King instead of Mr. Meighen. Privilege was using its wealth to subsidize the press through advertising.

Common Interests

Mr. King stated that he and his colleagues were not in the west to offer opposition to the farmers' and labor parties or the citizens generally, but to ask if their interests were not common interests, to co-operate and destroy a common enemy.

It had been said that the time for co-operation was not before an election but after. Are the men and women of the farmers' party, for instance, in that party for their principles, or that they might deliver the party over to the reactionaries? It had been done. Therefore it was better to find out such people before election and get rid of them, rather than let them betray their party.

No Pussyfooting

Such co-operation should be in the open. There should be no pussyfooting. "If we can't come to an arrangement in the open, then no arrangement at all," said Mr. King.

Unless there was some understanding among the progressive forces before the contest, there might be no opportunity to reach such an understanding afterwards.

Mr. King referred to the united command of Germany in holding back the divided allies and the final defeat of Germany after the allies got concerted action under one direction. He declared the political warfare must be waged in similar manner.

Should Get Together

The reactionary forces had wealth and through it the ability to subsidise the press through advertisements, the handing out of offices and public funds and similar resources. On the other hand, the people were without such resources of wealth. It was better that the progressive groups got together and weighed together the things held in common, working to bring about a common victory.

Responsible Government

As to the things in common. The first was representative and responsible government. There was no such government in power at the present time. Yet the present government would not go to the country for two years, and could not be made to go unless the progressives got united action. The iniquitous franchise act had been put into force to enable the reactionaries to manipulate the election lists and the elections. They now wanted to cut up the constituencies. The thing most important to the west were the policies to be formulated, so it could not afford to permit this gerrymandering.

In parliament there was the closure the reactionaries had put into force. Torvism wanted to control the electoral machinery, and would let the people look out for themselves.

No Right in Office

Either the government was representative of a new party or of the old Unionist party under a new name. The old Unionist government had no right to continue after having sacrificed the right to continue in office. As a new government it had no right in office and should give the people its right to elect its own government by a general election.

Mr. Meighen, said the speaker, was stumping the country on the Unionist record. Yet the men of the Unionist government had all resigned. They had all resigned, and yet Mr. Meighen claimed to represent all the virtues of that government.

Among the men who had resigned from the government Mr. Meighen claimed to represent were McLean, Carvell, Crerar, Rowell, Burrell, Sir Thomas White, General Mewburn and Premier Borden himself.

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Great Expenditures

The paramount issues of the day, Mr. King stated, included the high cost of living, which was bound up with the question of taxation, upon which depended the question of the tariff. There were also the railway and natural resources questions. As to taxation, this was at the base of the whole of the finances of Canada. The public debt was the first great charge upon the people of Canada. It had to be met before anything else was paid. Ten years ago this debt was $340,000,000; now it is $2,273,000,000, a great debt for a population of eight or nine millions. Not only has the debt to be repaid but also the yearly interest. Ten years ago this interest amounted to $12,500,000 annually; now it was $140,000,000. Ten years ago the public expenditures of Canada were $87,000,000; yet today $140,000,000 must be paid in interest before the public expenditures can be met. There were public expenditures due to the war; soldiers' land settlement $500,000,000, soldiers' civil re-establishment $40,000,000; pensions $43,000,000, demobilization $39,000,000, making in all a total of $313,000,000. The government has asked for six or seven hundred millions.

Need for Economy

One would have thought, said Mr. King, that in view of these things the government would have left alone any unnecessary expenditures. Yet with a war just over the government asked for $8,000,000 last year for militia expenditure and this year $12,000,000. For the navy last year $600,000 was asked; this year $2,500,000. There were also great expenditures for the mounted police. This famous western force cost $800,000 annually a few years ago. This year $5,000,000 was asked for the mounted police and the dominion police. A new barracks to cost half a million was to be built, not at Prince Albert or other western centre, but at Ottawa.

"We say increased production, not militarism," said Mr. King. Canada has 194 armories and only 25 experimental farms. Half our revenue for the past six months will go for militia, naval and police expenditures. Only one percent for agriculture. The Liberal party is putting its power behind agriculture and industrial development"

Stood by Platform

As to the tariff, it would appear that Mr. Meighen believed that Liberals and farmers were both alike; were free traders and revolutionaries, said the speaker. The farmers were not a free trade party, ralizing as they did the necessities of tariff for revenue. So Mr. Meighen then switched over and said the Liberals were protectionists like his own party. This was as false as the other statement. The Liberal party stood or fell by its platform which was down in black and white. There was not one Liberal platform for the east and a different one for the west. There was one Liberal platform for the whole of Canada.

The Liberal party believed the tariff needed revision, said Mr. King. He did not mean a commission such as Mr. Meighen sent out. There should be a revision and a downward one on the necessaries of life—clothing, food, boots and shoes. It was in the interests of the people of the country that the duties on these things should be wiped out or reduced. Then there should be increased production by the making of the implements and machinery for production cheaper.

Taxation for Revenue

The Liberal policy has therefore not a free trade policy, nor a protectionist policy for the benefit of special interests. Taxation should first be placed in income, on luxury, on business profits and so forth. Then a certain measure of indirect taxation through the customs duties was necessary until such time as it could be dispensed with.

An increase of the British preferential tariff was also advocated—an increase from the present 33 1-3 to 50 per cent. Mr. King then read out the Liberal platform in detail as formulated at the Ottawa convention. This platform had been given to the east and west, in the same form and policy for the entire Dominion, he said.

During the last two years we have tried to bring the tariff platform into effect. Last year and this year there were resolutions put forth in the house by the Liberals, but both were defeated. The one this year was lost by the votes of members from western Canada. Every Liberal in the house, east and west, voted for the reduction of the tariff, but of the Saskatchewan members 8 voted for and 8 against; Alberta, 4 for and 8 against, and Manitoba, 4 for and 11 against. If all members from Saskatchewan and Alberta had voted as they had pledged their constituents, the resolution would have passed.

The Farmer-Labor group, said Mr. King, had also supported the resolution, but a number of farmers remained behind Mr. Meighen and voted against the resolution.

Vote on Resolution

The following Saskatchewan members voted with the Liberals: Gould, Johnson, Reid, McHarg, Long, Knox, Levi Thompson and McNutt. On the other hand, the following voted against the resolution: Wright, Laing, Myers, Calder, Cowan, Wilson, Orgue, and Thompson (Weyburn). Had these men voted with the Liberals the government would have had to give way. There were other farmer members in Alberta who voted against the resolution.

Ontario, said Mr. King, would give a bigger Liberal majority in the next election. Was it advisable to provoke a fight with Ontario and thus divide forces? Was it not better to co-operate against the common enemy?

Mr. King referred to the Liberal resolution on the encouragement of agriculture by farm loans, and the principle of interior and terminal cold storage elevators for farm products. Cold storage transportation at cost of food products had also been advocated, as well as the distribution of cheap fertilizer. All these things were based on the Liberal principle of encouraging production. This would also check the drift of population from rural to urban centres. "More silos and fewer skyscrapers and tenements," declared Mr. King. Measures to put an end to profiteering were also advocated by the Liberal party, he added.

Railway Matters

Referring to railways, the speaker mentioned public ownership. Government ownership meant the elimination of the payment of profits and interest to private capital, and at the same time give the public the right to control and manage the road and to inquire into the methods of its operation.

Protected Stockholders

Yet the government had protected the debenture holders instead of the public. It had guaranteed the payment of the interest of the debentures in exchange for the right to manage and control the railways and the option of purchase in 20 years for $500,000,000. A larger rate of interest had been guaranteed than the debenture holders had received in the past, and the people were called upon to make good this deficit. Furthermore, the government had refused to let the people have any say in the management of the road, but had shifted the responsibility on to the shoulders of the railway commission. He had heard in the west that business was being given to the C.P.R. because of poor service on the government railways.

People Deceived

The people have been deceived, said Mr. King. The government had been protecting the big interests, the shareholders. It was time the country returned to responsible government. The present government passed railway responsibility over to the railway board and the sugar responsibility to the board of commerce, thus evading responsibility. Capital, labor, management and the community goodwill were necessary to the successful operation of railroads and not the shifting of responsiblity to any commission.

The restoration of the natural resources to the provinces was advocated by Liberalism. If returned to power the Liberals would see the resources turned over to the provinces concerned.

Reforms Needed

In conclusion, Mr. King spoke of retrenchment and economy in public expenditure, the reduction of the cost of living and of the tariff on the necessaries of life and the handing over of the natural resources as transcendnig all other public matters and reforms. It was necessary to have a real representative and responsible government.

The Unionist government were all lawyers. No wonder farmers and labor wanted to take a hand in the government of the country. It was union all right, but a union of lawyers. It was necessary to have the best legal talent in the house, but what was also needed was real representation of the farmers, labor men, Great War Veterans and the other classes making up the great Canadian people.

Group or class government was condemned by Mr. King. A national party with a national platform was necessary. A class group inevitably brought other groups into conflict. A party which included all groups and classes could not be criticized in this manner. The only opposition against it would

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be the special interests and privilege.

Consideration and co-operation would result in victory and the speaker advocated the elimination of three-cornered fights and real co-operation for the benefit of the great principles that were being upheld.

Mr. King referred to the fight against monopoly—the war with Germany, who sought a monopoly. Any attempt at such a monopoly immediately brought free men in the fight against it. The same held true of monopoly in governments.

Pledge to Veterans

It was necessary to make the sacrifices of the war of real help. The war was only two years past, but already selfishness was growing up again. The great worth of Liberalism day was in connection with the struggle for economic freedom—to help make good the pledges to the men who went overseas and died.

Liberalism meant freedom and the present fight was for economic freedom. He and his colleagues had started at the Pacific and would carry acros Canada to the Atlantic, the call for the men and women of the Dominion to rally in this struggle to make Canada a finer and better place to live in, a country of real economic freedom.

Vote of Thanks

On the conclusion of his address, Mr. King resumed his seat amidst loud applause, having spoken for two hours without a break. His eloquence as an orator was unquestionable, and in moving a vote of thanks to the speaker, Chas. McDonald said that they had often heard of the oratory of their late chieftain, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, but after the address they had listened to he was convinced that the mantle of Sir Wilfrid had descended upon his successor.

The singing of the national anthem brought a very successful meeting to a close.

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Edmonton Bulletin
Oct 29/20

D 4837

King Charges Unfair Treatment In Amount of Money Expended on Agricu'ture By The Government

Iberal Leader in Address at Prince Albert Points Out Government is Maintaining 194 Armories And Drill Halls at Great Expense And But 25 Experimental Farms—What Country Needs, He Declares is More Acres Under Crop, More Orchards, More Herds, More Swine, More Silos And Fewer Skyscrapers

PRINCE ALBERT, Oct. 28.—Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King addressed a large audience here tonight. He was assisted by O. Turgeon, M.P., while on the platform with him were Hon. W. F. A. Turgeon, attorney general in the Saskatchewan government the chair being occupied by Chas. McDonald the member for the local riding in the legislature.

Mr. King in the course of his address which was made before an audience composed largely of farmers, dwelt at some length upon the necessity of encouragement to agriculture as the great basic industry of the Dominion, he pointed out that the latest federal revenue figures indicated that out of a total of $220,000,000 only $200,000 had been spent on agriculture or slightly under one per cent. whereas enormous sums of the public money were being spent in ways that were wholly unproductive. No country can attain to greatness where the backbone of its prosperity receives such unfair treatment.

Only 25 Experimental Farms.

He cited the circumstance that there were in Canada at present 194 armories and drill halls owned by the government which were being maintained even in time of peace, at great expense, and but 25 experimental farms. In the province of Ontario alone he said, there were 2 experimental farms and 107 drill halls and armories.

The government is spending this year over twenty-two and a half million of dollars for military and naval defence and police, in addition to $175,000,000 on other military expenses occasioned by the war, in the nature of a (for soldiers land settlement, soldiers re-establishment, pensions and demobilization.) For the latter item alone $39,000,000 had been voted.

Mr. King took no exception to any expenditure being made on account of the returned soldiers, but stated that apart from necessary outlays in this connection, the country should turn its attention primarily to the fostering of production, rather than to matters that were wholly unproductive in their nature.

Should Make Lands Yield.

At the present time, only one tenth of the arable land of our country is under cultivation, he said, the duty of a government at this hour is to make the other nine-tenths of Canada's lands yield food for the population within and the people without, and to help lift the load from the shoulders of working men, their wives and children by lowering living costs, continued Mr. King. "We need more acres under crop; more orchards; more herds; more swine; more silos and fewer skyscrapers."

"There is a man in this country who produced the best wheat that the world has ever seen. Was he given any recognition for this great achievement? Men who have built large business enterprizes have been honored and singled out, but this man who is also a benefactor to mankind has been passed by unnoticed. Men of this calibre are the really great men of Canada, they should be honored and helped to still greater achievements."

Fertilizers at Lowest Possible Cost.

Mr. King also said that in the interests of agriculture in aid of greater production and for the conservation of the soil, the Liberla party were of the opinion that the government should arrange for the distribution of fertizilers at the lowest possible cost.

He maintained that the greatest question in Canada was the cost of living and that its only ultimate solution lay in greater production. It was for this reason that the Liberal party felt that in the interests of Canada, as a whole, too much encouragement could not be given to the agricultural industry.

DECLARATION OF CHIEFTAIN IS APPLAUDED

Statement of Hon. W. L. M. King on Natural Resources Enthusiastically Received

PRINCE ALBERT, Oct. 28.—The Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King met with a reception here in which all civic bodies and associations participated. There was a large crowd of citizens to meet him as he stepped from the train, among those present being the mayor of Prince Albert and Attorney-General Turgeon. Mr. King accompanied by W. C. Kennedy, M.P., W. Duff, M.P., and Andrew Haydon, was taken directly to the city hall from the station. There he was the recipient of three addresses, one from the city, one from the ladies Liberal association, and one from the Prince Albert Liberal association.

Declaring in reply to the address from the city of Prince Albert, which expressed the hope of future provincial control of Saskatchewan's natural resources, that it was part of the policy of the Liberal party to get at that control, Mr. King received hearty applause from those who attended the civic reception.

Following the reception Mr. King and his party were tendered a luncheon at which the mayor presided, while on Mr. King's left sat W. Knowles, M.P., who represents Prince Albert in the Dominion House as member. In addition to Mr. King's brief address, short speeches were made by Mr. Knox, O. Turgeon, M.P., W. C. Kennedy, M.P., W. Duff, M.P., and The Hon. W. F. A Turgeon, attorney-general for Saskatchewan.

In the afternoon Mr. King was taken to the convention of the teachers of the city and district which is in session here, and gave a twenty minute address. In the evening he met with the usual overflowing audience at the mass meeting held in the Empress theatre.

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M. F. P. Oct "29 20

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OTTAWA NEGLECTING AGRICULTURE—KING

Says Farming Industry Gets -Less Than One Per Cent. of Public Money Expended

Canada Needs More Silos and Fewer Skyscrapers, Asserts Leader of Opposition

Prince Albert, Sask., Oct. 28.—The Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King addressed an audience which packed the Empress theatre here tonight. He was assisted by O. Turgeon, M.P., while also on the platform with him were W. F. A. Turgeon, attorney-general in the Saskatchewan government, and Chas. Macdonald, the member for the local riding in the legislature, who presided.

Mr. King, in the course of his address, which was made before an audience composed largely of farmers, dwelt at some length upon the necessity of encouragement to agriculture as the great basic industry of the Dominion. He pointed out that the latest federal revenue figures indicated that out of a total of $220,000,000 only $200,000 had been spent on agriculture, or slightly under one per cent., whereas enormous sums of the public money were being spent in ways that were wholly unproductive. No country can attain to greatness where the backbone of its prosperity receives such unfair treatment.

He cited the circumstance that there were in Canada, at present, 194 armories and drill halls owned by the government which were being maintained even in time of peace at great expense, and but 25 experimental farms. In the province of Ontario alone, he said, there were two experimental farms and 107 drill halls and armories.

The government is spending this year over $22,500,000 for military and naval defence and police, in addition to $175,000,000 on other military expenditures occasioned by the war in the nature of appropriations for Soldiers' Land Settlement, Soldiers' Re-establishment, Pensions and Demobilization. For the latter item alone $39,000,000 had been voted.

Would Put Production First

Mr. King took no exception to any expenditure being made on account of the returned soldiers, but stated that, apart from necessary outlays in this connection, the country should turn its attention primarily to the fostering of production rather than to matters that were wholly unproductive in their nature.

At the present time only one-tenth of the arable land of the country is under cultivation, he said. The duty of a government at this hour is to make the other nine-tenths of Canada's lands yield food for the population within and the peoples without, and to help lift the load from the shoulders of working men, their wives and children, by lowering living costs, continued Mr. King. "We need more acres under crop, more orchards, more herds, more swine, more silos and fewer skyscrapers."

"There is a man in this country who produced the best wheat that the world has ever seen. Was he given any recognition for this great achievement? Men who have built large business enterprises have been honored and singled out, but this man, who is also a benefactor to mankind, has been passed by unnoticed. Men of this calibre are the really great men of Canada. They should be honored and helped to still greater achievement."

To Encourage Production

Mr. King stated that it was an integral part of the Liberal platform and programme to encourage co-operation and induce greater investment in farming. The Liberal convention had declared in favor of utilizing the national credit to assist co-operative agricultural credit associations, to provide capital for agriculture at the lowest possible rates, also to extend the principle and system of Canadian government elevators as a means of reducing the high cost of living, by eliminating as far as possible the expense of handling food products between producer and consumer, to provide interior and terminal cold storage facilities for the assembling, assorting, storing and grading food products, in order that co-operative organizations and others may have available to them reliable modern equipment for the distribution of farm products in superior condition and at less cost, either for domestic consumption or for export.

He said, further, that it was part of the Liberal policy that cold storage transportation facilities should be provided at cost of operation for the shipment of food products throughout Canada, and for the carrying to the markets of the world the surplus farm products of this country, and delivering them in such a condition that would make Canadian foodstuffs a standard of quality in the world.

Mr King also said that in the interests of agriculture, in aid of greater production and for the conservation of the soil, the Liberal party was of opinion that the government should arrange for the distribution of fertilizers at the lowest possible cost.

He maintained that the greatest kuestion in Canada was the cost of living and that its only ultimate solution lay in greater production. It was for this reason that the Liberal party felt that in the interests of Canada as a whole too much encouragement could not be given to the agricultural industry.

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"Globe" Oct. 29, 1920

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MACKENZIE KING BIDS FOR VOTES OF AGRICULTURISTS

Too Little Money for Experimental Farms; Too Much for Drill Halls

HITS SKYSCRAPERS, TOO

Really Great Men in Canada Are Those Who Produce Best Wheat, Says Leader

(By Canadian Press.)

Prince Albert, Sask., October 28.—Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King addressed an audience which packed the Empress Theatre here tonight. He was assisted by O. Turgeon, M.P., while on the platform with him was W. F. A. Turgeon, Attorney-General in the Saskatchewan Government, the chair being occupied by Charles Macdonald, the member for the local riding in the Legislature. Mr. King, in the course of his address, which was made before an audience composed largely of farmers, dwelt at some length upon the necessity of encouragement to agriculture as the great basic industry of the Dominion. He pointed out that the latest revenue figures indicated that out of a total of $220,000,000, only $200,000 had been spent on agriculture, or slightly under one per cent., whereas enormous sums of the public money were spent in ways that were wholly unproductive. No country can attain to greatness where the backbone of its prosperity receives such unfair treatment.

He cited the circumstances that there were in Canada at present 194 armouries and drill halls owned by the Government, which were being maintained even in time of peace at great expense, and but twenty-five experimental farms. In the province of Ontario alone, he said, there were two experimental farms, and 107 drill halls and armouries.

The Government is spending this year over 22½ millions of dollars for military and naval defence and pensions, in addition to $175,000,000 on account of military expenses occasioned by the war, in the nature of appropriations for soldiers' land settlement, soldiers' re-establishment, pensions and demobilization. For the latter item alone $39,000,000 had been voted.

Mr. King took no exception to any expenditure being made on account of the returned soldiers, but stated that, apart from necessary outlays in this connection, the country should turn its attention primarily to the fostering of production rather than to matters that were wholly unproductive in their nature.

At the present time only one-tenth of the available land of our country is under cultivation, he said. The duty of a Government at this hour is to make the other nine-tenths of Canada's lands yield food for the population within and the peoples without, and to help lift the load from the shoulders of workingmen, their wives and children, by lowering living costs, continued Mr. King.

"We need more acres under crop, more orchards, more herds, more swine, more silos and fewer skyscrapers."

"There is a man in this country who produced the best wheat that the world has ever seen. Was he given any recognition for this great achievement? Men who have built large business enterprises have been honored and singled out, but this man, who is also a benefactor to mankind, has been passed by unnoticed. Men of this calibre are the really great men in Canada. They should be honored and helped to still greater achievement."

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He maintained that the greatest question in Canada was the cost of living, and that its only ultimate solution lay in greater production. It was for this reason that the Liberal party felt that in the interests

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MACKENZIE KING LIBERAL LEADER IS TENDERED A GENIAL WELCOME TO PRINCE ALBERT ON FIRST VISIT

Is Presented With Address By City Council, Women's Liberal Association and the Federal Liberal Association—Makes a Pleasing Reply to Felicitations of Organizations—Is Tendered Banquet This Afternoon and Will Speak at Public Meeting at Empress Theatre Tonight

Declaring in reply to an address from the city of Prince Albert, which expressed the hope of future provincial control of Saskatchewan's natural resources, that it was part of the policy of the Liberal party to grant that control, Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King received hearty applause from those who attended the civic reception to the Liberal leader, held in the city council chamber at eleven o'clock this morning.

Mayor McLeod presided, and the civic address was read by E. F. Webb, city clerk. The address from the Ladies' Liberal association was read by Mrs. R. L. King, while Major J. H. Lindsay, K.C., read the address from the Liberal association of the constituency of Prince Albert. Hon. W. R. Motherwell attended the reception and occupied a chair near the mayor and Mr. King.

Address from the City

The address on behalf of the city was as follows:

The Honorable W. L. Mackenzie King, M.P.

Sir,—

On behalf of the citizens of Prince Albert and the residents of Northern Saskatchewan it gives us great pleasure to welcome you to this city.

Prince Albert is always glad to have a visit from the distinguished leaders of the historic political parties of the dominion and on this occasion is exceptionally glad to welcome you on this, your first visit since your election to the position held for so long by your late revered chief, Sir Wilfrid Laurier.

We are glad that the leaders of political life in this country are at this time taking the opportunity of making themselves acquainted with the various constituencies in the west. It is, we believe, right and proper that the people of this western country should have an opportunity of listening to and meeting Canada's leading statesmen, especially in times such as the present when there is a certain spirit of unrest abroad in the land. Gatherings of this kind enable the leaders of the parties to learn, at first hand, conditions and the people have a better opportunity of learning just what the various parties stand for, and what manner of men their leaders be.

Prince Albert, where you are today, is the centre of the finest and largest mixed farming district of this province and is known as Northern Saskatchewan. While this part of the province is called Northern Saskatchewan as a fact Prince Albert lies some sixty miles south of the geographical centre of the province. The known agricultural areas extend in northerly directions for some hundreds of miles and beyond that a country rich in minerals, timber and other natural resources. We are not without hope that one day a government will accede to the unanimous desires of the province and return to us our natural resources. It will then be a far more simple matter to explore and develop for ourselves just what lies in the big hinterland to the north.

The provincial government has just sent a party out which returned with information of big coal deposits, and prospectors from time to time bring down evidences of the great mineral wealth which lies there. The completion of the Hudson Bay line and of the line now under construction from Prince Albert to connect with this road north of The Pas will be of valuable assistance in opening up this wonderful area and we cannot too strongly urge the necessity for this as well as the fulfilling of a duty to those who have entered this country as pioneers and brought it into a state of wonderful production.

As previously indicated, we are in the midst of an exceptionally fertile mixed farming area. Crops here are never a total failure and the prosperity of the district testifies to the wisdom of the methods of farming employed here. The city is the centre of the livestock industries in this part of the province as signified by the presence of the provincial stockyards and the abbattoir plant. Our people on the whole are as prosperous as conditions generally warrant, and are looking forward to the development which is now coming to this part of the province in particular, and we hope, Canada in general.

In conclusion we once more bid you a hearty welcome to Northern Saskatchewan.

The address presented by the Prince Albert Liberal association was signed by Dr. R. L. King, president, and James H. Lindsay, K.C., secretary. It was as follows:

To the Honorable W. L. McKenzie King, M.P.:

The Liberal association of the constituency of Prince Albert extend to you a hearty welcome to our city.

We are sure that you share with us the deep sorrow which all Liberals, and in fact all Canadians, felt at the death of our late leader, Sir Wilfred Laurier, particularly because you were a close personal friend of his. We rejoice, however, that the Liberal party has secured such an able successor, and we note with satisfaction that, according to the policies outlined by you as leader of the Liberal party, the old traditions of that party are to be upheld.

The old Conservative party, now known under the name of the National Liberal and Conservative party—which name deceives no one—has been, and is now, opposed by the Liberals of our country, and will be so long as it stands for class legislation in the interests of the few, and we are satisfied that under your leadership the Liberal party will, as it always has done, advocate the rights of the people as against the moneyed interests.

During your western tour it is apparent to us that the question which most vitally interests the electors is that of the tariff, and your views meet with the approval of all who are in favor of cheapening the cost of living.

We believe that in the near future you will be called upon to form a government and to put into force the precepts which you teach.

We assure you at all times of our heartiest co-operation and support, and will use our utmost endeavor to further the interests of the Liberal party and your leadership.

Address From Women

The address presented by the Women's Liberal association was as follows:

To the Honorable W. L. McKenzie King, M.P.:

We, as representatives of the ladies of the Liberal association for the constituency of Prince Albert, wish to extend to you a cordial welcome on this your first visit to our city.

We have watched with great interest your career since you have taken upon yourself the leadership of the Liberal party, and have noted with pride the manner in which you have upheld the traditions of the Liberal party.

We assure you of our hearty support in the policies outlined by you as leader of the Liberal party, which we consider to be in the best interests of Canada as a whole, and Western Canada in particular.

We trust that you will be long spared to lead the Liberal party, and that your progress on this tour will be one long continued success.

The city council was represented by Mayor McLeod, Aldermen T. C. Davis, E. T. Bagshaw, A. S. Fraser, P. W. Mahon, and A. McL. Mathieson.

E. A. Moore, vice-president, J. P. M. Sibbald, treasurer, and J. S. Woodward, secretary, represented the board of trade.

Some of Those Present

Among those present were: Chas. McDonald, M.L.A., Dr. R. L. King, F. W. Halliday, K.C., Graham Neilson,

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St. Boniface, Man.

THE LIBERAL PATY AND THE FARMER
AND LABOUR GROUPS

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ST. BONIFACE MEETING HEARS HON. DR. BELAND

Hon. Mackenzie King and Dr. J. P. Molloy, M.P., Also Give Short Addresses

The meeting in Provencher school, St. Boniface, in the interests of Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, was presided over by ex-Mayor Beliveau. Mr. King was the first speaker, followed by Dr. J. P. Molloy, M.P. for Provencher, but the chief speaker, the magnet which filled the hall on the third floor of the school to capacity, was Hon. Dr. H. S. Beland, M.P. for Beauce, Que., who spoke in French. The leader of the opposition spoke for slightly over half an hour, having to keep his engagement to speak in Winnipeg the same evening. He gave but a brief outline of the platform on which he hopes to convince the electors of the Dominion that the present government is to be superseded at the next general election, and he also spoke with some emphasis on the fact that a great many features of both the Labor and Farmer platform coincide with the Liberal platform. He declared the readiness of the Liberals to co-operate with both Labor and Farmer parties to avoid three-cornered contests in federal edection contests, the only result of which three-cornered contests would be the election of the Meighen government candidates and the defeat of the purpose of all opposed to the present regime. He pleaded his respect for the beauty of the French language as his excuse for not speaking it, lest he should not do it justice, but promised his hearers a treat when Dr. Beland should arrive.

Between the departure of Mr. King and the arrival of Dr. Beland, Dr. Molloy spoke with enthusiasm of the principles for which he had stood as a supporter of Sir Wilfrid Laurier and would continue to support the duly appointed, properly chosen successor to the great chief. As for mistakes he might have made, and he did not plead impeccability, Dr. Molloy refused to make any apologies, for he contended that at the time he registered his votes in the house of commons he felt convinced that he was doing right and still believed he was right. He closed with a bitter charge against the Union government that it had betrayed the farmers and their sons in 1917 when after securing their support and re-election they immediately conscripted the sons of farmers, breaking the solemn promise made but 15 days before the election.

Beland Warmly Welcomed.

Dr. Beland's welcome was most cordial, and he showed his appreciation of it by assuring his hearers that he felt as though he were back at home in his own town on the Riviere du Loup. He declared his visit to the west would not be complete without having the opportunity of coming to St. Boniface and discussing with this large section of the French-Canadian population of Canada. He referred to his imprisonment in Germany but only to illustrate a comparison between the autocrats of Germany and those of Ottawa. Before entering upon a discussion of the political issues of the day, Dr. Beland told a few anecdotes, one of which brought forth laughter, when he told how, as a child he had asked his father where three citizens of Riviere du Loup were going that the rest of the town was making such a commotion over their departure. On being told that they were going to Manitoba, he asked: "Where is that?" The reply, "Au bout du monde," was greeted by a roar from the audience, since they are in what is very much the centre of the world for them.

"On my return from Germany two years ago," said Dr. Beland, "my first duty was to try to re-establish between the two great divisions of the Canadian people, the French-speaking and the English-speaking, that spirit of good will so necessary if we are to get along in harmony as we should. I know not how far I have succeeded, but I know that in all the English-speaking centres I was persona grata, and did my best to demonstrate to these people the great fundamental differences between the French-Canadian and the Canadian of other origin. I showed them that we were the first Canadians, and that for three hundred years our people had been isolated from their mother country. In every gathering of English-speaking people where I spoke I asked if there were not some among them who had relatives more or less near and dear in the British Isles. Never did I fail to find some such. Then I tried to convince them that this was not the case with the French-Canadian, whose whole family and relatives near and far is confined to this country, showing that while for all but the French-Canadian when England is at war Canada is at war. Yet I could proudly point to the record of the French-Canadians who had sent 25,000 volunteers to fight for humanity in the Great war. In every village or town in French Canada some mother mourns a son killed in France or Belgium, and in Beauce alone there are two such that I know of.'

Urged to Forget Past.

Dr. Beland turned then to politics and with an appeal to his hearers to forget the past urged them to consider the merits of the present situation and by earnest good will live with the rest of Canada for the advancement of the cause of both sections of the Dominion. "I see you understand the political situation," he said, and raised a laugh when he added, "perhaps better than I. I do not know your political leanings of the past, but I know that no French-Canadian doubts the sincerity of the efforts for his country of the late Sir Wilfrid Laurier. Nor can we cast doubt upon the sincerity of the elector who honors the memory of Laurier. Well, Laurier has passed, after a career that has shed lustre not only upon his own name but upon his country and his fellow countrymen. Before his death he drafted a plan for a convention for the purpose of setting out his party's platform and selecting his successor. He did not live to see the convention but it was held and his successor was duly and properly chosen by delegates fully authorized to represent all sections of the Dominion. Who is Mr. King? You understand both languages; you heard him speak tonight. He is carrying on the programme drafted at that convention. That programme calls for a downward revision of the tariff. In what does this programme differ from those of the farmers or the labor party? They all ask for the removal of the duty from the necessities of existence and from the tools and implements of production. Free trade is not feasible on all things, for a tariff of some sort is necessary for revenue. Free trade would allow competition by the highly specialized systems of manufacture in the United States to the serious detriment of large establisments in Canada which besides depending upon the United States for source of supply of raw material are confined in their market. But the farmers of Ontario and Quebec are not in favor of entire free trade. The question is pertinently asked if the farmers of the west are either. The gradual removal of duties from certain articles leaves the question, 'What is gradual?' It might be stretched to cover a century.

Discusses Tariff.

"Mr. Meighen is for a moderate tariff. To my mind that moderate tariff is the adequate tariff of Sir Robert Borden, and that is all that the protected industries require to keep them secure in the profit taking. Hon. Mr. Ballantyne, a Liberal of 1911 is now a member of the Meighen government. The Union government personnel is gone. Borden, resigned; Carvell has a job; Crerar resigned; White retired and MacLean also. There remains only Meighen.

"I believe Mr. Meighen has great ability, but not enough. He is a protectionist and calls everybody else a free trader. He is at the top of the tariff ladder and Mr. King is at the bottom. That is one difference. Af-

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ter all, it is the thing itself that counts; the name is immaterial. We have to remember that the net debt of Canada is two billions, or to put it in proper French, two milliards. The interest on that debt has to be raised off the tax payer of the country. A tariff for revenue is just and must be kept.

"We could not dispense suddenly with the $200,000,000 revenue from customs duties which free trade would abolish. For the war debts honestly contracted I am willing to shoulder responsibility. But Haig and other high authorities in England condemned the Ross rifle. Did the Union government discontinue the manufacture of it? No. They allowed the manufacturers to continue making their millions and their cry was 'Win the war; win the war.' The war was the pretext for all sorts of crimes of administration, and not only in Canada.

German's View of War.

"When I was in prison in Germany, after a long time the officer in charge of my prison got to know English and tried to draw me out on my opinion of the war. I evaded him for a time but finally said that I could not condone Germany's invasion of neutral Belgium. He laughed and said 'It is war.' I further criticised the treatment accorded the civilian population of invaded territories by the Germans and again he said: 'It is war.' That is the answer of the Union government when taxed with all kinds of wrong doing. The excuses of the autocrats in Germany and the autocrats at Ottawa is the same, 'it is war.' "

Hon. Dr. Beland closed with a rapid sketch of Canada's nationhood achieved by the valor of her soldiers in the World War but left the impression that like Blondin at the international postal convention, the delegates of Canada at the peace or League of Nations conferences will be voteless. Yet everyone who raised a voice against the expensive junketings of cabinet ministers to Brussells, London, Versailles or other European cities, was branded as a Bolshevist or pro-German. Nevertheless Dr. Beland claimed British citizenship and wished it known that he is as loyal a citizen of the empire as any, from choice and because he believes the parliamentary system of England the best there is when it is allowed to function properly. "Yet when we formally demanded the resignation of the Borden government," he said, "when its duties were supposed to have been discharged, we were snowed under by the government vote. The present government's tenure of office has logically expired. The platform of the Liberal party as led by Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King is the best, and I will support it. Mr. King will be the premier in the next government of Canada and it will be a broad tolerant and generous administration, for he will have the support of both labor and agricultural elements of Canada."

The chairman, in closing the meeting tendered Dr. Beland the hearty thanks of the St. Boniface electors for his visit and delightful address, and expressed the opinion that those same voters, when the time arrived would see that their votes were intelligently given.

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2 Nov. 1920 Winnipeg

CONTROL OF NATURAL RESOURCES

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Winnipeg Free Press (Dilcrue)

D 1945

SAYS LIBERALS WOULD CONCEDE WEST'S CLAIMS

Promises Natural Resources Would be Handed Over to Province

Unqualified approval of the claim of Manitoba to control of her own natural resources was expressed by Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, leader of the Liberal party of Canada, in an address Monday evening at the Board of Trade building. Hon. Mr. King discounted the claims of eastern provinces to consideration in relation to this problem, and intimated that a first duty devolving upon the Liberal administration, if returned after the next general election, would be to right the wrong done this province in last 50 years.

The Board of Trade convention hall was crowded, approximately 6,000 persons finding accommodation, and many being turned away. It was an enthusiastic meeting, though not all present agreed with the Liberal leader's views. In general tenor the gathering was much similar to that held by Premier Meighen a week ago.

While Mr. Meighen represented the debater, Mr. King gave one the impression of a lecturer on economics. He, too, was cold, incisive, and somewhat forceful. Dr. Beland, who spoke quite briefly, ascended to heights of oratory now and then, but neither speaker could be said to have accomplished the feat of arousing the mass to heights of enthsulasm.

Mr. King appeared in the hall as Dr. Beland was concluding. He was conducted to the platform by a couple pipers, skirling lustily.

One of his principal points was the common ground upon which all parties opposed to the Meighen government could stand at the next election. He strove for co-ordination of these parties, he said, and held as not essential the more or less extreme views which each held as viewed by the others.

Attacks Meighen Government

Dealing with the National Railways, he declared it was not government ownership in its truest sense, and advocated as one reform the appointment of a representative of Labor on the board of management.

The Meighen government, he averred, was a government of the "Big Interests," and one which had unduly increased the national debt by extravagance and a fiscal policy not calculated to help the masses in their fight against the increasing cost of living.

The Liberal party, he declared, stood for downward revision of the tariff, and recalling Premier Meighen's charge against him, he asserted that his only tariff policy announced wherever he spoke was wholly embodied in the platform plank adopted at the Ottawa convention of August, 1919.

Alex. McLeod, K.C., of Morden, the chairman, gave a definition of Liberalism in his opening remarks.

"Liberalism," he said, "imparts an open mind, freedom of thought, self-determining entity, unselfishness, so that a person does not consider even his own monetary welfare ——"

At this point, as he paused for breath, the audience broke out into laughter.

Continuing, Mr. McLeod said that an appeal would be made that evening to the reason, judgment, conscience and altruism of the members of the audience. He continued, amidst applause, to say that it was desirable to discuss Liberalism at this juncture. There were only two or three papers in the west who discussed Liberalism while about 2,000 or 3,000 papers were being published daily which supported the "plutocratic government at Ottawa." (Applause.)

Applause greeted his announcement that Mr. King would speak later in the evening.

Dr. Beland Speaks

In opening, Dr. Beland said his effort would not be to place before the meeting his political creed so barely as to discuss affairs of Canada from the standpoint of public interest.

"Public interest in Canada," he said, "is of greater account than the ephemeral success of a political party. And what is more conducive to public welfare than internal peace?"

Personally, he said, he was a party man. He believed the best government could be provided by party government.

"But first of all," he declared, "I am a Canadian at heart."

The first condition to obtain a better understanding between the provinces, he said, was fuller intercourse. He appealed for a wider sympathy between the various races and creeds. Another reason for his presence was to render homage to Hon. Mr. King, the "bright new leader of the Liberal party." He was glad of a chance to do this before a western audience.

At some length Dr. Beland dwelt on what he termed Mr. King's "enviable position" and his growing strength east and west. The reason for this growing strength was because he was unalterably opposed to the government at Ottawa.

Sees King As Premier

With confidence he forecast Mr. King's elevation to the premiership, declaring that on such a day the Dominion would have one in whom the people might repose the greatest confidence. Dr. Beland thought another sign of Mr. King's growing strength was the fact that a large Montreal daily of the "Tory type," which previously had discounted the leader, and occasionally eulogized him, now vigorously attacked him day by day.

The doctor said it had been impressed upon him as he journeyed from the east that Canada, with her boundless resources was a splendid country.

"As I journeyed along," said Dr. Beland, "I asked myself what is lacking in Canada at the present time—everything shou'd be going smoothly and immediately, really impartially—not as a Liberal—I came to the conclusion readily that what we lack, what we most want, is a good government."

He argued the government elected in 1917 was not the government now in power. Naming the various ministers who have left the Ottawa cabinet in the last few years, he asked:

"Where are these? Gone!"

The crowd cheered.

A number cried: "Where is Bob Rogers?"

"If you don't know in Manitoba," he said, "what can I do?"

A practical majority of the Union government has gone, he considered, and under the shadow of the tower of the new parliament that is not yet built—(laughter)—they decided to select a leader, so they picked Hon. Mr. Meighen.

Dr. Beland declared the very name of the new party had been concocted as an appeal to nationalists, Liberals and Conservatives. He asserted that no matter what name it went under, it was to be a Conservative government.

Extravagance Charged

"Mr. Meighen claims all is well; what's wrong," the doctor said. "I'll tell you. Canada's trade is going behind $20,000,000 a month."

The war had been blamed for many misdeeds, he said. It had also been the excuse, he thought for much extravagance and mismanagement.

The Germans always excused their misdeeds by saying: "It's war," he said, "and just so did the Ottawa government."

Undoubtedly the war had been mainly responsible for the present enormous national debt, he admitted. "But," he asked, "was there any excuse for the government spending millions on Ross rifles after those rifles had been condemned by the British authorities."

Millions of the war funds, he charged, had been distributed among government friends and profiteers.

Taxation had been unduly increased, he said. "Why, even the schoolgirl cannot wear a ribbon in her hair without paying a tribute to Sir Henry Drayton."

The farmers had cried in vain for relief, he declared, and the housewife had sought in vain for some signs of a reduction in the cost of living.

"All they have had," he said, amid laughter, "is a Board of Commerce, which, failing once, was reawakened from its Oriental slumber because the sugar refiners needed some relief."

Mr. Meighen appeared, he said, to live in the eighteenth century in his disregard for public opinion. He reminded the speaker of Louis XIV., of France, who said: "I—I alone, am the state."

Dwelling upon Mr. Meighen's speech at Stirling, Ont., Dr. Beland said the premier gave one the impression that in his opinion those who believed in him and his government were "nation builders," and those who were dissatisfied—veteran, farmer, citizen — were "nation wreckers".

Paying tribute to the memory of those who had fallen in the war, Dr. Beland, with oratorical effect, said "their memory would be enshrined until the last drop of water in the

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Red river has flowed by their deserted homes on the banks on its way to its destination."

Refers to Tariff

Speaking briefly on the tariff, he likened the question to a ladder. At the bottom was the free trader. At the top Mr. Meighen.

"And we," he cried, "were in the middle."

"What do you stand for?" asked an auditor.

"Tariff for revenue," replied Dr. Beland.

Asked to explain, he said such a tariff would be just high enough to provide for essential revenues and not a cent more.

The farmers of Manitoba were not a solid body of free traders. As a matter of fact, he did not believe the state of Canada would warrant the institution of free trade at the present time.

"The Liberal party," in conclusion he stated, "stood for economy and retrenchment in the administration of public affairs, together with a substantial reduction in taxation, and development and preservation of our natural resources. And in the political field I stand, as the Liberal party stands, for gradual development of Canadian autonomy under the aegis of the British flag."

Hon. Mr. King opened with an appreciation of the imporance of Winnipeg as a political centre. During his western tour, he said, he had been surprised at the crowds that had attended the meetings, yet again, he thought he should be surprised in view of the necessity for taking a keener interest in politics by the people in general.

Sees Decade of Neglect

During the war period Canadian domestic problems had been more or less neglected, as such problems had been neglected in every country of political education. In that decade since there had been any attempt at political education. In tha decade many changes had taken place, not the least notable of which was the enfranchisement of women.

Mr. King spoke of the Liberal convention held at Ottawa, August 1919. The idea of this convention, he said, was not to evolve new Liberal principles, but to find the new application of the old principles of Liberalism. At that meeting, he declared, men and women, represented all shades of thought as regards the 1917 election. There was free and open discussion and at the end of three days the platform was adopted and a leader selected.

In the past few months, Mr. King said various political parties had been formed in Canada. He referred to the Farmers' and Labor movements. He welcomed these groups as expressions of a revived Liberalism, and held it quite feasible that they should one and all unite "against the common enemy."

Both Farmers and Labor party had, as had the Liberals, held open conventions at which platforms were framed and leaders selected. He contrasted with these common methods, the method adopted in forming the National, Liberal and Conservative party.

That party had been formed, and a platform framed, and a leader selected in secret, he declared, and asked if there was one man or woman in the audience who could say he or she had any responsible part in forming that party, the choice of its leader, or the creation of its platform.

He held this contrast of methods went to the root of political situation in Canada today.

Influence of Big Interests

"As sensible men and women I ask you this question: Is it reasonable to believe that no one had any influence? Why, of course, there was an influence—a very powerful influence. What is that influence?"

"Wall st.," a voice replied.

"The influence is this," continued Mr. King, not noting the interruption. "First of all it is an influence that daren't show itself in the open and say: 'We are the ones that are responsible.' Why daren't it come out? Why? Because it is an anti-social influence. It isn't an influence of the people. It is not an influence that stands for the farmers, for labor, or for the Liberals. It is the opinion of the big interests of this country."

He explained that the term "Big Interests" used by him did not include the responsible men in business who were anxious to do business on a legitimate basis, but the predatory group that was ready to go over the heads of the people in its efforts to secure special privilege.

Canada today, he declared, was divided into two groups—the one reactionary and the other progressive. The one willing to trust themselves and the other to trust the people.

Mr. Kingwas not at all surprised to find a tendency toward group government in Canada. The old Unionist government, he pointed out, was "a union of lawyers."

Personally, he would rather a government of farmers or of labor than one of lawyers, because they would be more representative of the people.

"But," he continued, "it was not desirable to have group government. It is better that a party so generally representative of all the people, as the Liberal party of Canada, should be called upon to form a government. Such a government would necessarily have the public interest at heart."

"This, therefore," he said, "was the question for all progressives to consider, whether the interests we have in common are not important enough to make us unite to set aside the methods directed against us by the enemy."

Attacks Calders Statement

The first common ground, he held, was the need for representative government.

Mr. Calder last Monday had emphasized that Union government had carried out its mandate.

"If that were true" said Mr. King, "then its time that government got out and gave place to a government that had a mandate and had some work to do."

He alleged that Mr. Meighen and Mr. Calder had no right to claim credit for Union government record.

"Why," he cried, "they represent a party ashamed of the very name of Union government."

In any event the men who were entitled to credit for work done by the Union government had all got out, he argued.

The government therefore had no right to carry on longer, he said, and for that reason the hiberal party was contending that there should be a general election and the people given a chance to send to Ottawa a government truly representative of all the people.

Throughout the whole of the premier's speech of last Monday, he said, there was not one constructive thought in it. Without doubt at this period of Canada's history he held it essential that construction work should be done by Parliament H.e cited the cost of living as one instance.

We should take immediate measure to solve that question, he declared. "No group of men can solve that question. But I say that steps can be taken to alleviate that situation."

"I think the question of cost of living is bound up with question of taxation. Taxation can be reduced by efficiency in government.

Would Reduce Taxes

"The cost of living is the great question in Canada today. Every man and woman has felt the effect of the increased cost of living. We all know it is due in the main to the war; but it is also due in large part to an extravagant government.

"One of the ways to solve the situation is by the reduction of taxation. Another is by the revision of the tariff—a revision downward both as respects necessaries of life and the instruments of production A third method is to put on end to profiteering. We all know that there has been profiteering and we don't need to go further than the governments own commissions to find proof of it. You all know James Murdock and his word is as good as his bond in every particular. Murdock told us that while he sat as a member of the board of commerce instead of profiteering being put to an end, profiteering, as a matter of fact, had been permitted to go on and flourished under the protection of ministers of the cabinet itse'f."

To illustrate his argument regarding the growth of taxation Mr. King quoted figures, comparing the cost of government today with 1910 and 1911, the last year of Laurier administration.

He admitted the war was responsible for the growth of financial requirements, but he argued it was only right that economy should be exercised in other directions.

Claims Law Violated

He strongly denounced the acceptance by the government of torpedoe boats and destroyers from the British government without first apprising parliament of the fact they would cost $2,500,000 upkeep this year. It was upon this, he declared, that he based his assertion that the government entirely ignored the parliament.

Similar contracts had been made in regard to shipping, he asserted.

"A government which ignores the parliament by making contracts first and then demanding that the House sanction them or let the honor of Canada be defamed could not have the confidence of the people," he held.

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"If you are to have government by parliament and not by an autocratic executive," Mr. King said, "then parliament should be told in the first place and asked for its consent before any expenditure is made."

There was a more serious matter, he said. It was a law which required that all contracts for an expenditure of more than $50,000 be let by tenders.

In placing $70,000,000 worth of shipping contracts, he charged, the government deliberately violated the law.

With considerable sarcasm, Mr. King spoke of an appropriation for additional ammunition at a time when the House was informed that 50,000,000 rounds were existent in Canada.

"A question as to why the extra supply," said the leader, "elicited the information that Lord French had suggested Canada should always have 90,000,000 rounds on hand.

"When we asked at what time Lord French made this suggestion we were told it was in 1910." (Laughter.)

At some length Mr. King dwelt on the tariff question.

"Mr. Meighen," he declared, "is determined, if he can, to make the issue between free trade and protection. He can't get anyone to join him. He can't find anyone in this country who is out for free trade. Apparently Mr. Meighen has never heard of such a thing as a tariff of revenue. We recognize that tariff is necessary for revenue purposes. We say that while we are prepared to continue tariff we feel that the time has come when the tariff should be revised downward, when there should be substantial reductions in necessaries of life, substantial reductions in instruments of production. Our policy is one of tariff revision in the interests of consumers on one hand, in the interests of producers on the other. Not a revision in the interests of combines and mergers and big interests that this country may have."

Reads Tariff Resolution

Here, Mr. King read the resolution on the tariff from the Liberal platform.

"By that resolution, "Mr. King continued," we stand or fall, and we mean to carry it out and carry it out in a way that will satisfy the people of this country."

Mr. King held that reduction in the cost of living largely depended upon increased production and maintained that a reduced tariff on agricultural implements is essential to this end.

The present day trend, he said, was cityward from the farms. This was not healthy. Greater agricultural production was more important than greater industrial development.

Turning to a discussion of railway affairs, Mr. King denied the existence of a government owned railway. The act as a matter of fact provided for purchase of the Grand Trunk at the end of 20 years, but in the enterim the government had guaranteed the interest to the original stockholders.

The government would not even control these roads, he asserted. The Minister of Railways had told parliament, that the Board of Management appointed would operate the roads as a private concern, and that all the information parliament and the people would get would be the annual report of this board.

"The government practically has told this board," said Mr. King "that if the roads cannot be made to pay then all they have to do is to come to parliament and the people will pay the deficit. You've had a taste of that already in the order increasing freight rates."

Criticizes' Hanna's Order

He referred to the D. B. Hanna order barring National Railway employes from politics.

"What does the Minister of Labor say in regard to that policy? He says that it is not his business. Well I want to tell the minister of labor that it is very much his business. He is there to protect the interests of the workingmen of this country. It is part of the government's business to see that a policy such as Mr. Hanna laid down is just and fair and true. I don't hestitate to say that Mr. Hanna's policy, if made general, would deprived workingmen of this country of the right to run for parliament. What would be the result of that? That instead of looking to constitutional means of settling their grievances, they would be driven to direct action. "I think it is to the best interests of this country to have a larger number of workingmen in parliament. I think that if we have more workingmen in parliament we will have a form of government more truly representative."

"So far as the National roads are concerned," he continued, "we the Liberal party think that labor ought to be represented on the Board of Management itself."

Control of Resources

Mr. King discussed the question of provincial control of natural resources. He was emphatic and direct in the matter.

"The Liberal policy in regard to natural resources can be summed up in a word—we think the natural resources should be turned over to the different provinces of the west in Canada," he said. "They should be given control of their natural resources, and the government should see to it that they get that control.

"The claim of the west to its resources is a just claim. The ministry should be prepared to accept the responsibility of seeing that the claim should go through. What has happened to it is this, that the government has played football in this business. It has excused itself for not taking action because the provinces could not come to an agreement. If they could not come to an agreement, it's the business of a government to make an agreement and see that it is just."

Mr. King laid emphasis on the need for a careful attention to the important problem that the freedom of the world is made wider for men and women. Today the important question was economic freedom, a more equitable distribution of wealth, in order that all might have a fairer share of the good things of life.

Urges Veterans' Claims

Mr. King concluded with an eloquent plea for better consideration of the soldier problem.

"When these men offered themselves in the war," he said, "we said to them if they would give their lives to maintain freedom we would see that that freedom was made reality; that the lot of the mass of men, women and children at home was made the more contented and happy in the future than in the past.

"Let us think of those who in response to the call of country gave their lives over there. I submit that the greatest monument that could be erected to their memory in the Dominion of Canada would be a monument of these pledges righteously fulfilled. Such a monument would be worthy of so great a nation to the memory of its heroic dead."

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Edmonton Bulletin
Nov" 2/20

D 4848

Control of Natural Resources By the Provinces Advocated as Part of Liberal Party Platform

Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King at Meeting in Winnipeg Charges Present Administration With Having Made The Question a Political Football Which Had Been Bandied Back And Forth Between Parliamentary Factions—Reiterates Plea For Union Under Broad Liberal Banner of The Farmer, Labor And Other Sectional nterests

WINNIPEG, Nov. 1.—(Canadian Press.)—Control of natural resources by the provinces was advocated as an integral part of the Liberal party dominion platform, by the Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, here tonight. Mr. King charged that the present administration had made the question a political football which had been bandied back and forth between parliamentary factions. He reiterated the plea made in previous addresses for the union under the Liberal banner of the Farmer, Labor and other sectional interests whose only chance of success against the present administration he held, was to forget small sectional extremes and get together under the broad platform of his party. Mr. King charged that the government is wasteful and extravagant and is carrying on without a shadow of a mandate from the public and demanded that they go to the people before the conclusion of the legal term of office.

Five Thousand Hear Speakers.

Fifteen minutes before the hour scheduled for the meeting to start, every available seat in the auditorium which holds five thousand, was filled. Mr. King was preceded by Hon. Dr. Beland, M.P., for Beauce, Que., who attacked the fiscal policy of the present administration. Previous to the main meeting, addresses were delivered by Mr. King and Dr. Beland to an audience in St. Boniface.

Allan McLeod, acted at chairman of the meetng in the board of trade building.

Hon. Dr. Beland, M.P. for Beauce, Que., was the first speaker. He was applauded as he arose and opened his remarks by stating that one of his principal objects was the welfare of the public interest aside from political matters.

He attacked the present government on the grounds that it does not represent the will of the people as expressed in 1917, and in support outlined the present composition of the cabinet. The party name, he declared, was decided upon as a deliberate attempt to mislead the public while the government is in reality a Tory administration.

Using War as an Excuse

Mr. Beland attacked the government from a fiscal standpoint, and declared that while Premier Meighen is going about saying "all is well," the government is using the war as an excuse to cover many blunders and much extravagance. The war, he said, is responsible for some of the debt, but had the government the right to spend $2,600,000 for useless Ross rifles? Public monies, he said, were spent wastefully by the hundred million during the war and found its way into the pockets of friends of the administration. August expenditure by the government was $30,000,000 for ordinary purposes, he said, an increase of $9,000,000 in one month. The government system of taxation, he held as burdensome to all the people and relief to none.

Present discontent he attributed in a measure to war conditions, and to a great extent to the "utter, absolute unprovacature disregard to the present administration for public opinion, and its disregard of parliamentary institutions," by refusing to go to the people.

The Liberal party, he said, stood between the high tariff policy of the present government and the policy of free trade. Tairff for revenue which will afford moderate protection to necessary industries, is the aim of the party, he added.

Mr. King Tendered Ovation

Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King was tendered an ovation as he entered the hall behind two Highland pipers. He referred to the August convention of the Liberal party in Ottawa at which the policies of the party were given a new application.

He emphasized the point that everything was done in the open and that there was no concealment. He defended his choice as leader, stating that the convention held no dissenting votes, although many more experienced men had been passed over.

The real issue today, he said, was between government by the hidden "big interests," or government by parliament. The progressive groups in which he included his party, have much in common, he said, and asked that steps be taken that the progressive groups may be assured of the return of the people's representatives to the next parliament. He made a plea for unity.

The government had been for many years a government of lawyers, he said, and for his part, he would rather have a government of any other section of the people.

Suspicion of Class Domination

The farmer movement and the labor movement, he held, could not succeed alone, because they arouse a suspicion of class domination. World history shows, he added, that the public feeling has become divided into the progressive and reactionary groups. He warned against the danger of falling into the trap by the name chosen for the government groups and asked for union about the Liberal banner of all sectional groups whose interests are contrary to those of the present administration.

In reference to the railway policy of the government, he said that the government has not bought the Grand Trunk, but has merely secured an option on it for 20 years and has guaranteed a higher rate of interest to private investments than would have been secured under private control for many years. The government, he added, is afraid of its own shadow in the matter of freight rate increases.

Move Towards Direct Action

The order by Mr. Hanna, that employees of the Canadian National roads shall not run for political office, he characterized as a step toward driving working men to direct action. This policy, if followed out, would prevent a great mass of workers from taking advantage of a cardinal principle of the British constitution, which is that everyone shall have equal right, the speaker continued.

The control established by the government over the railways was in direct contravention of all principles of government ownership, he added, and in only this one matter, had they gone to the extreme of such ownership.

In conclusion, he referred to the natural resources question, and stated that the Liberal policy included control of their natural resources by the western provinces. He charged that the question has been made a government football for political purposes.

Mr. King concluded by making a plea for economic freedom, for social freedom, and for the more equitable distribution of wealth, through the adoption of the principles of the Liberal party.

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Winnipeg, Free Press, Nov 5

D 4849

BIG CROWD HEARS LIBERAL LEADER AND DR. BELAND

Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King Presents Case For His Party in Board of Trade Speech

Meeting Is Also Held in St. Boniface, At Which Hon. Dr. Beland Is Principal Speaker

Formation of New Political Party Under Premier Meighen, Comes In For Criticism

That the natural resources of the west should be turned over to the different provinces and that the government should see that they got control, was the declaration of Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King as leader of the Liberal party in Canada addressing a big audience in the auditorium of the Board of Trade building last night. "If the claim of the west," said he, "is a just claim, then all that is required is that the ministry should accept responsibility and see that the claim goes through." Mr. King called attention to the fact that excepion had been taken to the resolution in the Liberal platform that the return of the natural resources "should be on a basis equitable to the other provinces," and pointed out that the question would have to come before parliament to be settled "If the provinces cannot," said he, "come to an agreement on this business, the government should make out an agreement they think is right and just and see that its pledges are properly carried out."

Mr. King spoke for nearly an hour and three-quarters, and again stated his position on the public questions he has been discussing during his tour of western Canada. He reiterated the demand that as the Union government had ceased to function, and that as the present administration had no mandate from the people, there should be an immediate general election in order that a parliament which would truly represent the general will might be in power. He claimed that the Liberal party was made up of all the progressive groups in the country, and was, therefore, in a better position to give expression to the spirit and aspiration of the people as a whole than any other political entity. On the tariff question he declared the position of the Liberal party to be the continuance of a tariff so far as necessary for revenue purposes, but stated that while they took up that position, they felt that the time had arrived for a material revision downward, and a substantial reduction on the necessities of life and the instruments of production in the great basic industries.

Deals With Railway Transaction

Criticising the Grand Trunk transaction, Mr. King said that all that was provided was that the people of Canada would have a right to purchase the system at the end of 20 years, and that in the meantime the stockholders were getting a higher interest than when the property was under private control. Dealing with this railway led him to allude to the order issued the other day by D. B. Hanna, president of the Canadian National lines, prohibiting railway men from running for public office. He said he did not hesitate for a moment in denouncing such a policy and he claimed it would be for the best interests of the country if there was a larger number of working men in parliament. The Liberal party would rather encourage, said he, the legitimate representation of labor in parliament than to seek to make parliament representative of any particular class or group. So far as the National railways themselves were concerned, he would have labor represented on the board of directors.

The only other speaker was the Hon. Dr. H. S. Beland, member for Beauce, who addressed the meeting while Mr. King was speaking in St. Boniface, where a meeting of Liberal supporters was held in the Provencher school.

Alex. McLeod, K.C., president of the Liberal association of Manitoba, presided, and when he entered, accompanied by Dr. Beland, W. C. Kenedy, M.P., North Essex, and William Duff, M.P., Lunenburg, the hall was crowded, every seat on floor and gallery being taken, while many were obliged to stand. In the audience were Premier Norris, Hon. T. H. Johnson and Hon. Dr. Armstrong, as well as a number of provincial members.

The doors opened at 7.15 and while the audience was gathering, a programme of patriotic airs was played by the Great War Veterans' band. Mr. King entered the hall about 9 o'clock, and in compliment to his ancestors was escorted to the platform by a couple of pipers, the audience meanwhile standing and cheering in welcome.

Before Mr. King rose to speak, the chairman announced that a conference on organization would take place this morning in the Fort Garry hotel from 10 to 12, to which all opposed to the present government in Canada were invited.

In the afternoon at 2.30 Mr. King and Dr. Beland will address a meeting of women in the Walker theatre. Prior to that they will be guests of the Kiwanis club at luncheon, after which Dr. Beland will speak.

Mr. King spent yesterday morning at the Fort Garry in consultation with his supporters, and had luncheon with a party of fifty. In the afternoon he visited the parliament building and called upon Premier T. C. Norris. Later he and members of his party paid a visit to the lieutenant-governor, Sir James Aikins.

From 7 to 9 this evening there will be a reception in the Fort Garry. The party will leave Winnipeg for Dauphin at 10.40.

The chairman, Alex McLeod, K.C., introducing the subject and the speakers, said the meeting had been called for the purpose of discussing the affairs of the Dominion from a Liberal standpoint, Liberalism, the speaker said, imported the open mind and freedom of thought. The Liberal was a man who thought for himself and was a self-determining entity in the country. "The appeal this evening," said Mr. McLeod, "will be made to you on the broad ground of the common good. It is especially desirable that there should be discussion in this territory on public questions of the day from a Liberal standpoint, because from Lake Superior to the Pacific these questions have been so discussed only by two newspapers, while thousands have upheld the plutocratic government at Ottawa."

Hon. Dr. Beland.

Dr. Beland, who was the first of the visiting federal members to address the meeting, placed the public interest beyond party, much as he firmly belived in the party system in the political affairs o fa country and public interest was concerned with the welfare and happiness and contentment of the people. How were they going to have this peace and contentment if they had not obtained first racial peace for instance. How were they going to obtain it if they had not a better understanding between the different provinces, which could only be brought about by fuller intercourse and a better understanding with each other? After paying homage, as he put it, to the enlightened patriotism of Mackenzie King, Dr. Beland asked what was lacking in Canada. Why was everything not going on smoothly? What did they lack? They wanted a good government. Dr. Beland caused much merriment by recalling the names of the members of the Union government "who had gone," and commenting upon the composition of the present government he said it was in realty a Tory government. Premier Meighen, said he, had told the country "all's well" with the public debt at 2 billions and debt increasing each month. Alluding to war expenditures "millions of money," he exclaimed, "found their way into the pockets of friends and profiteers." "There's widespread dissatisfaction in the country," said he, after referring to the board of commerce and the sugar question; "there's wide dissatisfaction among the farmers, and yet Mr. Meighen says all's well and the lights are burning." "Utter, absolute and provocative disregard by the present administration for public opinion" was, he declared, the main cause of general public dissatisfaction, combined with the administration's determination not to make an appeal to the country. Asserting that moderate protection in the mouth of a Tory meant adequate protection for the manufacturers. Dr. Beland said that the Liberals stood between the free traders on the bottom rung of the tariff ladder and Mr. Meighen on the top.

"What do you say on the tariff?" a voice asked.

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Dr. Beland—"Tariff for revenue to afford incidental protection to legitimate industry.

"What does that mean?" was asked.

Dr. Beland—"You know very well. It means a tariff as low as it is possible to have it in order to procure the necessary revenue to meet the financial obligations of the country. No more.

Dr. Beland asserted that the farmers in Quebec, Ontario, and the east were not free traders, and he doubted if the majority of the farmers in the west were free traders.

A voice—"Sure they are."

Hon. Mackenzie King

Hon. Mr. King said: "Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, permit me at the outset to combine with my other colleagues in expressing to you our great pleasure to have the opportunity of beginning our series of meetings in Manitoba in the city of Winnipeg. It is indeed a great privilege and inspiration to have the opportunity of speaking to so many good Winnipeg citizens at the same time. We appreciate that those of you who have met us have thereby expressed the interest which the public of this Dominion are taking in public affairs.

"During the time we have been in western Canada we have been not a little surprised, not merely at the numbers that have turned out to listen to the discussion of the public questions, but also at the numbers of men and women who are taking their duties as citizens more seriously now than at any time in the past history of the country.

"It is nearly a decade since there has been anything in the way of political education in this country. The last election when domestic issues were discussed was in 1911. At that time the reciprocity campaign attracted interest in all parts of the Dominion. But during the war our thoughts were naturally centred upon the immediate business incident to that great conflict and in 1917 the question was the winning of the war and men and women united in that supreme issue. One effect of that concentration has been that other problems have had little or no consideration during that period and the time that has elapsed since.

Many Voting for First Time

"The young man of ten years ago, that is to say, who was twenty years old at the time of the last election, is thirty today. In addition to these there is a large number of men who are now for the first time to exercise their voices in the government of our country. When we consider all the new bodies of voters we see how vast this new electorate is. There are men who were overseas and have returned to do their part now as never before in the shaping of the destinies of our country. Then there are those who in the last election were deprived of the right of franchise altogether. We used to make much of the fact that in British countries the principle applies of 'no taxation without representation,' but in the last few years men and women, as you know, have been taxed year in and year out without representation; but there is another addition, most important indeed in respect to numbers, to the voters of this country, and that is the women who are now to have the right to take their part in the government of their country and in helping to shape the future policies of the Dominion. This great new electorate of men and women should be taking the business of government seriously and should be able on the other hand to appreciate the merits of the different groups that are coming to the fore politically so that they may intelligently decide with which of the parties they should identify themselves in the matter of government.

"The situation being what it is, I propose this evening to deal, if I may, with the questions before the country along educational lines and endeavor to show the point of view of those of us who are advocating Liberal policies. Fundamental principles are the main consideration at the present time.

The Ottawa Convention

"May I begin first of all with the party with which I have the privilege to be associated—the Liberal party. Let me recall the great convention in the city of Ottawa last August. Before Sir Wilfrid's death he had decided that in the new year the policies of the Liberal party should be brought up to date to meet the new needs of the country after the war and that the platform of the Liberal party should be the expression of their advance in keeping with the times. The Ottawa convention then was for the purpose of giving new application of the principles which are at all times common to Liberal thought and feeling. Men from all parts of the Dominion came to this convention. No distinction was made between opponents and supporters of the Union government, for the Liberal way is, to recognize every man's right to independent judgment. Particularly at great crises such as the last election it was the privilege of every man calling himself a Liberal to take what position he thought fit in the national interests. No man today will take exception to the attitude assumed by his fellowmen on that great occasion. The Liberal party will respect difference of opinion. It was inevitable in that last election that men and women should take different views, but now that the occasion is past these men and women who for a time differed in their viewpoint, should again reunite in stronger force than ever to decide what policy should be our basis in matters of government in Canada.

"At that Ottawa convention people of all classes assembled from all over the Dominion and there was free discussion. Everything was done in the open. That gathering was to seek to give expression to the will of the people as represented by the delegates assembled at Ottawa for that purpose. There came the question of the selection of a leader. It cannot be said that the method adopted was not democratic, but when the selection was made there was no opposing voice; neither was there any thought of changing the name of the Liberal party, but rather of holding the name which has expressed the attitude of the party throughout the years.

Other Parties Come Forth

"But there have come forward of late other parties. I want to draw attention to these groups as respects their method and the questions in which they are interested. The parties to which I refer are well known: the Farmers' party on the one hand and the Labor party on the other. There are others I might mention, but these are the most important new parties.

"This is a period of transition. After our great historic convulsion the aspirations of men have found expression in new movements. Some fear these new movements but I welcome them. I look upon them as the voice of the people asserting itself; so, I say, instead of fearing these new groups I welcome heartily their advent.

"I have spoken to you already of the Liberals. Let me speak of the Farmers. They called their delegates together through their different locals; everything was aboveboard. When it came to the choice of a leader the choice was made in exactly the same democratic manner as the Liberal party chose its leader. The Labor party, too, adopted the same method in calling the different unions together. They drafted a platform conveying their need of the community as a whole. The name of their party is consistent with their platform.

"On the first of July last there went out word that a new political party had been created. A new policy was outlined. That policy was published in the papers, and it was followed a little later by the announcement that a new leader had been chosen. Mr. Calder spoke here the other evening, and drew attention to the fact that we had this new political party, this new platform and this new leader. But is there a man or a women within sound of my voice who can say they had anything to do with the creation of this new party or with the choice of this new leader, or with the laying down of the policy of this new political party? What is the answer? Silence. No single person in Winnipeg, and not, I venture to say, one person in Manitoba, had anything to do with the creation of that party, the choice of that new leader, and the giving of the party its new name. Is there not something there which should make you think and ask yourselves, 'What position are we in in Canada today?' For that party controls the destinies of Canada today. It holds the position of governing this country against the will of the people and against the constitution. (Cheers.)

"As sensible men and women, I ask you this question: "Is it reasonable to suppose that there are no influences at work of which we have not heard? What are these influences? Can they be other than the influences of the big interests of this country that during the period of the war were closely associated with the government, if you will, for patriotic reasons, but have since combined to uphold the government of this country, not in the interests of the country, but in their own interests?

"We wish at the present time a government that will be truly representative of the people, irrespective of race, creed or class."

Two Political Groups

Mr. King stated that throughout the history of politics there were two groups, one the reactionary group and the other the progressive group, or, in other words, the autocratic group and the democratic group. On the one hand there was the group that would not trust the people and would only trust themselves, and on on the other hand there was the group that represented and trusted the people and sought to give expression to the popular will. His colleagues and he had come to west-

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ern Canada not for the purpose of offering opposition to any group in national society. They had come rather to say to all groups, "Let us look the situation in the face; let us see the position in Canada today, and let us ask whether the things we have in common as progressives are not such as would make us see if through combined and co-ordinated effort we cannot work out a means of dealing with the situation adequately, so that when the time comes for electing a new parliament we shall send to parliament men who are representative of progressive thought." That was not the attitude of the government, which, on the contrary, sought to pit one party in society against another.

"After all, the people of Canada had got a pretty good example of group government, when one started to think of it. The Liberals who became members of the Unionist administration were practically all lawyers. There was a Union all right, but it was a union of lawyers. He did not wish to say anything against the legal profession. As long as there were parliaments the best legal minds of the nation would be required in legislative bodies, but he thought there could be too much of a good thing. That government was a government of lawyers, and was it not natural for the farmers to say: 'If lawyers can run the country, why not farmers?' and for labor to say: 'If lawyers can administer the affairs of the country, so can labor'?

Prefers Farmers to Lawyers

"For my part, if it came to a choice between the two, I would rather have a government of farmers or a government of working men than a government of lawyers, because these large groups represent larger parts and more essential parts of the great body of people that comprise the nation. But the cure for monopoly in any one direction was not the substitution of another monopoly. The only cure was to end monopoly. It was the substitution of joint control for single control, the creation of community control rather than monopoly control by a particular group, which the Libeal party stood for, and that was why the Liberal party, made up as it was of all classes and sections and groups, was in a better position to render service to the country than any one particular group in the whole community.

"Human nature being what it is, and as the government was in the hands of a body of men who had usurped the rights of government, any general desire for the furtherance of the interests of the people was only natural. Needs of the country had to be attended to. The first need was for a representative parliament. Who would say that the present parliament was representative? The Union parliament was elected to win the war only. He noticed that Mr. Calder had stated at Winnipeg that the Unionist party had carried out the mandate it had received from the people. Assuming that was true, was it not the strongest reason in the world why the party should get out of the way and let another party in which had a new mandate? Mr. Calder's whole statement was that the work that parliament was created for had been done. If that were true, it was the strongest argument that could be urged in favor of the right of the people at the present time to a general election, to an opportunity of saying who would represent them now.

"What right had Mr. Meighen and the members of the government to claim support on the strength of the record of the Unionist government? The first act of Mr. Meighen and his friends was to cut off the name of the old Unionist party, as if they were ashamed of it. The new party they named, the National-Liberal-Conservative party, and after severing themselves from the old Unionist party it seems to me to be the height of impertinence for Mr. Meighen and his colleagues to stand up before audiences and say: 'I am entitled to carry on the government of this country because of the record made by an administration that is past and gone, and that I helped to bury?' From whatever point of view the matter was regarded, it would be found that this government had long since exhausted its right to control the affairs of this country. By their own verdict they stood condemned for carrying on after the Unionist government had ceased to be. On the other hand, if it was regarded as an entirely new administration, the government was also condemned, for it had no mandate from the people.

"The government has no right to carry on any longer," declared Mr. King, "so the first thing we are demanding today in the name of the progressive groups of the country is that there should be a general election at once.

The Cost of Living.

"The great outstanding question in Canada was the cost of living. Every man and woman had felt the effect of the increase of the cost of living. We all knew this was due to the conditions created by the war. It was also due in large part to the extravagance of the government. The mere fact that the cost of living had grown out of the war and that war conditions would constitute a problem for many years to come, was the strongest reason why at the present time we should be taking immediate measures to solve such problems. No group of men could entirely solve them, but a good deal might be done towards very considerably alleviating the situation, and it ought to be done speedily. There were three or four things which it was within the power of the government immediately to do. The high cost of living was bound up to a great extent with the question of taxation. Now, taxation has been mounting, whereas it should have been reduced. It could be reduced if the affairs of the country were administered economically and efficiently, but it would not be reduced so long as there was a group of men in power who had been accustomed to making lavish expenditures during the war without restraint from parliament, and who, as a consequence, had grown impatient of restraint."

"What about freight rates?" asked a man in the audience.

Mr. King replied: "I am going to speak of that. They are part of the same problem. One of the means of solving the situation created by the high cost of living was the reduction of taxation. Another was by the revision of the tariff downward both as respects the necessaries of life and instruments of production. The third method was to put an end to the profiteers. Everybody knew there had been profiteering. People did not need to go farther than the government's own commissions to find proof of the statement that there had been profiteering. You all know Mr. Murdock, who was appointed to the Board of Commerce to represent labor. Mr. Murdock had stated that instead of efforts being made to stop it, profiteering has been permitted to go on and flourish under the protection and with the knowledge of the ministers themselves.

"The national debt today amounted to $2,273,000,000. Until that was paid off this country would have to pay interest on that debt, which would be a first charge every year. That interest charge would amount to $140,000,000 and that was the first thing that had got to come out of the pockets of the people. Then $173,000,000 of extra revenue had to be raised for entirely new work which had to be undertaken as a result of the war, such as soldiers' land settlement, reestablishment, pensions, and demobilization. On these two accounts $330,000,000 had to be raised in taxation before taxation for the ordinary business of the government was touched in any way at all. The reason I give these figures is to help the people to appreciate the necessity for the exercise of some kind of economy in public affairs."

Claims Lack of Economy.

Mr. King declared that the record of the government in connection with the defense of the country proved that there was lack of economy. The government had asked for $39,000,000 for demobilization. Until the government had finished the work of demobilization it ought to have been careful about expenditure in connection with defense purposes. He believed it was the duty of Canada to look after the militia department and the naval department properly, but when such a big sum of money was being spent on demobilization surely some regard should be taken in connection with the military and naval estimates. On the contrary, however, the government had voted $2,500,000 in support of certain warships obtained by Canada this year. He had asked the government what its naval policy was, and had been told that it had no naval policy and would have none until parliament met. The point he wished to emphasize was this government ignored parliament altogether. It was not a responsible government in the truest sense of the word. As the people of this country had to provide the taxes for revenue purposes, they had every right to know details before great contracts were entered into. He took no exception to this country having the naval ships in question, but what he did object to was that the government in secret council should vote such sums of money without consulting the people's representatives in the matter. The ships in question were all accepted without parliament knowing anything about the terms on which they were accepted.

"What do we need them for, anyway?" a member of the audience asked.

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Mr. King: "My friend has just hit the nail on the head. He has just asked a question which members of parliament had every right to ask before the matter was proceeded with, and before the country was committed to the expenditure of so much money."

A voice: "What did Mr. Meighen say about that last Monday?"

Mr. King: "I don't think he alluded to those ships at all. I think he spoke of the merchant marine."

"My charge is," declared Mr. King, "that this government is doing things by order-in-council, ignoring parliament altogether. It enters into contracts first and then tells parliament that contracts are entered into and must be lived up to."

"It is not controlled by the people's representatives over government. It is government entering into contracts by themselves, by an autocratic executive ignoring parliament and then asking parliament to vote money or get out of office. But there is a more serious matter than that. There is a law in this country which says that any government contracts over $5,000 shall not be awarded except by tender. But that $70,000,000 was given for the construction of ships without calling for tenders. That was absolutely illegal. Mr. Meighen said: 'You can't call tenders because that would have limited the contracts to one part of the country?' If that were so, what they should have done was to have come to parliament and get the law amended to give them permission. And here I would say this, that a government which has undertaken to prosecute men for violation of the law, some of them citizens of this very community—that a government which does this ought to be pretty careful when it goes about ignoring the law of the land itself. And the government did violate the law. The law says emphatically that tenders shall be called for contracts over a certain amount and tenders had not been called for that $70,000,000 and parliament had been ignored. The government offered another excuse and they fell back by blaming returned men. 'We had to let these contracts quickly for the returned men are coming back.' A fine lot of patriots they are.

"On this question of expenditures what we say is this: This ministry has got the war habit of mind. It reads things in terms of revolution. In everything it sees some red about it (laughter). They have got so into the habit of spending millions of dollars that they cannot condescend to talk in terms of thousands and so they continue to do these things by order-in-council, and the only way we can get things right is by a change of administration and the time for that has come. (Applause).

Liberal Policy on Tariff.

"Let me now come to the question of tariff which is an important question. Mr. Meighen has been saying that at one time we have seen saying one thing and at another time another. I propose to say to this audience tonight what I have said to the audiences I have had the privilege of addressing in different provinces in this country. In every province of Canada I have read from the platform of the Lieral party draft of the last convention, the clause relating to the tariff. I have said to those audiences that that clause represents the policy of the Liberal party on the matter of tariff; that we have not one message for the east and another for the west; one message for the farmer and another for the manufacturer; one for the working man and another for the capitalist. We have got one message and one only. Mr. Meighen is determined to make an issue between free trade and protection, and he cannot get anyone to join with him. He can't find anyone out as a political party for free trade, and the result is that he is in a dilemma in which he accuses his political opponents of changing their mind. Apparently he has never heard of such a thing as tariff for revenue; where it is recognized that tariff is necessary for revenue purposes the Liberal party recognizes that and is prepared to continue the tariff, ut we say that while we are prepared to continue the tariff so far as it is necessary for revenue purposes, we feel that the time has come when the tariff should be materially revised and revised downward, with a substantial reduction on the necessaries of life and on the instruments of productions and the basic industries and also in the direction of a free list.

"Our policy is one of tariff revision in the interests of the consumers on the one hand and in the interests of the producers on the other. Not a tariff in the interests of combines and monopolies or any special privileged group this country may have. (Applause).

"Mr. King then read the clause on the tariff from the Liberal platform and said that while there might be men of extreme views in the party all were prepared to stand and fight forthis platform from the Atlantic to the Pacific. 'Can it be said,' he asked, 'the Liberal party is quibbling by that resolution? We stand or fall by that. That is our decision. We mean to carry it out in a way to satisfy the people of this country. The great problem before the people of Canada today is the cost of living, and the cost of living can only be solved in the last analysis by increased production. Unless you produce raw material in large quantities you cannot help the manufacturers; more than that if the manufacturers cannot get raw material and the laboring men cannot get real wages which amount to something; wages that will buy them something, we say in the interests of all classes, irrespective of whether they belong to the country or the city, a policy which maks for large production is in the interests of the whole of our national society.

Railway Situation.

'I would like to say a word in regard to the railway matter. The people of this country have been told that the government has adopted a more progressive measure by the method of government ownership of the national railway system. Now, I want to say to this audience we have got nothing of the kind. If you read the Act of Parliament in regard to the acquisition of the Grand Trunk Railway system you will find that it gives the people of Canada the right to purchase that system at the end of twenty years. Until that system is purchased we do not own it. It will cost some $500,000,000 or so to purchase it. With the national debt of Canada what it is today, I think the people of Canada should think twice before entering into the purchase of that particular railway system. But what happens in the interval of twenty years? The government guarantees the interest of the men holding the stock; guarantees a rate of interest higher than the system provided under private ownership. May I put this question to you? What is it that makes government ownership attractive? First of all isn't it htat it does away with private capital and the paying of interest on private capital. But the people of Canada will be paying interest on this Grand Trunk stock for years. Then isn't it understood that with government control there will be a minister in control responsible to parliament? But you have this line run by a board of management. Who are its members? Some of them are pretty closely allied to some of the big interests in this country. This board has been given a free hand to do as it pleases and they tell the board: 'If you can't make good, all you've got to do is to come to parliament and the people will make up the deficit.' The rates have been increased and we find the government shelving its responsibility, it throws the matter over in toto to the railway commission or throws it over into the hands of the board of management."

A voice: "Did the government dictate to the railway commission?"

Should Clarify Position

Mr. King: 'I do not know, I do not say anything on that. All I know is the government is afraid of its own shadow to come out and state where it stands in regard to these rates. We should have a government that will take up a position of responsibility; a government that would make its position plain and take responsibility for the method of management in regard to rates and everything else.

"Take the order issued the other day by Mr. Hanna, that no man employed on the national railways would have a right to run for office. What does the minister of labor say in regard to that? He says: 'It is not my business; it is the business of the board of management.' I want to tell the minister of labor it is very much his business, it is his business in the interests of the working men and I would say to him: 'You as a government have got to adopt a certain line of policy and a policy that is in accord with what is right and fair.' For my part I don't hesitate for one moment to say that that policy should not deprive the working men of this country of the right of running for political office anywhere throughout Canada. I think it is in the interests of his country we should have a larger number of working men in parliament. (applause). So far as the national roads are concerned we think labor should be represented on the board of directors and that is in line with our policy that there are four parties necessary to the welfare of any industry. You have got to have capital, you have got to have labor, further you have got to have management and finally you have got to have the community represented. It is absolutely essential to industry that the community

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should be represented; it is the community that gives the franchises to the transportation companies and the agencies of communication and it is the co-operation that renders possible the operation of these great industries.

Natural Resources of Province

"Just one or two words on the question of the natural resources of this province. It is a question of vital interest. The Liberal policy in regard to natural resources may be summed up by one word; that is, we think the natural resources should be turned over to the different provinces of the West in Canada. They should be given control of their own natural resources and not only should they be given control but the government should see to it they get that control. Now I notice some exception has been taken to the resolution passed at the Liberal convention, which says this should be carried out on a basis equitable to the other provinces. May I point out, ransfer is made it must be made through those elected to parliament and if it is not made by parliament it never can come into effect. Well, if the claim of the west to these natural resources is a just claim, then all that is required is that the ministry should be prepared to accept the responsibility of seeing that that claim goes through. And the word equitable can only mean one thing, and that is, that the ministry does what is right. What has happened up to date? The government has made a football of this thing. Its excuse for not doing anything is that the provinces can't come to an agreement. If they cannot cime to an agreement it is the business of the government to make out an agreemen they think is right and see that its pledges are properly carried out.

"In this question of reconstruction," said Mr. King in conclusion. "are we going to return to the consideration of material wealth and power, or is emphasis hereafter to be laid not so much upon material wealth and power as upon human wellbeing and human life? This is the great question of the future, and the great work before Liberalism and the progressive parties who think with it is that hereafter the freedom of the world is made larger for the masses of men. Today the great question is economic freedom for the masses of men and women and greater social equality; more in the way of human brotherhood; of the equitable distribution of the wealth of our country, so that the masses of the people may have their share as well as the privileged groups. That to my mind is the great question. It is the great work we have got to be prepared to carry on We must see that freedom is made a realty among the masses of men; that the lot of women and children, of working men; of all the different groups that go to compose our human society will be made more contented, more happy than in the past. I submit that to this great task we should, as the dead gave their lives for freedom, devote ourselves and resolve to do our utmost to make this vision a great reality; and I submit this is the only monument worthy of their immortality—it is within the power of the people of Canada to raise to the memory of their heroic dead."

Mr. King resumed his seat amid loud cheers. The meeting then concluded with the National Anthem.

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3 Nov. 1920 Winnipeg

THE PLACE OF WOMEN IN THE NEW
CANADIAN POLITICAL ERA

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Winnipeg - Free Press, Nov 3

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SPEAKERS PLEAD REORGANIZATION AT LIBERAL RALLY

Many Prominent Members of Party Speak at Convention at Fort Garry.

URGE TARIFF CUT

Women's part in the new Canadian political era was the subject discussed by Liberal leaders at a mass meeting held in the Walker theatre at 2 p.m. today. The speakers were Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, Dominion leader of the Liberal party, and Dr. Henry Beland, M.P. Mrs. Luther Holling acted as chairman and made a few preliminary remarks emphasizing the part women are called on to take in Dominion affairs. The Walker theatre orchestra provided the music.

It was announced that all who wish to meet Mr. King and the members of his party, are invited to a public reception to be held in the ball room at the Fort Garry hotel from 7.30 p.m. to 9.30 p.m.

Reorganization of the Liberal party in Manitoba to include if possible the Farmer and Labor sections of the electorate, for the purpose of assuring the defeat of the present administration at the next general elections, was the keynote of speeches delivered to a gathering of Liberal supporters drawn from all parts of the province, at the Fort Garry hotel today. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, leader of the opposition, and Hon. W. C. Kennedy, member for North Essex, were the chief speakers.

If, as was hinted on Monday, efforts were made to draw into conference leaders of sectional groups, they failed, for almost without exception those who attended were old-time supporters of the Liberal party, and included leaders of Liberal thought in nearly every federal constituency in the province. The division between those who attended from points and the urban representation, was almost equal.

The gathering was in the nature of a follow-up meeting to follow the general one in the Board of Trade building, Monday. First efforts toward a complete provincial reorganization were made and the Liberal leader emphasized the importance of including women in the campaign plans of the party.

Alex. McLeod, Morden, chairman, in opening the meeting, announced his retirement as head of the provincial Liberal organization. He outlined the aim of the meeting as the bringing together of all progressive factions in the province.

W. C. Kennedy, M.P., North Essex, in his opening remarks, said that the Liberal party in Canada was big enough and broad enough to include all persons with progressive views. The result and the divisions of support in the 1917 elections, he held, should have no effect on party affiliations in the next general election.

He asked that the province organize thoroughly with a central official group to direct the compaign, and made a request for support.

Mr. Kennedy asked for the co-operation of the women and welcomed their inclusion in political matters.

King Speaks

Hon. Mackenzie King, Liberal leader, asked for earnest, hard work on the part of party leaders in the province. Organization work has proceeded successfully in all parts visited, he said, and the outlook is encouraging.

Old parties, he continued, are bound to reassert themselves now that the war has concluded, and will gather about the Progressive Liberals and the reactionary Tories. Real Liberals, he claimed, are only interested in the progressive forward movement. Liberal reactionaries are better dropped, the speaker added, and referred to Hons. Guthrie, Calder and Ballantyne who, he said, are better opposed to the Liberal party than in it. Mr. King referred to reconstruction as a necessity, neglected by the group in power.

Co-operation and co-ordination, he said, must be governing policy of the party. Nothing will be lost by taking a broad outlook, and it will win as sure as day follows night, the speaker added.

Women are not only ready to take their part, but are eager to do the thing that is right, but they need the leadership to point out what is right and what is wrong. They will, he said, respond to the call of Liberalism, because it stands for individual freedom.

Upholding the Liberal party as the champion of the cause against high tariff, profiteering and combines, he told the audience, that the women are vitally affected by these problems, and would find in the Liberal party a whole hearted attempt to solve them.

Andrew Hayden of Ottawa, secretary of the Dominion Liberal party, outlined the proposed organization plans for the province.

Dr. J. P. Molloy, M.P., for Provencher, said that he had followed Sir Wilfrid Laurier through victory and defeat, and that he would give the new party leader the same support. He made a plea for the dropping of petty differences in a united opposition to the present government, which he said had stolen their position and had robbed the public of the franchise.

A. E. Hill, Brandon constituency, said that the conditions there pointed to the farmers supporting a Liberal candidate. A movement, he added, is under foot in Brandon to line up the Liberals, Conservatives and Farmers to defeat Labor. This, he declared, is preposterous, and will not take many Liberals away from their party affiliation.

Horace Chevrier, made a request for a national pride, along the lines of a national consciousness and goodwill.

Kiwanis Speech.

"The need for better understanding between French and English Canada," was the subject of Hon. Dr. H. S. Beland's address to members of the Kiwanis club at their weekly luncheon at the Fort Garry hotel today. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King was present also.

Talks at Mass Meeting.

Liberal politics were set forth by Mr. King and Dr. Beland at a mass meeting in the auditorium of the Board of Trade Monday night. Alex. McLeod, K.C., president of the Liberal association for Manitoba, presided, and the hall was well filled. W. C. Kennedy, M.P., North Essex, and William Duff, M.P., Lunenburg, also were on the platform.

Mr. King declared the natural resources of the west should be turned over to the different provinces by the Dominion.

Asks for Election.

Mr. King again asked for a Dominion election at an early date. He claimed the present government had ceased to function, and Liberals were representative of all the progressive forces opposed to the government.

A reduction of the tariff was required and the Liberal policy was for the continuance of the tariff only so far as was necessary for revenue purposes, he asserted.

The Liberal leader referred to the recent order of President Hanna of the Canadian National railway in respect to employees holding public office. He denounced this action, saying he would rather encourage labor men to seek office. He thought also labor should be represented on the board of directors of the government railways.

Hon. Mackenzie King

Hon. Mr. King said:

"It is nearly a decade since there has been anything in the way of political education in this country. The last election when domestic issues were discussed was in 1911. At that time the reciprocity campaign attracted interest in all parts of the Dominion. But during the war our thoughts were naturally centred upon the immediate business incident to that great conflict and in 1917 the question was the winning of the war and men and women united in that supreme issue. One effect of that concentration has been that other problems have had little or no consideration during that period and the time that has elapsed since.

"I have spoken to you already of the Liberals. Let me speak of the Farmers. They called their delegates together through their different locals; everything was aboveboard. When it came to the choice of a leader the choice was made in exactly the same democratic manner as the Liberal party chose its leader. The Labor party, too, adopted the same method in calling the different unions together. They drafted a platform conveying their need of the community as a whole. The name of their party is consistent with their platform.

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The Cost of Living.

"The great outstanding question in Canada was the cost of living. Every man and woman had felt the effect of the increase of the cost of living. We all knew this was due to the conditions created by the war. It was also due in large part to the extravagance of the government.

Claims Lack of Economy.

Mr. King declared that the record of the government in connection with the defense of the country proved that there was lack of economy.

"My charge is," declared Mr. King, "that this government is doing things by order-in-council, ignoring parliament altogether. It enters into contracts first and then tells parliament that contracts are entered into and must be lived up to."

Liberal Policy on Tariff.

"Let me now come to the question of tariff, which is an important question. Mr. Meighen has been saying that at one time we have seen saying one thing and at another time another.

"Our policy is one of tariff revision in the interests of the consumers on the one hand and in the interests of the producers on the other. Not a tariff in the interests of combines and monopolies or any special privileged group this country may have. (Applause).

Mr. King resumed his seat amid loud cheers. The meeting then concluded with the National Anthem.

St. Boniface Meeting.

Hon. Dr. H. S. Beland, M.P. for Beauce, Que., addressed a mass meeting in Provencher school, St. Boniface, Monday night, in the interests of Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King. He spoke in French. Ex-Mayor Beliveau presided, and Dr. J. P. Molloy, M.P. for Provencher, also gave a short address. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King also gave a short address before leaving for Winnipeg to address the mass meeting in the Board of Trade auditorium. Dr. Beland, the chief speaker of the evening, outlined the Liberal platform giving virtually the same facts and arguments he gave in his address before the Winnipeg audience.

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Winnipeg, Free Press Nov 4, 1920

D 4857

BUSY DAY YESTERDAY FOR MACKENZIE KING

Holds Conference With Liberals of Province and Speaks at Meetings

Rounds Off Day With Reception in Evening Which Is Largely Attended

Appointment of men to the Board of Commerce who were already holding office under the crown and receiving emoluments, was illegal, according to Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, addressing a mass meeting of women in the Walker theatre, yesterday afternoon. The Liberal leader claimed that the Dominion parliament enactment authorizing the appointment of the board contains a clause prohibiting the holding of office on the board by such men.

The meeting followed a poltical conference in the Fort Garry hotel in the morning, attended by delegates from all parts of the province, when a plea was made by Mr. King for the reorganization of the Liberal party in Manitoba.

Mr. King held a reception at the hotel last night and later he and the members of his party left for Dauphin where he speaks tonight.

Mr. King featured his address at the afternoon meeting by a further attack on the Board of Commerce, in regard to the sugar order. After reiterating that the order warranted the refiners being classed as one of the "big interests" behind the Meighen administration, he attacked the legality of the appointees, to the board holding office. He claimed that a clause in the act prevented men holding office who were already in the employ of the crown, and that the appointment of men in the civic service was illegal and an attempt by the government to screen the interests referred to. The action of the government rescinding the order of the board, he declared, did not prevent the government having to accept full responsibility for the board's action.

He began his address by outlining the workings of responsible government, which were being overridden, he claimed, by the Meighen administration, which is autocratic, both in its appointment and in the fact that it is holding power without an expression of opinion from the people.

Secret influence, he continued, had a great deal to do with the appointment of the cabinet and the fact that the government is remaining in power. These influences, Mr. King said, are beginning to show themselves in various ways, one of which was the sugar board order. In regard to this remark, Mr. King declared that he had proof that the interests affected by the order attempted to stifle publicity by offering advertisements to the newspapers of the country.

With regard to the tariff, he cited the Liberal policy as being to reduce substantially the present tariff on necessities of life and production. The real struggle, he added, has developed between the monied interests protected by the Meighen administration and the rights of the masses.

Bring Home Into Politics.

We welcomed the advent of women into public life and said that they would have the effect of hinging public matters more and more about the common welfare. "We have heard very little about the home in parliament," the speaker continued, "while in reality the only real good to the nation must originate through the home." He asked for the support of the women of Manitoba in his efforts and the efforts of the party he represents to replace the present administration by one which truly represents the people and not any sectional interests.

He was asked at the conclusion of his address what attitude was being adopted by the Liberal party toward the re-establishment of the returned men.

Mr. King replied that the Liberal party is not making any definite promises, but that the general attitude of the party is that the returned soldier whose health has been undermined has a first charge against the state for the rest of his life, and that regardless of the cost they should be maintained in comfort. "If government extravagance was cut down as we propose to do it," he concluded, "there would be more than enough saved to care for every returned man."

Dr. Henry Beland, M.P., who preceded Mr. King as speaker at the meeting, declared that the only satisfied class in the country at the present time is the big interests, and are the only ones not asking for a general election at the present time. The Liberal party stood for the gradual development of Canadian national autonomy within the British Empire in a more real sense than that in which the Meighen government is carrying it out.

He asked for the support of the women to the Liberal party, as the best means by which they could help the development of true national greatness. The entrance of women into politics he held would do away with a great deal of the acrimony which exists at present in political matters. Their entrance into public affairs could not have other than a beneficial effect, he said. They would see, he concluded, that parliament took more interest in matters of public welfare. He delivered a general attack against the Meighen government, the manner of its appointment and the autocratic way in which he claimed the power held was being exercised.

Mrs. Luther Holling acted as chairman of the meeting, which was attended by approximately 1,000 women. She introduced the speakers and asked those present to remember that the meeting was a neutral one, of women, called to discuss the Liberal viewpoint in public affairs. She urged that no decision as to party affiliation be reached by any of those present until both sides of the questions before the public have been studied.

At the Kiwanis Club.

The first step in the reconstruction of Dominion affairs was the creation of a spirit of Canadianism and fraternity within the Dominion and the exploitation in a methodical manner of the natural resources, Hon. Dr. H. S. Beland declared, addressing the Kiwanis club at luncheon in the Fort Garry yesterday. Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King was also a guest.

The international aspect hinged on the fostering of a friendly spirit between England and the United States. Canada, he said, was in the position to further this spirit, and would be the greatest factor in continued friendly relations between these nations. Mr. King spoke briefly.

Reception in Evening.

Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King had an informal reception in the Fort Garry hotel last night. The function was arranged to give the Liberal leader an opportunity of meeting his supporters and quite a number availed themselves of it. The callers included men and women from the city and out of town points and Mr. King met and conversed with them in the drawing room on the mezzanine floor.

Liberals From All Parts of Province Confer With King

Liberal supporters from all parts of the province gathered at the Fort Garry hotel yesterday when Hon. Mackenzie King, leader of the opposition, and Hon. W. C. Kennedy member for North Essex, were the chief speakers. A number of speeches were delivered dealing with the reorganization of the Liberal party in Manitoba, to include if possible the Farmer and Labor sections of the electorate for the purpose of assuring the defeat of the present administration.

The gathering was in the nature of a follow-up meeting to follow the general one in the Board of Trade building, Monday. First efforts toward a complete provincial organization were made and the Liberal leader emphasized the importance of including women in the campaign plans of the party.

Alex. McLeod, Morden, chairman, in opening the meeting, announced his retirement as head of the provincial Liberal organization. He outlined the aim of the meeting as the bringing together of all progressive factions in the province.

W. C. Kennedy, M.P., North Essex, in his opening remarks, said that the Liberal party in Canada was big enough and broad enough to include all persons with progressive views. The result and the divisions of support in the 1917 elections, he held, should have no effect on party affiliations in the next general election.

King Speaks

Hon. Mackenzie King, Liberal leader, asked for earnest, hard work on the part of party leaders in the province.

Old parties, he continued, are bound to reassert themselves now that the war has concluded, and will gather about the Progressive Liberals and the reactionary Tories. Real Liberals, he claimed, are only inter-

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ested in the progressive forward movement. Liberal reactionaries are better dropped, the speaker added, and referred to Hons. Guthrie, Calder and Ballantyne who, he said, are better opposed to the Liberal party than in it. Mr. King referred to reconstruction as a necessity, neglected by the group in power.

Women are not only ready to take their part, but are eager to do the thing that is right, but they need the leadership to point out what is right and what is wrong. They will, he said, respond to the call of Liberalism, because it stands for individual freedom.

Upholding the Liberal party as the champion of the cause against high tariff, profiteering and combines, he told the audience, that the women are vitally affected by these problems, and would find in the Liberal party a whole hearted attempt to solve them.

Hayden on Organization.

Andrew Hayden, of Ottawa, Dominion organizer of the Liberal party, spoke of the conditions of organization as he had found them. He pointed out that the actual work of the organization was for the young men and young women, while at the same time the advice and money of the older men were needed. Individual effort is the one thing needed, he said, because the work begins with the individual. The three most important things to be taken care of in the organization, he pointed out, were: First, the perfection of the voters' list; second, the necessity for individual effort at every poll, and thirdly that the work on election day should be taken care of before noon.

Dr. J. P. Molloy, M.P., for Provencher, said that he had followed Sir Wilfrid Laurier through victory and defeat, and that he would give the new party leader the same support.

A. E. Hill, Brandon constituency, said that the conditions there pointed to the farmers supporting a Liberal candidate. A movement, he added, is under foot in Brandon to line up the Liberals, Conservatives and Farmers to defeat Labor. This, he declared, is preposterous, and will not take many Liberals away from their party affiliation.

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London Advertiser
Nov 4 20

D 4859

SAYS LIBERAL PARTY IS BETTER WITHOUT OLD REACTIONARIES

Mackenzie King Does Not Want Calder, Guthrie and Ballantyne.

[Special to The Advertiser.]

Winnipeg, Nov. 2.—For the first time in his present tour of the west, the Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King this afternoon addressed a mass meeting composed entirely of women. The affair was intended to be a reception of the character that he has held in every city in which he has spoken, but it turned into a mass meeting with every seat in the Walker Theatre, Winnipeg's largest house of entertainment, packed with holders of the franchise under the extension to the women of the country. Mr. King was assisted by the Hon. Dr. Beland in addressing a large and critical audience, who found in the two addresses causes for loud and continual applause.

Reception at Hotel.

In order that Mr. King might informally meet the citizens of Winnipeg a reception was held at the Fort Garry Hotel for two hours this evening. During that time, Mr. King, assisted by Dr. Beland, W. C. Kennedy, M. P., and William Duff, M. P., met citizens of all shades of political opinion and both sexes. So large were the crowds who pressed to meet the Liberal leader that it was only within a few minutes of train time that he was able to make his escape from the packed ballroom. Other functions of the day included a luncheon of the Kiwanis Club at which the Liberal leader was the guest of honor, and the speech of the occasion was made by Hon. Dr. Beland, who spoke on the need for a better understanding between French and English Canada. At the Liberal organization meeting held in the morning, a meeting which the Tory newspaper of this city endeavored to present as an insidious attempt to bring about a coalition between the Liberals and the farmer group of the province, matter of practical interest to the party as an organization were discussed.

Appeals for Unity.

W. C. Kennedy, M. P., North Essex, in his opening remarks, said that the Liberal party in Canada was big enough and broad enough to include all persons with progressive views. The result and the divisions of support in the 1917 elections, he held, should have no effect on party affiliations in the next general election. He asked that the provinces organize thoroughly with a central official group to direct the campaign, and made a request for support.

Mr. King asked for earnest hard work on the part of the party leaders in the province. Organization work has proceeded successfully in all parts visited, he said, and the outlook is encouraging.

Old parties, he continued, are bound to reassert themselves now that the war has concluded, and will gather about the Progressive Liberals and the reactionary Tories. Real Liberals, he claimed, are only interested in the progressive forward movements. Liberal reactionaries are better out, the speaker added, and referred to Hons. Guthrie, Calder and Ballantyne, who, he said, are better opposed to the Liberal party than in it.

Co-operation Urged.

Co-operation and co-ordination, he said, must be the governing policy of the party. Nothing will be lost by taking a broad outlook, and it will win as sure as day follows night, the speaker added.

Upholding the Liberal party as the champion of the cause against high tariff, profiteering and combines, he told the audience, that the women are vitally affected by these problems and would find in the Liberal party a wholehearted attempt to solve them.

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D 4860

3 Nov. 1920 Dauphin, Man.

PROGRESSIVE MOVEMENTS VS. THE
BIG INTERESTS

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D 4861

URGES UNITY IN WAR UPON BIG INTERESTS

Leader of Opposition Dubs Meighen Administration As Self-Constituted Autocracy

KING PARTY AT DAUPHIN

Beland Calls Present Government Feeble Reproduction of That Elected in 1917

(STAFF CORRESPONDENCE)

Dauphin, Man., Nov. 3.—An appeal to the supporters of the progressive movements in Canada to stand together in the fight against what they described as the fight against the big interests was made by Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King and Dr. H. S. Beland, addressing a meeting of some three hundred in the town hall here tonight.

The Liberal leader, in criticising the order issued by D. B. Hanna, president of the Canadian National lines, against employees holding office in the legislature or parliament, declared that the government could not relieve itself of responsibility in a matter of this kind.

"It is a far-reaching question of public policy," said he, and he asserted that if such groups could not get the opportunity of satisfying laudable ambitions in this way, the result would be that encouragement would be given to direct action instead of action along constitutional lines.

"It is to legislatures and to parliaments people look for redress for grievances," he said, and he claimed if it had not been for the representatives of labor in parliament in Britain that country would now be in the throes of civil war.

Party Is Impressed

Mr. King and his party, which included, in addition to Dr. Beland, W. C. Kennedy, M.P., North Essex, and William Duff, M.P., Luxemburg, were accompanied from Winnipeg by J. P. Malloy, the federal member for Provencher, who during the day introduced them to leading citizens. The visitors appeared much impressed with the growth and development of this part of Manitoba, and were outspoken in their confidence in the great future of this prosperous section of Manitoba.

Urges Combined Effort

Mr. Mackenzie King began by declaring that if the forces of progress in the country—alluding to the Farmers and Labor party—were divided in their fight against a common enemy, the big interests, and this occurred in quite a number of constituencies, the result would be that the common enemy would win. "We have not come out to the west,' said he, "for the purpose of offering antagonism to any group, we have not come out to say the Liberal party is the only group that stands for progress. On the contrary, we say these new movements express the spirit of the times, and we want to see something in the nature of a combined effort, co-operation as between these different progressive groups in the things we have common, to make perfectly sure the defeat of those who are the enemies of progress in this country."

What all the groups, he asserted, were interested in was in having a truly representative government in the country. Before critizing the administration at Ottawa, Mr. King said he again wanted to ask Premier Meighen by what right did he and his colleagues hold office, by what right did they presume to carry the government of Canada. Until Mr. Meighen answered that question, he claimed, he had no right to talk about anything else.

Aimed to Abolish Profiteering

Discussing the tariff and the high cost of living, he said they wanted to have machinery to make impossible the merging of interests that were going to be detrimental to the people at large and to prevent profiteering. Reading the platform of the Liberal party on the tariff, he asked was there anything indefinite in it, anything that was not in the interests of all classes in the country. He called attention to the fact that while the Liberals in the house of commons had voted for a resolution on the terms of the platform, it was defeated through the votes of members representing farming constituencies in Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta. That resolution proposed the removal of the duties on the necessaries of life and instruments of production.

"Those men who voted for that resolution," he asserted, "were progressives, and those who voted against were reactionaries. That is the question in a nutshell the people will have to decide at the next election."

Beland's Message.

The chairman, in introducing the speakers, regretted the inclement weather had prevented the farmers from attending in greater numbers.

Dr. Beland said that although he came from the east he was no less a Canadian than those who lived in the west. He was a man whose main concern was the welfare of the citizens of Canada, of all sections of Canada, to whatever creed or races they belonged who inhabited the country.

"I have come from the east," he affirmed, "bringing a message of good will, of bon entente." What the people of Canada wanted, he said, was the welfare of the country; what they wanted was a government representative of the opinion of the people. That was their desire regardless of what might have been their opinion in the past.

With this preface the member for Beauce proceeded to criticize the present federal administration, which he described as a feeble reproduction of what was elected in 1917. He declared that everyone in Canada except the government and a small group of interested supporters demanded a general election, discontent and dissatisfaction were general in the country because this demand could not be satisfied, and the feeling was growing because of the way the affairs of the country were being administered.

"The Same Old Story."

"It's the same old story," he exclaimed. "This government is tied hand and foot to the big interests of Canada.

"Methinks," he added, "they are getting more than their fair share of the affection of the government." Speaking as the representative of an agricultural constituency, he declared that to protect the big interests any longer would wreck the whole system, and he felt that while many farmers, in theory, were free traders, the majority of the farmers would support that party that believed in tariff for revenue.

Would Bury the Hatchet.

"Farmers of the east, farmers of the west, working men, consumers in the cities, the masses of the people, why should we not cooperate together," he appealed, "and co-ordinate our efforts in order to secure government of the people, by the people and for the people. Let us bury the hatchet between the different sections of our country, and let us unite to make this great country a country of happy and contented people because there is no better country under God's sky."

King on Grand Trunk Deal.

Mr. King dealt with the Grand Trunk situation, and said it was from the cable despatches of the meetings held in England that the Canadian citizens learned in the first instance of the terms of this transaction. Considering it vastly exceeding in amount any other transaction in the history of Canada's parliament, Mr. King thought that the epithets "Autocratic" and "Arbitrary," were far too mild as an adequate characterization of the ministry's action in denying to parliament representing the public who are today paying the bills rights they had secured to investors overseas. It was another instance of the government's concern for the welfare of the monied interests, as contrasted with its regard for the rights of the people. When the Conservative government of Sir John A. Macdonald had under consideration the construction of the Canadian Pacific railway, the agreement between the government of Sir John and that company had been submitted to parliament for discussion and ratification, as was also the agreement respecting the Grand Trunk Pacific under the Laurier administration.

A Self Constituted Autocracy.

But this government, though calling itself both Conservative and Liberal, was in reality neither. It was a self-constituted autocracy that cared as little about conserving freedom as for extending its bounds.

As another illustration of what he described as the arbitrary conduct of the government, Mr. King said he had proposed an amendment to secure to the employees on the Grand Trunk Railway system the rights to certain pensions to which they and their families were entitled, but which had been denied them by the Grand Trunk Railway company ever since the strike of 1911. When the brotherhood of railway employees learned that the government were negotiating for the acquisition of the Grand Trunk Railway system, their repre-

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sentatives had presented a petition to the prime minister and the minister of labor, asking that care be taken in the agreement between the government and the company to secure the pension rights of the Grand Trunk employees.

Representatives Ignored.

The government, however, had completely ignored these representations by the brotherhood, and had made no mention of the employees' rights to their pensions in the agreement as drafted. He had proposed, he said, an amendment to the agreement to protect the rights of these employees. This amendment was supported unanimously by all the Liberal and Progressive groups in the house of commons, but was defeated by the government and its supporters, the present prime minister having been one of the strongest in his opposition to the insertion of any such clause in the agreement.

Here, said Mr. King, was another instance of the government's concern for corporate interests and its complete indifference to the rights of labour in the matter of social justice affecting the well being of thousands of railway employees and their families.

Calls Impressions Erroneous.

With respect to Premier Meighen's statement that Mr. King had himself expressed the need for a Franchise act, at the last session, and that it was, therefore, untrue that parliament had wasted public money in consuming most of the time of the session in the enactment of the new Elections act, Mr. King said that the premier's method of dealing with this question illustrated how an astute lawyer might, through the use of words, convey a wholly erroneous and false impression. It was perfectly true that he said there was need for a new franchise law, and that it could not be enacted too speedily, seeing that there was on the statutes only the War Times Elections act, and other enactments respecting the franchise passed during the period of the war which were more in the nature of disfranchising than enfranchising laws.

Recommended Old Act.

The text of his declarations would bear out that what he had said respecting a franchise law was that nothing more had been required than the re-enactment, with a few necessary amendments, of the old Dominion Elections act of 1898, under which both Liberal and Conservative governments had been returned to power and with the provisions of which the people of Canada were already familiar.

Law to Win Elections

The act of 1898 had been framed with a view to placing the control of electoral machinery and the preparation of voters' lists beyond the possibility of manipulation for partisan ends. It had never been intended, when the War Time Election act suspended its operation that this act would be repealed. Its re-enactment might have been effected by parliament in the course of three days. It would have saved the country a debate which ran over as many months, and the effect of which had only been to substitute for a good law one filled with devices for the winning of elections by the party in power, rather than with provisions for securing as completely as possible the free and untrammelled expression of the popular will at the polls.

Patriotic Motives

Mr. King also spoke at some length upon the position of the Unionist Liberals at the last election. He said he could not make it too clear that s far as the great body of electors were concerned it was his conviction that those who had supported the Unionist administration, whether Liberals or Conservatives, had done so from the highest and most patriotic of motives. It was natural that in a campaign, as unfair in many respects as the one conducted in 1917, where, by the device of the War-time Elections act and other measures, the rights of a large portion of the electors had been sacrificed. There should be strong feeling on the part of men and women towards those who differed with them in opinion, especially where it seemed to involve the severance of old traditions. He was glad to find, however, wherever he had gone in Western Canada, as well as throughout Eastern Canada, that the genuineness of the motives of those who had differed from their fellow Liberals in the last contest was being proven beyond question by the manner in which one and all were reuniting in opposition to the present reactionary administration. Now that the single question which had formerly divided them was no longer an issue in our politics, he believed that the more respect there was for independent judgment and differences o fopinion the greater would be the security of the nation.

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London Advertiser
Nov" 4/20

D 4863

KING GIVES PROOF OF CHARGE MADE AGAINST MEIGHEN

BEFORE COMMONS

Liberal Leader, Addressing Railwaymen At Dauphin, Manitoba, Quotes Hansard To Show That Grand Trunk Bill Was Pushed Through Without Ratification by Parliament.

[Special to The Advertiser.]

DAUPHIN, Man., Nov. 3.—The man- in which he found the Liberals of West reuniting after the severance ised by the election of 1917, was the me of a large portion of the splen- speech made by the Hon. W. L. kenzie King here tonight.

wing to the heavy rainfall and the sequent impassability of the prairie ds, the audience was drawn almost rely from the residents of this e town, a large proportion of them g workers in the Canadian National os. Mr. King, while admitting the nfide of many Liberals who had d Unionist in 1917, and who were reuniting themselves with the his- c party of William Lyon Mackenzie of Sir Wilfred Laurier, made an ption in the case of the Hon. J. A. ier, a man whom he said had gone on all the principles which he for- y professed with so much ardor rder ta hang on to office.

Opposed Reduction.

. King also instanced the case of ocal Unionist member, R. Cruishe, ., who, although sent to Parlia- to represent a constituency con- ng mostly of farmers, who de- ded a reduction in the tariff on the ruments of production, had voted the Government at the last ses- of the house and against the Lib- resolution in favor of such a re- tion.

Mr. King also attacked the recent rder by D. B. Hanna, prohibiting em- yees of the National Railways from king active interest in political mat- s. His attack was warmly wel- med by his audience, men who had pported with great unanimity the ndidature of J. Palmer, the member Dauphin in the Manitoba Legis- re, and a dispatcher in the Dauphin ce of the C. N. Railway. Mr. King re Mr. Hanna's fiat as an attack the very foundations of the demo- y which Canada prided itself on essing. He asked his audience to agine such an order extended to workers in the mines, to workers in e factories.

To Retain Government.

It was another sign of the effort which is being made to retain Government as the peculiar function of one class only of the people, and that class the big-vested interests, who made their money out of the workers whom they would like to see disfranchised.

Mr. King also went into the history of the efforts which he had made, both as minister of labor and since to secure fair treatment for the employees of the Grand Trunk Railway, deprived of their pensions in spite of express agreements protecting them. The present Government had completed the purchase agreement with the G. T. P. without making any real effort to see that these men received their rights, and were not left indigent in their old age, simply because they had exercised their right to strike. Hon. Mr. Meighen had represented at Winnipeg and elsewhere that it was incorrect to say that the Government, as respects the acquisition of the Grand Trunk Railway System was autocratic, and that had deprived Parliament of the right to determine, criticize, amend or alter the terms of the agreement entered into.

Let Public Judge.

Mr. King said he was prepared to allow the public to judge between his contention and the premier's on this matter by the attitude of the Government and the Opposition in Parliament with respect to the agreement when the subject was under debate in the House of Commons. Happily it was of record in the Hansard debate that he (Mr. King) had moved on November 4, 1919, as an amendment to the bill introduced by the Government to authorize the acquisition of the Grand Trunk Railway System, that the following be inserted as a section of the bill; "That the agreement herein be submitted to and be subject to ratification of the Parliament of Canada." This amendment received the unanimous support of the Opposition, but it was defeated by the Government and its supporters after a speech by Mr. Meighen himself, in which the present premier had taken strong exception to this right being given to the people's representatives.

Huge Transaction.

The record of the debate would be found in the Hansard of November 4. Considering it vastly exceeding in amount any other transaction in the history of Canada's Parliament, Mr. King thought that the epithets "autocratic" and "arbitrary" were far too mild as an adequate characterization of the ministry's action in denying to Parliament representing the public who are today paying the bills, rights they had secured to investors overseas. It was another instance of the Government's concern for the welfare of the monied interests as contrasted with its regard for the rights of the people.

Among those supporting Mr. King on the platform tonight were Jack Campbell, member from The Pas, Manitoba; J. P. Molloy, M. P. for Provencher; W. C. Kennedy, M. P. for North Essex, and William Duff, M. P. for Lunenburg, N. S., while the Hon. Dr. Beland spoke in addition to Mr. King.

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CANADA

4 Nov. 1920

D 4864
Minnedosa, Man.

THE NEED FOR REPRESENTATIVE
GOVERNMENT

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

M. F. P. Nov "5 20

D 4865

WARNS AGAINST CLASS MOVEMENTS IN POLITICS

Government's Expenditures Criticized by Speakers At King's Minnedosa Meeting

W. C. Kennedy Says Veterans Demand For General Election Totally Ignored

(STAFF CORRESPONDENCE)

Minnedosa, Man., Nov. 4.—Need for a government in Canada representative of the people and responsible to the people was impressed by Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King and other speakers at a meeting in the Armory here, tonight, which was attended by over five hundred citizens of the town and surrounding district. Every seat in the hall was occupied, and the gathering, which frequently cheered the speakers, included quite a number of women.

The Liberal leader in Canada was preceded by W. C. Kennedy, M.P. for North Essex, and Hon. Dr. Beland, M.P. for Beauce. The three criticised the financing of the federal administration and all urged the co-operation of the progressive elements in the public life of the country to defeat a government which Mr. King declared was controlled by influences detrimental to the welfare of the masses of the people of the Dominion. Mr. King argued against the success of class movements in the government of a country, and cited in support what had happened in the United States and Canada when class movements entered into political life. He declared that such action not only was detrimental to them politically but economically.

Mr. King and his party, Hon. Dr. Beland, Beauce; W. C. Kennedy, M.P., North Essex; William Duff, Lunenburg; Andrew Haydon, secretary of the National Liberal organization, and Lucien Giguere, private secretary, arrived at Minnedosa from Dauphin about 2 o'clock. They were met by Mayor W. G. Brown, Randall Smith, chairman of the Minnedosa Board of Trade, Chas. Hunsley, secretary, G. A. Eakins, Fred Porter, George W. Phelps and A. J. McLeod, Shoal Lake.

During the day Mr. King and the others called upon a number of people. They were the guests of the Minnedosa reception committee during the day and at a supper after the meeting. Before and during the meeting a programme was played by the Minnedosa orchestra

Chairman Raps Meighen

"Premier Meighen divides the people of this country into two classes," said the chairman, Lewis St. G. Stubbs, barrister of Birtle, in introducing the speakers. "Those who agree with him and those who disagree with those who agree with him are nation builders, constructionists, but those who disagree with him are nation wreckers, destructionists, Bolsheviks in fact. We disagree with Premier Meighen, so you know in which class he puts us."

"You will be able to judge tonight," said the chairman, "whether that classification is correct. You will be able to judge as to whether the message brought to you is one of construction or destruction and you shall be the judges."

W. C. Kennedy was the first speaker, and referring to political conditions in Ontario, in which, he said, he had found many in the west interested, he said that many Liberals in 1917 had supported the Union government.

"Reared as these men were in the school of Liberalism," said Mr. Kennedy, "they soon found at Ottawa that they were supporting an arbitrary and autocratic government, ruling by order-in-council, a method of administering the affairs of the country entirely foreign to the Liberal idea of responsible government. Today these men and women are back in the Liberal party, enthusiastically endorsing the platform and policies adopted by the Ottawa convention and being set forth by the Liberal leader, Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King."

Mr. Kennedy argued in support of the justice of the demand of the Liberal party for a general election.

Says Election Was Promised

"The election of 1917," he said, "was fought upon one issue, and upon one issue alone, the question of conscription. Promise after promise was made by cabinet ministers during that campaign, that immediately the war was brought to a successful close the people would be afforded an opportunity of deciding for themselves the important matters of Canada's future fiscal and trade policies by means of a general election. A special appeal was made at the time of the 1917 election," said Mr. Kennedy, "in order to secure for the government the votes of the soldiers serving overseas, and the party in power today has to thank the soldiers for the fact that they are in power today. The Union government was returned to power in 1917 by a majority of seventy-one, yet at the taking of the last important vote in the house of commons—the Budget vote—the government majority was reduced to twenty-six. When the election of 1917 was held fourteen Liberals were elected by the civilian vote, but lost their seat when the soldiers' vote from overseas was counted. If it had not been for this vote the government today would be in a minority of two in the house of commons.

Ignoring Appeal of Returned Men

"Yet the government refuses to listen to the appeal of the returned men for a new election—an appeal that has been made officially by the president of the Great War Veterans' association."

Continuing, Mr. Kennedy criticised the present financial position of the country, the policies which had led to that position and what he described as the governmental extravagance since the conclusion of the war which, he stated, if let to go unchecked, would plunge the Dominion further and further into debt.

He charged that the civil service of the Dominion was overmanned and that at Ottawa there was a staff of employees sufficient for a country with a population of 50,000,000 instead of 8,000,000. Since the armistice, he said, it had been admitted by the government the civil service had been increased by 4,000.

"The Meighen ministry are in office under false pretences," declared Mr. Kennedy in conclusion. "They should resign and give the people the opportunity they are demanding of saying who shall be the government of Canada."

"I come here," said Mr. Beland, "not as a politican. I have come here more as a Canadian at large, one desirous of the welfare of every citizen, of every child in this vast Dominion. Speaking in the name of the populaton of Quebec, which descends from the early settlers, the French colonists of 300 years ago, I am bringing to the western population a message of good will."

Continuing and critising the present Federal government and recalling Premier Meighen's utterances, he exclaimed: "I don't believe there are in this country any nation wreckers. There are two classes of men and women, those who are in favor of this government and those who are opposed to it. And my mission is to ask every man and woman who does not believe in this government to unite together, to co-operate, in order to ensure the success at the next election of the progressive forces of Canada."

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Th Gazette Nov" 5 20

D 4866

MACKENZIE KING WELCOMED AT MINNEDOSA, MAN.

W. C. Kennedy, M.P., Claims Lost Ones Are All Coming Back to Fold

DR. BELAND ALSO SPEAKS

Government Accused of Blocking Liberals' Desire for Early General Election

(By Canadian Press.)

Minnedosa, Man., Nov. 4.—The leader of the Liberal party arrived here this morning shortly after noon, to be met by the mayor of the town and a deputation of citizens, who extended a formal welcome to Mr. King and his lieutenants. The afternoon was spent quietly in conference with local Liberals. In the evening the armories were filled with an audience which applauded the hard hitting of the Hon. Dr. Beland and listened attentively to the exposition of Liberal principles by Mr. King. W. C. Kennedy, member for North Essex, made a brief summing up of present political conditions in the Dominion, referring to the many Liberals who in 1917 supported the Union Government. "Reared as these men were in the school of Liberalism," said Mr. Kennedy, "they soon found at Ottawa that they were supporting an arbitrary and autocratic Government ruling by order-in-council a method of administrating the affairs of the country entirely foreign to the Liberal idea of responsible government. Today these men and women are back in the Liberal party, enthusiastically endorsing the platform and policies adopted by the Ottawa convention, and being set forth by the Liberal leader, Hon. Mackenzie King."

Mr. Kennedy argued in support of the justice of the demand of the Liberal party for a general election. "The election of 1917," he said, "was fought upon one issue, and upon one issue alone, the question of conscription. Promise after promise was made by Cabinet Ministers during that campaign," he said, "that, immediately the war was brought to a successful end, the people would be afforded an opportunity of deciding for themselves the important matters of Canada's future fiscal and trade policies by means of a general election. A special appeal was made at the time of the 1917 election," continued Mr. Kennedy, "in order to secure for the Government the votes of the soldiers serving overseas, and the party in power has to thank the soldiers for the fact that they are in power today. The Union Government was returned to power in 1917 by a majority of 71, yet at the taking of the last important vote in the House of Commons—the budget vote—the Government majority was reduced to 26.

"When the election of 1917 was held fourteen Liberals were elected by the civilian vote, but lost their seat when the soldiers' vote from overseas was counted. If it had not been for the vote the Government today would be in a minority of two in the House of Commons. Yet the Government refuses to listen to the appeal of the returned men for a new election, an appeal that has been officially made by the president of the Great War Veterans' Association."

Mr. Kennedy devoted the remainder of his speech to an analysis of the present financial position of the country, the policies which had led to that position and the governmental extravagance since the conclusion of the war, which, he stated, if left to go unchecked, would plunge the Dominion further and further into debt.

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D 4867

5 Nov. 1920 Brandon, Man.

THE CONTROL OF NATURAL RESOURCES

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Winnipeg Free Press
Nov" 6/20

D 4868

POSITIVELY PROMISES RESTORE RESOURCES

Liberals Will Frame Fair and Equitable Agreement, King Declares

Division of the Progressive Forces Is Policy of the Government, He Says

Brandon, Nov. 5.—On the eve of the conclusion of his present campaign in western Canada, Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, addressing a crowded meeting in the Brandon city hall tonight, again made a strong plea that all the progressive forces of reaction were not allowed to remain in control. He again reverted to the question of the western provinces owning their natural resources and, reading again the resolution of the Liberal convention, he declared he was not trying to equivocate when he stated positively the Liberal party would make it its business "to see that these provinces get control." "We will see that an agreement is drawn up that will deal with the question fairly and equitably," said he. And he added: "Could they ask anything fairer than that?" The other speakers were Hon. Dr. H. S. Bland, M.P., Beauce, Quebec, and William Duff, M.P., Lunenberg, N.S., who spoke in general criticism of the federal administration, Mr. Duff particularly commenting upon contracts being given without tenders being asked. He made special reference to the contracts for the building of ships for the mercantile marine.

A. E. Hill presided, and on the platform, in addition to the speakers, were W. C. Kennedy, M.P., North Essex, Ont., and Andrew Haydon, secretary of the National Liberal organization.

The party reached Brandon from Minnedosa about half-past twelve and were met by a number of prominent members of the party in the city and district and escorted to the Prince Edward hotel. Mr. King and his colleagues were guests at luncheon later. A. E. Hill was in the chair, and in addition to the Liberal leader's party there were present Mayor L. Dinsdale, W. T. Small, S. E. Clement, Kenneth Campbell, A. L. Hall, J. R. Little, D. P. Duncan, P. McFee, F. W. Hobson, J. L. Baird, A. E. McKenzie, Kenneth McGregor, Dr. A. T. Condell, J. F. Kilgour, A. R. McDiarmid, R. A. Clement, J. E. Matthews, H. L. Adolph and A. E. Philp.

In the afternoon Mr. King and the other visitors called at the city hall and visited the J. D. MacGregor farm.

Government Not Representative.

Mr. Duff, who was the first speaker, dealt with the present conditions at Ottawa, claiming that the present government did not represent the people and were usurping the functions of responsible government. Referring to the fact that Mr. Meighen, in one of his speeches, claimed the credit for anything the Union government might have done from 1917 to July 1, 1920, while in another speech he argued that it was an entirely new party with a new name that had been brought into existence. Mr. Duff stated that any legislations introduced by Mr. Meighen for which he might claim credit was the act imposing the closure on parliamentary debates. The vicious war time election act and the Grand Trunk deal were measures which the speaker characterized as not in the interests of the Canadian people, while legislation for carrying on the war and in the interest of the returned soldiers, for which Mr. Meighen claimed credit, was as much the work of the Liberal members of parliament as it was the work of the government members. "From the time the first war parliament was summoned," said Mr. Duff, "Sir Wilfrid Laurier, on behalf of the Liberal party, pledged its support for every measure necessary for the successful carrying on of the war, and the Liberal members sitting on committees which dealt with problems concerning the soldiers had suggested and had adopted schemes respecting pensions and soldiers settlement which were in the best interests of the returned men. Thus, Mr. Meighen, and his rump of a Unionist government, cannot claim much credit for these things, as Messrs. Maclean, Carvell, Newburn, Crerar, and the others who resigned from the Union government are certainly entitled to their full share of whatever credit is due."

Government Autocratic.

Mr. Duff declared Mr. Meighen's government was an autocratic and not a representative adminstraton and alluded to the Greek and Roumanian loans, the war purchasing board, the acceptance of obsolete war vessels from the British government, and the giving of contracts amounting to $70,000,000 for the Canadian Mercantile Marine. He said all of this was done by order-in-council and in three instances while parliament was in session.

Dealing with the question of the Canadian Mercantile Marine, he asserted Mr. Meighen was wrong when he stated at Winnipeg that the money providing for the contract for the building of these ships was part of the $500,000,000 voted by parliament in 1917.

"This money was voted for war purposes only,' he said, "and could not be, nor was it used for shipbuilding.' He read from a speech made by Mr. Ballantyne on March 26, 1920, in which the minister said that only $19,000,000 were paid out for shipbuilding up to April, 1919, which was over two years past the time when Mr. Meighen said the money was voted. Two sessions of parliament had been held in the meantime, Mr. Duff pointed out, and at each session a large amount was placed in the estimates and voted by parliament for shipbuilding, consequently Mr. Meighen's answer to the charge of wrongdoing on behalf of the government. And Mr. Ballantyne was only another example, he asserted, of the hair-splitting methods indulged in by the lawyer-premier.

People Want King.

Criticizing the composition of the National Liberal and Conservative party, and recalling the attitude of Hon. E. P. Blondin during the war, he asked how such a party could be acceptable to the great masses of the people of Canada.

The people of this country, concluded Mr. Duff, were looking for men who were sincere, free and independent. Serious men and women were taking a greater interest today in federal politics and after several weeks spent in touring the west with Mr. Mackenzie King, he had no hesitation in saying that the people were going to stand by Mr. King when the next election came.

Causes of Dissatisfaction.

"We may be of French origin in Quebec, and you may be of Irish, English or Scotch origin here, but Providence has decreed that, from whatever origin it may be, we shall live as brothers, within this vast territory of Canada and shall live, if

See next page for Mr King's speech.

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possible, in peace and harmony," was the declaration of Dr. Beland, who was the succeeding speaker. Proceeding to discuss the question of dissatisfaction in the country, he asked what was the cause of it. It was not because of dissatisfaction with natural condition in a country so bountifully endowed. It was because of the feeling aroused against a government that was not representative and which the people wanted to replace by an administration that would reflect the views and progressive ideas of the country.

Recalling that so many members had left the Union government since its formation until the new movement was formed, Dr. Beland declared they had, or should have realized that the mandate given in 1917 terminated when the war was at an end.

Fear an Election.

Why, he asked, did not the government go before the country and ask for a renewal of the mandate of 1917. "Think of a man," he exclaimed, "clinging to office having as ministers on each side of him Mr. James Calder and Mr. Blondon, from Quebec, who tell him 'let is not appeal to the public in a general election; let us go and speak because we will be whipped out of the political atmosphere." Was it any wonder, he asked, theer was dissatisfaction at the high cost of living when they found the government declining to act because tey did not want to interfere with industry. "There is a saying," said he, "if you scratch a Russian you find a Tartar, and if you scratch a Liberal-Conservative minister you will find a Tory," and with this description Dr. Beland concluded amid applause and laughter.

King Discusses National Resources.

The Liberal leader discussed the subject of the natural resources towards the close of his address, which extended over an hour and a half. He was followed with close attention all through. There was applause at striking points during the speech, and there was a great outburst of cheering when he resumed his seat.

Some had stated, he said, that the words "fair and equitable" should not be in the resolution of the Liberal convention. "Do you want them," he asked, "upon terms that are not fair and equitable? I think all you are asking is that you should get them fairly and equitably. You say what would be fair to you would be to get them absolutely. Well, if that is true you will get them on those terms." Pointing out that the question would have to be decided by parliament, he said it would not be much of a compliment to Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta to turn over the resources on terms that were unfair and inequitable. That was all that the resolution meant. "Those words stand only for a matter of justice, which I think every member of the nation wishes to see done."

Shelving the Question

Remarking that he saw by the newspapers the government was calling another conference of the provinces, he added that the government was shelving the question by saying they could not get the provinces to agree. It was the business of the government, he reiterated, to see that an agreement was come to. The government had got to see that what was right and fair was done and to see that things were carried through. "That is what we are prepared to do," he said. "We will see that the provinces get their natural resources. I am not trying to equivocate. We will make it our business to see that these provinces get control and we will see an agreement drawn up that expresses our mind in a fair and equitable way. Will you ask anything fairer than that? We will see you get it."

Dealing with the question of the co-operation of the progressive forces, Mr. King said: "Believe me, ladies and gentlemen, the forces that want to have absolute control, and are prepared to exclude the great masses of men from their share in the government of the country, are not confined to any one nation or country. They are forces all through the world's history and their methods are the same."

Divide and Rule

"The method of the autocrat has been to divide and rule; keep the forces of progress divided and continue to hold the stronghold yourself. That is the reason Mr. Meighen and his government dare to presume to hold office. They see the forces of opposition divided and busy with their divisions and they hold on. What we say is this: Let those groups that stand for progress come together as sensible men and women and see if a plan cannot be worked out which will recognize the full rights and privileges of all and in which, if you like, none will lose its identity. Let us stand together as progressive forces and see that the forces of reaction are not allowed to gain control for the intervening time."

Discussing the resignations from the Union government, Mr. King quoted from a statement made in the house of commons by Hon. J. A. Calder, on Nov. 11, 1919, on the resignation of Hon. Mr. Crerar. Mr. Crerar was dealing with the question of further resignations and said: "I say that if the resignations did take place there would immediately be a political crisis in this country, and one thing only could happen; either the prime minister would have to appeal to the country or he would have to advise the governor-general to call upon my friend who leads the opposition to form a new government."

"Is that a sufficient reason," Mr. King asked, "for defying the will of the people?. Everyone knows that the proper constitutional position was that indicated in Mr. Calder's explanation, and particularly when the purpose for which the government was formed has ended.

Liberals Are Constructive

Coming to the question of the high cost of living, Mr. King contended the present government offered no solution; nothing constructive. Indeed, Mr. Meighen was devoting most of his time to answering him. But the Liberals, he said, had put forward a constructive programme.

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Manitoba Nov. 6. 1920.

D 48[illegible]

KING ASSERTS "INVISIBLE GOVT. OF BIG INTERESTS MENACES" NATION

Liberal Leader Appeals For Unity of Progressives to Defeat Meighen

By Staff Correspondent

BRANDON, Nov., 6—The Liberal party if returned to power will see the prairie provinces will get control of their natural resources. It will be the business of this government to see that the various provinces agree as to what is fair and equitable." This emphatic declaration was made tonight by Hon. W. L. MacKenzie King, before 800 persons packed in the city hall. The pledge was cheered vociferously.

Other speakers were Dr. Henri. S. Beland, former postmaster-general, and William Duff, M.P. for Lunenburg, N.S.

A. E. Hill, presided. When the visitors reached Brandon at midday they were greeted by a delegation of representative citizens headed by Mayor George Dinsdale. A luncheon at the Prince Edward hotel, was followed by a party conference which lasted throughout the afternoon. Mr. Duff, was well received, when as first speaker he declared he brought a message of goodwill from east to west. He aroused a storm of assent upon declaring it was time for a change of government at Ottawa.

The name of Hon. James A. Calder, was greeted with numerous "Oh's" and "Boos" when casually referred to, while an equally casual reference to the late Sir Wilfrid Laurier was applauded loudly.

Mr. Duff discussed the present federal government which he characterized as the "rump of the old Union government."

Dr. Beland again spoke his message of goodwill and "bon entente," appealing for better understanding throughout Canada between sections, races, classes and creeds. His sentiments were loudly applauded, intense enthusiasm being displayed. Describing the wealth of natural resources of Canada, the industry of the people and the progress made in the past, Dr. Beland asked:

"What is wrong with Canada?

"What is the cause of unrest which prevails here?" he asked, answering:

"I think it is because we have all things good except government, and that is bad." Dr. Beland paid tribute to Mackenzie King, declaring him a worthy successor of Sir Wilfrid Laurier.

At some length he dwelt on the theme that the Meighen government had no mandate from the people, the war mandate having expired, and therefore had no right to continue in office.

An ovation was accorded Mr. King when he rose to speak.

Speaking to the west as a whole, Mr. King said, notwithstanding the diverse character of the gatherings, "we have not heard one expression of ill will from any member of any audience."

That meant but one thing, Mr. King thought—that the people were interested in public affairs and looked with sympathy upon the views held by the speakers for the Liberal party.

For a long time, Mr. King continued, political education had been neglected. It was nearly ten years since any effort was made to educate the public mind on domestic affairs. There was virtually a new electorate; the young men who had come of age in the decade, newly enfranchised women, and those who were disfranchised by the War Time Elections act.

He proceeded to define the various parties as he saw them. As with the ocean after a storm, he said, Canada today was tossed with various movements consequent upon the storm of war. Each group was determined to play a large part in the governance of the country in the future.

He welcomed these movements; to him they were not dangerous, but rather indications of a desire on the part of the people to give expression to its variant views. He counted the new movements, in fact, as a type of advanced Liberalism.

At some length the speaker reviewed the formation of the National Liberal Conservative party and the elevation of Hon. Arthur Meighen to the premiership. He declared that after much research he had been unable to find one single individual who would lay claim to having a part in the formation of the government. The public had no part, he said, but the big interests did. He declared these big interests to be an anti-Social influence which constituted the "Invisible Government" of Canada.

Attacks Meighen Govt.

This government, he said, had paid no compliment to the Conservative party "and Conservatism," he admitted, "sometimes needed to put on the brakes. That party has a noble tradition, but this Liberal and Conservative and national aggregation has no more tradition, no lofty principle and nothing at all to commend it to the people of Canada."

"The real issue in Canada today," Mr. King declared, "is the invisible government on the one side and the forces of progress on the other." The former were strong and undivided, but, he regretted, the forces of progress were divided.

"If we cannot all get together," he argued, "we shall see the other forces win by reason of our nonunity and privilege once again will exercise its reactionary sway."

The Liberal party was not trying to decry the Farmers' movement or the Labor movement, Mr. King declared. It was not trying to fuse with these movements. It was, he said, endeavoring to co-ordinate the forces of progress, in order that the autocrats motto "divide and rule," should not be successful once again in Canada.

Mr. King produced a new argument in support of his contention that the present government had no right to continue in view of the resignations which had taken place in the cabinet. He quoted Hon. James Calder, speaking in parliament, Nov. 11, 1919, on the subject of Hon. T. A. Crerar's resignation in support of his argument.

In the debate, he said, Mr. Calder had asked what would happen if Hon. Mr. Carvell, Hon. Mr. Rowell, Hon. Mr. MacLean, himself, and others resigned.

Answered Own Question

Mr. Calder had answered his own question, Mr. King said, by saying "the task of carrying on government in the country and the responsibilities that are thrown upon public men are not so alluring as some honorable gentlemen seem to think I say that, if these resignations did take place, there would immediately be a political crisis in this country and one thing and one thing only could happen, either the prime minister would have to appeal to the country or he would have to advise the governor-general to call upon my friend who leads the opposition to form a new government."

Mr. King held the proof conclusive. "Why," he said, "all the men named by Mr. Calder have resigned and the 'others' might mean Sir Robert Borden, Gen. Mewburn and Mr. Carvell. Only himself is left as a link. Surely condemned out of his own mouth, he occupies a position today he knows he ought not occupy."

Mr. King said representatives of western rural seats defeated the Fielding resolutions calling for tariff revision last session.

Speaking of the railway policy, he declared Canada had no public ownership of railways. "The bill," he said, "is called the Grand Trunk Acquisition bill and it provides that in 20 years Canada may purchase these roads at a cost of $500,000,000. But in the meantime the dividends to shareholders to the extent of $500,000,000 is guaranteed by the government."

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8 Nov. 1920

D 4871
Yorkton, Man.

THE MEIGHEN GOVERNMENT AND
THE NEED FOR AN ELECTION

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CANADA

Manitoba Free Press. - Nov 9-1920. D 4872

YORKTON MEETING ENDS KING'S TOUR OF WEST

Says He Found West Indignant At Action of Meighen Administration

Declares Canada Only Country in Empire Denied Post-War General Election

Yorkton, Sask., Nov. 8.—The Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King completed his tour of the west with a public meeting in the town hall here this afternoon. The tour has lasted exactly seven weeks, during which time Mr. King has addressed 27 public meetings, has attended innumerable public receptions, addressed school children in the schools and colleges of four provinces, started road races, opened buildings and experienced the many other duties and pleasures that await the peripatetic politician. This afternoon he made a speech which showed no signs of the long and arduous trip. He had the support on the platform of the attorney-general of Saskatchewan and five members of the provincial legislature, including the lady member. Mr. King's speech, which was prefaced by a short address from the Hon. Dr. Beland, was in the nature of a resume of the results attained during his trip and the experiences met with.

Reviewing some of the outstanding impressions of his tour through the four provinces of the west, Mr. King said that "first and foremost was the evident and manifest feeling of indignation on the part of the people against Premier Meighen and his colleagues for presuming to carry on the government of Canada without any mandate from the people, and in complete violation of the spirit of the British constitution, in accordance with which the people are recognized as constituting the final authority in matters of government."

Universal Demand for Election.

"Long before Sir Robert Borden had resigned, and with him all the members of the Unionist administration, there had been a universal demand for a general election. The press of the country, irrespective of party, had pointed out that the Unionist government had been returned only for the purposes of the war, and that its mandate had expired with the return of the soldiers from overseas. Canada was today the only country within the British Empire, and, indeed, the only country among the free nations of the world, in which the people had been denied the right since the war of electing a new parliament to deal with post-war conditions.

"Great Britain had had a general election, so had Australia, New Zealand and South Africa; so also had France, Belgium, Italy and the United States. It was a complete defiance of freedom and popular rights for the Rt. Hon. Mr. Meighen to presume to carry on for another couple of years, as he evidently purposed doing.

"The one question he had never answered, indeed the one question to which he had never even alluded in any of his addresses since he became prime minister, was by what authority or by what mandate he presumed to carry on the government of Canada today. Until that question was answered, whatever he might say on other subjects was of little or no concern.

Government as Dictator.

"The truth is," said Mr. King, "that Mr. Meighen and his colleagues had wholly forgotten or were prepared to defy the maxim that government existed for the sake of the people and not the people for the sake of the government. Ever since the war had ended the people had been made to serve the exigencies of the ministry. The government was carried on not so much with the view to meeting the needs of the country as with the object of perpetuating in office a small group of men, who, unlike their colleagues who left the ministry, recognize no obligation to past pledges and no responsibility to the people. The government had become a sort of dictatorship.

"The same attitude was apparent as regards all questions of public policy. Having spent some seven or eight weeks in Western Canada, he had naturally become more familiar than ever with the problems confronting the western provinces and the need for their immediate and satisfactory solution. Of all the problems, those related to railway services and railway rates and to the tariff were the greatest. The government's attitude towards the matters involved in these questions was identical with its attitude toward the people as respects the continuation of itself in office.

Relief for High Cost of Living.

"As regards the tariff, it was perfectly plain from Mr. Meighen's utterances that here again he felt that as between the people and the tariff it was that the people existed that the interests of the tariff might be served, rather than that the tariff, insofar as it was necessary, was for the interests of the people. Mr. Meighen was emphasizing the need of protection to special interests. It was the protection of consumers and producers which was required today in order that some relief might be effected in the high cost of living, and greater production furthered as the only means of solving the problems of taxation and living, as they had developed out of the war."

Referring to the franchise, Mr. King spoke of "the feelings of bitter resentment which he had found throughout the whole of Western Canada at the enactment of last session which took away from the wives of naturalized British subjects in Canada the rights which naturalization, in virtue of marriage, had hitherto accorded, whereas in former years, and at the time of their admission to Canadian citizenship, women of foreign extraction had been regarded as naturalized British subjects, if married to naturalized British subjects. Today the wives of hundreds of thousands of naturalized British subjects would now be deprived of the rights of the franchise, unless they obtained through the judiciary certificates of naturalization in their own right entitling them to the franchise.

Defying Both God and Man.

"There was a passage in the marriage ceremony which was to the effect that whom God had joined together no man should put asunder. The present government in their legislation were prepared to defy both God and man, and separate husband and wife as respects these sacred rights of citizenship, which in the name of the British flag they had been led to believe was theirs at the time of taking up their citizenship in our Dominion.

"The Liberal opposition in parliament," he continued, "had protested strongly against this enactment during the last session, as one which would tend to disfranchise many thousands of good Canadian citizens, and would make the present Franchise act as vicious in some particulars as the War Times Elections act was in its worst features. The protest had been without avail. It was now perfectly apparent that the effect of the government's action was only to create a prejudice in the minds of whole communities against British institutions of government, when the aim of every patriotic man should be to foster in every manner possible the strongest faith in the justice for which British institutions, where they were in true accord with British sentiment, really stood."

Mr. King urged upon the women and young men who had been deprived of their electorate rights under these enactments to make it a point of appearing at the earliest possible date before some judge and obtaining the certificates required.

Delighted With Reception.

In conclusion, Mr. King dwelt on the receptions which had been accorded himself and his colleagues by the people of Western Canada throughout the whole of their western tour. They had, he said, in the course of the past seven weeks, addressed over 100,000 people in all parts of the four western provinces.

"In not a single instance on the whole of the trip have we met a single unfriendly interruption, whilst, on the other hand, our message has been everywhere received with the heartiest of response and the greatest enthusiasm. I am returning to Eastern Canada with the feeling that the whole of the west is Liberal in its sentiment, outlook and purpose. I entertain no fears as regards the new movements which have found such strong expression in their farming communities. All that was needed to secure the triumph and vindication of Liberal principles was co-ordination and unification of effort on the part of all progressive groups. This work had been immensely furthered by the meetings held in the western provinces. The next parliament of Canada would see the east and the west united in a parliament representative of Liberal thought and feeling. Names were secondary to principles. It was the long awaited triumph of Liberal principles which the Canadian public would witness at the general elections whenever they were held."

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CANADA

Edmonton Bulletin Nov. 9, 1920

D 4873

Hon. Mr. King Predicts Progressives Of West and East Will Join to Elect House of Liberal Thought and Feeling

Liberal Leader in Fighting Speech at Minnedosa Closing His Western Tour Declares it Was The Long Awaited Triumph of Liberal Principles Which The Canadian Public Would Witness at The General Elections—Returns to East With Feeling That Whole of The West is Liberal in its Sentiment, Outlook And Purpose

YORKTON, Nov. 9.—The Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King addressed here this afternoon the twenty-seventh and last of the audiences which he has faced during his seven weeks tour of the west. From here he returns directly to the east in time to appear in East Elgin before the election there. In spite of the arduous nature of his trip, Mr. King was in excellent form and spirit. He made a fighting speech in which he summed up the experiences of his trip with his colleagues through the west and expressed the opinion that the provinces through which he had been journeying were ready to join hands with the progressive forces of the east and together return a parliament to Ottawa representative of Liberal thought and feeling.

"It was the long awaited triumph of Liberal principles which the Canadian public would witness at the general elections," said Mr. King after he had reiterated his often expressed condemnation of the government for refusing to Canada what every other free country in the world had been given, an opportunity of expressing at the conclusion of the war an opinion of the government which had been formed solely for the purpose of carrying out war policies.

NO TIME FOR MEIGHEN TO NEGLECT GOVERNMENT

Mr. King referred to the manner in which the prime minister is touring the west leaving undone the important business of government which he was paid to carry on. This is no time, Mr. King said, for the premier and his cabinet to be scattered over the face of the earth while the vital interests of the Dominion were being neglected owing to their absence from the seat of government. He also expressed the opinion that it was not enhancing the dignity of the Dominion for the prime minister and his colleagues to face audiences which were so frankly critical of them and their record, and so outspoken in their derision.

CARRYING ON GOVERNMENT WITHONT ANY MANDATE

Mr. King's speech was prefaced by a short address from Hon. Dr. Beland.

Reviewing some of the outstanding impressions of his tour through the four provinces of the west, Mr. King said that "first and foremost was the evident and manifest feeling of indignation on the part of the people against Premier Meighen and his colleagues for presuming to carry on the government of Canada, without any mandate from the people and in complete violation of the spirit of the British constitution, in accordance with which the people are recognized as constituting the final authority in matters of government."

UNIVERSAL DEMAND FOR AN ELECTION LONG AGO

"Long before Sir Robert Borden had resigned, and with him all the members of the Unionist administration, there had been a universal demand for a general election. The press of the country, irrespective of party, had pointed out that the Unionist government had been returned only for the purpose of the war and that its mandate had expired with the return of the soldiers from overseas. Canada was today the only country within the British empire, and indeed the only country among the free nations of the world, in which the people had been denied the right since the war of electing a new parliament to deal with post war conditions. Great Britain had had a general election, so had Australia, New Zealand and South Africa; so also had France, Belgium, Italy and the United States. It was a complete defiance of freedom and popular rights for the Right Hon. Mr. Meighen to presume to carry on for another couple of years, as he evidently purposed doing.

PEOPLE ARE DEFIED BY MR. MEIGHEN

"The truth is," said Mr. King, "that Mr. Meighen and his colleagues had wholly forgotten, or were prepared to defy the maxim that government existed for the sake of the people, and not the people for the sake of the government. Ever since the war ended, the people had been made to serve the exigencies of the ministry.

"The same attitude was apparent as regards all questions of public policy. Having spent some seven or eight weeks in Western Canada, he had naturally become more familiar than ever with the problems confronting the western provinces and the need for their immediate and satisfactory solution of all the problems, those related to railway services and to the tariff were the greatest. The government's attitude towards the matters involved in these questions was identical to its attitude toward the people as respects the continuation of itself in office.

CHARGES GOVERNMENT WITH SERVING SPECIAL INTERESTS

'As regards the railways, their view apparently was that the people existed for the railways and not the railways for the people. The interests of capital-investors, both in the old world and in Canada, had been not only carefully conserved but materially advanced, through government guarantee and in other ways. This, however, had been at the expense of the people not only in the matter of rates but also on the National roads as regards service. What was needed at Ottawa was a government that would be representative of the people and careful of their interest, not a government created and maintained by special interests, whose ends they were asking to serve.

'As regards tariff, it was perfectly plain from Mr. Meighen's utterances that here again, he felt that as between the people and the tariff, it was that the people existed that the interests of the tariff might be served, rather than the tariff, insofar as it was necessary for the interests of the people. Mr. Meighen was emphasizing the need of protection to special interests. It was the protection of consumers and producers which was required today in order that some relief might be effected in the high cost of living and greater production furthered as the only means of solving the problems of taxation and living, as they had developed out of the war."

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BITTER RESENTMENT
OVER FRANCHISE ACT

Referring to the franchise, Mr. King spoke of the feelings of bitter resentment which he had found throughout the whole of Western Canada at the enactment of last session which took away from the wives of naturalized British subjects in Canada the rights which naturalization in virtue of marriage, had hitherto accorded, whereas in former years and at the time of their admission to Canadian citizenship women of foreign extraction had been regarded as naturalized British subjects, if married to naturalized British subjects. Today the wives of hundreds of thousands of naturalized British subjects would now be deprived of the rights of the franchise, unless they obtained through the judiciary court certificates of naturalization in their own right, entitling them to the franchise. There was a passage in the marriage ceremony which was to the effect that "whom God had joined together no man should put asunder." The present government in their legislation were prepared to defy both God and man, to separate husband and wife, as respects these sacred rights of citizenship, which in the name of the British flag had been led to believe was theirs at the time of taking up their citizenship in our Dominion.

SENTIMENT OF WHOLE OF WEST, LIBERAL

Mr. King urged upon the women and young men who had been deprived of their electorate rights under these enactments to make it a point of appearing at the earliest possible date before some judge and obtain the certificates required.

In conclusion Mr. King dwelt on the reception which had been accorded himself and his colleagues by the people of Western Canada throughout the whole of their Western tour. They had, he said, in the course of the past seven weeks, addressed over 100,000 people in all parts of the four Western Provinces, "In not a single instance of the whole of the trip have we met with a single unfriendly interruption, while on the other hand our message has been everywhere received with the heartiest response and great enthusiasm, I am rturning to Eastern Canada, with the feeling that the whole of the west is Liberal in its sentiment, outlook and purpose.

NEXT PARLIAMENT WILL BE LIBERAL

"I entertain no fears as regards the new movements which had found such strong expression in their farming communities. All that was needed to secure the triumph and vindication of Liberal principles was coordination and unification of effort on the part of all progressive groups. This work had been immensely furthered by the meetings held in the western provinces. The next parliament of Canada would see the east and the west united in a parliament representative of Liberal thought and feeling, names were secondary to principles, it was the long awaited triumph of Liberal principles which the Canadian public would witness at the general elections whenever they were held."

IS GIVEN OFFICIAL WELCOME TO CITY

On his arrival at Yorkton this morning Mr. King was greeted by Mayor Gibson who officially welcomed him to the city. There were numerous deputations of all sorts awaiting to see Mr. King when the train pulled into the station but towards noon the leader of the opposition accompanied by the Hon. Dr. Beland and Mr. Andrew Haydon was taken to the Collegiate Institute where he addressed the pupils. The public meeting was held in the town hall followed immediately after an informal luncheon. In spite of the bad weather, a drifting flurry of snow and a bitterly cold wind the farmers drove in in such numbers that combined with the town people they packed the hall until every available inch of space was occupied. On the platform with Mr. King was the attorney-general for Saskatchewan, the Hon. W. E. Knowles, who had journeyed east to greet the leader of the opposition on his re-entry to Saskatchewan, the Hon. W. N. Motherwell, former Minister of Agriculture, Mrs. Ramsland, J. M. Parker, J. H. Smith, Thomas H. Garry and Dr. Sahlmark, all members of the Saskatchewan legislature.

Tonight Mr. King and his party set their faces eastward and will journey through to Ottawa.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Globe Nov. 9/20

D 4875

LIBERAL CHIEF CONCLUDES HIS WESTERN TOUR

Has Addressed 27 Audiences During Past Seven Weeks

NOT HECKLED ONCE

(Special Despatch to The Globe.)

Yorkton, Sask., Nov. 8. — The Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King addressed here this afternoon the twenty-seventh and last of the audiences which he has faced during his seven weeks' tour of the West. From here he returns directly to the East in time to appear in East Elgin before the election there.

In spite of the arduous nature of his trip, travelling without the luxury and convenience of a private car, accomplishing the work of his office and answering correspondence under the conditions presented by an ordinary sleeper; in spite of irregular, and, in many instances, indifferent meals, often snatched hastily in some small town restaurant or at a station buffet, Mr. King was in excellent form and spirit. He made a fighting speech, in which he summed up the experiences of his trip with his colleagues through the West, and expressed the opinion that the Provinces through which he had been journeying were ready to join hands with the progressive forces of the East, and together return a Parliament to Ottawa representative of Liberal thought and feeling.

Predicts Liberal Triumph.

"It was the long-awaited triumph of Liberal principles which the Canadian public would witness at the general elections," said Mr. King, after he had reiterated his often-expressed condemnation of the Government for refusing to Canada what every other free country in the world had been given—an opportunity of expressing at the conclusion of the war an opinion of the Government, which had been formed solely for the purpose of carrying out war policies.

Mr. King referred to the manner in which the Prime Minister is touring the West, leaving undone the important business of government which he was paid to carry on. "This is no time," Mr. King said, "for the Premier and his Cabinet to be scattered over the face of the earth while the vital interests of the Dominion are being neglected owing to their absence from the seat of government." He also expressed the opinion that it was not enhancing the dignity of the Dominion for the Prime Minister and his colleagues to face audiences which were so frankly critical of them and their record and so outspoken in their decision.

Franchise Act Condemned.

Referring to the Franchise Act, Mr. King spoke of "the feelings of bitter resentment which he had found throughout the whole of Western Canada at the enactment of last session which took away from the wives of nationalized British subjects in Canada the rights which naturalization in virtue of marriage had hitherto accorded, whereas in former years and at the time of their admission to Canadian citizenship women of foreign extraction had been regarded as naturalized British subjects if married to naturalized British subjects. To-day the wives of hundreds of thousands of naturalized British subjects would be deprived of the rights of the franchise unless they obtained, through the Judiciary, certificates of naturalization in their own right, entitling them to the franchise. There was a passage in the marriage ceremony which was to the effect that whom God had joined together no man should put asunder. The present Government, by its legislation, were prepared to defy both God and man, to separate husband and wife as respects these sacred rights of citizenship, which, in the name of the British flag, they had been led to believe was theirs at the time of taking up their citizenship in the Dominion.

In conclusion, Mr. King dwelt on the receptions which had been accorded himself and his colleagues by the people of Western Canada. Throughout the whole of their Western tour they had, he said, in the course of the past seven weeks, addressed over 100,000 people.

No Unfriendly Heckling.

"In not a single instance on the whole of the trip had we met an unfriendly interruption, while, on the other hand, our message had been everywhere received with the heartiest of response and the greatest enthusiasm. I am returning to Eastern Canada with the feeling that the whole of the West is Liberal in its sentiment, outlook and purpose. I entertain no fears as regards the new movements which had found such strong expression in the farming communities.

"All that is needed to secure the triumph and vindication of Liberal principles is co-ordination and unification of effort on the part of all Progressive groups. This work has been immensely furthered by the meetings held in the Western Provinces. The next Parliament of Canada will see the East and the West united in a Parliament representative of Liberal thought and feeling. Names are secondary to principles. It is the long-awaited triumph of Liberal principles which the Canadian public will witness at the general elections ,whenever they are held."

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
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M. F. P. Nov " 9 20

D 4876

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Reviewing some of the outstanding impressions of his tour through the four provinces of the west, Mr. King said that "first and foremost was the evident and manifest feeling of indignation on the part of the people against Premier Meighen and his colleagues for presuming to carry on the government of Canada without any mandate from the people, and in complete violation of the spirit of the British constitution, in accordance with which the people are recognized as constituting the final authority in matters of government."

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"The same attitude was apparent as regards all questions of public policy. Having spent some seven or eight weeks in Western Canada, he had naturally become more familiar than ever with the problems confronting the western provinces and the need for their immediate and satisfactory solution. Of all the problems, those related to railway services and railway rates and to the tariff were the greatest. The government's attitude towards the matters involved in these questions was identical with its attitude toward the people as respects the continuation of itself in office.

Relief for High Cost of Living.

"As regards the tariff, it was perfectly plain from Mr. Meighen's utterances that here again he felt that as between the people and the tariff it was that the people existed that the interests of the tariff might be served, rather than that the tariff, insofar as it was necessary, was for the interests of the people. Mr. Meighen was emphasizing the need of protection to special interests. It was the protection of consumers and producers which was required today in order that some relief might be effected in the high cost of living, and greater production furthered as the only means of solving the problems of taxation and living, as they had developed out of the war."

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"The Liberal opposition in parliament," he continued, "had protested strongly against this enactment during the last session, as one which would tend to disfranchise many thousands of good Canadian citizens, and would make the present Franchise act as vicious in some particulars as the War Times Elections act was in its worst features. The protest had been without avail. It was now perfectly apparent that the effect of the government's action was only to create a prejudice in the minds of whole communities against British institutions of government, when the aim of every patriotic man should be to foster in every manner possible the strongest faith in the justice for which British institutions, where they were in true accord with British sentiment, really stood."

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

18 Nov. 1920 Aylmer, Ont.

D 4877

THE GOVERNMENT VS. THE
PROGRESSIVE FORCES

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Volume D 9

PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

D 4878

Notes for Speech
at
AYLMER, ONTARIO.
November 18th, 1920.

Broadly, two questions to decide:

A Govt. vs. Progressive forces.

B Which of Progressive forces.

A. Why Govt. should be condemned

1. Without right or authority.

Meighen has not answered.

Either Govt. is old Govt. in disguise or new Govt.

Unionist administration chosen only for war.

All members of distinction gone; Only remnant left.

He has no confidence in them; they have none in him.

2. Not representative of popular will

Contrast conventions:

Liberal - Farmer - Labour

National Liberal and Conservative

Question - who had to do with real issue?

3. Remnant are without virtues and have all the bad habits of former colleagues

Others had sense of responsible obligation to public.

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Bad habits:

(1) Indifference to Parliament

$70,000,000 Merchant Marine Vessels for Navy

Minister to United States.

(2) Wasteful extravagance in expenditure

War habit of mind.

(3) More solicitous about European affairs than Canadian

Since Meighen in office, rush abroad.

(4) Tampering with electoral laws

4. Nothing Constructive

Contrast Liberal policies.

B. Which of Progressive parties deserving of support.

Misfortune Progressives should be divided.

Two grounds to decide: Whether Govt.

better carried on by national party irrespective

of class, etc.; or by special group.

A good example - govt. of lawyers.

Monopoly.

Fair play to candidate - Charlton first in field.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Ottawa Citizen — Nov. 18

D 4880

LIBERAL LEADER SAYS VICTORY FOR MEIGHEN CANDIDATE WOULD BE HELD AS ENDORSATION OF GOVT.

Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, in East Elgin, Has Severe Condemnation of the Administration and Its "Usurpation of Office." Industrial Center Gives Good Welcome to Party Head.

AYLMER, Ont., Nov. 18.—Delays on the railway beyond London held up the arrival of Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King more than an hour tonight, but the delay tended, as after events showed, rather to enhance the welcome given him by the citizens of East Elgin's industrial centre. Mr. King, who was accompanied by W. C. Kennedy, M.P., Mayor E. S. Little, and Arthur Little, of London, was met by W. G. Charlton, and members of the local Liberal organization. The crowd was one of the largest seen in the town since the days of the war, when great farewells and welcomes to Canada's hero sons were the order, and the arrival of Mr. King was the occasion of a rousing ovation. The crowd filled the town hall to capacity and a couple of hundred people were turned away from an adjoining theatre where Mr. King addressed an overflow meeting. Mr. Charlton and Mr. Kennedy also spoke.

The Liberal leader's address was a sweeping condemnation of the Meighen government and he urged the electors of East Elgin to register their disapproval of that government's record be defeating their candidate. The election of the government candidate, while it would in reality be merely a measure of the folly of the progressive forces in allowing themselves to be divided in the face of a reactionary nominee, would nevertheless be construed by the government as a ground for their continuing in office, irrespective of the wishes of the people of the Dominion as a whole.

Why Delay in East Elgin.

"Because of the vacancy occasioned in the House of Commons by Mr. Marshall's death, the electors of this constituency are being called upon today to select a new member for the Canadian House of Commons," said Mr. King in opening. "Why, may I ask, was this opportunity not granted to you at the beginning of this year, rather than near its close? Why was East Elgin without representation through the whole of the last session of the federal parliament? Other vacancies occurred about the time of Mr. Marshall's death: bye-elections were held simultaneously in the constituencies of Kamouraska, Que., St. James, Montreal, and Temiskaming, Ont.; there was no reason other than the government's unwillingness to treat the electors of East Elgin with the same degree of respect as was shown to the electors of the other constituencies for a bye-election not being held in East Elgin, simultaneously with St. James, Montreal, Kamouraska, and Temiskaming.

Should be General Election.

"The present is a bye-election. It ought to be one election among many constituting a general election. The only reason that it is not such is that the present administration have treated the public of Canada as a whole with the same degree of contempt of constitutional rights and privileges as they have this particular riding. It is true that the framers of the Canadian constitution fixed a limit upon the length of time any government could stay in power. They foresaw the danger of gentlemen like those who occupy the treasury benches today holding on to office indefinitely, providing some arbitrary limit was not fixed, but it was never the purpose of the Fathers of Confederation, much less is it in accord with the spirit underlying British parliamentary institutions, that an entirely new ministry, framed without reference to any particular policy and having no mandate whatever from the people of Canada, should have power to usurp the rights of the people in the matter of self-government, and that at this period of time in Canadian history, the people should be denied, after the sacrifics which men and women of all classes have made during recent years, the right of a parliament that is truly representative and a ministry that is genuinely responsible.

"At the present time we have in Canada neither the one nor the other, and the real questions at issue today is whether we shall longer continue to be governed from Ottawa by a self-constituted oligarchy or whether we shall have a parliament that is broadly representative of all the electors of Canada, irrespective of class, race, sex, creed or section.

Choice for Electors.

"Broadly, there are two questions, each of which the electors of East Elgin will have to decide for themselves before casting their ballots. The first is whether they intend to support the present government, autocratic and unrepresentative as it is, or whether they will give their support to one or other of the progressive forces arrayed against the government in the present bye-election.

On Right of Office.

"In the first place, the government is without any right or authority in the matter of conducting the public affairs of this Dominion at the present time. The Right Hon. Mr. Meighen has touched upon many matters in the public addresses he has delivered since his assumption of the office of premier and since the formation of the cabinet, but one matter he has carefully avoided, one question he has thus far entirely omitted to answer, is by what right his administration presumes to carry on the business of government in Canada today, and to hold the intention of doing so until the year 1922.

"A satisfactory answer to that question underlies everything else. Indeed, until it is satisfactorily answered, Mr. Meighen is not justified in speaking seriously to the electors on any other question. As he is to be in East Elgin at the end of the present week, I would ask him to answer this question before he touches upon any other subject in his address to the electors, and I would ask the electors of East Elgin to be guided in their judgment of his right to continue in office by the nature and frankness of the reply he may make.

"One of two things alone is possible; either the present so-called National Liberal and Conservative government is, as it purports to be, an entirely new administration, or what remains of it, travelling under aliases and disguises. If the latter, it is not worthy of any support; indeed, its own first act is greater condemnation in this regard than any which it would be possible for the public itself to bestow.

At Burial of Unionists.

"The birth of the National Liberal and Conservative party was coincident with the death and burial of the old nionist party and administration. It was not the Canadian people who beheaded and interred the old Unionist party—it was Mr. Meighen himself and his little coterie of personal friends. Notwithstanding that the present prime minister and most of his colleagues owe their political existence to Sir Robert Borden and the Unionist party, they were unable to await the hour of their own baptism as an administration before being guilty of the unnatural act of casting opprobium upon their own political parentage and seeking to bury it in oblivion.

"We do not need to give reasons why the old Union administration, or any remnant of it, is unworthy of public confidence. Hon. Mr. Meighen has given the strongest of reasons himself in seeking to bury in obloquy the very memory of that administration.

The Possible Alternative.

"What then is the other alternative? If the present government is not the old Unionist government, travelling under a counterfeit, it must be an entirely new administration. That being the case, what policies has it plied before the people of Canada, of which the people have in any way approved? What mandate has it from the electors of the Dominion to carry on the government of this country? If it has no policy that has been publicly considered and approved, if it has no mandate from the electorate as a whole, then it is nothing other than a usurper, and, as such, instead of being deserving of public confidene, it is in every way deserving of public censure, being guilty of undermining the very foundation of free political institutions.

Irresponsible Remnant.

"The old Unionist administration was chosen only for the purpose of the war. Practically all the ministers whose names helped to win for it public confidence at the time it was returned to power have severed their connection with it. All that remains today is an irresponsible remnant, who have decided to hold on to office at any cost.

"And yet this remnant presumes to base its claim to continuance in office for the most part upon the record of the members of Sir Robert Borden's administration, who are no longer members of the government. Stop, for a moment, to consider who some of these gentlemen are. There was the Hon. A. K. Maclean, who helped to win the government support in Nova Scotia—he is no longer a member of the administration. Then there was the Hon. Frank Carvell. He was the strong member of the government from New Brunswick. Mr. Carvell has left the government. In our province of Ontario, there was the Hon. Sydney Mewburn,, minister of Militia and defence; he surely was entitled to some credit in connection with the work of the government of which he was a member, but he is not a member of the present administration. Then there was Sir Thomas White, minister of finance. He had to do with the record of the previous administration, but he is not a member of the present administration.

Mr. Rowell's Part.

"There was also the Hon. Mr. Rowell. How can Mr. Meighen's administration claim any right to continue in office under virtue of what Mr. Rowell may have helped to achieve? He has declared that he could not see his way to continue any longer in office in virtue of the pledges made at the time of formation of the Unionist administration. Then there was the Hon. T. A. Crerar, minister of agriculture, in the Unionist government. Mr. Crerar has not only left the Meighen administration, but he has been in this very constituency opposing it at this present bye-election. Then there is the Hon. Martin Burrell, from British Columbia. He, too, has left the administration and is now librarian of parliament. Last, but not least, what about Hon. Sir Robert Borden himself? Mr. Meighen might lay claim to some of Sir Robert's achievements, had Sir Robert been prepared to enter Mr. Meighen's administration, but Sir Robert has resigned and it is doubtful if he will ever be in parliament.

"In view of these resignations from the ministry elected in 1917, is it not a little contemptuous of public discernment on the part of the present prime minister to base his claim to continue in office upon the record of colleagues in whom he has either no confidence, or have no confidence in him?

Alleges Influences at Work.

"Let me ask another question. Is it conceivable that a new political party could come into existence with a new platform and a new leader and be able to gain control and carry on the government of the country without some powerful influence being at work? The truth is that a very powerful influence has been at work; it is an influence, however, that dare not reveal itself in the open; it dare not disclose itself because it is not a popular influence; it is not an influence representative of the will of the people; it is not a social influence, or an unselfish influence. It is the opposite of all these things. It is the influence of a certain element identified with the big interests of this country that is not satisfied with sharing in government along with the rest, but who wish to dominate and control. It is this monopolizing group of wealthy and powerful individuals whose advice has alone been sought in the creation of the present government and who today are responsible for its retention in office.

"A third reason why the present administration should receive no expression of confidence from the electors of this riding is that the remnant of the old Unionist administration of which it is composed appears to have retained all the bad habits, while they have lost the virtues of those of their colleagues who were members of the old Unionist administration."

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Montreal: banquet to Sir Lomer Gouin

"THE LIBERAL PARTY"

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Outline of Speech of Hon.W.L.Mackenzie King, in responding to the toast to the Liberal Party, at the Banquet tendered Sir Lomer Gouin, Montreal, December 16, 1920.

THE LIBERAL PARTY

I

Introductory

Years of Liberal Administration

15 of Sir Lomer
15 of Sir Wilfrid

The Spirit of Liberalism

Trace in Sir Lomer's administration -
its application to present-day problems

Carlyle and great men.
Record a tribute to Sir Lomer.
Further practical purpose of toast.

Distinguishing Notes in Liberal Policy

Musical composition, theme made known by notes.
Many notes in manysided career in 15 years administration.
Selection of three -
Characteristic of Sir Lomer's career
Distinguish 15 years of administration of province
" 15 " " " " Laurier
Essence of Liberalism, necessary to-day

II

A - LIBERALISM IS CONSTITUTIONAL

Spirit of Liberalism in Quebec given expression in regard for constitutional procedure and practice.
Notable and unique because of British model.
Liberalism, birth in struggle for Representative & Responsible Govt.

Self-Government the Basis of British Unity and British Connection

With self-government has come reverence for British constitution.
French-Canadians advocate principle local freedom as basis of Br.unity.
Powerful advocates in Laurier and Gouin.
What advocacy may mean.

Misunderstanding of Quebec's Position

Quebec not ultra-conservative, but constitutional.
A steadying influence - political movements on constitutional lines
"Safe and sane"
Sedition - Bolshevism

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Canada's Status as a Nation

Two effects of Quebec's constitutionalism:
(1) Opposition to centralization - Canada as a nation, not province of Empire
Sir Wilfrid at Jubilee, vs. Geneva Conference.
(2) Attitude towards present Government
Open secret, overtures to Gouin and others.
Truth about Quebec's isolation -
Refusal of Quebec Liberals means of upholding constitution

B - LIBERALISM IS CONSTRUCTIVE

Quebec as a material asset, a factor of first importance in national economy.
Both Gouin and Laurier administrations constructive.
Material prosperity - vision combined with practical business capacity
Features of Gouin's administration -
Economy - progressive policies - energy
Avoidance of extremes.
Striking constructive parallel in 15 years of Liberal administration.

C - LIBERALISM IS CONCILIATORY

To Laurier, Liberalism essentially conciliatory
Regard for feelings -
Abhorrence for arbitrary behaviour -
Conciliatory methods necessary to national unity.

Unity, not uniformity.

Moderation and toleration.

Effect of these principles under Laurier -
Race and religion
Capital and Labour
Territories - provinces
Colony to nation.

Conciliation likewise characteristic of Gouin Administration -
Rights of minorities.

Contentment of Quebec the outcome

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III

THE LIBERAL POLICY OF TODAY

- in spirit what its history indicates -
constitutional
constructive
conciliatory

A - The Constitutional Side of Liberal Policy

Party believes in a return to representative and responsible govt.

A war government

A new ministry

Electorate of 11 years - women and soldiers

Methods of representation fraudulent.

B - The Constructive Side

Problem of High Cost of Living, etc.,
To be dealt with according to principles indicated.

Need for end of extravagance, and for economy.

Most important, early return to representative government.
The people and the Tariff.
House of Commons superior to Govt. and Minister of Finance.
Taxation without representation.

C - The Conciliatory Side

Stand for unity, good-will, and open mind.

Economic and social problems.

Imperial relations - U.S.A. - other countries.

With Peace, repair ravages of War.

Pasteur, and two contrary laws.

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Speech of Hon.W.L.Mackenzie King, in responding to the toast to the Liberal Party, at the Banquet tendered Sir Lomer Gouin, Montreal, December 16, 1920.

THE LIBERAL PARTY

Before venturing to respond to the toast with which my name has been associated, may I express to the political friends of Sir Lomer Gouin my grateful appreciation of their courtesy and kindness in permitting me to share with this distinguished gathering in doing honour to him in recognition of whose important public services the banquet is being tendered. It is not alone the citizens of the Province of Quebec, but Canadians generally, who have reason to view with pride the achievements of Sir Lomer's political career, and more particularly the chapter which records his premiership.

YEARS OF LIBERAL ADMINISTRATION IN PROVINCIAL AND FEDERAL POLITICS

By common consent, the fifteen years during which Sir Lomer was at the head of the Liberal administration of his Province marks the period of greatest prosperity in the history of Quebec. It is something more than a coincidence that another period of fifteen years of Liberal administration, though not wholly coterminous, should have marked the golden era of peace, progress, and prosperity in this Dominion. These periods speak, in part, of the personal greatness of those two distinguished sons of this Province, whose names, identified with our own day and generation, will ever remain illustrious: Sir Lomer Gouin, in the provincial arena, and our late beloved Leader, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, in the federal. They speak also of the genius in matters of government of statesmen of French-Canadian descent, and reveal something of Quebec's contribution to the greatness of our Dominion.

THE SPIRIT OF LIBERALISM

It has seemed to me, all circumstances considered, that, being asked to respond on this occasion to the toast of the Liberal Party of Canada, it would not be inappropriate were I to attempt to trace the spirit of Liberalism as it has found expression in the record of Sir Lomer's administration, and endeavour to disclose wherein, through its application in a few important particulars to present-day problems, the Liberal party is seeking to give it a much-needed and wider expression in the arena of federal politics.

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Carlyle has told us that the history of what man has accomplished in this world is at bottom the history of the great men who have worked here; and another illustrious historian has defined history as past politics, and present politics as current history. If such be the case, and there can be little doubt that both aphorisms are essentially true, any presentation, revealing, with approach to accuracy, the fundamental qualities underlying the record of Sir Lomer's administration would be a worthier tribute to the guest of this evening, and, in historical perspective, a truer delineation of his character, than words of personal praise, however generously bestowed. Such a presentation should also greatly further the practical purposes of the toast. For nowhere in political science or philosophy is there to be found a more certain guide and guarantee of successful accomplishment in the realm of politics than in the discernment and application to existing problems of government of those principles which have stood the test of time, and which recorded experience declares to be the basic elements of progress and stability in the conduct of public affairs.

DISTINGUISHING NOTES IN LIBERAL POLICY

In every musical composition, the theme is made known by a series of notes selected as the text or subject. The same is true of all forms of art and artistic expression. It is true of political creeds and the principles and policies which they embody. It is the same with the career of every man; the theme of a life's story is ever the expression of actuating motives more or less persistent through the whole of life.

In a career as active and manysided as that of our guest, and in a record of public administration for fifteen years, there are necessarily many notes,every one of which might be found to be deserving of special recognition in any effort to disclose fundamental qualities in a political creed so all-embracing as that of Liberalism. From the large number that might be mentioned, I shall select but three. They are three that appear to me conspicuously characteristic in Sir Lomer's public career, and greatly to distinguish the fifteen years of his administration of the affairs of this Province. They are fundamental qualities also to be found as characteristic and distinguishing features of the fifteen years of the Liberal administration

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of Sir Wilfrid Laurier in the government of theDominion. I believe them to be of the very essence of Liberalism and essential elements to wise and progressive government at all times. Never were they more necessary in the public life of our Dominion than at the present time.

LIBERALISM IS CONSTITUTIONAL

The spirit of Liberalism has found marked expression, insofar as the Province of Quebec,is concerned, both in legislative enactments and the teachings of its great leaders; in the constant regard there has been for constitutional procedure and practice in all matters pertaining to government. The law and procedure of the constitution has ever been upheld by French-Canadian statesmen as something very sacred, something not lightly to be put to one side, much less ruthlessly ignored in any essential particular.

There is something very notable, one might say unique, in this circumstance, when it is recalled that it is constitutional law and procedure after the British model that has been upheld, and that government in this province had its beginnings under a system of old world autocracy and centralization, the very antithesis of that for which the British principles of government stand.

The French-Canadian population of a century ago having come to accept,with little more than sentimental regret, the new order of liberty which freed them from the yoke of a centralized European control, it was natural that Liberalism should have had its birth, in the Province of Quebec, as it had in the Province of Ontario, in struggles for representative and responsible government, to which a united Canada owes to-day the development of her political freedom.

SELF-GOVERNMENT THE BASIS OF BRITISH UNITY AND BRITISH CONNECTION

However much in origin the early uprisings in Upper and Lower Canada may have differed, they at least had this in common, that self-government was their primary objective. With self-government, after the pattern of the British constitution, has come an increasing reverence for the principles underlying British institutions of government.

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With increasing fervor, French-Canadian statesmen of the Liberal school have advocated theprinciple of local freedom as the basis of British unity; and, because of the spirit of British parliamentary institutions, they likewise have upheld British connection as a guarantee of popular freedom. They believed in self-government, they believed in British connection. They felt that the two were not only compatible, but inseparably linked together. History has amply justified this conviction.

In this championing of the cause of free institutions of government, and citizenship within the British Empire as a guarantee thereof, Canada has had no more powerful advocates than the two distinguished French-Canadian Prime Ministers and Liberal Leaders whose names this evening necessarily come into close association, the Right Honourable Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and our distinguished guest. Each has displayed never-failing vision, resource, courage, and persistency in that advocacy.

How largely this advocacy by French-Canadian Liberals has contributed to the unity of our Dominion, to the changed relations between the self-governing Dominions and Britain, and the consequent expansion and increasing solidarity of the British Empire itself, it would be impossible to say. What it may yet contribute to the permanency of inter-imperial relations, and a solution of inter-imperial problems-- not to except the present deplorable position of Ireland in its relations to Britain - no one can foretell. Certain, however, it is that by this advocacy on the part of her foremost and most gifted sons, the Province of Quebec has contributed in no small measure to the spread of institutions and the conserving of British traditions in a manner that is advancing the freedom of mankind.

MISUNDERSTANDING OF QUEBEC'S POSITION

Because of her unwillingness to yield too readily to practices and procedure not easily to be defended on constitutional grounds, Quebec has sometimes been thought of as ultra-conservative. A more accurate interpretation would disclose, in the resistance to fundamental change, where due authority by way of popular control has been lacking, a regard for constitutional government which is of the very essence of Liberalism. In a very real way, Quebec's

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regard for constitutional procedure has made the oldest of the provinces a steadying influence throughout our history. To no small degree, by her regard for tradition, she has helped to keep political movements within constitutional lines. At no moment in the history of the Dominion is this being more clearly recognized than at the present time. "Safe and sane" is the expression being used to describe Quebec's position in this respect. The province which three years ago was being referred to by its detractors as a hotbed of sedition, is now being praised as a bulwark against Bolshevism.

CANADA'S STATUS AS A NATION

This regard for constitutional procedure and what has been learned of the secret of free government, through its evolution, has found expression in relation to the Province of Quebec in two particulars, each of which has had more than national significance.

The first is the strong sentiment which has found increasing support throughout all parts of the Dominion against any and every tendency to a reversion to the old order of centralization in inter-imperial and international affairs. It is Canada as a nation, not Canada as a province of Empire, that Liberal leaders were the first to put forward and have steadily maintained as the goal of our national aspirations.

It is interesting at the moment to recall that when Sir Wilfrid, at the time of the Queen's Jubilee, referred to the British Empire as "a galaxy of nations", and Canada as the foremost in those classed at the time as "outlying Dominions", he was regarded by jingo imperialists as a separatist. One would imagine, to read the press despatches coming from Geneva to-day that - among the nations assembled there - Canada was the oldest, instead of one of the youngest represented in the councils and assembly of the League. It seems to me that of the two points of view, Sir Wilfrid Laurier's was the truer, and the more dignified.

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THE ATTITUDE OF QUEBEC LIBERALS TOWARDS THE PRESENT ADMINISTRATION

The other particular in which regard for constitutional government has found significant expression in this province is the attitude assumed by the leading French-Canadian Liberals towards representation in the compromise cabinet at Ottawa, whether it be in its first or in its last instalment, the old Unionist Government, or the present so-called National-Liberal-and-Conservative administration.

It is an open secret that nothing short of frantic efforts have been put forward by those in power to secure our guest of the evening as a member of the federal administration. It is equally well-known that like overtures were made to more than one member from this Province formerly in the administration of Sir Wilfrid Laurier. All have consistently and persistently refused to violate the reverent regard in which constitutional procedure is held in the Province of Quebec, by lending the prestige of their names and high position as a cloak for subterfuge, and usurpation of rightful authority in matters of government.

We now hear some, who formerly assailed Quebec, deploring its isolation. Isolation from what? Not from Canada, for the general sentiment towards Quebec is friendly, and relations are steadily improving. No, such "isolation" as exists is from a government, which is itself isolated from Canada, which has lost touch with the electorate of Canada, not only in Quebec, but in Ontario and the West, and which maintains a precarious hold upon power through a House of Commons which has ceased to represent the people in any true sense of the word.

Shall we say that the refusal of Liberal Quebec to have anything to do with the Government means a refusal to take part in the working of the institutions of the country? By no means. On the contrary, by that refusal the Liberals of Quebec are asserting their determination to uphold the constitution by keeping aloof from usurpers. They are remaining true to representative and responsible government. When these are restored - which will not be long hence - Quebec will be found once more represented by responsible ministers, and its leading citizens doing work for our common country worthy of the traditions of Lafontaine, Dorion, and Laurier. Canada will once more have the benefit of the political genius of the French-Canadian race, and of Quebec's regard for the constitution and our free political institutions.

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LIBERALISM IS CONSTRUCTIVE

It is not alone in a constitutional sense that Quebec is one of the most valuable parts of Canada. Having regard to its population, its agricultural and industrial development, as a material asset it is a factor of the first importance in our national economy. And that brings me to the second note everywhere recognized in the fifteen years of Sir Lomer Gouin's administration, and, equally, in the fifteen years of Liberal administration under Sir Wilfrid Laurier in the Dominion. Both have been essentially constructive.

Material prosperity in the affairs of a country or of a province is not a matter of chance. In a very true sense it is the consequence of vision combined with practical business capacity applied to the management of affairs of state. No one will deny that few public men in Canada have possessed these essential qualities in larger measure than Sir Lomer Gouin. His administration, from beginning to close, is one splendid record of business principles progressively applied to the essential needs and latent possibilities of the diverse interests of his province.

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CONSTRUCTIVE FEATURES OF LIBERAL ADMINISTRATION

A regard for economy, reliance upon honesty, great prudence in the investment of public funds, have all contributed to bring about a condition of financial stability which has made the Province of Quebec the envy, not only of other provinces of our own country, but of many parts of other countries as well. Progressive policies with respect to such all-important matters as education, colonization, transportation, the conservation of natural resources, the development of water powers, the construction of permanent highways, together with a frank recognition of the benefits of a diversified industry and the need of enlightened and humane legislation in the field of industrial relations, have combined with the thrift and energy of the people themselves to make for confidence and stability, and a far-reaching development in provincial affairs.

In every step there has been the avoidance of extremes. New ventures have not been feared, but they have been entered upon with caution. Change has been effected to cause development to keep pace with the needs of the people, but the method has been one of evolution rather than revolution. In all, there has been orderly progress.

In a manner equally striking, the spirit of Liberalism as essentially constructive was revealed in the fifteen years of Liberal administration under Sir Wilfrid Laurier. From its beginning to its close, the record of the Laurier administration will ever stand as a national exemplification of what may be accomplished by constructive statesmanship born of the combination of vision and practical business capacity. Underlying the whole were the same essential qualities of honesty and economy in public administration, progressive and humane legislation, always with a due regard to the country's position, its needs and possibilities.

LIBERALISM IS CONCILIATORY

This further mention of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's administration suggests the note which, above all others, was expressive of the spirit of Liberalism as Sir Wilfrid conceived it in all human, industrial and international relations. To him, Liberalism in spirit was essentially conciliatory. Its aim was ever that of seeking to discover and show a due regard for the feelings and point of view of others. Anything in the way of arbitrary and autocratic behaviour evoked instinctively his resistance and abhorrence. Only by conciliatory methods did he believe it possible to obtain national unity within our country, and permanent concord and unity between the different parts of the British Empire.

UNITY MAINTAINED BY METHODS OF CONCILIATION

The attainment of national unity, as we all know, was the supreme goal of Sir Wilfrid's political ambition, and this object was ever present to his thought in his consideration and advocacy of public policies. He readily distinguished between the unity which is bred of a desire for uniformity, and the unity which is the richer because of

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its ~~diversity~~ diversity. Moderation and Toleration in all things were with him more than political precepts; they were political maxims. It was through the application of these principles that, during the fifteen years of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's administration, racial and religious strife was reduced to a minimum within the borders of the Dominion; differences between Capital and Labour composed in a manner which tended to further the representative idea with respect to the rights of both; the prairies of the North West organized from territories into provinces, as a recognition of the rights of their settlers to the enjoyment of a fuller measure of Canadian citizenship; and Canada's status advanced from that of a colony to that of a nation, with the permanency of inter-imperial relations assured through a strict regard for national autonomy, and conference and co-operation between the parts in all matters of common concern.

It is this note of conciliation as an essential part of Liberalism that has likewise characterized the successful administration of Sir Lomer Gouin in provincial affairs. It finds its application primarily in a regard for the rights of minorities. So much has the public mind of the Dominion associated the rights of minorities with the French and Catholic population of this country, that it is sometimes forgotten that, as respects the Province of Quebec, it is the Protestant and English-speaking population which constitutes the minority, the rights of whom it is a primary duty of the state to protect. So splendidly did Sir Lomer Gouin succeed, throughout the whole of his administration, in safeguarding the rights of minorities that, as respects this Province of Quebec, nothing has been heard of any oversight in this connection. Is it too much to believe that the ever present consideration of this fundamental principle of Liberalism has more than all else been responsible for the contentment and prosperity of the people in the Province of Quebec ?

RECORD OF SIR LOMER'S AND SIR WILFRID'S ADMINISTRATIONS PROVE WORTHY OF LIBERAL PRINCIPLES

To sum up what I have said, Liberalism, to achieve the full extent of its mission, must be constitutional, constructive and conciliatory. That through the application of these principles it is capable of advancing the wellbeing of communities and our national interests is proven by the record of the two administrations to which I have referred. That the administration of Sir Lomer in provincial matters has paralleled in all these particulars that of the great Liberal Leader in the federal arena, is perhaps the highest compliment that could be paid to Sir Lomer personally and to the achievements of his government. It is a compliment not only to Sir Lomer and to his colleagues; it is a compliment in equal measure to French-Canadian genius in matters of government, and to this old historic Province of Quebec which has given to our country leadership of so exceptional a type.

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LIBERAL POLICY OF TODAY

The Liberal policy today is in spirit that which is indicated by its history. It is constitutional; it is constructive; it is conciliatory.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL SIDE OF LIBERAL POLICY

On the constitutional side, the Liberal party believes in a return to representative and responsible government. Interrupted by the War, with the interruption prolonged by the postponement of the general election, it maintains that the present Parliament was elected and a Union government formed for war purposes alone; that the War having come to an end more than two years ago, the Union government having been dissolved and a new government formed under a new Prime Minister, the sense of the people ought to be taken in a general election in which the people will have an opportunity to vote upon Canadian questions, questions of domestic policy, as they have not done since 1911. It believes that the new electorate that has arisen since 1911, including most of the soldiers and all of the women of Canada, have a right to be consulted. It maintains moreover that the methods by which the present Parliament was brought into being were arbitrary and fraudulent to a degree which destroys entirely the representative chracternof Parliament.

THE CONSTRUCTIVE SIDE OF LIBERAL POLICY

On the side of constructive policy the Liberal Party believes that there are problems arising out of the high cost of living, abuses in the nature of profiteering, inequalities in taxation, revisions of the tariff, problems of soldiers' civil re-establishment, of railroad management and railway rate control, of agricultural and rural development, of industry and industrial relations in the cities and towns, and of electoral reform, all of which require special and immediate consideration. Needless to say that in its conduct of all these matters, the Liberal Party, should it be returned to power, will continue to be guided by those qualities of moderation and toleration, of orderly progress and the avoidance of extreme positions and measures which have given to the administrations to which I have referred the confidence they justly held over so many years in the minds of their respective electorates.

The Liberal Party also believes that there is the greatest need for an end to extravagance and for the exercise of the strictest economy in the administration of public affairs, and that this is something not to be expected from members of a ministry who, during the long period of the War, acquired habits of lavish expenditure and great indifference to the control of Parliament.

THE PEOPLE AND THE TARIFF

Urgent as all these matters are, the Liberal Party believes that most important of all is the early restoration of representative and responsible government. This is an issue greater even than the Tariff, or any of the other subjects mentioned, because in a sense it includes them all. As regards the Tariff, the prime consideration is that it

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shall be made by or in accordance with the will of a House of Commons fairly representing all classes of the people of Canada. By the constitution the House of Commons is vested with the power over the purse, the power of taxation, the power to grant or withhold supplies, to say how public revenues shall be raised and how the money shall be spent. The fact that the framing of the tariff is delegated to the Government, and particularly to the Minister of Finance, does not affect the position of the House of Commons as the supreme authority and source of power. In the exercise of this power, the House of Commons represents, or ought to represent, the people of Canada, the taxpayers who provide the money to carry on the government.

The first requisite, therefore, of a revised tariff is a truly representative House of Commons. Such a body does not now exist. If the truth be plainly spoken, we have at the present time, not only taxation without representation for large numbers of Canadian citizens disfranchised at the last election, but we have, in view of the manner in which representation in the present House of Commons was brought into being, taxation without representation for the great majority of the Canadian people. This is a consideration to which no free people can afford to be indifferent; and which cannot be countenanced by the admission of powers which the present government at Ottawa has no right to assume.

THE CONCILIATORY SIDE OF LIBERAL POLICY

Finally, on the side of conciliation, the Liberal party will continuee to stand as the illustrious leaders , to whom I have made reference, have stood in the past, for unity, good-will and the open mind. It has no prejudices of race, creed, or class. It is for equal rights and justice to all. It believes that problems of industry and nationality, like all questions of race and religion, can only be solved by the application of these principles. Difficult as may be the economic and social problems of our day, much suffering may be averted by approaching them in a spirit of friendship and confidence, as opposed to hatred and suspicion. We want no cleavage along class lines, as we want no cleavage along racial or religious lines. In Imperial relations we are opposed to centralization. We are advocates of British unity based upon human relations, rather than upon governmental machinery; unity based upon self-government and the equality of the British community of nations. We are for friendly relations with the United States, and we are in sympathy with the movement to substitute friendly co-operation for conflict and jealousy in international relations with all countries.

The task that lies before us, now that Peace has been restored, is to repair the ravages of war. Because war caused scarcity, we must strive to bring plenty by increased production. Because war caused huge expenditures, we must get back to economy and sound finance. Because the war involved autocratic methods, we must get back to democracy and strive to enlarge the bounds of freedom. Our soldiers fought under that banner, and we must keep faith with the living and with the dead. It is that better world for which so many sons of this Dominion

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fought and died that must command our best intelligence and our highest endeavour.

In the effort to fulfil this high obligation the Liberal Party in Canada will never cease to remember the debt it owes, through guidance and example, to the great leaders of Liberalism from the Province of Quebec.

Sir Wilfrid is no longer with us, but his spirit will ever continue to inspire alike our thoughts and actions.

Sir Lomer, fortunately, is still spared to his country. While he has quit, for the time being perhaps, the active arena of party warfare for the more peaceful pursuits of an academic career, we are glad to know that his wide experience and helpful counsel are still at the services of the party whose affirs he has guided with such fidelity and skill. We shall hope that the larger opportunity of leisure thus afforded Sir Lomer will mean a life of longer service in the councils of Liberalism and of the Province and Country which are proud to honour him on this occasion.

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Montreal 'Herald' Dec. 18, 1920

GOUIN NOT TO ENTER FEDERAL ARENA, HE SAYS

Former Prime Minister Makes Announcement at Big Banquet Last Night

BUT SEEKS WAY OUT

Hon. Mr. Mackenzie King Compares Gouin Regime With That of Laurier

"Contrary to what our friends the journalists say, in spite of the many predictions to the contrary, I have neither the ambition nor the intention of entering into the Federal Arena."

The above declaration was the outstanding statement made by Sir Lomer Gouin, former Premier of the Province of Quebec, at a banquet offered him by his political friends in the Windsor Hotel last night.

Seeks Way Out.

"Do not think," went on Sir Lomer, "that I wish to outline here a programme of federal politics. **I have not the ambition nor the intention of entering into the Federal arena. But as a Canadian interested in the destiny of his country, I think of the multiplicity and the difficulty of the problems which the great war has sown on our soil; I think of the enormous debt that we have incurred, and which we must pay; I think of the ill which reigns among us; I hear the complaints and the claims of our discontented soldiers as to the fate bestowed upon them, of our workmen who lack work, of our farmers of the provinces of the West, who claim to be badly treated by the fiscal policy of the Government. I recognize the uneasiness of our manufacturers and merchants, and I seek, with all men of good-will, the means of emerging from the state in which we are and finding again the path of progress and of prosperity which we have lost. There is only one means in my opinion, it is that of returning to the policy which brought us out of the bog and saved us from civil war in 1896. That policy is that of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, a policy of justice, of tolerance, of conciliation, of foresight which gave us peace and the fifteen years of prosperity in our national life.**

The function was a most brilliant one and at times, as the speakers either referred to the former famous leaders of the Liberal party or alluded to the new chieftains, the outbursts of applause and cheering lasted for fully a minute. Many of the declarations of the orators brought the 600 odd people in the banquet hall to their feet and caused a regular pandemonium of uncontrolled enthusiasm and political fervor. Men who in every day walk of life observe the greatest decorum, who are seldom seen to smile and certainly never "cut loose" like they did last night, in addition to cheering themselves hoarse and nearly raising blisters on their hands through the violence of their applause, frantically waved their napkins and upon every possible occasion led off with that "sine qua non" of all political banquets: "For he's a jolly good fellow."

The whole proceedings were more in the nature of a great family gathering than of a strictly political gathering, it was more like a feast of friendship than a manifestation of loyalty and fealty to a former leader and party chief.

The banquet was presided over by Hon. L. A. Taschereau, Premier of the Province of Quebec, and among those who attended were: the leader of the Liberal Party in Canada, Hon. William Lyon Mackenzie King, Hon. W. S. Fielding, Hon. Sydney Fisher, Hon. R. Dandurand, Hon. Dr. Beland, Hon. Chas. Marcil, Hon. Adelard Turgeon, Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux, Hon. J. N. Francoeur, a large number of friends of the federal Parliament, the whole provincial cabinet, practically every one of the Legislative Councillors and members of the Legislature, many leaders in the professional and business world in both Montreal and Quebec and all the best known leaders and organizers of the Liberal party in the province. A fairly large attendance of ladies occupied the gallery and at the time of the speeches many more were admitted to the floor of the banquet hall.

Hon. Mr. Taschereau introduced the guest of honor of the evening and after referring to the thirteen years he had had the pleasure and honor of serving as a colleague of Sir Lomer and the fifteen years of successful and beneficial administration by the former Premier of Quebec, said that the Liberal party had always trusted Sir Lomer Gouin and now expected that he would give it his friendship and support, particularly in view of the great fight which would come some day soon.

Hon. Mr. Taschereau review the political career of Sir Lomer and even drew a sketch of the former Premier in private life, in the woods and along the streams. A remark by Hon. Mr. Taschereau that Sir Lomer had always had had a firm hand, drew forth long applause and loud laughter in which the guest of the evening himself indulged very freely.

Gouin a Leader.

Sir Lomer had all the qualities to make him a leader of men, said the Premier of Quebec, he had a sure judgment, a far-sighted spirit, a splendid legal sense, a genius for business, a most wonderful memory and an eloquence which was always sure to evoke enthusiasm even among his political opponents.

Dealing with what might be termed the lighter side of Sir Lomer's life, Hon. Mr. Taschereau spoke in a very humorous vein of the love of the former Premier of Quebec for gun and rod. He described the guest of the evening patiently casting the fly in an effort to hook the elusive trout, a task in which he was generally very successful, handling with great skill the paddle and the oar and stalking with deadly effect for the denizens of the forest, small and big game in the woods he loved so much to choose as a retreat for a few days and a rest from the tremendous labors he was constantly engaged in.

New Usefulness.

Hon. Mr. Taschereau then expressed the wishes and hopes of the Liberal party and the trust it placed in the former Premier of Quebec in the following words:

"Let me make a wish. Our guest is a man in the full maturity of his talents, full of activity and courage, of that kind of courage which does great things. Sir Lomer can be, and should be still useful to his country, to his province, to his people. For him, more than for others noblesse oblige. I believe I express the popular view of our people in asking Sir Lomer to continue to give to his country, in the sphere of his choice, the best of his intelligence and of his ability.

"The Liberal party, Sir Lomer, has not withdrawn either its confidence or its loyalty; the Liberal party counts on you to maintain its traditions, and to realize its aspirations. If, after your elevation to the most high tasks, you believe that you have deserved a rest, which your friends hesitate to give you, remain at least our adviser and our friend for the great combats which can be foreseen." (Loud and prolonged applause.)

Tremendous Ovation.

When Sir Lomer rose to address the gathering he could not get a hearing for several minutes as he was greeted with prolonged applause and cheering followed by several French and English songs. Several times he attempted to commence his address, only to be again and again interrupted by the outbursts of enthusiasm. When he finally succeeded in obtaining silence Sir Lomer first thanked his many friends in and outside of politics for the splendid manifestation of affection they had organized in his honor. He was more deeply touched, he said, than he could possibly express and he remarked that there was no greater pleasure for a man who had given many years of his life in the service of his countrymen than to realize that he still possessed the appreciation of the public he had tried to the best of his ability to serve during his years in office.

Sir Lomer reminded his hearers of the great fights of the past and he was particularly happy to see by his side some of the stalwarts of the past political battles and to those men, to "his chief" Hon. Mackenzie King, to the members of the Senate, the Commons, the Legislative Council, the Legislature, to the many prominent men who had joined with the Quebec family to offer him the banquet, Sir Lomer extended his heartiest and most sincere thanks.

Opponents Stimulating.

He knew there were several in the hall who at various times had fought him in the political arena, to those he extended a special greeting. They had helped to keep him on the right path, they had been a stimulus to him during his career and since he knew they had always acted in the best of good faith and with loyalty and fairness he could only extend to them the thanks he offered his other friends.

It had been said that he was to read his will, said Sir Lomer Gouin, but he could not do so even if he wished since he had disposed of all his political goods and chattels by private donation to his successor.

Will Continue Work.

Sir Lomer admitted he had made mistakes in his life, "perhaps more often than you have noticed," he remarked with a slight grin and this was also saluted with laughter, but he had always tried to be loyal, conscientious and faithful to his trust.

The speaker promised that he would still continue to take a keen interest in the welfare of his province.

"Do not think, he said, that because I have left the post which I occupied through your will for so long that I no longer have any interest in the good and welfare of our dear province, that I have no heart for the tasks which I commenced and accomplished with my colleagues, and that my thought will not follow the work of those who follow me with solicitude."

Quebec People Exemplary.

It was the union of the people of the province of Quebec and their fine spirit of tolerance that had made its prosperity. Sir Lomer said:

"How comforting it is to see the good will that prevails between the English and Protestant minority and the French Catholic majority. In this, we preach an example to the rest of the country. I have always believed that the most important element for a civilized nation was education, a solid and sane education, inspired by the great principles of Christianity. Ignorance means chaos, leading to anarchy and discord. I have never forgotten that the first aim of education was to bring men together."

Hon. Mr. King.

Hon. Mackenzie King, who replied to the toast "Liberalism," compared the fifteen years of prosperity for Quebec under the Gouin regime, to the fifteen years of greatness enjoyed by the whole Dominion under the leadership of the late chieftain of the liberal party, Sir Wilfrid Laurier.

Hon. Mr. King went on to describe what should be understood by true real Liberalism as it had always been preached by Sir Wilfrid and by Sir Lomer Gouin. Liberalism had always stood for constitutional methods in everything and that had been denied and neglected by the present government.

Dealing with the past progress of the province of Quebec and guidance of Sir Lomer Gouin, Hon. Mr. King remarked that the attitude of the rest of the Dominion had changed greatly within the last few years. Quebec had at one time been held up by its detractors as disloyal, but today they had to admit it was the strongest bulwark on the American continent against Bolshevism.

The great importance of returning to a true representative Government at Ottawa was strongly emphasized by the speaker.

"The Liberal policy today," said Mr. King, "is in spirit that which is indicated by its history. It is constitutional, it is conciliatory. The Liberal party believes in a return to representative and responsible government."

There were a number of most important problems to be faced by the Dominion government said Mr. King and the Liberals when they were returned to power would tackle those problems without fear or favor.

Tariff Policy.

Mr. King concluded a very eloquent address by referring to the tariff policy. He said:

"As regards the tariff the prime consideration is that it shall be made by or in accordance with the will of a House of Commons fairly representing all classes of people of Canada. The first requisite of a revised tariff is a truly representative House of Commons."

Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux, Hon. Mr. Perrault, Minister of Colonization in the Provincial Cabinet, and Hon. Walter Mitchell, provincial Treasurer, all delivered short addresses in which they reviewed the political career and private life of the guest of honor of the evening. They all pointed out how the administration of Sir Lomer Gouin had been one of progress, but at the same time of sane and careful economy. The latter feature was brought out more particularly in the speech by Hon. Mr. Mitchell, who explained how it was under Sir Lomer's careful and wise guidance that the Province had never had anything but a surplus at the end of each fiscal year and had been able to add so extensively to its already splendid reputation on the money markets of the world.

Before the banquet Sir Lomer was presented with a fine oil painting by the Canadian artist Carrierre and he promised to give it a place of honor in his home and to consider it as one of the most valuable possessions he could possibly leave to his heirs.

At the conclusion of the proceedings, Lady Gouin was presented with a beautiful bouquet of American beauty roses by Mr. Vautrin, M.L.A. for St. James division.

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HOMMAGE A L'EX-PREMIER MINISTRE

C'EST DE LA POLITIQUE DE LAURIER QUE NOUS VIENDRA LE SALUT, ASSURE SIR LOMER

L'ex-premier ministre provincial voit en elle seule l'assurance de la permanence de la Confédération canadienne. — L'œuvre accomplie en 15 ans. — Education, agriculture, industrie. — "Je n'ai ni l'ambition, ni l'intention d'entrer dans l'arène fédérale", dit encore sir Lomer.

L'ELOGE DE GOUIN PAR MACKENZIE-KING

Le chef du parti libéral compare à l'oeuvre de Laurier celle qu'a accomplie sir Lomer durant son administration. — Un même objectif: l'unité nationale. — Ce que doit être le libéralisme. — Discours des honorables MM. Taschereau, qui préside le banquet; Lemieux, Mitchell et Perrault.

UNE ŒUVRE D'ART AU HEROS DE LA FETE

Le banquet offert à sir Lomer Gouin, ex-premier ministre, hier soir, au Windsor, par ses amis de la province de Québec, avait réuni près de six cents convives; et un certain nombre de personnes n'ayant pu avoir de place aux tables sont restées pour entendre les discours.

Le banquet était présidé par l'hon. L.-A. Taschereau, premier ministre de la province de Québec. A la table d'honneur, on remarquait plusieurs des anciens ministres de feu sir Wilfrid Laurier. Le cabinet provincial était presque au complet à une table adjacente.

Aucun des orateurs ne fit des déclarations comme l'attendait l'impatience publique. Sir Lomer, seul, assura "qu'il n'avait ni l'ambition, ni l'intention d'entrer dans l'arène fédérale."

Des dames, dont lady Gouin, assistèrent en grand nombre, dans les galeries et sur le parquet, aux discours, ajoutant une note pittoresque et charmante à la fête.

A la table d'honneur on remarquait: l'hon. L.-A. Taschereau, le président, ayant à sa droite sir Lomer Gouin, et à sa gauche, l'hon. W.-L. Mackenzie-King, puis, les honorables W.-S. Fielding, M. P., ancien ministre des finances du Canada; l'hon. S. Fisher, ancien ministre de l'agriculture; l'hon. R. Lemieux, M.P., ex-ministre de la marine; l'hon. H.-S. Béland, M.P., ex-ministre des Postes; l'hon. Charles Marcil, M.P., ancien Orateur de la Chambre des communes.

Puis on voyait aussi : l'hon. Adélard Turgeon, président du conseil législatif ; les honorables sénateurs Wm. Mitchell, A. Boyer, M. Wilson, J.-P.-B. Casgrain et les membres du cabinet provincial : les honorables H. Mercier, J.-E. Perrault, A. Gallipault, J.-E. Caron, L.-A. David, J.-L. Perron et N. Séguin. Aux autres tables se pressait une foule de personnalités du monde de la finance, de l'industrie, du commerce, de la politique.

L'HON. L.-A. TASCHEREAU

Le premier ministre qui était entré dans la salle ayant sir Lomer à son bras donna le signal pour une ovation considérable. Il fut après le repas le premier des orateurs et quand on eut bu à la santé du Roi, il porta le toast à Sir Lomer, hôte d'honneur de la soirée.

On ne pouvait, dit-il, me confier une tâche plus agréable que celle de présider ce banquet dont le but est de témoigner à sir Lomer Gouin, notre hôte distingué, l'affection profonde que lui gardent ses amis et l'attachement fidèle de toute sa province, qu'il a si bien servie pendant de longues et fructueuses années.

Treize ans durant, j'ai eu le privilège d'être un des collaborateurs de sir Lomer Gouin. Il m'a honoré de son amitié, que je lui ai rendue par le dévouement que mérite un compagnon loyal, généreux et plein d'égards, qui marche à vos côtés dans la vie et s'emploie à la rendre meilleure.

Tout le long de ces années nous eûmes des jours ensoleillés, et les quelques orages qui ont pu passer n'ont fait que féconder le sol et rendre la moisson plus abondante. Jamais firmament politique ne fut plus serein et n'aida mieux l'infatigable laboureur qui avait tracé les sillons à recueillir les grosses gerbes dorées que notre province ne cesse de récolter.

Sir Lomer a dirigé les destinées de la province de Québec pendant quinze années consécutives. S'inspira-t-il des visions d'avenir de Mercier, de l'esprit large et tolérant de Laurier pour réaliser son oeuvre et créer l'harmonie et la concorde qui règnent sur notre sol entre toutes les races et entre toutes les croyances ? Oui, sans doute, mais l'histoire lui rendra, en outre, le témoignage qu'il sut mettre sa province en tête de la Confédération. Notre domaine forestier et le développement de nos forces hydrauliques reçurent une impulsion inespérée. Le barrage Gouin, sur le Saint-Maurice, immortalisera le nom de son auteur. La province ne connut que des surplus et sa position financière fait aujourd'hui l'envie des provinces-soeurs. Comparez notre industrie agricole avec celle de 1905, mettez notre législation ouvrière en regard des lois d'il y a quinze ans, et dites-moi si ouvriers et cultivateurs ont eu tort d'accorder à sir Lomer une confiance absolue ? On l'a aussi appelé le père de l'éducation. La postérité ratifiera ce titre, le plus beau que puisse recevoir le chef d'un pays, et qui vient de lui mériter la présidence de l'Université de Montréal. Nos écoles techniques et des Hautes Etudes, nos écoles d'agriculture et de génie forestier, nos écoles normales, nos nombreuses académies, les budgets énormes que nous avons votés à l'instruction publique sont des monuments plus durables que les bronzes élevés à la mémoire de bienfaiteurs de la patrie. Mieux que tout cela, sir Lomer a réveillé les énergies qui sommeillaient, et il a enseigné à nos gens à avoir confiance en eux-mêmes. Par delà les frontières du Canada, il a appris au monde que notre province méritait une place d'honneur par la stabilité de ses institutions et les progrès de sa population ; il a fait connaître nos richesses naturelles, les vastes champs d'activité ouverts aux capitalistes et aux industries, l'esprit d'ordre et de travail de notre classe ouvrière, l'attachement au sol de nos vaillants colons et de nos fidèles agriculteurs.

On a dit que la plus grande qualité d'un homme public est l'amour sincère et profond de son pays. C'est incontestablement la qualité maîtresse de sir Lomer. Mais il a démontré qu'il en possède bien d'autres, et je ne les aurai pas toutes énumérées quand j'aurai dit qu'il avait la main ferme, le jugement sûr, l'esprit clairvoyant, un grand sens légal, le génie des affaires, une mémoire prodigieuse, une éloquence et une souplesse dans la discussion qui enthousiasmaient ses partisans et réduisaient ses adversaires à demander merci. Ajouterai-je qu'à l'occasion il savait être impénétrable, et qu'il fut toujours d'une discrétion déconcertante pour les journalistes et les curieux. Si tel fut sir Lomer dans la vie publique et en pleine activité, me sera-t-il permis, en sa présence, de vous le décrire dans l'intimité et au repos?

Vous vous le représentez mal au repos, n'est-ce pas, celui dont la prodigieuse activité a été l'âme de notre vie nationale et politique pendant quinze ans ? Mais vous vous demandez peut-être ce qu'il était dans l'intimité, au coin de l'âtre, avec ses amis, celui qui, à la tribune, démolissait si prestement ses plus redoutables adversaires ?

Pendant treize ans, nous avons siégé ensemble autour de la table du conseil. J'en appelle à mes collègues qui sont ici, aucune famille fut-elle plus unie ? Jamais parole amère n'est sortie des lèvres de notre chef. Et quand, par malheur, trop souvent la mort est venue frapper à notre porte, ce n'est pas trahir les secrets du cabinet que de dire l'émotion de celui qui présidait nos délibérations et qui nous laissait ainsi voir l'affection qu'il vouait à ses collaborateurs et à ses amis.

Mais il fallait le voir alors que, pour quelques jours, il réussissait à s'arracher aux soucis de l'Etat. Ardent disciple de Nemrod et de Waltham, il savait tendre mille pièges aux grands animaux de nos forêts ; et lorsque, le soir venu, les canots nous ramenaient au camp, qui eut reconnu notre hôte dans ce vigoureux rameur, la gibecière toujours la mieux remplie ? Peu patient, a-t-on dit ! Mais, si vous eussiez vu la patience avec laquelle il attendait le poisson, en promenant une mouche perfide à la surface des eaux ! Pas un employé public n'eut hésité à ce moment à l'approcher pour lui demander une augmentation de salaire ! Et cette patience durait... jusqu'à l'arrivée des moustiques. Oh, alors... les oiseaux fuyaient éperdus, et nos forêts vierges étaient tout étonnées de pareil langage !

Mais vous avez hâte d'entendre Sir Lomer.

Qu'il me soit permis, cependant, de formuler un souhait. Celui que nous fêtons ce soir est en pleine maturité de talent, débordant d'activité et de courage, de cet audacieux courage qui fait les grandes choses. Sir Lomer peut être, et il se doit d'être encore utile à son pays, à sa province, à tous les siens. Pour lui plus que pour tout autre, noblesse oblige.

Je crois exprimer le voeu de notre population tout entière en demandant à Sir Lomer de continuer de donner à son pays, dans la sphère de son choix, le meilleur de son intelligence et de son dévouement.

Le parti libéral, Sir Lomer, ne vous a marchandé ni sa confiance, ni sa loyauté ; le parti libéral compte sur vous pour maintenir ses traditions et réaliser ses espérances. Si, après votre ascension jusqu'aux plus hautes fonctions, vous croyez avoir bien mérité un repos que vos amis hésitent à vous accorder, restez au moins notre conseiller et notre ami pour les grands combats qui s'annoncent.

Vous m'avez joué le mauvais tour, Sir Lomer, de me désigner pour vous succéder. Je me suis laissé faire violence, parce qu'il n'était pas, et qu'il ne pouvait être question de vous remplacer. Depuis lors, j'ai dû faire face à des tâches bien diverses ; vous n'avez peut-être pas oublié ce qu'elles sont ! Il arrive à un premier ministre d'avoir par exception des fonctions agréables. C'est ainsi que ce soir une mission tout particulièrement charmante m'a été confiée, par mes amis de la Législature, qui gardent un souvenir bien vivant de leur ancien chef et pour cause.

Les convives ont acclamé le premier ministre auquel Sir Lomer Gouin succède.

SIR LOMER GOUIN

Si je pouvais exprimer les sentiments dont j'ai le coeur rempli en ce moment, si je pouvais vous peindre mon émotion très réelle, je vous dirais combien je sens vivement et profondément le grand et inoubliable honneur que vous me faites ce soir, et je serais éloquent, je crois.

Rien n'est plus réconfortant, rien n'est plus touchant pour l'homme qui se donne à la chose publique que d'entendre applaudir ses oeu-

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vre par ses concitoyens et il n'est pas pour lui de meilleurs remerciements que la grande voix populaire qui lui dit son approbation et sa gratitude. La présence ici de mes anciens compagnons d'armes, de mes collègues de l'exécutif, de la députation et du conseil, avec qui j'ai travaillé et lutté pendant vingt ans, avec qui j'ai traversé des heures difficiles et essuyé bravement la tempête, me rappelle toute ma carrière politique et 'e suis heureux, mes chers amis, de vous dire ma reconnaissance pour l'aide constant, l'appui fidèle, la sympathie loyale et l'encourageante amitié que vous m'avez donnés pendant si longtemps.

" Au chef du parti libéral, l'hon. W.-L. Mackenzie King, à mes amis du Sénat et de la députation fédérale, aux vétérans et aux jeunes, à tous les hommes distingués que je vois autour de ces tables, je dis mon merci le plus cordial d'être venus se joindre à ma famille de Québec, qui me fait un peu ses adieux ce soir. Il se trouve peut-être parmi vous de braves citoyens qui m'ont combattu, je leur offre également mes remerciements; ils m'ont été utiles en me critiquant, ils stimulaient mon zèle dans la direction du bien, en me faisant la lutte, et ils m'honorent ce soir en participant à cette démonstration.

" On a dit que je devais faire un testament aujourd'hui. Il n'en sera rien; j'ai tout donné par donation entrevifs. J'ai donné après mûre réflexion, j'ai donné à bon escient et je suis satisfait de mon acte. Je ne me suis jamais cru nécessaire à ma province et à mon pays, mais j'ai consacré toute ma vie à m'efforcer de leur être utile. J'ai essayé de rendre en dévouement ce que l'on m'accordait en confiance. J'ai compris que chacun de nous, à tous les degrés de l'échelle sociale a un devoir à remplir vis-à-vis de la société, ce devoir soit grand ou modeste, il faut le remplir, sinon l'on faiblit envers la patrie, car c'est l'accomplissement consciencieux de ces tâches qui fait la puissance d'une nation.

Pasteur, ce savant remarquable, ce citoyen modèle, Pasteur lors de son jubilé disait : "Mes chers concitoyens, ne vous laissez pas atteindre par le scepticisme dénigrant et stérile. Dites-vous d'abord: "Qu'ai-je fait pour mon instruction"? Puis à mesure que vous avancerez: "Qu'ai-fait pour mon pays"? Jusqu'au moment où vous aurez peut-être cet immense bonheur de penser que vous avez contribué en quelque chose au progrès et au bien de l'humanité. Mais, que les efforts soient plus ou moins favorisés par la vie, il faut quand on approche du grand but, être en droit de se dire: "J'ai fait ce que j'ai pu".

LE VRAI PATRIOTISME

Messieurs, j'ai pu me tromper, je me suis même trompé plus souvent que vous ne vous en êtes aperçus, mais, sans cesse, j'ai essayé loyalement, consciencieusement de faire mon devoir. J'ai toujours cru que la sincérité en politique était la plus grande des habiletés, que le meilleur service que je pouvais rendre à mes concitoyens était de leur dire la vérité, toute la vérité. J'ai pensé que le vrai patriotisme ne devait pas craindre l'impopularité, que le premier devoir de l'homme d'Etat est d'agir courageusement en ayant pour seul guide l'intérêt général. Il faut que l'homme politique sache vouloir et agir, qu'il sache bien vouloir et bien agir. Il doit avoir le courage et la probité, il doit posséder de plus la patience et savoir laisser à ses actes le temps de produire leurs résultats.

La raison politique finit toujours par triompher, la majorité lui revient infailliblement. On l'a dit avec raison, (j'en ai fait moi-même l'expérience). Je suis entré dans la vie publique, j'ai fait de la politique par devoir, non par passe-temps, ni par intérêt personnel. J'ai lutté pour les idées et les principes auxquels je crois. J'ai aimé les bons combats et les luttes de partis, si dures qu'elles soient parfois, comme j'ai aimé ma profession dans laquelle je suis heureux de rentrer. J'ai plaidé avec toute la vigueur et la conviction dont j'étais capable, devant le grand tribunal de l'opinion publique et je crois pouvoir dire sans fausse honte que l'électorat satisfait a rendu en faveur des idées que j'ai défendues un jugement favorable.

La grande confiance dont mes concitoyens m'ont honoré pendant tant d'années, l'appui généreux et toujours fidèle que j'ai reçu de mes collègues au sein du cabinet, à l'assemblée législative et au conseil, les actes politiques que j'ai posés avec mes amis, la prospérité toujours croissante de notre province, l'estime que lui témoignent ses soeurs de la Confération, l'harmonie et la bonne entente qui règnent parmi notre brave population, m'ont fait aimer la vie publique et tout cet ensemble de réalités fécondes auquel j'ai contribué me donne dans la politique, j'ai osé le croire, l'autorité qui, selon le joli mot de Brunetière, me permet d'en sortir.

Mais n'allez pas penser, messieurs, que parce que j'ai quitté le poste que par votre volonté j'ai occupé si longtemps, n'allez pas croire qu'en laissant les rênes du gouvernement, je vais désormais me désintéresser de notre bonne et chère province, que je n'aurai plus à coeur les oeuvres que j'ai commencées et accomplies avec mes collègues, que ma pensée ne suivra pas avec sollicitude les travaux de ceux qui me remplacent.

L'OEUVRE ACCOMPLIE

En obtenant le rajustement du subside fédéral, en percevant méthodiquement tous nos revenus et en les augmentant sans obérer le peuple, j'ai réussi avec mes collègues à établir solidement le crédit de la province. Notre situation financière se compare avantageusement avec celle de n'importe quelle autre partie du Dominion. Notre bonne renommée est connue sur tous les grands marchés monétaires du monde. Nous n'avons pas à proprement parler de dette et notre actif se chiffre dans les centaines de millions. Avec une population de 2,500,000 nos dépenses annuelles atteignent à peine 14 millions quand d'autres provinces avec 20% de notre population dépensent annuellement 20 millions. Cela veut dire que nul gouvernement en Amérique n'administre plus économiquement et efficacement que vous le faites, M. le Premier Ministre.

Je suis fier d'avoir participé à l'agrandissement de notre province par l'annexion de l'Ungava, qui a doublé notre territoire. Nous sommes maintenant à un titre de plus, si non à tous les titres, la plus grande province de la Confédération. Les ressources de notre gigantesque domaine sont illimitées. C'est un héritage riche et précieux dont nous ne sommes que les administrateurs usufruitiers. Ce vaste patrimoine appartient à notre postérité, aux innombrables générations de l'avenir: à nous de leur transmettre intact et prospère. Permettez-moi de vous le dire, sans fausse modestie, Messieurs, ce sera l'orgueil de ma vie d'entendre reconnaître que j'ai remis à mon successeur la province plus grande, plus riche, plus instruite, plus unie qu'aux meilleurs jours de notre histoire. C'est l'union, je le reconnais et je le proclame, c'est l'union de notre population, la tolérance, la générosité de coeur qui existe chez les éléments divers qui la composent, c'est l'esprit d'ordre, de patriotisme et de concorde de ses citoyens, leur coopération unanime en vue du bien commun qui ont contribué plus que tout à faire la prospérité matérielle et morale de notre belle province de Québec. Quel soulagement, messieurs, de penser que nous n'avons plus ces âpres discussions, ces regrettables divisions religieuses, qui pendant si longtemps ont tellement fait souffrir la grande famille canadienne-française ? Quelle satisfaction aussi de voir la bonne entente qui règne, dans cette province entre la minorité anglaise et protestante et la majorité française et catholique. En cela, nous prêchons d'exemple au reste du pays.

UNIR ET EDIFIER

Le fanatisme intolérant, produit de l'ignorance, a fait assez de ravages sur la terre canadienne. Il est temps d'arrêter — pour toujours —son oeuvre destructrice et antinationale.

C'est une grand malheur quand la moitié d'une nation est méprisée par l'autre, disait Joubert. Dieu merci, il n'est rien de telle dans notre bonne province de Québec. Cependant, rien n'est parfait ici-bas, et même chez nous il y a encore des angles à arrondir. C'est en nous connaissant mieux les uns les autres que nous arriverons à l'harmonie parfaite. Faisons-nous donc un devoir national, en souvenir de nos grands ancêtres, de nous unir pour conserver à notre postérité tout l'héritage canadien.

C'est à cette oeuvre que j'ai voué tous les efforts de ma carrière politique. J'ai travaillé à unir et à édifier. Je n'ai pas voulu faire le facile métier de grondeur public, je n'ai pas voulu passer ma vie à dire combien souvent, et en quoi les hommes d'action se trompent, comment ils auraient pu faire mieux ce qu'ils réalisent, comment ils auraient pu mieux faire ce qu'ils font bien. Je n'ai jamais tenté de démolir: ni hommes, ni choses. J'ai voulu construire surtout et j'ai voulu en premier lieu aider à édifier dans cette province d'une façon digne d'elle le temple de l'instruction publique. Dans ce but, j'ai collaboré avec tous les promoteurs du progrès intellectuel, avec tous ceux qui ont pour but de dissiper l'ignorance, ce que Bossuet appelle "la plus grande maladie de l'âme". vec le père Didon, j'ai pensé que l'élément le plus nécessaire à une nation civilisée, c'est l'instruction publique. En effet, une éducation saine et solide, inspirée des grands principes du christianisme, est le plus solide rempart de l'ordre social et de la prospérité publique. L'ignorance c'est le chaos, ses ténèbres engendrent toutes les anarchies, toutes les discordes.

L'EDUCATION, SON BUT

Aussi, je n'ai jamais oublié que le premier but de l'éducation c'est de réunir les hommes, de les rapprocher les uns des autres. Dans toutes les améliorations que j'ai tenté d'introduire dans notre organisation scolaire et universitaire, j'ai recherché, d'abord, le concours de toutes les autorités établies, de toutes les bonnes volontés. J'ai voulu effectuer l'unité d'action nécessaire à l'avancement de la science. Nos écoles primaires, nos académies, nos écoles normales, ménagères, forestières, nos écoles normales, ménagères, forestières, nos écoles d'agriculture et d'arpentage, nos écoles techniques industrielles, commerciales, polytechniques, nos universités, ont été l'objet de nos meilleurs efforts pendant les quinze années que j'ai eu l'honneur de présider à l'administration des affaires de la province et je vous applaudis du coeur et des mains, mon cher premier-ministre, et vous, mes toujours sympathiques collègues d'hier, quand je vous vois élargir encore et résolument ces larges avenues du développement intellectuel auxquelles nous avons travaillé ensemble avec tant de satisfaction.

J'ai voulu des écoles partout où il y a des intelligences à instruire, pour tous les besoins et pour toutes les classes de la société.

J'ai voulu créer une élite dans tous les groupes sociaux. La prospérité matérielle seule, ne peut pas faire une grande nation. La grandeur de l'homme se mesure à son intelligence et à sa valeur morale, et c'est l'éducation, l'éducation saine et solide qui développe l'esprit. Les familles ont raison de considérer comme de l'argent bien placé, celui qu'elles emploient à instruire leurs enfants. De même, les gouvernements et les peuples peuvent regarder comme bien utilisés les sommes consacrées à l'instruction publique. Il n'est pas de meilleur placement, de meilleur capital que celui-là.

AGRICULTURE ET INDUSTRIE

L'agriculture la plus noble et la plus féconde des professions, a toujours eu la grande part de notre sollicitude. Nous avons compris l'importance qu'il y a pour l'avenir de notre race de conserver nos fils de cultivateurs à la terre ancestrale. Un trop grand nombre, hélas ! l'abandonne. Et combien nombreux sont les nôtres dans cette salle qui, venus comme moi de la campagne, pensant à leurs ancêtres, pourraient dire avec émotion les beaux vers du poète :

"O bons semeurs de blé qui furent mes ancêtres
Et du lit des morts rêvez de nous, peut-être,
Que vos mânes profonds ne soient pas offensés
Si je n'ai pas marché les pieds dans votre trace,
Et si je n'ai pas, fidèle à l'oeuvre de ma race,
Repris votre sillon où vous l'aviez laissé".

J'ai eu l'ambition de créer une élite dans l'industrie et le commerce. C'est pour y arriver que nous avons développé nos écoles de génie, créé nos écoles techniques et des Hautes Etudes commerciales. Nous croyons qu'un pays ne peut progresser que par l'initiative individuelle, et que rien ne stimule l'activité et ne met en valeur les talents naturels comme l'instruction. C'est l'esprit d'audace et d'entreprise qui fait les hommes forts et les races puissantes. Cet esprit d'initiative, un bon gouvernement doit favoriser le cultivateur, lui faire donner son maximum de rendement. Mais c'est à cela que se limite son rôle. Ainsi que Taine le remarquait avec infiniment de raison : "Partout, l'Etat est mauvais chef de famille, mauvais industriel, agriculteur et commerçant, mauvais distributeur de travail et de substances, mauvais régulateur de la production, des échanges et de la consommation".

C'est en pratiquant ces doctrines qui protègent l'initiative et la liberté du citoyen que nous développerons notre province. Nous avons le devoir de faire fructifier les talents dont nous a dotés si généreusement la Providence, ne l'oublions jamais. Nous avons une belle et bonne terre, une race forte, fière, tenace, résolue et confiante dans l'avenir et des ressources illimitées. Ce qu'il faut, c'est augmenter notre population en gardant ici tous les nôtres et en y attirant notre part de saine immigration.

Encore une fois, encourageons l'agriculture, donnons généreusement aux cultivateurs toute l'assistance qui pourra contribuer à les attacher davantage à leur noble profession que nous devons travailler à rendre de plus en plus attrayante. Et quand je parle du cultivateur, je n'oublie pas, je n'ai jamais oublié et vous n'oublierez pas, mon cher président, je le sens, le plus méritant d'entre eux : le colon, le courageux défricheur qui complète pour l'humanité l'oeuvre du Créateur en rendant fécondes et nourrissantes, de nouvelles terres. Encourageons aussi l'industrie dont la prospérité fera la prospérité de l'agriculture.

Messieurs, nous pouvons être fiers de notre passé, mais il faut que notre avenir le dépasse en fécondité.

PAS DE PHRASES, DES ACTES

Que notre politique ne soit pas des phrases, que nos paroles lancent des actes. Regardant bien au delà de l'horizon, faisons comme le semeur inspiré qui jette en terre les graines d'où naîtront les arbres géants. Semons, semons, pour les millions qui nous succèderont.

Mes chers amis du Parlement de Québec et vous, mes anciens collègues, je vous remercie encore une fois de tout ce que vous avez fait pour m'aider à développer et grandir notre province. Il est vrai que je ne suis plus dans la politique active, mais nous ne serons jamais complètement séparés, car la fidélité aux idées, aux traditions, aux souvenirs qui nous ont unis pendant si longtemps, car l'attachement inébranlable aux principes que nous avons aimés et que nous aimons de la même affection, tous ces sentiments nous garderont toujours liés.

Je ne suis plus chef, mais je suis encore capable d'aider à la fortune de mon parti et au bien de mon pays. En rentrant dans le rang comme simple mais fidèle soldat, je regarde l'horizon et je me permets de dire à mes anciens compagnons d'armes jeunes et vieux : Ayez confiance dans les destinées de notre parti, mais que les sentinelles soient vigilantes. N'oublions jamais la sage parole de Montesquieu: "Les conquêtes sont aisées à faire parce qu'on les fait avec toutes ses forces, elles sont difficiles à conserver parce qu'on ne les défend qu'avec une partie de ses forces". C'est parce que nous n'avons pas défendu avec toutes nos forces les conquêtes du parti libéral à Ottawa que nous avons été défaits en 1911. Gardons-nous de laisser l'histoire se répéter ailleurs. Et quand je parle de l'importance de conserver au parti libéral son prestige et ses phalanges je pense d'abord et avant tout au prestige de mon pays. Je sais que le jour est proche où le parti, les idées du grand disparu dont l'ombre doit planer sur cette salle ce soir prévaudront de nouveau à Ottawa. N'allez pas croire que je veuille tracer ici un programme de politique fédérale. Non, contrairement à ce qu'ont écrit mes amis les journalistes et dit nos Warwick petits et grands, je n'ai ni l'ambition ni l'intention d'entrer dans l'arène fédérale. Mais comme Canadien intéressé aux destinées de mon pays, je songe à la multiplicité et à la difficulté des problèmes que la grande guerre a semées sur notre terre ; je considère l'énorme dette que nous avons encourue et qu'il nous faut payer ; je sens l'état de malaise qui règne à trop d'endroits chez nous ; j'entends les plaintes et les réclamations de nos soldats mécontents du sort qui leur est fait, de nos ouvriers qui manquent d'ouvrage, de nos cultivateurs des provinces de l'ouest qui se disent maltraités par la politique fiscale du gouvernement, je connais l'inquiétude des industriels et des commerçants, et je cherche avec tous les hommes de bonne volonté les moyens de sortir de l'impasse où nous sommes et de retrouver la route du progrès et de la prospérité dont nous avons perdu la trace. Pour moi il n'y en a qu'un : c'est de revenir à la politique qui nous a tirés du marasme et sauvés de la guerre civile en 1896. Cette politique, c'est celle de sir Wilfrid Laurier ; politique de justice, de tolérance, de conciliation et de prévoyance qui nous a donné la paix et les quinze années les plus prospères de notre vie nationale.

LA POLITIQUE DE LAURIER

Messieurs, j'ai cru à la politique de sir Wilfrid Laurier en 1896 et j'y crois encore de la même foi. C'est la politique qu'il faut prêcher, dans ce pays. C'est la politique du bon sens et du juste milieu que nous avons pratiquée depuis plus de 20 ans dans la province de Québec. C'est cette politique que nous a léguée Laurier qui assurera la permanence de la Confédération Canadienne dont vous faisiez si éloquemment... l'histoire ces jours derniers dans cette même salle, mon cher président. C'est elle qui doit triompher quoi qu'on dise et c'est elle qui triomphera quoi qu'on fasse, c'est d'elle que nous viendra le salut.

Monsieur le Premier-Ministre, je vous remercie de toutes les bonnes choses que vous dites à mon sujet. Je suis heureux de vous saluer comme mon chef et vous dire que vous pouvez compter sur mon dévouement le plus complet comme j'ai compté sur le vôtre. Je ne dis pas : je vous suivrai aussi longtemps que vous marcherez droit. Je vous dis: vous êtes mon chef parce que je sais que toujours vous marcherez droit. Vous vous tromperez comme tous les hommes d'action, il n'y a pas d'effort sans erreurs, mais je sais que toujours vous voudrez bien faire et toute la famille libérale pense comme moi.

Vous avez l'enthousiasme, le talent, l'expérience, la volonté, toutes les qualités du chef et vous réussirez.

On a dit "que l'on ne doit rester dans la politique qu'autant qu'on peut s'y rendre utile; qu'il est bon de retourner à sa profession, à son métier, de quitter la scène, de monter un peu dans la galerie, d'entendre ce qui s'y dit, de savoir ce qui s'y passe et laisser les faits produire leurs résultats."

C'est ce que je fais. J'ai cru que le temps était venu pour moi de partager avec mes collaborateurs les honneurs que nous avons gagnés ensemble, et vous voyez ce soir la répétition émouvante pour moi des lampadéphories des temps antiques. En ces jours, écrit l'auteur de la Course du Flambeau, les citoyens s'espaçaient formant une chaîne dans Athènes. Le premier allumait un flambeau à l'autel, courait le transmettre à un second, qui le transmettait à un troisième et ainsi de main en main. Chaque coureur courait, sans un regard en arrière, n'ayant pour but que de préserver la flamme qu'il allait pourtant remettre aussitôt à un autre. Et alors, dessaisi, arrêté, ne voyant plus qu'au loin la fuite de l'étoilement sacré, il l'escortait du moins par les yeux, de toute son anxiété impuissante, de tous ses voeux superflus.

Oui, je l'ai porté pendant plus de quinze ans le flambeau vénéré. J'ai conscience de l'avoir porté fermement, vaillamment et dignement. Je vous le confie, Monsieur cher Premier-Ministre, en vous souhaitant d'en être le gardien heureux aussi longtemps que je l'ai gardé moi-même. Portez-le sur tous les champs de nos activités: portez-le haut, très haut sur les cimes intellectuelles; faites qu'il éclaire de son rayonnement fécond non seulement la bonne terre de Québec, mais toute la patrie canadienne; illuminez-en notre marche vers nos grands destinées.

Une longue ovation signala la fin de ce discours.

L'HON. W.-L. MACKENZIE-KING

Le chef de l'opposition libérale, quand il se leva à son tour pour parler, après avoir été présenté par l'hon. L.-A. Taschereau, premier ministre de la province, fut longuement applaudi.

Le chef de l'opposition libérale à Ottawa exprime ses remerciements aux organisateurs pour lui avoir donné l'occasion de rendre hommage à celui dont on reconnaissait publiquement les services rendus. Ce n'est pas seulement un banquet des citoyens de la province de Québec, mais une fête de tous les Canadiens, qui ont raison d'être fiers de l'oeuvre accomplie par sir Lomer Gouin. A l'instar des quinze années de pouvoir de sir Wilfrid Laurier, les quinze années d'administration de sir Lomer Gouin resteront comme le témoignage impérissable du génie de ces deux grands hommes d'Etat.

Répondant au toast du parti libéral du Canada, l'hon. M. King désire exprimer l'esprit du libéralisme, dont on trouve une si belle expression dans le record de l'administration Gouin, et comment le parti libéral veut l'approprier aux conditions et problèmes actuels dans l'arène fédérale.

LAURIER ET GOUIN

Il y a trois notes spéciales qu'on remarque dans les quinze années d'administration de sir Lomer, on les remarque également comme caractéristiques de l'administration Laurier. Tout d'abord, aussi bien dans les lois de la législature que dans les engagements des chefs de la province, on constate un désir ardent d'une procédure constitutionnelle dans toutes les affaires du gouvernement. Les hommes d'Etat canadiens - français ont toujours maintenu comme sacrées la loi et la procédure constitutionnelle. La population canadienne-française d'il y a un siècle ayant accepté le nouvel état de choses, qui la libérait du joug de la centralisation, il était tout naturel que le libéralisme prenne naissance, dans la province de Québec aussi bien que dans la province d'Ontario, dans les luttes pour obtenir le gouvernement représentatif et responsable, qui est le grand facteur du développement de la liberté politique du Canada. Les luttes du Haut et du Bas-Canada avaient cette ressemblance qu'elles demandaient le gouvernement autonome, principe qui est à la base même de la constitution britannique. C'est pourquoi les hommes d'Etat canadiens-français de l'école libérale ont toujours préconisé le principe de liberté locale comme étant la base de l'unité britannique. Dans la lutte pour cette cause, le Canada n'a pas eu de plus puissants avocats que les deux distingués premiers ministres canadiens-français, ceux dont les noms ne peuvent qu'être liés ce soir, celui de sir Wilfrid Laurier et celui de l'hôte d'honneur de ce banquet. On ne pourrait dire combien grande a été l'influence de ces deux hommes dans l'unité de notre Dominion. Par les enseignements de ses deux fils distingués, la porvince de Québec a contribué dans une large mesure à répandre les institutions britanniques et à préserver les traditions britanniques d'une façon qui accélère la marche du genre humain vers la liberté.

Parce que Québec n'a pas voulu se rendre aux pratiques inconstitutionnelles, on a pensé que la province était ultra-conservatrice. C'est plutôt parce qu'on manquait de cette autorité accordée par le peuple, c'est parce que la province en tient au gouvernement constitutionnel, qui est l'essence même du libéralisme. Son soin jaloux de la procédure constitutionnelle a augmenté l'influence de la plus vieille province du Dominion. Par son attachement aux traditions, Québec a conservé les mouvements politiques dans les lignes constitutionnelles. Et aujourd'hui, plus que jamais, on le reconnaît. On décrit maintenant la position de Québec comme "certaine et logique". La province qui, il y a trois ans, était considérée par ses détracteurs comme un nid de sédition, est maintenant louangée comme étant la forteresse contre le bolchévisme.

DEUX CIRCONSTANCES HISTORIQUES

Ce respect de la constitution et du gouvernement autonome a trouvé son expression dans deux occasions particulières. La première est le sentiment énergique qu'on remarque dans toutes les parties du dominion contre le retour à la centralisation dans les affaires interimpériales et internationales. C'est le Canada comme une nation et non comme une province de l'Empire que les leaders libéraux ont mis de l'avant et qu'ils ont toujours maintenu comme le but ultime de nos aspirations nationales. Sir Wilfrid faisait allusion, au jubilé de la Reine, à l'empire britannique comme un "ensemble de nations", et on l'a considéré comme un séparatiste. On remarque aujourd'hui à Genève, que le Canada est la plus vieille nation au lieu de l'une des plus jeunes représentées dans les conseils et assemblées de la ligue.

Un autre point qui montre bien le désir des chefs libéraux envers le gouvernement constitutionnel est l'attitude prise par les libéraux canadiens-français au sujet de la représentation dans le cabinet compromis d'Ottawa.

Ce n'est un secret pour personne que des efforts surhumains ont été faits pour faire entrer l'hôte de ce banquet dans le cabinet fédéral. On sait aussi que des offres sont faites à d'autres membres de l'ancien cabinet Laurier. Tous ont refusé de se départir de la procédure constitutionnelle en employant leurs noms et leur haute position pour se couvrir du subterfuge et usurper l'autorité en matières du gouvernement. On entend aujourd'hui des hommes déplorer l'isolation du Québec. Quelle isolation? Pas du Canada, car les sentiments sont amicaux pour Québec et les relations avec cette province se raffermissent de plus en plus. Non, cette isolation est seulement une isolation du gouvernement qui est lui-même isolé du Canada, qui a perdu tout contact avec l'électorat. Par leur refus d'entrer dans le cabinet les libéraux ont affirmé leur intention de préserver la constitution, de rester fidèles au gouvernement responsable. Le temps n'est pas loin où Québec sera représenté par des ministres responsables, dignes des traditions des Lafontaine, des Dorion et des Laurier. Le Canada bénéficiera une fois de plus du génie politique de la race canadienne-française, et du sentiment ardent du Québec envers la constitution et nos libres institutions politiques.

ADMINISTRATIONS CONSTRUCTIVES

Québec se distingue aussi comme actif matériel obtenu par son développement agricole et industriel. C'est la deuxième note qui caractérise les quinze années d'administration de Gouin et de Laurier. Les deux administrations ont été constructives. La prospérité matérielle d'un pays ou d'une province n'est pas un hasard. C'est la conséquence d'une vision élevée combinée avec un sentiment d'affaires pratique, appliqué à la direction des affaires de l'Etat. Sir Lomer Gouin possédait, comme très peu, ces qualités essentielles. Son administration, du commencement à la fin, est un magnifique record de l'application de principes d'affaires aux besoins essentiels et aux possibilités latentes des divers intérêts de sa province.

L'économie, l'honnêteté et une grande prudence dans le placement des fonds publics, ont placé la province de Québec dans une position qui fait l'envie de toutes les autres provinces ainsi que d'autres pays. L'administration progressive et sage de Sir Lomer Gouin a assuré un développement inusité de la province. Ce développement a été aussi accompli par une méthode d'évolution plutôt que de révolution.

Ce même esprit progressif se remarque dans les quinze années d'administration de sir Wilfrid Laurier, qui restera comme l'exemplification nationale d'une politique d'affaires et d'une vision pratique.

L'esprit libéral de sir Wilfrid dans les relations humaines, industrielles et internationales était conciliateur. Il cherchait toujours à respecter les points de vue des autres. Il résistait à toute mesure arbitraire et autocratique. Ce n'est que par la conciliation qu'il trouvait possible l'unité nationale dans le pays, et la concorde et l'unité permanentes au sein de l'empire britannique.

Dans tout, sir Wilfrid ne perdait jamais de vue la suprême ambition de sa vie; l'unité nationale. Pour lui la modération et la tolérance étaient des maximes politiques. C'est pourquoi la lutte religieuse et de races a été réduite à son infime minimum durant ses quinze années d'administration; le capital et le travail étaient mieux disposés à reconnaître les droits mutuels; les prairies de l'ouest se développèrent en provinces; et le status du Canada se transformait en celui de nation.

C'est également par cet esprit de conciliation que sir Lomer a obtenu tant de succès dans son administration. Le respect des droits de la minorité a toujours été une grande préoccupation dans la carrière de sir Lomer Gouin, et grâce à ce sentiment, la province de Québec commande le respect, et elle a joui du bonheur et de la prospérité.

QUALITES DU LIBERALISME

En résumé, le libéralisme, pour bien remplir sa mission, doit être constitutionnel, constructif et conciliatoire. L'exemple s'en trouve dans les deux administrations analysées plus haut. Que l'administration de sir Lomer Gouin est le parallèle de celle de sir Wilfrid Laurier est le meilleur tribut qu'on peut lui payer. Ce n'est pas seulement un compliment à sir Lomer et à ses collègues, c'est un compliment au génie canadien-français dans les affaires du gouvernement, et à cette vieille et historique province de Québec qui a donné au pays des chefs aussi exceptionnels.

La politique libérale aujourd'hui est également constitutionnelle, constructive et conciliatrice.

Sous le rapport constitutionnel, le parti libéral désire le retour au gouvernement représentatif et responsable. Il réaffirme que le gouvernement actuel a été élu pour fins de guerre seulement et que l'on devrait connaître le sentiment du peuple avant de former un nouveau gouvernement qui n'est pas reconnu par l'électorat. Il croit que le nouvel électorat, composé de soldats et de femmes, a droit d'être consulté. Il prétend de plus que les méthodes employées par le parlement actuel sont arbitraires et frauduleuses et détruisent entièrement le caractère représentatif du parlement.

Plusieurs problèmes domestiques ont surgi qui demandent la considération soigneuse du gouvernement. Et inutile de dire que le parti libéral, s'il est retourné au pouvoir, les traitera avec ces principes de modération et de tolérance qui ont toujours caractérisé le parti libéral. Le parti libéral croit aussi que le besoin est plus grand que jamais pour l'économie dans les affaires publiques et que cette pratique n'est pas à attendre d'un cabinet qui, durant la longue période de la guerre, a été habitué aux extravagances et à l'indifférence dans le contrôle du parlement.

Si importants ces problèmes soient-ils, le parti libéral croit que le plus important de tous est le retour au gouvernement responsable. Il est plus important que le tarif même, parce qu'il embrasse tous les problèmes. Pour ce qui est du tarif, il doit être établi suivant les désirs d'une Chambre des communes représentant toutes les classes du peuple. Par la Constitution, la Chambre est investie du pouvoir sur la bourse, le pouvoir de taxer. du pouvoir d'accorder ou réserver les appropriations, le pouvoir de dire comment les revenus publics doivent être prélevés et l'argent dépensé. Le fait que l'élaboration du tarif est délégué au gouvernement, et particulièrement au ministre des finances, n'affecte pas la position de la Chambre comme autorité et source suprêmes du pouvoir. Dans l'exercice de ce pouvoir, la Chambre doit représenter le peuple du Canada, les contribuables qui fournissent l'argent permettant au gouvernement d'accomplir son oeuvre.

UN BESOIN NECESSAIRE

Le premier besoin donc pour une revision du tarif est d'avoir une Chambre représentative. Un tel pour dire le pas actuellement, non seulement nous avons actuellement une taxation sans représentation du grand nombre de citoyens canadiens défranchisés à la dernière élection, mais nous avons, vu les conditions dans lesquelles la représentation actuelle de la Chambre a été élue, une taxation sans représentation de la grande majorité du peuple canadien. Cela est une considération à laquelle aucun peuple libre ne peut rester indifférent, et qui ne peut être amoindrie par l'admission de pouvoirs que le gouvernement actuel à Ottawa n'a pas le droit d'assurer.

Enfin pour le côté conciliateur, le parti libéral continuera les principes qui ont caractérisé les chefs illustres déjà mentionnés, unité, bonne volonté et liberté. Il n'a pas de préjugés de races, de croyances, de classes. Il veut l'égalité de droits et la justice pour tous. Il est d'avis que les problèmes d'industrie et de nationalité ne peuvent être solutionnés que par l'application de ces principes. L'amitié et la confiance entre les races diminueront de beaucoup le problème économique et social. Dans les relations impériales, nous sommes opposés à la centralisation. Nous préconisons l'unité britannique basée sur les relations humaines plutôt que sur la machinerie gouvernementale; l'unité basée sur le gouvernement autonome et l'égalité des nations de l'empire. Nous sommes en faveur de relations amicales avec les Etats-Unis, et nous sommes sympathiques avec le gouvernement qui veut substituer la relation amicale au conflit et à la jalousie dans les relations internationales avec tous les pays.

Il nous faut maintenant réparer les ravages de la guerre. Nous devons restaurer les finances et pratiquer l'économie. Nous devons rétablir la liberté afin de rester fidèles à ceux qui ont lutté et qui sont morts sous cette bannière. Nous devons chercher ce pourquoi nos soldats ont combattu et sont morts: un monde meilleur. Dans l'accomplissement de cette tâche, le parti libéral n'oubliera jamais la dette qu'il doit pour leur direction et leur exemple, aux grands chefs libéraux de la province de Québec. Sir Wilfrid n'est plus avec nous, mais son esprit demeure et inspire nos actions et nos pensées. Mais sir Lomer Gouin reste encore et le libéralisme bénéficiera encore de ses conseils et de son intelligence sage et éclairée. La province et le pays tout entier sont encore orgueilleux de l'honorer en cette occasion.

L'HON. R. LEMIEUX

L'ancien ministre des Postes qui fut de tout temps un ami personnel de sir Lomer, eut à son endroit des réflections particulièrement heureuses. Il répondait en même temps à la santé du parti libéral canadien.

Le député de Maisonneuve répond à la santé du parti libéral canadien. Il s'acquitte de sa tâche avec l'éloquence et l'emprise qu'on lui sait. M. Lemieux rend tout d'abord hommage à sir Lomer Gouin, libéral de la vieille école. Il est heureux de s'associer à cette fête de famille française et libérale de la province de Québec. Sir Lomer Gouin a droit à l'hommage de tous pour son dévouement et son patriotisme envers son pays et sa province.

L'orateur parle de sir Lomer Gouin dans l'intimité. Très peu, dit-il, le connaissent dans ce milieu. Il le connaît, cependant, depuis nombre d'années, ayant été lié à l'hôte d'honneur par une commune destinée. Remontant à 35 ans en arrière, l'hon. Rodolphe Lemieux est tenté de chanter le vieux refrain:

C'était le bon temps
Nous avions vingt ans;
Nous étions amoureux
De ses jolis yeux bleus.

C'est dans le début d'une carrière qu'on trouve toute la munificence des actes accomplis. L'hon. Rodolphe Lemieux rappelle les débuts de la carrière politique de sir Lomer Gouin, dans ce club National où sir Lomer Gouin représentait le parti des hommes graves, et où il affichait déjà les qualités d'un chef. Il faisait déjà preuve, à vingt ans, de justesse de vue, de netteté de jugement, et il voyait déjà les choses dans leur absolue réalité. Il affichait déjà les qualités maîtresses de son esprit: homme de caractère avant tout, et c'est ce qui restera de son oeuvre dans la province de Québec.

Alors que tant d'autres à cette époque édifiaient des châteaux en Espagne, sir Lomer Gouin construisait sur le roc solide des Laurentides. Il ne bâtissait pas dans les nuages.

Rappelant ici les qualités multiples de sir Lomer Gouin, M. Lemieux dit qu'un homme possédant la force de sir Lomer Gouin ne s'appartient pas à lui-même, mais il appartient à son pays, à nous qui le réclamons, nous, son pays, ses compatriotes; et nous le réclamons dans une autre sphère, aussi grande aussi glorieuse, celle de l'arène fédérale. L'élite de ceux qui habitent les sommets n'est pas assez nombreuse, et c'est là que tous veulent voir l'hôte d'honneur de ce banquet; sur le sommet majestueux et solide des Laurentides, là même où il a bâti son oeuvre impérissable. "Une force comme la vôtre, dit M. Lemieux, qui resterait inerte, serait une force perdue, et il ne faut pas qu'il en soit ainsi."

L'hon. M. Lemieux fait ensuite allusion à l'hon. M. King, descendant d'une vieille famille libérale, dont l'ancêtre a été le premier ministre du Canada et qui a su, durant cinq années, contribuer au développement du Canada. Sir Lomer avait parlé de la course au flambeau, M. King porte dignement le flambeau qui avait été porté si vaillamment par son ancêtre, l'ancien premier ministre du Canada. C'est un curieux retour des choses, mais nous voyons aujourd'hui le flambeau passer des mains vacillantes de sir Wilfrid Laurier dans celles de M. King. M. King est le continuateur d'une belle et noble tradition libérale.

Il continuera à porter d'une main ferme le flambeau des ancêtres, du temps des Papineau et des Mackenzie qui ont eu de dignes continuateurs dans la personne des Lafontaine, des Baldwin, des Dorion, des Mackenzie, des Blake et des Laurier. M. Lemieux rend ici hommage à la politique du parti conservateur du temps de Macdonald et de Cartier qui méritent également l'admiration du peuple du Canada pour les nobles actions qu'ils ont accomplies.

L'orateur fait ensuite une revue générale de la politique libérale et fait une comparaison entre l'oeuvre du parti libéral et l'oeuvre du parti conservateur. Il termine en faisant une grosse allusion aux Judas. "Il s'en trouve encore de cette race, dit-il, qui iront, après avoir trahi, chercher un portefeuille."

L'HON. M. W. MITCHELL

Le trésorier provincial déclare que vu l'heure avancée il sera bref.

Il raconte son long compagnonnage politique avec sir Lomer Gouin et rend hommage aux qualités d'administrateur de son ancien chef.

Il dit toute la loyauté qu'il eut envers ses amis, la prévoyance de son esprit, la fermeté de ses décisions.

L'orateur fait alors un rapide aperçu de ce qu'étaient les finances de la province avant l'arrivée de sir Lomer et dit l'état actuel de ces finances après son départ. Il a inauguré l'ère des surplus et jamais la province n'a été plus prospère et plus grande que sous son administration.

Il termine, en souhaitant que pour le plus grand bien de la province, la carrière de sir Lomer ne s'arrête pas en si beau cours.

L'HON. J.-E. PERRAULT

Le ministre provincial de la Colonisation et des Mines termine la série des discours. Il rend un homm

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HAS NO FEDERAL AMBITIONS, SAYS SIR LOMER GOUIN

Over 600 Guests and Colleagues Honor Former Premier at Banquet

MACKENZIE KING

Claims Attainment of National Unity Was Laurier's Supreme Goal

Before a gathering of over six hundred old friends and associates of his career in Quebec Provincial politics, assembled to do homage to their great leader, Sir Lomer Gouin, last night made it clear that though absent from active politics he had no intention of dropping his interest in the welfare of the Province or of the Dominion, and that his services as counsellor would always be available to the Liberal party.

In a brief aside specially addressed to the newspaper fraternity, he also declared that his ambitions did not tend towards Ottawa and Federal politics. He reviewed with obvious pride and satisfaction the immense progress the Province had made under his care, and ascribing this success to the persistent following of the policy set out by Mercier and Laurier, he prescribed the same policy as the only safe way for the Dominion Government to steer Canada clear of the many difficulties with which she is confronted.

An interesting little ceremony took place during the evening in the presentation to Sir Lomer by the Hon. L. A. Taschereau, on behalf of his old friends of the Quebec Parliament, of a beautiful landscape painting by Carrier, in memory of their years of collaboration and as a token of esteem.

The balance sheets of Liberalism, as seen at the end of the Laurier administration, and of Conservatism as seen in the present condition of the country, were compared by Hon. L. Mackenzie King in a vigorous address in which he maintained that the replacement of the present Government by a Liberal administration was the only way out of Canada's difficulties. Liberalism was conciliatory, constructive, tolerant, and placed Canada and Canada's interests before everything else.

The Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux, Hon. Walter Mitchell and Hon. J. E. Perrault also spoke. On either side of Sir Lomer and Mr. Taschereau at the head table were: Hon. J. N. Francoeur, Hon. Adelard Turgeon, Hon. Rod. Lemieux, Hon. Sidney Fisher, Hon. L. Mackenzie King, Hon. W. S. Fielding, Senator Dandurand, Hon. H. S. Beland and Hon. Charles Marcil.

SIR LOMER TOASTED.

Hon. L. A. Taschereau, in proposing the toast of the guest of the evening, Sir Lomer Gouin, dwelt with enthusiasm on the fifteen years during which Sir Lomer had controlled the destinies of the Province of Quebec. Never had a more serene sky shone on the development of a harvest than that under which Sir Lomer had sown the seed of which the harvest was now being reaped in this province. Whatever had been the source of his inspiration, the result was that he had made Quebec the first province in the Dominion.

He had awakened sleeping energies and showed the vast field that was open to industry and commerce in the province. He had shown a firm hand, a clear mind and a commercial spirit, as well as the power of filling his followers with his own enthusiasm. The Liberal party had not spared its confidence and loyalty to him, and now it counted on him to continue its traditions. "And if you must take a rest, which your friends find it hard to accord you, at least remain our friend and our counsellor for the great struggles which are looming up on the horizon."

Concluding, he asked Sir Lomer to accept from his old friends of the Provincial Parliament a fine Canadian landscape by Carrier, which had been hung just behind the table of honor.

Sir Lomer, who was received with a great ovation, said, "For a man who gives his soul to the service of the people there is no greater reward than to hear the great voice of the people speaking its gratitude, and nothing is more gratifying to him than to hear the appreciation of his colleagues and fellow citizens.

"To the deputies at the Legislature, the members of the Legislative Council, with whom I was associated for so many years, and with whom I passed through so many difficult hours, I have to offer my thanks for the encouragement and friendship and loyalty for which I have been indebted to them. To the Hon. Mackenzie King, to the senators and Federal deputies, to all the distinguished men who have come this evening to join with my family of Quebec in bidding me goodbye, I tender my cordial thanks. There are good citizens who have opposed me during my career. To them also I have to offer thanks. In criticising, they have helped me, and their opposition has been of value in stimulating my activity, and to them also I must express my gratitude.

"I thank specially my good friends of the Legislature, whose interpreter you have been, Mr. Prime Minister, for this fresh mark of friendship towards me. I already have engraved in heart the memory of all I owe them. You have added something to it in putting before my eyes a new proof of your generosity and friendship. Yes, I will keep it in the place of honor, this gift from you. I will pass it on to my heirs, who will see thereby that I have had faithful friends. It will be one of the most precious things which I can leave to them.

"It has been said that in my address this evening I had to make my testament. I do not see how I can do that, seeing that I have nothing to bequeath. I have given freely and of my best, and after having carefully reflected, I feel that I can be satisfied with my work. I have tried all my life to render to my country in devotion what was given to me in confidence. I believed that I had a duty to perform toward all classes of society, and that duty I felt had to be accomplished faithfully, for it is the sense of duty which makes the strength of nations."

HAD MADE MISTAKES.

He did not pretend to have made no mistakes. On the contrary, he put forth his mistakes as evidence of the sincerity of his administration. "I have made mistakes, I admit, in fact I have made mistakes oftener than you have been able to find out, but I have always loyally tried to do my whole duty towards my province and my country. I believed that sincerity was the first necessity in politics, and I thought I could render no greater service to my friends than to tell them the truth, and the whole truth."

"I have found that patriotism must never fear unpopularity, and that true patriotism means acting honestly for the good of the community. Right politics will always triumph finally. The majority always comes back to the right idea.

"I took to politics as a duty, not as a matter of personal interest. I fought for the triumph of ideas and principles in which I believed. I loved the political combats and struggles, as I love the profession which I am happy to enter once more.

"The results of the political ends which I have pursued with my friends; the happiness of the Province; the esteem she enjoys among her sisters in the Federation; the cordiality of our population, have all made my public life agreeable, and the ensemble of all these have given my political life such an authority as, in the words of a great writer "allows me to leave it."

CREDIT ESTABLISHED.

"Do not believe, friends, that because I leave the position of trust which I have held so long; because I have abandoned the administration of the Province, that I am going to become indifferent to the things which concern our province, and neglect the interests and the good works which we started together, or that I will have no further solicitude for those who take my place and carry on the work we started. No, I have given myself too arduously and sincerely to what we did together during fifteen years to forget all this. We have solidly established our credit. We can now compare our financial situation with any of the provinces of the Dominion. Our fame is known on all the money markets of the world. Our debt is insignificant, our assets are increasing by millions. With a population of 2,500,000 we spend hardly fourteen millions a year, though other provinces with twenty per cent of our population spend twenty millions. No province in the Dominion is as economically and efficiently administered as ours."

He made no effort to conceal his pride in his work. "Allow me sir to tell you without false modesty that it will be the pride of my life to hear it recognized that I handed to my successor the province of Quebec greater, more learned, more united, than it has ever been at any other time in its history. The religious differences from which we suffered so long have disappeared, and what a satisfaction I find in the unity reigning between the Protestant minority and the Catholic majority in our Province!

"We stand as an example to the rest of the country. Intolerance is least seen here. 'When half a nation despises the other half, it is a great misfortune for that country', said Joubert. That is not the case with our province. Nothing of course is perfect in this world, but the men of goodwill must still stand together, and to this end I have devoted my life. I wished to unite for edification. I have no desire to fill the great role of public grumbler. I have never tried to demolish either men or works; I have tried to construct, and to help and protect the temple of public education in a way worthy of the Province. For this reason I united with the promoters of intellectual development, those people who spend their lives dissipating ignorance, the greatest of human sufferings.

PUBLIC EDUCATION.

"My first steps in the field of public education were, to obtain the assistance of the established authorities. All our schools have been the object of our efforts for years, and I applaud with heart and hands when I see my dear colleagues of yesterday enlarging further the works for which we labored together for so long and with such satisfaction to be developed. I have always felt that material prosperity was not enough to make a nation great. The moral qualities had also to be developed, and it is by public education that this can be done.

"The Government will never spend too much on education. That is the best capital, the best reserve and the best insurance.

"I have always held that the state is a bad head of a family; a bad merchant; a bad cultivator; a bad distributor of production. It is in protecting the liberty of the citizen and developing his individual initiative that we will fulfil the duty of making fruitful the talents which abound in our nation. It is our duty to encourage the development of a vigorous, daring, energetic and enterprising race, and we have magnificent resources which only require us to develop our population to take advantage of them.

DEVELOP AGRICULTURE.

"Agriculture must be encouraged, and in that direction we must never forget the colonist, who takes up on behalf of humanity the task of the creator, in that he renders new territory fecund and useful to mankind. We must also develop and encourage industry. Industry produces for the nation, and develops the population of the country. The prosperity of industry means the prosperity of agriculture. We can be proud of our past, but the future must exceed it in fecundity.

"Our policy must not be simply a policy of words. Let our words be supported by deeds. Let us sow that the millions who follow us may reap.

"I thank you again, my friends of the Quebec Parliament, for all you did to help me to develop our province. I am no more in active politics. But that does not mean that we shall be separated. The ideas, the traditions which united us so long, the principles which attached us and which we all love with the same affection, all these sentiments will keep us forever united. I am no more chief, but I feel myself still capable of helping my country. In taking my place as a simple but faithful soldier, I look out on the horizon, and I have confidence in the destinies of the country, but . . . let the sentinels be vigilant. They will do well to remember the wise words of Montesquieu, 'Conquests are easy to make, because they are attacked with all one's forces, but they are harder to keep because they are defended with only a part of one's forces.' Let them remember how we defended our gains with only part of our forces in Ottawa in 1911, and the defeat which resulted. We must see that that story is not repeated elsewhere.

NO OTTAWA AMBITIONS.

"Addressing myself particularly to those gentlemen who have been described as the constructors of cabinets, the journalists, I wish to say that I have no ambition to enter into the Federal arena, but interested as I am in the destiny of my country, I cannot help thinking of the difficulty of the problems facing us, and of the enormous debt we have hanging over us. I feel the unease that exists everywhere, the complaints of our returned soldiers, the troubles of our workers, the complaints of those on whom the fiscal policy of the Dominion has weighed heavy, and with all men of good will I seek a way out of our difficulties, a way back to the paths of prosperity whose tracks we seem to have lost.

"There is but one way; the return to the policy which saved us from the danger of civil war in 1896. That is, the policy of Laurier. That was the policy of justice, tolerance, conciliation, foresight, which gave us peace, and made the prosperity of our national life.

"I believed in 1896 in the policy of Laurier, and I believe in it today. That is the policy which must be practised in this country. It is the policy of the middle course, the policy of common sense, which we have practiced for more than twenty years in this province and which gave us the unanimity of the popular suffrage. That is the policy which will triumph no matter what you do, and from which will come our salvation.

"I am happy to salute you, Mr. Taschereau, as the new chief of the Liberal party, and to promise you that same fidelity which I counted on from you in the past. I do not say "You are my chief and I will follow you as long as you go straight" but rather, "you are my chief, and I will always follow you, because I know you will always go straight."

"You will make mistakes often, as I have done. There is no effort free from error. But I know you will always try to do well, and I know the whole Liberal family of Quebec shares my opinion. You have the experience and the prestige, you have the confidence of the electorate; you have the qualities of a leader and you will succeed.

"It has been said, one should only remain in politics so long as one can be useful. Then climb into the gallery and listen to what is being said, and judge of the results of your work. That is just what I have done.

"During the fifteen years I have carried faithfully the torch of Liberalism, and I have the consciousness that I have carried it worthily. Carry it also Mr. Taschereau, carry it high, very high, and proudly, so that its rays may light not only the soil of Quebec, but the whole territory of the Dominion of Canada, and illuminate the route of our future destinies."

MACKENZIE KING'S REPLY.

L. Mackenzie King, replying to the toast of the Liberal party, spoke in part as follows:

"The fifteen years during which Sir Lomer was at the head of the Liberal administration of this Province mark the period of greatest prosperity in the history of Quebec. It is more than a coincidence that another period of fifteen years of Liberal administration, though not wholly continuous, should have marked the golden era of peace, progress, and prosperity in this Dominion.

"The spirit of Liberalism has found marked expression, insofar as the Province of Quebec is concerned, both in legislative enactments and the teachings of its great leaders, in the constant regard there has been for constitutional procedure and practice in all matters pertaining to Government. The law and procedure of the constitution has ever been upheld by French-Canadian statesmen as something very sacred, something not lightly to be put to one side, much less ruthlessly ignored in any essential particular.

ESSENCE OF LIBERALISM.

"Because of her unwillingness to yield too readily to practices and procedure not easily to be defended on constitutional grounds, Quebec has sometimes been thought of as ultra-conservative. A more accurate interpretation would disclose, in the resistance to fundamental change, where due authority by way of popular control has been lacking, a regard for constitutional Government which is of the very essence of Liberalism. In a very real way, Quebec's regard for constitutional procedure has made the oldest of the Provinces a steadying influence throughout our history. To no small degree, by her regard for tradition, she has helped to keep political movements within constitutional lines. At no moment in the history of the Dominion is this being more clearly recognized than at the present time. "Safe and sane" is the expression being used to describe Quebec's position in this respect. The Province which three years ago was being referred to by its detractors as a hotbed of sedition, is now being praised as a bulwark against Bolshevism.

"This regard for constitutional procedure and what has been learned of the secret of free Government, through its evolution, has found expression in the strong sentiment against every tendency to a reversion to the old order of centralization in inter-Imperial and international affairs, and the attitude assumed by the leading French-Canadian Liberals towards representation in the compromise cabinet at Ottawa, whether it be in its first or in its last instalment, the old Unionist Government, or the present so-called National-Liberal and Conservative administration.

"It is an open secret that nothing short of frantic efforts have been put forward by those in power to secure our guest of the evening as a member of the Federal administration. It is equally well known that like overtures were made to more than one member from this Province formerly in the administration of Sir Wilfrid Laurier. All have consistently and persistently refused to violate the reverent regard in which constitutional procedure is held in the Province of Quebec, by lending the prestige of their names and high position as a cloak for subterfuge, and usurpation of rightful authority in matters of Government.

"We now hear some, who formerly assailed Quebec, deploring its isolation. Isolation from what? Not from Canada, for the general sentiment towards Quebec is friendly, and relations are steadily improving. No, such "isolation" as exists is from a government, which is itself isolated from Canada, which has lost touch with the electorate of Canada, not only in Quebec, but in Ontario and the West, and which maintains a precarious hold upon power through a House of Commons, which has ceased to represent the people.

"Shall we say that the refusal of Liberal Quebec to have anything to do with the Government, means a refusal to take part in the working of the institutions of the country? By no means. On the contrary, by that refusal the Liberals of Quebec are asserting their determination to uphold the constitution by keeping aloof from usurpers. They are remaining true to representative and responsible government. When these are restored—which will not be long hence—Quebec will be found once more represented by responsible ministers, and its leading citizens doing work for our common country worthy of the traditions of Lafontaine, Dorion, and Laurier. Canada will once more have the benefit of the political genius of the French Canadian race, and of Quebec's regard for the constitution and our free political institutions.

"It is not alone in a constitutional sense that Quebec is one of the most valuable parts of Canada. Its agricultural and industrial development, as a material asset, make it a factor of the first importance in our national economy. In a very true sense, it is the consequence of vision combined with practical business capacity applied to the management of affairs of state. No one will deny that few public men in Canada have possessed these essential qualities in larger measure than Sir Lomer Gouin.

FINANCIAL STABILITY.

"A regard for economy, reliance upon honesty, great prudence in the investment of public funds, have all contributed to bring about a condition of financial stability which has made the Province of Quebec the envy, not only of other provinces of our own country, but of many parts of other countries as well. Progressive policies with respect to such all-important matters as education, colonization, transportation, the conservation of natural resources, the development of water powers, the construction of permanent highways, together with a frank recognition of the benefits of a diversified industry and the need of enlightened and humane legislation in the field of industrial relations, have combined with the thrift and energy of the people themselves to make for confidence and stability, and a far-reaching development in provincial affairs.

SIR WILFRID'S GOAL.

"The attainment of national unity, as we all know, was the supreme goal of Sir Wilfrid's political ambition, and this object was ever present to his thought in his consideration and advocacy of public policies. He readily distinguished between the unity which is bred of a desire for uniformity and the unity which is the richer because of its diversity. Moderation and toleration in all things were with him more than political precepts; they were political maxims. It was through the application of these principles that, during fifteen years of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's administration, racial and religious strife was reduced to a minimum within the borders of the Dominion:

"It is this note of conciliation as an essential part of Liberalism that has likewise characterized the successful administration of Sir Lomer Gouin in provincial affairs. It finds its application primarily in a regard for the rights of minorities. So much has the public mind of the Dominion associated the rights of minorities with the French and Catholic population of this country, that it is sometimes forgotten that, as respects the Province of Quebec, it is the Protestant and English-speaking population which constitutes the minority, the rights of whom it is a primary duty of the State to protect. So splendidly did Sir Lomer Gouin succeed, throughout the whole of his administration, in safeguarding the rights of minorities that, as respects this Province of Quebec, nothing has been heard of any oversight in this connection.

"The Liberal policy today is in spirit that which is indicated by its history. It is constitutional; it is constructive; it is conciliatory. On the constitutional side, the Liberal party believes in a return to representative and responsible government. Interrupted by the war, with the interruption prolonged by the postponement of the general election, it maintains that the present Parliament was elected and a Union government formed for war purposes alone; that the war having come to an end more than two years ago, the Union Government having been dissolved and a new government formed under a new Prime Minister, the sense of the people ought to be taken in a general election, in which the people will have an opportunity to vote upon Canadian questions, questions of domestic policy, as they have not done since 1911. It believes that the new electorate that has arisen since 1911, including most of the soldiers and all of the women of Canada, have a right to be consulted.

"The Liberal party believes that that there are problems arising out of the high cost of living, abuses in the nature of profiteering, inequalities in taxation, revisions of the tariff, problems of soldiers' civil re-establishment, of railroad management and railway rate control, of agricultural and rural development, of industry and industrial relations in the cities and towns and of electoral reforms, all of which require special and immediate consideration.

"The Liberal Party also believes that there is the greatest need for an end to extravagance and for the exercise of the strictest economy in the administration of public affairs, and that this is something not to be expected from members of a ministry who, during the long period of the war acquired habits of lavish expenditure and great indifference to the control of Parliament.

TARIFF QUESTIONS.

"Urgent as all these matters are, the Liberal party believes that most important of all is the early restoration of representative and responsible government. This is an issue greater even than the tariff, or any of the other subjects mentioned, because in a sense it includes them all. As regards the tariff, the prime consideration is that it shall be made by or in accordance with the will of a House of Commons fairly representing all classes of the People of Canada.

"The Liberal party will continue to stand as the illustrious leaders to whom I have made reference tonight have stood in the past, for unity, good-will, and the open mind. It has no prejudices of race, creed, or class. It is for equal rights and justice to all. It believes that problems of industry and nationality, like all questions of race and religion, can only be solved by the application of these principles. Difficult as may be the economic and social problems of our day, much suffering may be averted by approaching them in a spirit of friendship and confidence, as opposed to hatred and suspicion.

"Because the war involved autocratic methods, we must get back to democracy and strive to enlarge the bonds of freedom. Our soldiers fought under the banner, and we must keep faith with the living and with the dead. It is that better world for which so many sons of this Dominion fought and died that must command our best intelligence and our highest endeavor."

HON. RODOLPHE LEMIEUX.

Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux, than whom, Mr. Taschereau declared, the Liberal party had no more eloquent or faithful advocate, replying further to the toast of the Liberal party, recalled the days when he was associated with Sir Lomer in the National Club, in which Mr. Gouin already gave evidence of the great qualities which had carried him successfully through the political career which he now brought to a close.

A man of talent belonged not to himself, but to his country, and the nation demanded the services and the great talents of Sir Lomer. So great a man had not the right to withdraw into isolation. There was already isolation enough.

Turning his attention to the Liberal leader, Mr. Lemieux drew attention to the fact that the torchlight of Liberalism which Mackenzie King took from the failing hands of Laurier was one which sixty years ago was lit by his ancestor, William Lyall Mackenzie.

Those who thought the Liberal party was married to free trade had only to read up their history to learn that there had never been free trade in Canada. It was not protection, but protectionism which was to be feared. The Liberal party was opposed to all extremes, and stood for the sane middle course in all things.

HABIT OF SPENDING.

The present Government had acquired during the war the habit of spending hundreds of millions without consideration, and was now unable to get away from that habit. The resulting situation at the present moment was fearsome, but the Liberal party had to gather together all its strength and courage ready for the day when a new pilot would take charge of the destinies of the Dominion.

Those who dreamed of an Imperial centre in England must be made to realize that the capital of Canada was but a few hours distant from Montreal, and it was there that Canada purposed having her laws made and her destinies controlled.

SIR LOMER HONORED



Former Premier of Quebec, who was the guest of honor at a banquet in the Windsor Hotel last evening.

AT THE COUIN BANQUET



Premier Taschereau who spoke words of praise for his predecessor in office.

AT THE COUIN BANQUET



The Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, Liberal leader, one of the chief speakers at last evening's function.

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SIR LOMER GOUIN GUEST OF HONOR AT FAMILY DINNER

Quebec Liberals Show Appreciation of Former Leader

PREMIER AS CHAIRMAN

Sir Lomer Denied Ambition or Desire to Go to Ottawa Despite "Warwicks"

A gathering of the Quebec Liberal family at the Windsor Hotel last night testified to appreciation of fifteen years of Government on the part of Sir Lomer Gouin. The dinner given to Sir Lomer by his political friends was to show him that they had not forgotten his leadership of the province, his services to his party, and the strong current of personal esteem shown in various ways testified to the warm friends a long political career had made for him.

While in a sense the banquet was political there was a tone to it of personality that distinguished this banquet over other recognitions of public service.

The speeches, except for some references by Hon. William Lyon Mackenzie King, were hardly of a political nature. Those who had expected to hear announcements were disappointed, and Sir Lomer showed that he was not unmindful of political gossip when he said that he had no ambition or desire to go to Ottawa as his journalistic friends said, or as the makers of cabinets would have it.

Hon. Mr. King went boldly to some of the rumors in regard to Sir Lomer when he said:

"It is an open secret that nothing short of frantic efforts have been put forward by those in power to secure our guest of the evening as a member of the Federal administration. It is equally well known that like overtures were made to more than one member from this province formerly in the administration of Sir Wilfrid Laurier. All have consistently and persistently refused to violate the reverent regard in which constitutional procedure is held in the province of Quebec by lending the prestige of their names and high position as a cloak for subterfuge, and usurpation of rightful authority in matters of government."

The balance of Mr. King's speech was on Liberalism, as he viewed it, and he paralleled the 15 years of administration of Sir Lomer Gouin with the "golden age" of the 15 years of the Laurier regime.

Hon. L. A. Taschereau, prime minister of Quebec, who presided at the banquet to his old chieftain, in proposing the toast to the "Liberal Party," turned to Hon. Mr. King, and said: "Mr. King, you are here in the heart of Liberalism. You are the successor of Laurier, and no man is better qualified than you are to answer to this toast to Liberalism."

To the right of Hon. Mr. Taschereau at the head table were Sir Lomer Gouin, Hon. W. S. Fielding, Senator R. Dandurand, Hon. Dr. H. S. Beland, and Hon. Chas. Marcil, while to the left of the chairman were Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, Hon. Sydney Fisher, Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux, Hon. Adelard Turgeon, speaker of the Legislative Council of Quebec, and Hon. J. N. Francoeur, speaker of the Legislative Assembly.

GIFT OF PAINTING.

In opening his address Sir Lomer showed warm personal feeling. A painting, a Canadian landscape by Carriere, was presented to him just as he rose, and he told the 600 odd people who cheered him long and loud, that he would cherish the painting to hand down to his children so that they might know that he had had friends who were faithful, and there would be no greater heritage than this.

Sir Lomer commenced his speech by mentioning the name of Mr. King after "Mr. Chairman," and this brought much applause, and the outbursts throughout were frequent, especially when he said that even if he had left active politics he would still strive to serve his party and his country. Hon. Mr. Taschereau he greeted as his chief, promising him the same loyal and devoted service which Mr. Taschereau had given him for so many years.

Two other speakers of the evening were Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux and Hon. J. E. Perrault, Minister of Colonization, Mines and Fisheries.

Hon. Mr. Taschereau in opening the banquet referred to the thirteen years he had served as a colleague of Sir Lomer's, and of the friendship that had existed. He spoke of the fifteen years of Gouin administration as being a period of peace and harmony in the province, and of progress, and it was not too much to say that Sir Lomer had put the province at the head of Confederation. He touched slightly on some of the main works of the fifteen years and of the progress that had resulted. Sir Lomer had awakened energies which had slept, and had taught his people to have confidence in themselves. Sir Lomer had a firm hand, said Mr. Taschereau, a remark which brought much applause and laughter, even from the guest, he had also had sure judgment, a far-sighted spirit, a splendid legal sense, a genius for business affairs, a wonderful memory and an eloquence that brought enthusiasm from his hearers.

DISCIPLE OF WALTON.

Mr. Taschereau touched on Sir Lomer in his private life, told of him as a great disciple of Isaac Walton with wonderful patience in waiting for the fish. He was, too, an ardent hunter, and a danger to the beasts of the forests.

Hon. Mr. Taschereau added: "Let me make a wish. Our guest is a man in the full maturity of his talents, full of activity and courage, of that kind of courage which does great things. Sir Lomer can be, and should be still useful to his country, to his province, to his people. For him, more than for others noblesse oblige. I believe I express the popular view of our people in asking Sir Lomer to continue to give to his country, in the sphere of his choice, the best of his intelligence and of his ability.

"The Liberal party, Sir Lomer, has not withdrawn either its confidence or its loyalty; the Liberal party counts on you to maintain its traditions, and to realize its aspirations. If, after your elevation to the most high tasks, you believe that you have deserved a rest, which your friends hesitate to give you, remain at least our adviser and our friend for the great combats which can be foreseen." (Loud and prolonged applause.)

Sir Lomer Gouin on rising was unable to speak for several minutes so continued was the applause. He was greeted by several French songs and others in English.

SIR LOMER GOUIN.

Nothing was so comforting, said Sir Lomer, in acknowledging the outburst of applause and the remarks of the chairman, as to have the appreciation of the public, particularly to a man who had given himself to public life for so long. His political life of 20 years was recalled to him by the presence of his old companions in arms, friends in many political battles- through difficult days, and he could only extend his thanks for the constant, faithful and loyal sympathy which had been given him, during such a long period.

To the leader of the Liberal party, Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, to his friends of the Senate, and House of Commons, to the political veterans and to the young men, and to all the distinguished citizens gathered about, he had thanks to give for having joined with the Quebec family which was bidding him adieu this evening. Among some present perhaps were those who had fought him; he thanked them equally, for they had been useful in criticising him and stimulating his zeal in the right direction, and they honored him in joining in the demonstration.

It had been said that he should read his will, but there was nothing to read, for he had given all by donation, and after deep reflection. He had never thought himself necessary to his country or province, but had simply given himself in order to be useful to them.

In the course of his career he had been in error at times, more often than they had noticed, but he had ever endeavored to be loyal, conscientious and to do all his duty.

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"I have always believed that sincerity in politics was the greatest thing of all," added Sir Lomer, "that the best service I could render to my fellow citizens was to tell them the truth, all the truth. I have believed that true patriotism should not fear unpopularity, that the first duty of a public man is to act courageously towards the goal only of the general good. It is necessary for a public man to have courage and probity, to possess patience and to leave sufficient time for acts to produce their results. Political right always triumphs, the majority returns to right invariably."

Sir Lomer Gouin touched on his long career, and on the continuous confidence which the public had given him, and the loyal support of his colleagues in the cabinet, in the Legislative Assembly and Legislative Council.

MAINTAINS HIS INTEREST.

"Do not think that because I have left the post which I occupied through your will for so long that I no longer have any interest in the good and welfare of our dear province, that I have no heart for the tasks which I commenced and accomplished with my colleagues, and that my thought will not follow the work of those who follow me with solicitude."

In obtaining a readjustment of the federal subsidy, in collecting in a methodical manner all the taxes and in increasing them without harm to the people, Sir Lomer felt that, with the aid of his colleagues, he had succeeded in establishing the credit of the province on a solid basis, and the situation of the province compared advantageously with that of any other part of the Dominion, and the good name of the province was known in all the money markets of the world.

"Properly speaking, we have no debt, and our assets run into hundreds of millions. With a population of 2,500,000 our annual expenses reach barely to 14 millions of dollars when other provinces with 20 per cent. of our population expend 20 millions per year. That is to say, that there is not a Government more economically and effectively administered than your Government, Mr. Prime Minister," turning to Hon. Mr. Taschereau.

Sir Lomer said that he was proud to have participated in the enlargement of the province by the addition of Ungava, making Quebec the largest province in territory of the Dominion. He referred to the riches of the province, and reminded the public that they were but the administrators, and that it is a patrimony to be handed down to posterity, to the innumerable generations of the future, and it was for us to hand it down intact and prosperous.

"Permit me to say, without false modesty, that it will be the pride of my life to have it recognized that I have handed to my successor a province more great, more rich, more educated, and more united than at any other time in our history. It is union, I recognize and proclaim, it is the union of our people, tolerance, generosity of heart between the divers elements composing the population, it is the spirit of order, patriotism and the working together of all citizens, which has contributed more than all else to the material prosperity and the morale of our fine province. How comforting it is to think that we no longer have these religious divisions, which for such a long time cause suffering to the great French-Canadian family.

SPIRIT OF GOOD WILL.

"How comforting it is to see the good will that prevails between the English and Protestant minority and the French Catholic majority. In this, we preach an example to the rest of the country. Intolerant fanaticism, a product of ignorance, has made sufficient ravages on Canadian soil. It is time to stop for all time this destructive and anti-national work. It is a great evil when one half of a nation is held in contempt by the other, said Joubert. Thank God, there is nothing of that in our good province of Quebec. However, everything is not perfect here, and even among us there are angles to be rounded out. It is by knowing each other better that we will arrive at perfect harmony. Let us then, thinking of our ancestors and the task of handing to posterity the Canadian heritage, perform a national duty by uniting. It has been to these efforts that I have devoted the efforts of my political career. I have worked to unite and to build up. I have never sought to tear down, neither men or things. I have always wished to build up, and I wished in the first place to build in a proper fashion the educational edifice. Towards this end, I have joined with all promoters of intellectual progress, with all those who had at heart the wish to do away with ignorance. I have always believed that the most important element for a civilized nation was education, a solid and sane education, inspired by the great principles of Christianity. Ignorance means chaos, leading to anarchy and discord. I have never forgotten that the first aim of education was to bring men together."

Sir Lomer continued for a time dealing with the educational progress of the province, and then turned to agriculture, which, said he had always received the greatest measure of the Government's care. The Government had understood the necessity of keeping the sons of the soil on the farms. Too many, unfortunately, abandoned the farms.

Sir Lomer dealt at length with the necessity of continuing to encourage agriculture, and give the farmers all possible assistance, to attach them to the soil and to make the life of the farmer more attractive, and in speaking of the farmer, he did not forget the colonist, who should be aided in his task of completing "for humanity" the work of the Creator in making fertile and productive our new lands.

"Encourage industry also, and in so doing lies the prosperity of agriculture. We can be proud of our past, but it is necessary that our future be still more productive. Let our policy be not only words, but words hand in hand with acts. Plant, plant for the millions who are to succeed us.

LINKED FOR ALL TIME.

"My dear friends of the Quebec Parliament, and you my old colleagues, I thank you again for all you have done to aid me to develop and build up our province. It is true that I am no longer in active politics, but we will never be completely separated, for the fidelity to ideas, to traditions and memories which united us for so long, because of the attachment to principles which we have loved for so long, and which we still love, will continue to link us togethe for all time.

"I am no longer chief, but I think I am capable of still aiding in the fortunes of my party and the welfare of my country. In entering the ranks as a private but faithful soldier, I look at the horizon, and I take occasion to tell my old companions in arms, young and old, to have confidence in the destinies of our party, but let the sentinels be vigilant. Never forget the wise words of Montesquieu: 'Conquests are easy because they are made with all the forces, they are difficult to keep because they are defended only by a portion of the forces.' It is because we did not defend the victories of the Liberal party at Ottawa with all our forces that we suffered defeat in 1911. Do not let history repeat itself. When I speak of the importance of maintaining the ranks and prestige of the Liberal party, I think first of all, and above all, of my country.

"Do not think," went on Sir Lomer, "that I wish to outline here a programme of federal politics. No, contrary to what my friends the journalists say, and what our Warwicks, small and great say, I have not the ambition nor the intention of entering into the Federal arena. But as a Canadian interested in the destiny of his country, I think of the multiplicity and the difficulty of the problems which the great war has sown on our soil; I think of the enormous debt that we have incurred, and which we must pay; I think of the ill which reigns among us; I hear the complaints and the claims of our discontented soldiers as to the fate bestowed upon them, of our workmen who lack work, of our farmers of the provinces of the West, who claim to be badly treated by the fiscal policy of the Government, I recognize the uneasiness of our manufacturers and merchants, and I seek," with all men of good-will, the means of emerging from the state in which we are and finding again the path of progress and of prosperity which we have lost. There is only one means in my opinion, it is that of returning to the policy which brought us out of the bog and saved us from civil war in 1896. That policy is that of Sir Wilfrid

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Laurier, a policy of justice, of tolerance, of conciliation, of foresight which gave us peace and the fifteen years of prosperity in our national life.

THE LAURIER POLICY.

"I believed in the policy of Sir Wilfrid Laurier in 1896, and I still believe in the same faith. It is the policy which should be preached in the country. It is the policy of good sense and of proper balance, which we practised for 20 years in the Province of Quebec. It is this policy which Laurier left us, which will assure the permanence of Confederation, of which you, Mr. Chairman, so eloquently spoke of lately. It is the policy which should triumph, no matter what is said, and it is that which will triumph no matter what is done."

Turning to Hon. Mr. Taschereau, Sir Lomer Gouin added: "I thank you for all the kind things you have said of me. I am happy to salute in you my chief and to tell you that you can count on my complete devotion, as I counted on yours. I do not say: I will follow you as long as you move in the right direction. I say to you: You are my chief because I know that you will always move in the right direction. You will make mistakes like all men of action, there is no effort without error, but I know that at all times you wish to do well and all the Liberal family thinks as I do. You have the enthusiasm, the talent, the experience, the wish, all the qualities of chieftainship united."

It had been said that it was a fine thing to retire from politics while still useful, to return to one's profession, to leave the arena for the gallery and to hear what is said, to know what goes on, and that was what he was doing, added Sir Lomer. He had felt that the time had come to share the honors with his partners, seeing that they had been gained together.

HON. MACKENZIE KING.

By common consent, said Hon. Mr. King in following Sir Lomer, the fifteen years of Sir Lomer's premiership had been the most prosperous in the history of the province. It was something more than a coincidence that another period of fifteen years of Liberal administration should have marked the golden era of peace, progress, and prosperity in the Dominion. These two periods spoke, said Mr. King, in part of the personal greatness of those two distinguished men of this province, Sir Lomer Gouin and Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and they spoke also of the genius, in matters of government, of statesmen of French-Canadian descent, and reveal something of Quebec's contribution to the greatness of our Dominion.

Mr. King, speaking of the spirit of Liberalism, traced it as it had found expression in the record of Sir Lomer's administration, and endeavored to disclose wherein, through its application in a few important particulars to present day problems, the Liberal party is seeking to give it a much-needed and wider expression in the arena of federal politics. There had been three special notes which had distinguished Sir Lomer's regime. These were fundamental qualities, also to be found as characteristic and distinguishing features of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's fifteen years' of government, and they were the very essence of Liberalism and essential elements to wise and progressive government at all times, and never were they so necessary as at the present time. The first of these was the desire for constitutional methods, in which the Liberal spirit had found expression, and both great French-Canadian leaders had been distinguished in this way.

Mr. King illustrated by pointing to the manner in which constitutional law and procedure after the British model was upheld in Quebec, thereby conserving and spreading British traditions. As to Sir Wilfrid's part in maintaining this principle, Mr. King recalled the efforts of Sir Wilfrid towards constitutional methods. When in England at the Queen's Jubilee he had referred to the Empire as a galaxy of nations and had been looked on as a separatist for saying so. The despatches from Geneva today would indicate that Canada is not only a nation but the oldest of the nations. (Laughter.)

REGARD FOR CONSTITUTION.

Because of Quebec's unwillingness to yield too readily to practices and procedure not easily to be defended on constitutional grounds, Quebec at times had been thought of as ultra-conservative. A more accurate interpretation would disclose a regard for constitutional government which is of the very essence of Liberalism, and in a very real way Quebec's regard for constitutional procedure had made the oldest of the provinces a steadying influence throughout our history, and to no small degree by her regard for tradition, she had helped to keep political movements within constitutional lines, and at no moment in the history of the Dominion is this being recognized more than at the present time. The province which three years ago was being referred to by its detractors as a hotbed of sedition is now being praised as a bulwark against Bolshevism.

Another feature of the Gouin and Laurier administrations had been the fact that they were constructive. They had both shown the policy of moderation and toleration, of economy and progress, and peace had been brought about in religion, and as to race, between labor and capital. Too often in talking of the minority of Canada it was forgotten that there is a minority in Quebec. Sir Lomer Gouin had always had regard for the rights of the minority, and the result had been that there was never a question in fifteen years of the rights of the minority.

Both the Gouin and Laurier Governments had been conciliatory, went on Mr. King, which was Liberalism.

"The Liberal policy today," said Mr. King, "is in spirit that which is indicated by its history. It is constitutional, it is conciliatory. The Liberal party believes in a return to representative and responsible government." Here Mr. King went on to say that the present federal Government does not represent the people, having been elected for war purposes only, and that since the election of 1911 a new electorate had come into being, those of two classes, the men who had been overseas and the women, and these had a right to express themselves as to the Government they wanted. The people had not had a chance to express themselves on Canadian affairs since 1911.

The Liberal party, said Mr. King, believes that there are problems arising out of the high cost of living, abuses in the nature of profiteering, inequalities in taxation, revisions of the tariff, problems of the soldiers' civil re-establishment, of railroad management, and railroad rate control, of agricultural and rural development, of industry and industrial relations in the cities and towns, and of electoral reforms, all of which required special and immediate consideration.

In all these matters, promised Mr. King, it was needless to say that if returned to power the Liberal party will continue to be guided by those qualities of moderation and toleration, of orderly progress and the avoidance of extreme positions, and measures, which had given to the Laurier and Gouin administrations the confidence they had held over so many years in the minds of their respective electorates. There was need also for the strictest economy, and this could not come from a government which, during the long period of the war, had acquired habits of lavish expenditure and great indifference to the control of Parliament.

RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT.

Urgent as all these matters were the Liberal party believed that most important of all was the early restoration of representative and responsible government. This was an issue greater than the tariff, or any of the other subjects mentioned, because in a sense it includes them all.

"As regards the tariff," added Mr. King, "the prime consideration is that it shall be made by or in accordance with the will of a House of Commons fairly representing all classes of people of Canada. The first requisite of a revised tariff is a truly representative House of Commons." Such a body did not now exist, he claimed. He considered therefore, that there is now taxation without representation in view of the large number of people who were disenfranchised ,and of the manner in which the elections were carried on.

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20 Dec. 1920

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THE DOMINION COMMERCIAL TRAVELLERS' ASSOCIATION AND PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT

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Address to Dominion Commercial Travellers Association
at Annual Banquet, Montreal, December 20, 1920

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THE PARLIAMENT OF CANADA

There are many features characteristic of the Dominion Commercial Travelers' Association of which one is tempted to speak in replying to a Toast to the Parliament of Canada. Much might be suggested by way of comparison between the aims and objects of your Association as applied to its membership and the aims and objects of Parliament with reference to national well-being and national economy. In a very brief way, I should like to speak of two or three of the outstanding characteristics of your Association, to which, it seems to me, it is the duty of Parliament to seek to give national expression in the affairs of our country.

REPRESENTATIVE CHARACTER OF TRAVELLERS' ASSOCIATION

The first parallel of which I should like to speak is that suggested by the representative character of your organization. The Dominion Commercial Travellers' Association has a membership, I understand, of nearly eleven thousand persons. In no other organization in Canada, unless it be the Dominion Trades and Labour Congress, are there representatives of trades and businesses of so many different kinds. You represent, in the personnel of your membership, the human, vital link between the production and distribution of all those classes of commodities which minister to the material needs of our human society. Were any appreciative part of productive or distributive enterprise not represented by persons entitled and likely to become members of your Association, the country would suffer through the failure of the adequate satisfaction of some of its essential needs. Your Association therefore speaks of the interdependence of all parts of our national economic life and of the wisdom of their adequate representation in all that pertains thereto.

PARLIAMENT SHOULD BE BROADLY REPRESENTATIVE

In like manner, Parliament, in the conduct of national business, should be broadly representative. If it fails to be such, just by so much does it fail adequately to meet the nation's essential requirements in matters of government. Were this an occasion when it would be proper to introduce subjects of political controversy, I should not hesitate to repeat what I have been saying everywhere, in and out of season, that the great limitation of our present Parliament is that it is not representative in any true or broad sense of the word; that the Government, notwithstanding the all-embracing designation it has assumed, represents a minority, rather than a majority of the people of ~~Canada~~ the Dominion. For the

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present, however, we shall let that pass. I wish to refer, not so much to the Parliament that is, as to the Parliament that is to be. When it is to be, the Lord alone knows. I do not think a single member of the Administration, not excepting the Prime Minister, could tell us. But, irrespective of the time, the really important consideration, as respects the future, is that we should seek to avoid the mistakes, the errors, and the wrongs of the past in the matter of representation, and secure, if possible, a Parliament that will everywhere be recognized as broadly and truly representative of all classes, and, so far as may be possible, of all shades of opinion.

Representative Government Threatened Through
Class Organization for Political Ends.

Of the dangers to broadly representative government, the one which looms largest in public thought at the present time is class organization for political ends. This phase of political development has gained not inconsiderable ground in Canada since the elections of 1917. Many of those who have been the first to recognize a danger in this connection, and who are to-day strongest in their opposition to it, are the last to admit the force of the example which has helped to bring it into being.

I do not wish to fight over again the issues of bygone political contests. Nor is it with the purpose of reviving them here, or at any time, that I should like to say just a word with reference to one particular feature of the 1917 situation which passed very largely unnoticed at the time, but which helps to account, in no small measure, for the class movements to which I wish to make particular reference this evening. It serves to illustrate how many-sided are the considerations of which public men are obliged to take account, and how far-reaching may be the wholly unforeseen, if not unthought of, consequences of possible lines of political action.

What more outstanding example of class government could there be than that afforded by the Unionist Administration as originally formed. Take the members who entered the government from the Liberal side: almost every one of them was a lawyer. To begin with Nova Scotia, there was Hon. A.K.Maclean; he was a lawyer. In New Brunswick, there was Hon. Frank Carvell, he was a lawyer. In Ontario, there were Hon. Hugh Guthrie, Hon. S.C. Mewburn, Hon. N.W.Rowell, all three were lawyers. In Saskatchewan, there was Hon. Mr. Calder, he was a lawyer; and in Alberta there was hon. Mr. Sifton, he was also a lawyer. Now look at some of the

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remaining members of the Government who were of the original Tory administration. From this province, there was Hon. Mr. Justice Doherty, he was a lawyer, and Hon. Mr. Blondin, who is also an attorney. From Ontario, there was the Minister of Finance, Hon. Sir Thomas White, he is a lawyer; from the West, Sir James Lougheed, also a lawyer; and from the East, the Right Honourable Sir Robert Borden, the then Prime Minster, also a lawyer. In addition there was the present Prime Minister, the Right Honourable Arthur Meighen, he is also a lawyer. It was a Union Government all right, but it was a union of lawyers.

Now what has been one of the effects of this combination ? What was its real significance ? In a word, it meant the sacrifice of party to class. I say nothing of the motives which may have been the actuating ones of the time. I am speaking only of the effect of the circumstance upon subsequent political movements.

Imagine a cabinet composed in equal numbers of commercial travellers. Would it escape recognition as a class organization in public estimation, notwithstanding, as already said, that travellers represent a much larger number and wider variety of businesses than any other class in our society ? Is it any wonder, then, that a large element among the farming population, in the rural parts of our country, and among the industrial population in the urban centres, should have said to themselves: If the country can be run by a union of lawyers, why can it not be run equally as well by a union of farmers or a union of workingmen, or by a combination of the two.

Joint Control, not Monopoly of Control,
Desirable.

Do not imagine, in what I am saying, that I wish it to be inferred that I have any prejudice against members of the legal profession, quite the contrary. Especially in matters of government, will it always be desirable that the best legal talent should be at the service of the state, not only in the execution and interpretation of laws, but in the framing of them. The greatest misfortune that could happen any country would be that its government failed to include men of the highest standing in the legal profession. Neither would I have it assumed that I think the endeavour on the part of the Farmers and of Labour to gain a wider representation for their class in Parliament and in the councils of the nation is a movement in the wrong direction. On the contrary, I think we shall have greater stability in government and greater contentment

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throughout the land as our parliaments and cabinets mirror in truer proportion the different elements which make their contributions to our national life. The point of importance to be recognized in reference to what I have been saying is that the cure for monopoly of control in one direction is not the substitution of monopoly of control in another; it is the getting rid of monopoly altogether, and substituting therefor a joint control, or, better still, if I may use the phrase, a community of control representative, as far as may be possible, of all the outstanding elements of which our national society is composed. "That form of government is best which doth actuate and inspire all parts and members of the state to the common good".

Big Business and Large Organization in National Life

Here I should like to say just a word about big business and large industrial organization in our national life. Wherever there are great numbers or great wealth or great power, there is real danger of attempts at monopoly in matters of government. Just because the Farmers are so largely organized, just because Labour is so largely organized, and because both have behind them large reserves of wealth as well as of power, are they feared by the so-called vested or big interests of the country. But for the very same reason, "the big interests" are feared by the Farmers and by Labour. Between the three of them, the ordinary citizen who does not happen to belong to one or the other, is beginning to wonder just where he comes in. It looks on the surface as if it were to be a conflict between those very powerful groups for supremacy of control in the affairs of the state. Personally, I do not believe that such is the case, and I shall give my reason for saying so.

Human Nature Instinctively Revolts Against Monopoly.

There is something more profound than any organization or race or nationality, however powerful, which determines how men will act when it comes to matters of government, and that is the instincts of human nature itself. One of these instincts, fortunately, on the part of most liverty-loving individuals, is an abhorrence of monopoly, a hatred of domination. It was this instinct which caused the free nations of the world to rise against the might of Germany in her attempt at world domination in industry and politics. It is this instinct which will assert itself wherever monopoly threatens.

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A knowledge of this fact has caused the leaders of those political movements which have had their origin in class to seek to gain for their movements some expression that is wider than that of class. Mr. Crerar has made it plain that, so far as the Farmers movement is concerned, he wishes it to be considered as broad as the name of its platform. Mr. Drury has been outspoken in his opposition to government by class. He would prefer a people's party to any party that might be mistaken as representative of only a part of the people. I am not sure that the all-embracing term, "National Liberal and Conservative" was not selected as being preferable to anything suggestive of the big business interests in control. From the exponents of all three - Farmers, Labor, and so-called National-Liberal and Conservative - and from the sympathizers of each, we have heard a great deal in the way of deriding and belittling the so-called old political parties. Though they may not care to admit it, is it not true, as I have illustrated that, consciously or unconsciously, all recognize that in the last analysis the thing they have been seeking to discount or condemn is not only good, but in the end necessary and inevitable, and that parties organized, not by class but on national lines, and expressive of attitudes of mind and shades of political opinion rather than of the special interests of particular groups, are the only bulwark against monopoly of control by class or special interests in matters of government. Personally, I confess that I regard it as wholly secondary by what name a party is called, so long as there is no mistaking its attitude and purpose. It is because the words "Liberal" and "Conservative", "Reformer" and "Tory" are so distinctively representative of two fundamentally different types of mind that in a broad way embrace all others, that I think, for purposes of practical politics they possess certain obvious advantages in presenting issues to an electorate. They have, moreover, a traditional interest which I believe to be of more than historic value.

Attitude of Liberal Party Toward Large Organization.

May I, speaking to this gathering as one widely representative of the business and commercial interests of this country, add just a word as to the attitude of the Liberal Party of Canada towards large organization, whether it be the large organization of big business or the large organization of farming or labor interests. The Liberal Party takes no exception to either bigness or organization

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as such. Indeed, it recognizes both to be not only advantageous, but, in this age of world-wide competition, absolute essentials of success in many directions. It is solely to the desire for monopoly of control, or dictation in control that power not infrequently tends to breed, that it stands opposed, and here its opposition is implacable. This means that, so far as big business is concerned, so far as the Farmers' organization or labor organizations are concerned, the Liberal Party is in no sense opposed to them as such. Indeed it has many of its strongest friends and supporters in the ranks of all three. But to those individuals, or groups of individuals, within these large organizations who seek domination in politics, who are unwilling to share in matters of government, but wish to dictate or monopolize control, the Liberal Party, believing in equal rights for all and special privileges for none, is unwilling to give any quarter. Towards the individual who, because of his wealth or position, seeks to override his fellowmen in the enjoyment of equal rights and privileges of citizenship, on up through the business organization or class group to the nation or group of nations attempting monopoly of control in affirs either of business or of the state, the attitude of the Liberal Party is one and the same, relentless opposition to all that savoursof dictation and domination and an endeavour to substitute therefor an ever increasing measure of joint control or community of control by all interested parties. This is the attitude of the Liberal Party not less in industrial than in political affairs.

Commercial Travellers a Barometer of Public Opinion.

Another characteristic feature of the Dominion Commercial Travellers Association which presents a parallel to an element in our national life to which Parliament is supposed to give very full and complete expression, is what we speak of as Public Opinion. It is almost a commonplace to say that there is no barometer of public opinion comparable to that of the membership of the Commercial Travellers Association. It is perhaps natural that this should be the case. Commercial travellers are ever on the go, and they are on the go everywhere. Their interests are as wide as they are varied. They are in a position of special opportunity, not only to guage, but to a very large extent to guide, public opinion. Nothing can equal personal intercourse as a

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medium for establishing opinion, and there is no class of our citizens who enjoy like opportunities of meeting and conversing with their fellow-citizens in all parts of the country as commercial travellers, unless it be a few of those who enter public life. It follows that public men have everything to gain from opportunities of association with membership of your profession, and that Parliament itself will be all the better off for its membership being supplemented somewhat from yours. In all self-governing communities, public opinion is of the very essence of government. When a Parliament looses touch with public opinion, or a Government becomes indifferent to it, there is the beginning of the end to freedom in the state.

The Press not Always the Guage of Public Opinion.

This brings me to suggest the thought that public opinion, as interpreted through the membership of your organization, is apt to be more accurate than public opinion as sometimes gleaned from the press of the country, which is supposed to reflect it. Were the press wholly disinterested and independent, it might serve as a mirror of public opinion. A part of the press undoubtedly is, perhaps a larger part than most of us assume. We are apt to think that the press that is opposing our own way of thinking is not. Apart from this, however, we know that political party bias and business considerations are factors that have to be very largely taken into account in estimating the value of much of the opinion we get from the press. They are not factors which operate to quite the same extent among the members of an organization like yours. To appreciate at once the opportunities and the responsibilities of the members of your association in estimating, and to a very considerable extent fashioning, the public opinion of the nation, is to gain a new sense and wider vision of the obligations and privileges of citizenship which come through belonging to your profession.

Primary Objects of Government.

In the objects of your Association as set forth, I find suggested another aim and purpose to which it is the duty of Parliament to seek to give national expression. Briefly stated, your Association aims to promote and protect the interests of its membership, to elevate the intellectual, moral, social and material welfare of its members, to assist the widows and orphans of deceased members, and to lend aid to members of the Association who in time of stress and emergency may be in need of personal assistance.

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How better could we define the aims and purposes of Parliament ! If for the widows and orphans of your deceased members we substitute those who have been greatly bereaved through the calamity of war; if for those in need of assistance we think of the men who have suffered loss of health and impairment of physical efficiency through the same cause, we all recognize the first duties of our country in memory of those who gave their lives and to others who have risked them in the cause of the world's freedom.

To promote and protect the interests of its citizens is the first duty of the state. To elevate their intellectual, moral, social and material welfare, is its noblest expression. Parliament seeks to do this through the making of laws. One way or another, it can only be effected through obedience to law, and that the higher law of which all legal enactment should seek to be the expression. In one way or another, observance of the higher law will be found in obedience to the principles underlying Peace, Work, and Health.

In a very remarkable address of the great scientist, Pasteur, I find the following passage, at once penetrating in its analysis of the conflict of laws as we experience them in our lives and in human society, and prophetic of what the world has witnessed since it appeared in 1888:

> " Two contrary laws seem to be wrestling with each other nowadays; the one, a law of blood and of death, ever imagining new means of destruction, and forcing nations to be constantly ready for the battlefield - the other, a law of peace, work and health, ever evolving new means of delivering man from the scourges which beset him. The one seeks violent conquests, the other the relief of humanity. The latter places one human life above any victory; while the former would sacrifice hundreds of thousands of lives to the ambition of one."

We have witnessed, on a continental scale, the operation of the law of blood and death. It is for us now, in these days of reconstruction, to aim in all phases of our personal, social and national life, at the fulfillment of the law of Peace, Work and Health. The task that lies before us, now that Peace has been restored, is to repair the ravages of war. Because war caused scarcity, we must strive to bring plenty by increased production.

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Because war destroyed men by thousands, we must seek to conserve human life. Because war caused hugge expenditure, we must get back to economy and sound finance. Because the war involved autocratic methods, we must get back to democracy and strive to enlarge the bounds of freedom. Because the war produced everywhere ill-will, we must seek to substitute therefor the good-will toward men and nations the immortal value of which is brought to mind by the return of another Christmas season.

Good-will the Spirit Underlying National Unity.

This leads me to conclude with a further obvious reference to a feature characteristic of your Association to which it is the duty of Parliament to give the highest and fullest expression in our national life.

Your Association aims at unity. It seeks to further this aim through the development of a spirit of good-will. It is not the unity that seeks expression in uniformity, but rather the unity which recognizes the richness that comes through diversity. This surely is what, above all else, should be aimed at in our national life. You have in your profession men who represent all kinds of businesses and trades. In this very diversity of interests lies the strnegth, greatness and supreme interest of your Association. With you, there is neither French nor English, Catholic nor Protestant, East nor West. When travellers meet, in whatever part of our vast Dominion it may be, they meet only as citizens of the Dominion. It is this note which we must seek to make uppermost in our national aims and aspirations; the note of unity which delights in diversity, and which is promoted through the agency of good-will.

It is perhaps not a mere coincidence that your Association invariably holds its annual gathering during the Christmas week or very near the Christmas season. It helps to emphasize this underlying spirit of good-will. Citizenship in our Dominion will find no nobler expression than in seeking to further this spirit in every relationship of our national life. For the ill-will which war has bred between class and class, let us seek to develop the good-will which makes for common interests and common gian. For the ill-will which war has aroused by way of racial and religious prejudice,

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let us seek to further the good-will which reveals the added richness that comes to our national life through a diversity of origins and the supreme truth and beauty underlying all phases of religious thought. For the ill-will which war has bred between nation and nation, let us substitute the good-will which aims, not at conflict, but at universal brotherhood.

In all this we shall not only be serving the highest purposes and interests of the state, we shall be furthering the supreme interests of humanity; we shall be uniting our forces to those which through the ages have fought for the betterment of mankind; we shall be proclaiming anew and helping to make prevail that message which came through the air to the Syrian shepherds as they watched their flocks by night over nineteen centuries ago, and which, despite the discord and strife of time, will yet conquer the world - that message of sublime faith and infinite love: "Peace on earth, good-will toward men."

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Montreal Herald
Dec " 21
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TRAVELLERS AS HERALDS AND PREACHERS

Hon. Mr. Mitchell Tells Them At Banquet Could be Power To Bind Up Country's Forces

Over six hundred "knights of the grip" and their friends gathered in the Windsor Hotel banquet hall last night for the annual dinner of the Dominion Commercial Travellers' Association.

A number of speakers, among them the Federal Minister of Railways and Canals, Hon. J. D. Reid; the leader of the Opposition at Ottawa, Hon. Mackenzie King; Hon. Walter Mitchell, Provincial Treasurer; Mr. Arthur Sauve, Leader of the Opposition in the Quebec Legislature, and others, spoke to the travellers, and although they dished out some politics, they found a great deal to say about the importance of the work the commercial men were called upon to accomplish and about their great influence all over the Dominion

The first to address the gathering was the president of the Association, Mr. J. M. S. Carroll, who spoke very briefly, thanking the distinguished guests who had accepted to be present at the Travellers annual dinner and spoke of the fine work accomplished by his predecessors in the presidential chair in bringing the association to its present high state of efficiency and wide development.

Wished Good Luck.

Hon. Mr. Reid was then called upon to say a few words. The Minister remarked he had prepared a speech, but he now could see it would not suit the occasion so he would have to make an other extempore one. He greeted his friend, Mon. Mr. King, and humorously remarked that he wished him a long life to fully enjoy the high position of leader of the Opposition he occupied at present.

Dealing with the luxury tax, Hon. Mr. Reid remarked that it had been put on for two purposes which had now been attained, to obtain revenue and to curb extravagance. The two goals had been reached and the Government had considered it proper to lift the tax.

Laurier's Prosperity.

Hon. Mr. Mackenzie King, who replied to the Minister of Railways and Canals, was given a most enthusiastic reception when he rose to address the gathering. Several minutes elapsed before he could get a hearing as after the applause and the cheering the travellers insisted upon singing "For he's a jolly good fellow," followed again by a salvo of hand clapping and cheers.

The leader of the Opposition said that Mr. Reid had spoken of thirty years of prosperity for Canada, but he must remember that 15 of those years were those of the golden period of Liberal administration under Sir Wilfrid Laurier.

As to railway matters, Mr. King said they should thank God that the C.P.R. did not have a deficit like the C.N.R.

The present Parliament, continued Hon. Mr. King, was not representative of the country at large, but only represented a minority. He did, therefore, not wish to say much about it, he preferred to speak of the next parliament. This remark drew forth loud cheers and cries of "When will we have it?" Hon. Mr. King said no one could say when the change would come, but he sincerely hoped that when it did come it would be a parliament truly representing all the interests in the country.

The Leader of the Opposition remarked that the Union government was a Union of lawyers.

He concluded by expressing the hope that the commercial travellers would continue to spread the gospel of good feeling and unity all through the country, that they would work for the advancement of the Canadian nation and the betterment of their fellow countrymen.

Help of All.

Hon. Walter Mitchell, provincial treasurer, congratulated the commercial travellers upon their splendid surplus and his message to the "commercials" was that they should be optimistic as there were none who could spread the spirit of optimism through the country better than they. He strongly appealed for the fullest co-operation. Capital could not succeed without the help of labor, and labor required capital to progress, and neither of them could get along without agriculture. It was therefore most important that all three join hands since without their closest co-operation the great Canadian machine would break down.

The Provincial Treasurer also asked the Commercial Travellers of Canada to preach all through the country the co-operation of all the provinces in the Dominion, of all nationalities and all religions, for the advancement and greatness of Canada as a whole.

Mr. Arthur Sauve, leader of the opposition in the Legislature, said that they all realized they were passing through a difficult period and that the social problems were the most important before them all at the present time. Public men should all look for solutions for those problems and try and give full justice to all parties and classes.

Other speakers were F. W. Steart, president of the Montreal branch of the Canadian Manufacturers; George Sumner, president of the Montreal Board of Trade; Grant Hall, vice-president of the Canadian Pacific Railway; and Alderman J. P. Dixon, who represented Mayor Martin.

Among those at the head table were: J. M. S. Carrol, president; Hon. Dr. J. D. Reid, Minister of Railways and Canals; Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, leader of the Opposition; R. O. Grothe, F. Sumner, Charles Gurd, Hon. Walter Mitchell, Provincinial Treasurer; Ald. J. P. Dixon, pro-Mayor; J. Charles Shea, George Sumner, President of the Board of Trade; Arthur Sauve, M. L. A.; R. C. Wilkins, Hon. P. Paradis, R Brosseau, E. Robitaille, M. P. Fennell L A. W. Doherty, W. A. Kingsland, J. Stanley Cook, Secretary of the Board of Trade; H. Jonas, H. S. C. Holland J. McLennan, J. A. Bernie, Louis Chatelle, C. Robitaille, E. Beaulay, A D. Cooke, D. Campbell, J. F. Harrison, Grant Hall, Vice-president of the Canadian Pacific Railway; F. W. Stewart Jos. Quintal, H. H. Melancon, J. F Pearce, J. Morrison, E. J. Place, Capt. T Bourassa, harbor master; G H. Webster, J. E. Weeks, F. S. Cote, J. H. Boulet and Maxwell Murdock.

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OPTIMISTIC NOTE BY SPEAKERS WHEN TRAVELLERS DINE

Task of Commercial Men is to Preach Confidence Throughout Country

SITUATION OF RAILWAYS

Hon. Dr. Reid is Hopeful—Hon. Mackenzie King Finds Too Many Lawyers in Government

One of the most successful banquets ever held by the Dominion Commercial Travellers' Association was held last evening at the Rose dining room at the Windsor Hotel last evening, when more than 600 guests representing the Dominion and Provincial Governments, and the business interests in every line of the Dominion were present. A feature of the evening was the presence of Hon. Dr. J. D. Reid, Minister of Railways and Canals, who spoke of the abolition of the luxury tax, and made a mild challenge to Hon. Mr. Mackenzie King on political issues.

Mr. King immediately took up this challenge and spoke of issues of the day, and discussed at length the relations of the Liberal party toward the farmer and labor elements. He declared himself strongly against any class government, criticizing the present Government as composed altogether too strongly of lawyers.

Other speakers were Hon. Walter Mitchell, Arthur Sauve, leader of the Opposition at Quebec, Grant Hall, vice-president of the C.P.R., Geo. Sumner, president of the Board of Trade, F. W. Stewart, chairman of the C.M.A., and Ald. J. P. Dixon, pro-Mayor.

After the King had been loyally honored the new president, Mr. J. M. S. Carroll, made his inaugural address, briefly expressing appreciation of the many distinguished guests present for their annual festivity, while Mr. Carroll at the same time expressed his appreciation of the work done by his predecessors, which had made such a gathering possible.

HON. DR. J. D. REID.

"The Parliament of Canada," was responded to by Hon. J. D. Reid, Minister of Railways and Canals, who jocularly welcomed his old friend, Hon. Mr. King, as leader of the Opposition. When it became necessary to select a leader of the Opposition, said Hon. Dr. Reid, he was glad to see Hon. Mr. King chosen for this office, and he hoped he would live long to occupy the same position. (Laughter.)

Proceeding to discuss the luxury tax Hon. Dr. Reid said that he had strongly supported it when it was inaugurated, since it was put on for two purposes, first, to secure revenue, and secondly to show the people that the time had come to realize the situation of the country, and make them cease the extravagant spendings of previous years. Now, he was glad to say, the time had come when the people realized the position, and the Government was able to end this tax.

"Hon. Mr. King was with us when we put this tax on, and I believe he agreed with us when we took it off," continued Hon. Dr Reid. "If he has anything further to say in the matter I presume it will be at the next session of Parliament."

Dr. Reid spoke of the thirty years during which he had served in Parliament, and of the tremendous advances in trade, which had grown from $200,000,000 to $2,250,000,000, with a proportionate investment in industries and manufactures.

As to the railways of Canada, Dr. Reid spoke briefly of the nationalization of railways, and expressed a fear that the National Railways would not show the same surpluses as the Canadian Pacific, and the position might be difficult until matters got back to normal.

"So far as the present Parliament is concerned," concluded Dr. Reid, "I claim that it has faced many difficulties, but that it is doing whatever is possible for any Government to do to steer the course of the country back to a normal course."

HON. MR. MACKENZIE KING.

The leader of the Opposition was given a particularly warm reception, and opened by remarking that while he and Hon. Dr. Reid were strong personal friends, they were equally strong political enemies.

Dr. Reid, he said, had spoken of thirty years of prosperity in Canada, but he felt impelled to say that of that period, fifteen years were the golden period of the Laurier Government.

"Dr. Reid regretted that the surplus of the Canadian National Railways was not equal to that of the Canadian Pacific," said Mr. King, "but let us thank God there was no deficit on the C.P.R. equal to that of the C.N.R."

Touching more particularly on parliamentary matters, Mr. King said that he did not think the present Parliament was representative of the real opinion of the country in any sense, but rather represented a minority of the people.

Therefore, he did not want to speak so much about the present Parliament as the Parliament that was to be.

"No one knows when this change is to come," said Mr. King, "but let us hope that whenever it comes the future Parliament will be in the truest sense of the word represenetative of all the parties and peoples and sections of this country."

Mr. King proceeded to say that of the dangers to representative government, the greatest at the present time was class organization for political ends, which had gained considerable headway since the elections of 1917. Going back to this election, Mr. King said that the Unionist administration as originally formed was an outstanding example of class administration. Almost every Liberal who entered that Government had been a lawyer, from every province. "It was a Union Government, all right, but it was a union of lawyers."

The real significance of this, said the Liberal leader, was that it meant a sacrifice of party to class. "I say nothing of the motives which may have been the actuating ones at the time. I am speaking only of the effect of the circumstances upon subsequent political movements."

THE FARMERS' OPINION.

"Is it any wonder then," continued Mr. King, "that a large element among the farming population and among the industrial population in the urban centres should have said to themselves: 'If the country can be run by a union of lawyers, why cannot it be run equally as well by a union of farmers, or a union of workingmen, or by a combination of the two?'"

However, Mr. King said that he had no prejudice against members of the legal profession, since it was necessary that in framing laws men of the highest legal attainments should be engaged. "Neither would I have it assumed that I think the endeavor on the part of the farmers and of labor to gain a wider representation for their class in Parliament is a move in the wrong direction. On the contrary I think we shall have greater stability in Government and greater contentment throughout the land as our Parliaments and Cabinets mirror in truer proportion the different elements which make their contributions to national life." He advocated getting rid of monopoly of control altogether.

Proceeding, Mr. King said that because both the farmers and labor were strongly organized and had behind them large reserves of wealth and power they were feared by the so-called vested big interests of the country, while for the same reasons the "big interests" were feared by farmers and labor, and between these three powers the ordinary citizen was beginning to wonder where he came in.

"The Liberal Party," he said, "takes no exception to either bigness or organization as such." It was simply opposed to such power being used toward monopoly or dictation in control.

In the conclusion Mr. King pointed out that the underlying principle of the Commercial Travellers' Association was unity, with a joining of hands for national advancement, in which he cordially joined, carrying out the Divine message, so applicable at the moment, "Peace on earth, good will to all men."

HON. MR. WALTER MITCHELL.

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Montreal Gazette
Dec" 21/20

D 4917

OPTIMISTIC NOTE BY SPEAKERS WHEN TRAVELLERS DINE

Task of Commercial Men is to Preach Confidence Throughout Country

SITUATION OF RAILWAYS

Hon. Dr. Reid is Hopeful—Hon. Mackenzie King Finds Too Many Lawyers in Government

One of the most successful banquets ever held by the Dominion Commercial Travellers' Association was held last evening at the Rose dining room at the Windsor Hotel last evening, when more than 600 guests representing the Dominion and Provincial Governments, and the business interests in every line of the Dominion were present. A feature of the evening was the presence of Hon. Dr. J. D. Reid, Minister of Railways and Canals, who spoke of the abolition of the luxury tax, and made a mild challenge to Hon. Mr. Mackenzie King on political issues.

Mr. King immediately took up this challenge and spoke of issues of the day, and discussed at length the relations of the Liberal party toward the farmer and labor elements. He declared himself strongly against any class government, criticizing the present Government as composed altogether too strongly of lawyers.

Other speakers were Hon. Walter Mitchell, Arthur Sauve, leader of the Opposition at Quebec, Grant Hall, vice-president of the C.P.R., Geo. Sumner, president of the Board of Trade, F. W. Stewart, chairman of the C.M.A., and Ald. J. P. Dixon, pro-Mayor.

After the King had been loyally honored the new president, Mr. J. M. S. Carroll, made his inaugural address, briefly expressing appreciation of the many distinguished guests present for their annual festivity, while Mr. Carroll at the same time expressed his appreciation of the work done by his predecessors, which had made such a gathering possible.

HON. DR. J. D. REID.

"The Parliament of Canada," was responded to by Hon. J. D. Reid, Minister of Railways and Canals, who jocularly welcomed his old friend, Hon. Mr. King, as leader of the Opposition. When it became necessary to select a leader of the Opposition, said Hon. Dr. Reid, he was glad to see Hon. Mr. King chosen for this office, and he hoped he would live long to occupy the same position. (Laughter.)

Proceeding to discuss the luxury tax Hon. Dr. Reid said that he had strongly supported it when it was inaugurated, since it was put on for two purposes, first, to secure revenue, and secondly to show the people that the time had come to realize the situation of the country, and make them cease the extravagant spendings of previous years. Now, he was glad to say, the time had come when the people realized the position, and the Government was able to end this tax.

"Hon. Mr. King was with us when we put this tax on, and I believe he agreed with us when we took it off," continued Hon. Dr Reid. "If he has anything further to say in the matter I presume it will be at the next session of Parliament."

Dr. Reid spoke of the thirty years during which he had served in Parliament, and of the tremendous advances in trade, which had grown from $200,000,000 to $2,250,000,000, with a proportionate investment in industries and manufactures.

As to the railways of Canada, Dr. Reid spoke briefly of the nationalization of railways, and expressed a fear that the National Railways would not show the same surpluses as the Canadian Pacific, and the position might be difficult until matters got back to normal.

"So far as the present Parliament is concerned," concluded Dr. Reid, "I claim that it has faced many difficulties, but that it is doing whatever is possible for any Government to do to steer the course of the country back to a normal course."

HON. MR. MACKENZIE KING.

The leader of the Opposition was given a particularly warm reception, and opened by remarking that while he and Hon. Dr. Reid were strong personal friends, they were equally strong political enemies.

Dr. Reid, he said, had spoken of thirty years of prosperity in Canada, but he felt impelled to say that of that period, fifteen years were the golden period of the Laurier Government.

"Dr. Reid regretted that the surplus of the Canadian National Railways was not equal to that of the Canadian Pacific," said Mr. King, "but let us thank God there was no deficit on the C.P.R. equal to that of the C.N.R."

Touching more particularly on parliamentary matters, Mr. King said that he did not think the present Parliament was representative of the real opinion of the country in any sense, but rather represented a minority of the people.

Therefore, he did not want to speak so much about the present Parliament as the Parliament that was to be.

"No one knows when this change is to come," said Mr. King, "but let us hope that whenever it comes the future Parliament will be in the truest sense of the word representative of all the parties and peoples and sections of this country."

Mr. King proceeded to say that of the dangers to representative government, the greatest at the present time was class organization for political ends, which had gained considerable headway since the elections of 1917. Going back to this election, Mr. King said that the Unionist administration as originally formed was an outstanding example of class administration. Almost every Liberal who entered that Government had been a lawyer, from every province. "It was a Union Government, all right, but it was a union of lawyers."

The real significance of this, said the Liberal leader, was that it meant a sacrifice of party to class. "I say nothing of the motives which may have been the actuating ones at the time. I am speaking only of the effect of the circumstances upon subsequent political movements."

THE FARMERS' OPINION.

"Is it any wonder then," continued Mr. King, "that a large element among the farming population and among the industrial population in the urban centres should have said to themselves: 'If the country can be run by a union of lawyers, why cannot it be run equally as well by a union of farmers, or a union of workingmen, or by a combination of the two?'"

However, Mr. King said that he had no prejudice against members of the legal profession, since it was necessary that in framing laws men of the highest legal attainments should be engaged. "Neither would I have it assumed that I think the endeavor on the part of the farmers and of labor to gain a wider representation for their class in Parliament is a move in the wrong direction. On the contrary I think we shall have greater stability in Government and greater contentment throughout the land as our Parliaments and Cabinets mirror in truer proportion the different elements which make their contributions to national life." He advocated getting rid of monopoly of control altogether.

Proceeding, Mr. King said that because both the farmers and labor were strongly organized and had behind them large reserves of wealth and power they were feared by the so-called vested big interests of the country, while for the same reasons the "big interests" were feared by farmers and labor, and between these three powers the ordinary citizen was beginning to wonder where he came in.

"The Liberal Party," he said, "takes no exception to either bigness or organization as such." It was simply opposed to such power being used toward monopoly or dictation in control.

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22 Jan. 1921 Peterborough

"THE RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLE - NOT
THE TARIFF - THE REAL ISSUE IN
THE PETERBOROUGH BY-ELECTION"

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THE RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLE - NOT THE TARIFF -
THE REAL ISSUE IN THE PETERBOROUGH BY-ELECTION

It is all-important that the electors of West Peterborough should clearly understand the real issue in the present by-election. There has come to be a double reason for this. In the first place, the issue is the most important with which an electorate can be faced. It reaches down to the very fundamentals of government in a free country, namely: to the right of a people to govern themselves, and not to have this right usurped by any individual or group. The second reason is that a deliberate attempt is being made by the Government to mislead and deceive the electorate as to the real issue.

I regret to say that, despite his high position and the responsibility which attaches to it, the Prime Minister himself has led the Government forces in this endeavour. The purpose of Mr. Meighen's early entry into the campaign, the whole object of the speech delivered by him on the occasion of his visit here, was to becloud and obscure the real issue, and to substitute therefor another of his own choosing, which, for reasons that I shall presently give, can have no possible bearing upon the present contest.

Usurpation of Power by the Meighen Administration - Not the Tariff - The Real Issue

What more decisive means could there be of determining the real issue than to look to the origin of the campaign. This by-election has been brought on because of the resignation of Mr. Burnham. Mr. Burnham resigned, not because he was obliged to, or because of other considerations not wholly apparent; he resigned, as he himself says, because he believes the present Meighen administration has usurped the rights of the people in matters of government, and that the people should have opportunity afforded them to express their indignation in a manner which should help to restore those rights.

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Mr. Burnham has said that the real issue is whether or not a Prime Minister and colleagues, who, without any mandate or mission from anybody on earth but themselves, have seized the reins of power and announced a new government and a new party, are deserving of the support and confidence of the Canadian electorate. If anyone should know what the real issue is, Mr. Burnham should, because he created it.

Speaking in this city on the 10th of this month, the Right Honourable the Prime Minister stated that the issue was not, as declared by Mr. Burnham, one involving confidence in the Government, but was the Tariff; that it was, in short, whether the protective principle was or was not to be maintained.

Let me say, with a full consciousness of all that is involved in the assertion, that in their respective statements of the real issue in this campaign, Mr. Burnham is right, and the Prime Minister is wrong, and that no one knows this better than Mr. Meighen himself.

Let me give you reasons for the truth of this assertion.

The first is that the Prime Minister knows, or ought to know, the real significance of by-elections where regard is had to the usages, practices, and principles attaching to British parliamentary institutions, and which it should be a first duty of every patriotic citizen, and specially a country's first citizen, to uphold.

The second is that the Prime Minister knows, or ought to know, that the people of this country have given his Government no authority whatever to deal with the Tariff or other problems of vital domestic concern.

The third is that the Prime Minister knows, or ought to know, that he himself, along with others appearing with him at the time the Union Government was formed, expressly excluded the Tariff as a question with which the Union Government, or any Government emanating therefrom, would be entitled to deal without first giving to the people of Canada an opportunity of passing upon a policy which is known and which has the sanction of popular approval.

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Let us examine these statements in turn.

Real Issue of By-Election Determined By Its Origin

I have said that the Prime Minister knows, or ought to know, the real significance of by-elections, where the issue is to be determined in accordance with the traditions and principles attaching to British parliamentary usage. Broadly speaking, by-elections arise from one of five principal causes:

First, because a previous election of a member of the House of Commons has been declared void. This need occasion no comment.

Second, because of the death; or resignation, through desire of retirement on account of illness, incapacity, or other reason, of a member of the House of Commons.

Third, not less frequent, because of the appointment to the Senate, or to office under the Crown, of a member of the House of Commons.

Fourth, because of the appointment of a member of the House of Commons as a Minister of the Crown.

We have had examples of by-elections originating from each of these causes, in the case of the most recent by-elections. The by-elections in Colchester and St. John were occasioned by the appointment of Messrs. McCurdy and Wigmore as Ministers in the Meighen Administration. The by-election in East Elgin was occasioned by the death of the late David Marshall. The by-election in Yale-Cariboo was occasioned by the appointment to the Parliamentary Librarianship of the Honourable Martin Burrell, the member for that constituency, and at the time Minister of Agriculture.

A by-election may arise in yet one other way. It constitutes the fifth in the list of causes. It is where a member, of his own accord, resigns his seat in Parliament in order to give the public an opportunity of expressing its views on an issue of national importance, and thereby opens his constituency

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as a battleground for a contest on the specific issue which has occasioned his resignation. The pages of British history contain illustrious examples of members at Westminster who have voluntarily resigned their seats in Parliament to enable a test to be made of public opinion at critical times or with respect to some important national issue.

Obviously, the situation as respects the issue of a by-election created in this manner is wholly different from that presented by any of the other occasions I have mentioned. In all of them, general discussion of the record and standing of the Government, and of conflicting policies, may well be a feature of the electoral contests. In the case, however, of a by-election arising through the resignation of the sitting member, made deliberately and avowedly with the view of permitting an expression of public opinion on a clearly defined concrete issue - as is the case in the present contest here in West Peterborough - the effort to obscure the real issue and to substitute in its stead another, wholly fictitious, is a species of dissembling to which a Prime Minister, charged with the duties of preserving constitutional government, should be the last to descend. Such action tends to defeat the aim of all government, namely that of giving full and free expression to the popular will.

Judging the issue in the present by-election by the origin of the by-election itself, it clearly is solely that of the right of the Canadian people to a representative Parliament and a responsible ministry in the conduct of their public affairs. The Prime Minister is well aware of this fact, though he would, for obvious reasons, disguise it if he could.

Present Government Without Authority to Deal With Problems of Vital Domestic Concern

I said that the Prime Minister knows, or ought to know, that the people of this country have given his Government no authority whatever to deal with the Tariff or other problems of vital domestic concern. How does Mr. Meighen answer this charge? He said, and he said it here in Peterborough, referring to the Union Government in its appeal to the electorate in 1917, that"the Government never committed itself to resign at the

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conclusion of the War". He said further: "I have been through Canada during the past few months, and have heard nothing of a demand for a general election"; and, finally, he said: "I don't believe Mackenzie King himself desires an election".

This is not the language of a statesman; it is the quibbling of a hair-splitting lawyer. What have my wishes or desires, be what they may, to do with the right of the people of Canada to a general election? It is not what I wish or desire; indeed, it is not what Mr. Meighen wishes or desires: it is what the Canadian people have a constitutional right to that is the only factor of account. The circumstance that Mr. Meighen has heard nothing of a demand for a general election does not prove that the demand is not general, as everyone knows. It simply goes to show that Mr. Meighen is as hard of hearing the voice as he is slow of understanding the will of the people.

"Sir Robert Borden", he says, and he brings Mr.Guthrie along to say the same thing, "gave no pledge to resign at the expiration of the War". And, taking refuge in this subterfuge, he and his colleagues are now exercising the right of holding office, and claiming the right to continue in office until 1923, and to legislate on any and every subject that may suit their pleasure or further the interests of the privileged groups they represent.

I shall not seek to interpret Sir Robert Borden's representations to the electorate in 1917. Sir Robert Borden has referred to himself as "demobilized", as having completed the task assigned to him at that time. Several of the members of his ministry have long since resigned, under a similar sense of public obligation. Hon. Mr. Crerar, Hon. Mr. Carvell, Hon. A. K. MacLean, Hon. Mr. Newburn, Hon. Mr. Rowell, have all made it perfectly clear, in resigning from the ministry, that in their opinion to continue longer in office would be to violate the pledges given the Canadian people at the time the Unionist Administration of Sir Robert Borden was returned to power.

Did time permit, I might quote at indefinite length from the utterances of these and other members of the Union Government as to the nature of the pledges given the electorate in 1917 in the name of the Union Government. I shall pass

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these by, however, and confine what I have to say to the utterances, not of Sir Robert Borden nor of his colleagues, but to the utterances of the Right Honourable Mr. Meighen himself, and of those who stood on the platform beside him when the purpose, aim, and pledges of the Unionist Administration were first given to the Canadian public.

In the Manitoba Free Press of October 23, 1917, will be found a three-page account of a meeting held at Winnipeg on the previous night, and which was addressed by Mr. Meighen in company with Hon. Mr. Crerar, who has long since left him, and Hon. Mr. Calder, who is still at his side. It is just, I think, to assume that what was said by these members of the Unionist Government on that occasion states, in a fairly accurate manner, what the Canadian people had a right to assume was the significance of that particular contest; and what the extent of the rights and powers which the Government, in making its appeal to the people for their support, was asking to have conferred.

I shall not attempt to quote any of these gentlemen at length; a sentence or two will, I think, be sufficient to disclose their attitude and position. As respects the general issue, it will perhaps be sufficient to quote Mr. Meighen alone.

Mr. Meighen opened his address by describing the manner in which the Unionist Government came into being. He said that it was the outcome of a movement which took its birth from the day that the need of compulsory service became manifest in Canada. He said that his purpose, and that of the colleagues appearing with him on the platform, was to present the principle and to show forth the spirit that had brought them together, and to sound the appeal of the new Government. Here are the exact words in which the Hon. Mr. Meighen sounded that appeal:

> "Our Government for which we stand tonight is founded on the rock of compulsory service, and on that rock we will still build it. . . . .
>
> "I want to make it as clear as I can that the only way Canada can give the verdict of 'Carry on' is to vote for the Union Government. We can only vote for or against the Government. . . . .

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"We can only vote against a government or for a government. We can only vote for Borden and Union Administration, or vote for a man who, no matter under what flag he may be running, will be a follower of an administration headed by Sir Wilfrid Laurier. This vote for Borden or Laurier is a vote to carry on the war or to quit. . . .

"There never was a clearer issue before the people than to-day. It is simply an issue of Union Government and a vigorous prosecution of the War, or Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and Canada's virtual withdrawal from the War."

Mr. Meighen concludes:

"I appeal to the people of Manitoba, I appeal to the people here to give to this Government its mission, to the Prime Minister of this country, his mission, to carry on. He is the man who will perform the task."

Where, let me ask, Mr. Meighen, will be found, even in his own appeal to the electors of Canada, any utterance which gives to himself the right of assuming - or, should I not say, presuming - to administer the affairs of this country at the present time. It was the administration of Sir Robert Borden, not the administration of the Right Honourable Mr. Arthur Meighen, that the people of Canada returned to power in 1917. Moreover, as Mr. Meighen himself has made more than plain in the quotations which I have given, it was the issue of Conscription in connection with the prosecution of the War, and solely that issue, which was the one on which the Government was returned.

The Tariff as an Issue Expressly Excluded

But I have gone further in my statement that the Prime Minister knows, or ought to know, that the people of this country have given his Government no authority whatever to deal with the Tariff or other problems of domestic concern. I have said that the Prime Minister knows, or ought to know,

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that he himself, and others appearing with him at the time the Union Government was formed and making its appeal to the country, expressly excluded the Tariff as a question with which that Government, or any Government emanating therefrom would be entitled to deal, without first giving to the people of Canada an opportunity of passing upon a policy which was known and which had the sanction of popular approval.

Let me again quote from Mr. Meighen's own speech, and from the speeches of Mr. Crerar and Mr. Calder, who were with him on the platform, and who spoke in his presence and in his hearing at the time. Having listened to these words, let me ask you to decide whether there can any longer be shadow of doubt as to the right of Mr. Meighen to make the Tariff an issue in the present by-election; or, indeed, to legislate upon it one way or the other in Parliament before the people have been accorded their constitutional right to express their views at a general election.

Here is what Mr. Crerar had to say on this subject:

"After I had taken my seat in the Cabinet, a friend of mine in Ontario, one of the most intelligent among the eastern farmers, met me in Toronto. The first thing he said to me was, 'What concessions did you get on the Tariff?' I told him that I had not got any, and that I had not asked for any. That is not to say that I did not feel strongly on the Tariff, but I feel that the present issue is not the Tariff, but the winning of the War, and to prosecute that great purpose this Government has been formed, and old political opponents like the gentlemen you see here on the platform have struck hands across the Cabinet table of the nation, and are going to guide the nation's destiny in this time of peril."

Could anything be clearer, or more specific? "<u>The present issue is not the tariff</u>, but the winning of the War, ~~and~~ and to prosecute that great purpose this Government has been formed."

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Having by his presence on the platform vouched for such a declaration as this, how dare Mr. Meighen presume to say that the issue in the present by-election is the question of the Tariff and the maintenance of the protective principle, and not the question of the right of his Government to hold to office, despite the will and constitutional rights of the electorate.

Let us hear what Mr. Calder has to say. I might quote him at great length, but one or two significant passages will be sufficient. Here are his words:

"It is because we are in the War, and all that it means that we three men happen to stand just where we are to-day. . . . .

"The one main issue is whether we shall carry on or not. . . . .

"We have simply consented to union for the immediate purpose of this war, and the solution of the problems arising out of the War, and we are prepared, for the time being, to sink our differences of opinion insofar as many of the domestic and local problems which we have been concerned. We must do that to get union. Just imagine what could have happened if Mr. Crerar had sat down with Sir Thomas White to try and get together on questions of Tariff.

"We would never have had union if one of the questions was that it had to be reached on the question of the Tariff."

Just let me repeat that sentence:

"We would never have had union if one of the questions was that it had to be reached on the question of the Tariff.

"We found it absolutely necessary on both sides, on the Conservative Party's part and our own, to sink all differences of opinion in connection with these domestic problems. So far as I am concerned, on the questions of tariff, banking, agricultural credit, land settlement, and all those problems affecting our western people, I stand where I stood three weeks ago, and I am certain my friend Mr. Crerar does not stand far from that position. But for the time being, we let them go by the boards, and we go into this union with an entirely different purpose."

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Again, may I ask how, in the face of such an appeal to the electorate, the bonafides of which were vouched for by his presence on the platform, and with the Hon. Mr. Calder to-day one of the Ministers in his own Administration, dare the Prime Minister presume to say that the real issue is the Tariff and the maintenance of the protective principle, and that it is not the question of the confidence of the people in his Government?

But Mr. Crerar and Mr. Calder were not the only speakers who expressly excluded legislation with respect to the Tariff from the jurisdiction of the Unionist Government, or who gave assurances, which the Canadian public were justified in taking as final and authoritative, that the Tariff would not be dealt with until some subsequent appeal were made to the electorate with specific reference to domestic issues. Mr. Meighen himself also spoke with special reference to the Tariff. I have already quoted the nature of his appeal on the general issue. Here is what he had to say more particularly with reference to the Tariff:

> "In time of Peace we can afford to support a candidate with a reservation, but in time of war they are a menace to a nation. I make no imperious demands. I only ask the people of this country to see the issue as it is, and to rise to a certainty that a vote in opposition to the new administration is a vote which will imperil the conditions under which we work for the War. We ask from no man and from no woman a reversal or abnegation of his or her convictions on fiscal matters or tariff matters or any other subject. We only ask that they postpone the prosecution of those opinions and convictions, and subordinate them to the infinitely greater necessity until we get through these abnormal times. This is all the appeal we make. The accepted basis of union was the only basis on which union was possible at the present time. What Mr. Calder, Mr. Crerar, and I ask is that the people of this country unite on the same basis that the Government of the country united."

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In the quotations I have cited, you have heard from the lips of Mr. Crerar and Mr. Calder what the accepted basis of union was. They have both said that it expressly excluded any dealings with the Tariff. Mr. Meighen joins with them in an appeal on that ground. Again, I ask, how dare Mr. Meighen, in view of solemn representations such as these, presume to say that the Tariff is the real issue in the present by-election, and that there is no question as to the right of his administration to usurp the powers of government and to legislate, as we are led to believe it purposes to do at the approaching session of Parliament, on this very subject of the Tariff.

Were more needed to silence Mr. Meighen with respect to the Tariff being an issue in the present contest, it would be that he himself is unable to give to the electorate any idea of what the tariff changes are which we are led to believe his Government intends to introduce at the ensuing session of Parliament. A Tariff Commission has been conducting hearings in a more or less pro forma fashion all over Canada during the last few months, but that Commission has made no report as yet. No one can say whether it will recommend a further increase in duties or a reduction in duties.

Apart, now, altogether from what the Prime Minister knows, or ought to know, let me give to you one further reason why the Tariff - and in particular the maintenance of the protective principle - cannot, under any pretext, be regarded as the real issue, or, indeed, as an issue at all, in the present contest.

From now until the day of a general election, only one of two things can possibly happen. Either the Meighen Administration will continue to hold power or it will be defeated on a vote of want of confidence, in which event it would be the duty of His Excellency the Governor General to call upon the Leader of the Opposition to form an administration. Assume that the former should be the case: in that event no change in the Tariff could possibly be made, no alteration of the protective principle except upon the initiative of the Government itself, and the approval and support of its followers. So long as the Government commands a majority in the House of Commons, let the policy of those opposite be what it may, no expression can be given to it in legislation. If, therefore, Mr. Meighen should continue to hold on to power, as he threatens to do, the protective principle, insofar as it may exist, can suffer no alteration except at his hands, and he says he is out for its maintenance at all costs.

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Now, assume the only other possible alternative, namely - the defeat of the Meighen Administration and the formation of a new ministry composed of members of the present Opposition. Only by the introduction of legislation on the Tariff before a general election could any changes in the Tariff be made without the people being consulted in the first instance. What I desire to say tonight, and what I think should settle once for all the question concerning any significance to be attached to discussions concerning the tariff in the present campaign, is that, should the contingency of which I speak arise, should the Government be defeated, should a Liberal administration be formed, advantage will not be taken of such a situation to introduce legislation on the Tariff. Nothing will be done in the way of altering or amending the Tariff in the smallest particular without reference to the people in the first instance, and the submission of the Liberal policy to the electorate at a general election.

The Real Issue

We come, then, to the real issue. It is whether a Government that has never been elected to office by the people of Canada; which has never submitted to the people any policy relating to existing conditions of which they have approved; which is different in character, in personnel, and in leadership from any administration previously existing, should be permitted to continue to exercise complete authority in the making and administration of laws, in defiance of constitutional right and popular liberties. Is it possible to conceive, in matters pertaining to government in a free country, a situation more serious, more completely subversive of the fundamental rights of a free people, than one capable of description in such words as these?

Had such an end been attained in virtue of apparent might and phyyical force, it would be recognized in a moment as revolutionary in the extreme. The fact that methods wholly indefensible were employed, that legislative violence instead of physical violence has been employed to secure and maintain power, makes the action of the Meighen Administration none the less revolutionary. That action of the kind should be resorted to by any Government, at this of all times, is the really serious aspect of the situation.

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The word "Bolshevism" has come to signify the assumption of authority within the state by a self-constituted group which maintains itself in office in virtue of the might and resources it is in a position to command through having usurped the rights of the people in matters of government. As such, it is abhorrent to the minds and hearts of all who are truly liberty-loving by nature. What fundamental difference is there, however, between government as it has come into being in Ottawa and government as effected under Lenine and Trotsky in Russia, except that, in the case of Lenine and Trotsky, the methods employed were those of open warfare apparent to all, whereas in the case of the Meighen administration, its assumption of power is traceable to a series of devious and deceptive manoeuvres utterly unworthy of individuals laying claim to recognition as trustees in the management of a nation's affairs.

It is well known that the Unionist Administration owed its return to power to the War-time Elections Act, the War Measures Act, and the Military Voters Act. The one and only defence of these measures, on the part of those who attempted to justify them, was that they were measures necessitated by the exigencies of war, to be defended only as war measures for the purpose of strengthening the hand of the war administration. The fact that all three have since been repealed is evidence, of itself, that they belong to a period of the past wholly separate and distinct from the present. Their repeal is of itself prima facie grounds for urging that an order of things for which they are responsible should no longer be perpetuated, but that a new order, defensible in the name of what is just and right, should be substituted just as speedily as possible.

But it is not even the Unionist Government which is in power today. The Government of Sir Robert Borden, elected under the measures I have just mentioned, has wholly disappeared. Every member of it tendered his resignation to the Governor General. There is a new Prime Minister, a new party, and a new policy.

One of two things alone is possible: either the present so-called National, Liberal and Conservative Government is, as it purports to be, an entirely new administration, with a new policy and a new leader, or it is the old Unionist administration, or what remains of it, travelling under aliases and disguises. If it be the latter, it is not worthy of support;

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indeed, its own first act is greater condemnation in this regard than any which it would be possible for the public itself to bestow.

The birth of the National Liberal and Conservative Party was coincident with the death and burial of the old Unionist party and administration. It was not the Canadian people who beheaded and interred the old Unionist party - it was Mr. Meighen himself and his little coterie of personal friends.

What, then, of the other alternative? If the present Government is not the old Unionist Government, travelling under a counterfeit, it must be an entirely new administration. That being the case, what policies has it placed before the people of Canada of which the people have in any way approved? What mandate has it from the electors of the Dominion to carry on the government of this country? If it has no policy that has been publicly considered and approved, if it has no mandate from the electorate as a whole, then it is nothing other than a usurper, and, as such, instead of being deserving of public confidence, it is in every way deserving of public censure, being guilty of undermining the very foundations of free political institutions.

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Mr. King then contrasted the autocratic methods under which the present administration had come into power and adopted its policies with the democratic methods of the Liberal Party. He outlined the outstanding features of the Liberal platform, dwelling particularly on its bearing upon the important problems of the cost of living and increased production. He touched, among other subjects, upon the attitude of the Liberal Party toward Labour and toward the Farmers. He showed wherein the Liberals were aiming at principles of government and public policies very similar to those being advocated by Labour and the Farmers, and pointed out that it was only through the agency of a strong political party that principles and policies could be made to prevail. It was the triumph of Liberal principles, not the triumph of a political party that Liberals were seeking at this time. To ensure this triumph, he called upon all the progressive forces to unite in returning to the House of Commons a member who would add great strength to the forces of the Opposition.

Had Mr. Burnham promised to oppose the Government if returned, and to aid the progressive forces of the country to ensure the triumph of their principles, Mr. King would have felt called upon to urge his supporters to stand by Mr. Burnham in defeating the Government on the issue which he had created. When, however, Mr. Burnham asked for his return as a Conservative, and gave no guarantees that he would, if returned, oppose the Government in its endeavour further to usurp the rights of the people, he felt there was no alternative but to ask the electors to send to the House of Commons one on whose unrelenting opposition to the present administration they could rely in a sense of perfect security.

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"Globe" Jan 24, 1927 D 4934 xx

TO LET PEOPLE DECIDE TARIFF, SAYS MR. KING

Claims Liberals Would Make No Change Without an Election

LEADER AT PETERBORO'

Argues By-election Issue is Not Tariff, but the Tory Mandate

(Staff Correspondence of The Globe.)

Peterboro', Jan. 23.—West Peterboro', for which seat in the House of Commons there is a by-election on February 7, has now heard the leaders of the Government and the leaders of the Liberal Opposition discuss what they regard as the issues of the day. Government leaders sought to thrust the tariff to the fore in a riding which is largely industrial, and therefore, to their way of thinking, favorable to a highly protective tariff.

The Liberal Leader, Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, on the other hand, at three very large meetings yesterday shoved the tariff aside and declared the issue to be the very point on which Mr. J. H. Burnham had resigned his seat—whether the Meighen Government has a mandate from the people to carry on in power. The greater part of his addresses was the presentation of an argument that the Government was "usurping power" and conducting the affairs of State against the will of the people.

ıe Day of Liberalism.

Mr. Ernest Lapointe, the brilliant French-Canadian Liberal, who accompanied Mr. King, supported the argument of the Liberal leader, and three meetings showed their approval. It was the day of Liberalism in West Peterboro', and the party believes that seat will be redeemed to Liberal interests. Mr. G. N. Gordon, the Liberal candidate, was enthusiastically received at all meetings and is apparently gaining rapidly in strength of following.

The chief meeting of the three was at the Opera House. The other two, one in the afternoon called at about half an hour's notice, and the night overflow meeting, were held at the G. W. V. A. hall. All the meetings were crowded. Mr. King stated that it was ten years since the people had an opportunity to vote on domestic affairs. He then went into what he declared was the real issue in the by-election. He accused the Government of making a deliberate attempt to mislead and deceive the electorate as to the real issue.

"What more decisive means could there be of determining the real issue than to look at the origin of the campaign?" asked Mr. King. "This by-election has been brought about by the resignation of Mr. Burnham. Mr. Burnham resigned, as he says himself, because he believes the present Meighen Administration has usurped the rights of the people in matters of government, and that the people should have an opportunity to express their indignation in a manner which should help restore this right. If anyone should know the real issue it is Mr. Burnham, because he created it. The Prime Minister stated the issue was not one involving confidence in the Government, but was the tariff. Let me say, with full consciousness of what is involved in th assertion that Mr. Burnham is right and the Prime Minister is wrong."

No Authority on the Tariff.

Mr. King declared that the people of Canada had given the Meighen Government no authority to deal with the tariff or other problems of vital domestic concern. Mr. King elaborated on this point in giving details of proof that the Government was elected for war purposes only. He reviewed the causes of the by-election. He found no precedent for the West Peterboro' by-election in Canadian history, but did in British. The pages of British history showed certain examples where men had resigned seats to enable a test to be made of public opinion in some important issue. That was what had been done in this case.

Touching on the remarks of the Premier made some days ago in Peterboro', that the Government had never committed itself to resign at the conclusion of the war, nor that he had ever heard a demand for an election, and did not think Mr. King wanted one, the Liberal Leader said: "This is not the language of a statesman, it is quibbling of a hair-splitting lawyer." That the Premier had not heard of a demand for an election wen to show that he was as hard of hearing the voice as he was slow of understanding the will of the people. Going into his argument that the Government was elected in 1917 for war purposes only, Mr. King quoted from speeches made by Mr. Meighen and other Cabinet Ministers of the time at a meeting in Winnipeg in October, 1917.

Old Speeches Come Back.

Among numerous quotations from Mr. Meighen's speech Mr. King read: "There never was a clearer issue before the people than to-day. It is simply an issue of Union Government and a vigorous prosecution of the war, or Sir Wilfrid Laurier and Canada's virtual withdrawal from the war." Mr. King contended that it was the conscription issue alone upon which the Government was returned. Mr. King contended further that the tariff issue was expressly excluded. With the knowledge of that fact how could Mr. Meighen make the tariff an issue in the by-election, or even legislate upon it, without first giving the people an opportunity to vote on it? He quoted Mr. Crerar as saying at that time: "I feel the present issue is not the tariff, but the winning of the war, and to prosecute that great purpose this Government has been formed."

Mr. King quoted various other Cabinet Ministers and the Premier himself at that time, who spoke these words: "We ask from no man or woman a reversal or abnegnation of his or her convictions on fiscal matters or tariff matters or any other subject. We ask only that they postpone the prosecution of those opinions and convictions and subordinate them to the infinitely greater necessity until we get through these abnormal times."

In making the tariff the issue in this by-election, Mr. King said the Government was putting up men of straw to knock them down.

"What would you do on the tariff?" asked a man in the audience.

His Tariff Policy.

"Consult the people," replied Mr. King, amid cheers.

"Now, assume the only other possible alternative, namely—the defeat of the Meighen Administration and the formation of a new Ministry composed of the present Opposition. Only by the introduction of legislation before a general election could any changes in the tariff be made without the people being consulted in the first instance.

"What I desire to say to-night, and what I think should settle once for all the questions concerning any significance to be attached to discussions concerning the tariff in the present campaign, is that, should the contingency of which I speak arise, should the Government be defeated, should a Liberal Administration be formed, advantage will not be taken of such a situation to introduce legislation on the tariff. Nothing will be done in the way of altering or amending the tariff in the smallest particular without reference to the people in the first instance, and the submission of the Liberal policy to the electorate at a general election."

None the Less Revolutionary.

Mr. King said the real issue was whether a Government that had never been elected to office, which had never submitted to the people any policy, which was different in character and personnel and leadership from any previous Administration, should be permitted to continue in office in defiance of constitutional right. Had such a right been attained in virtue of apparent might and physical force it would be recognized in a moment as revolutionary in the extreme. That the action had been legislative violence and not physical violence made the action of the Meighen Administration none the less revolutionary.

The Government of Sir Robert Borden had disappeared. The birth of the "National Liberal and Conser-

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vative party" was coincident with the death and burial of the old Unionist party. It was not the Canadian people who beheaded and interred the old Unionist party. It was Mr. Meighen himself and his little band of personal friends.

Had Mr. Burnham promised to oppose the Government if returned, and aid the progressive forces, Mr. King said that he would have felt called upon to urge his supporters to stand by Mr. Burnham in defeating the Government on the issue he had created. But as Mr. Burnham asked to be returned as a Conservative, he felt there was no alternative but to ask the electors to send to Ottawa a man who would be in the progressive Opposition.

At the afternoon meeting Mr. King touched on the attitude of the Liberal party to the Farmers and Labor. He said that the aims and policies of the Liberals were very similar to those advocated by Labor and the Farmers, and declared that it was only through the agency of a strong political party that principles and policies could be made prevail. To insure this triumph he called upon all the progressive forces to unite in returning to the House of Commons a member who would add strength to the forces of the Opposition.

Mr. Lapointe Speaks.

Mr. Lapointe, who was given a warm reception, said he brought a message of friendship and amity from the old Province of Quebec, and an offer of permanent co-operation to work for a greater Canada, better to live in and better governed.

"To-day, when the social body is sick and when bad government is the disease from which it is suffering, nobody has the right to be indifferent. It is the duty of the doctor, the people, to apply a speedy remedy."

The Government speakers, he said, were drawing a red herring across the trail by introducing the tariff issue to West Peterboro'. The issue was just what Mr. Burnham made it in resigning. "At present we have no responsible Government in the constitutional sense, nor a representative Parliament. When the majority of the people are not behind the Government it cannot carry any weight. It has no right to stay there. It is a usurper."

The by-elections of the past did not show support of the Government. Mr. Meighen had brought on the by-elections on the installment plan. Of course, down in St. John, where they had a by-election, they had a fine harbor, and many things were brought there just about the time of the by-election, which was conducted not on the principles of statesmanship, but of salesmanship.

The purpose for which the Union Government had been elected had been accomplished. By continuing in power it was breaking faith with thousands who believed in the pledges it had made. "The Ministers said they would quit when the war was over. Now they have finished. They have demobilized everybody but themselves." Mr. Lapointe quoted the election pamphlet to the soldiers that the only issue in the 1917 election was conscription.

He referred briefly to Mr. Meighen's famous "Bolshevism" speech, and said: "There are only two countries in the world to-day who refuse to consult the people. One is in Russia and the other in Canada. But to many members an election would be political extinction."

Sir George as a Progressive.

Mr. Lapointe said Sir George was about as progressive as the Indian in front of the cigar store. Referring to the Imperial Conference, Mr. Lapointe declared: "I want to voice my objection, and I will do so in Parliament, to being represented there, where Canada's future will be discussed, by representatives of a Government which cannot carry the support of the people of Canada to-day, and who have not that support."

Mr. Lapointe went into British precedent for Governments going to the people when they knew they did not have the support of the people, although they were numerically in a majority in the House. He quoted the utterances of the heads of these Governments in going to the people on such occasions. "Why cannot Canadian statesmanship rise to the heights of British statesmanship in this respect?" he asked.

He referred briefly to the name Liberal and Conservative used in combination. The name, he said, meant anything in the world, and therefore meant nothing. What Canada wanted to-day was sincerity in public life. Was Mr. Meighen sincere in calling himself "National, Liberal and Conservative"? In conclusion Mr. Lapointe made a plea for a better understanding, when there would not be a use of partisanship for the mere throwing of race against race or group against group, of occupation against occupation, and said people should not hesitate about Liberalism, which was broad enough for all and "brings us all closer together."

For Free Food.

Mr. Gordon, the candidate, took occasion to refute the "whispered lie" that he was a free trader. He declared himself in favor of free foodstuffs. "What we eat should not be taxed. The cost of living is high enough now. I am proud to be a free trader in that respect, but I am a believer in industrial Peterboro'. I would impose the tariff on those most able to bear it, and least on those who are not so able to bear it." He favored the protection of labor, and in this connection condemned a system of immigration which brought in people to compete with Canadian workmen even in a time when employment was scarce.

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Montreal Star
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TARIFF NOT REAL ISSUE, DECLARES MACKENZIE KING

In Peterboro Address, Says it is Right of People to Govern

ASSAILS PREMIER

Asserts Liberals Will Refer Any Tariff Changes to People

PETERBORO, Ont., Jan. 24.—Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King, Liberal leader in Canada, addressed a meeting here on Saturday evening in the Grand Opera House in the interests of G. N. Gordon, Liberal candidate in the West Peterboro by-election. With the Liberal leader was Ernest Lapointe, M.P., Quebec East. The theatre was filled to capacity, and an overflow meeting was held in the G. W.V.A. Hall.

The leader of the Opposition declared the rights of the people was the real issue of this campaign, and not the tariff. "It is the right of a people to govern themselves, and not to have this right usurped by any individual or group," he said. He charged Premier Meighen with being a party to an attempt to mislead and deceive the electorate, and said that the purpose of Mr. Meighen's early entry into the campaign was to becloud and obscure the real issue, and to substitute another of his own choosing.

Hon. Mr. King referred to the resignation of J. H. Burnham, M.P., from the West Peterboro seat because he believed the Meighen administration had usurped the rights of the people in matters of Government. "If anyone should know what the real issue is, Mr. Burnham should, because he created it," said Mr. King.

TARIFF NOT REAL ISSUE.

Speaking in this city a few days ago, Premier Meighen stated that the issue was not as declared by Mr. Burnham, but was whether the protective principle was or was not to be maintained. Hon. Mr. King said the people of this country had given the Government no authority to deal with the tariff or other problems of vital domestic concern. He explained that the real issue of the by-election was determined by its origin, which was solely the right of the Canadian people to a representative parliament.

The present Government, Mr. King said, was without authority to deal with problems with vital domestic concern. Premier Meighen had made the statement that he did not believe Mackenzie King himself desired an election. To this Mr. King replied: "It is not my wish or desire, it is what the Canadian people have a constitutional right to." Sir Robert Borden had referred to himself as "demobilized," and in this respect he had been followed by Crerar, Carvell, MacLean, Mewburn and Rowell, all of whom had declared that to continue longer in office would be to violate the pledges given the Canadian people in 1917.

The speaker quoted from various extracts which characterized the 1917 election as an election of a Union Government for the specific purpose of prosecuting the war. Mr. King said another reason why the tariff could not be regarded as an issue in the present contest was because so long as the present Government remained in power the protective principle could suffer no alteration. Should a Liberal administration take over the reins of power, nothing would be done, he said, in the way of altering or amending the tariff, in the smallest particular, without referring to the people in the first instance, and the submission of the Liberal policy to the electorate at a general election.

SAYS PRESENT GOVERNMENT NOT UNIONIST.

"It is the people's right to voice an opinion on such a question," Mr. King declared, "and not the right of a party or group. Let the voice of the people prevail. Legislative violence, instead of physical violence, has been employed to maintain the status of the present Government. The real issue is whether a government that has never been elected to office by the people of Canada, which has never been elected to office by the people of Canada, which has never submitted to the people any policy relating to existing conditions of which they have approved, should be permitted to continue to exercise complete authority and administrative powers in defiance of constitutional right and popular liberties. It is not even the Unionist Government which is in power today. The Government of Sir Robert Borden has wholly disappeared. Every member of it tendered his resignation to the Governor-General. There is a new Prime Minister, a new party and a new policy. One of two things alone is possible, either the present so-called National Liberal and Conservative Government is, as it purports to be, an entirely new administration, or it is the old Unionist administration, or what remains of it, travelling under aliases and disguises. The birth of the National, Liberal and Conservative Party was coincident with the death of the old Unionist Party. It was not the Canadian people who beheaded and interred the old Unionist Party — it was Mr. Meighen, himself, and his little coterie of personal friends."

Mr. King contrasted the methods under which the present administration assumed power with the methods of the Liberal party. He outlined the outstanding features of the Liberal platform, dwelling particularly on its bearing upon the important problems of the cost of living and increased production. He said the Liberals were aiming at principles of government very similar to those advocated by Farmers and Labor. "Where is the plunder for the Government end of this campaign coming from?" asked Mr. King. "It is well worth while for the big interests of this country to control the Government of this country and use it for its own selfish interests. A tariff can be used to protect combines, or it can be used for the benefit of the people. Why should people be taxed for food when the cost of living is at the present standard?"

Declaring that he was interested in the triumph of the people, not of the Liberal Party, Hon. Mr. King stated that if Mr. Burnham had promised to oppose the Government, if he were returned to Parliament, and to aid the progressive forces of the country so as to ensure the triumph of their principles, he would have felt called upon to urge the Liberals of West Peterboro to stand by Mr. Burnham. He called upon all progressive forces in the riding to unite in seeing that the Liberal candidate was elected.

ERNEST LAPOINTE'S ADDRESS.

Mr. Lapointe in his opening remarks, thanked Mr. Burnham for giving the constituency of West Peterboro an opportunity of declaring itself on the only issue existing in Canada at the present time. This issue, he said, was one of responsible government. He said the Government had tried to drag a red herring across the trail by making it appear that the tariff was the issue in this election. The majority of the people were opposed to the Government at the present time. Mr. Lapointe reviewed some of the by-elections that had been held in recent months. In the case of the St. John by-election, the Government promised to improve the harbor and committed itself to other public works. This had happened elsewhere, and would likely happen in West Peterboro, he said. It had already been whispered around that a new public building would be erected here. "By-elections today," said Mr. Lapointe, "are not only conducted on the instalment plan but also on a basis of salesmanship."

Mr. Lapointe declared "the mandate of the Government has expired, they have demobilized everybody else, and now we are asking them to demobilize themselves." He read a circular addressed to the soldiers in 1917 in which it was stated that selective conscription was the only issue at that time. "Pardon me if I don't read the rest of that circular," said Mr. Lapointe, "there is something there might hurt my feelings." Soldiers had voted for the Government, believing that this pledge would be carried out. In many cases they did not know the candidates they were voting for.

GOV'T ONLY "CARETAKERS."

"Today fourteen members sit in the House who were defeated at home, and sit there by virtue of the soldiers' vote overseas," Mr. Lapointe said. "Anybody that opposes the Government is a 'Bolshevist,' but let me tell you there are only two governments in the whole world ruling against the will of the people. One is in Russia and the other is in Canada. The Government majority is getting smaller every day, even on the instalment plan of holding by-elections. Self-preservation is a natural instinct to which members of the Government are not exempt, an election, for many members of Parliament, would mean political extinction. Another Imperial Conference is to be held next year at which important issues affecting Canada will be discussed. I will voice my objection in the House, as I voice it here now, to being represented at the conference by representatives of the present Government. This Government has not the support of the people; they are only caretakers."

Mr. Lapointe cited a number of cases from British political history which upset the claim made by members of the present Government that British political history gave them precedents for remaining in office after Premier Borden relinquished his duties as Prime Minister. "The name National, Liberal and Conservative is a great name," said Mr. Lapointe, "it means anything, and for that reason means nothing. It is a kind of a hyphenated party." Mr. Lapointe compared the Government press to a boy scout who aims to do one good deed each day.

G. N. Gordon, the Liberal candidate, spoke briefly. He had been accused of being a free trader, he said, but he was only a free trader so far as it affected foodstuffs, and he was proud of it. He believed in the protection of industry and the protection of labor. Only recently men had been lured from the Old Country by a local industry, Mr. Gordon said, and after a few weeks had been dismissed and were now out of work. Mr. Gordon asked the electors to help him put the Government to its twilight sleep, and get rid of the horde of profiteers that have been riding on the backs of the people for the past five years.

3 Feb. 1921 Ennismore, Ont.

D 4937

THE RIGHT OF THE PEOPLE TO
GOVERN THEMSELVES

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
Volume D 9

PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

'Globe' Feb. 4, 1921

D 4938

xx

DIVIDE FORCES AND LET ENEMY GET IN BETWEEN

Hon. Mr. King Counsels West Peterboro' Forces of Progress to Join

HAVE MUCH IN COMMON

Large Meeting at Ennismore; Also Bridgenorth, Where Hon. C. Murphy Speaks

(Staff Correspondence of The Globe.)

Peterboro', Feb. 3.—The West Peterboro' by-election campaign grows hotter as it draws to a close. But two more nights remain for the orators to pour their arguments into the ears of the patient, but interested, electors. Peterboro' city was left pretty much alone to-night in the matter of meetings. The Government candidate had a small meeting, at which the chief speaker was H. H. Stevens, M.P., Vancouver. For one night at least the Government oratory brigade had disappeared.

The Liberals' meetings were to-night in the rural sections, and the farm people turned out at two large gatherings at Ennismore and Bridgenorth to hear Hon. W. L. Mackenzie King and Hon. Chas. Murphy. Both me nwere given good receptions, which seems to indicate that, despite the fact that there is a Farmer candidate in the field, the people in the vicinity of Ennismore and Bridgenorth will not forsake their first love —the Liberals. The candidate, G. N. Gordon, was also well received. Mr. King aroused his audience to considerable enthusiasm, especially with his review of the principles of Liberalism.

A New Electorate.

Mr. King at Ennismore, where the Township Hall was packed to the doors, reiterated his argument that the question in the present by-election was whether the people had the right to govern themselves or whether the Government was to remain in the hands of a few men who ran it for their own interests. He pointed out that there was a vast new electorate of women, men who were not of age in 1911, and soldiers who had served in the army who never had an opportunity to vote on a question of Canadian concern. The first great question was whether the electors would vote against the Meighen Government. There was no doubt but that four-fifths of the people were against that Government. The next question was which of four candidates opposing the Government should be supported by the people.

"I appreciate the desire of rural people for rural representation,' said Mr. King. "I have always spoken sympathetically of the Farmers' movement. I look upon it as a movement of real liberalism, but is it not better to have the forces of progress united in fighting the one common enemy?"

The big question of this by-election was not the tariff. It was what Mr. Burnham had made it in resigning. The people felt that the Meighen Government had deceived them. The Governmnt did not hav a tariff policy. They could not until they received the report of the commission and took action at the approaching session.

Wouldn't Touch Tariff. ....

"If there should be a change at Ottawa and I were asked to form a Government I would not touch the tariff until after an election. We would put our platform before the people, and if returned we could go ahead with our tariff.'

The Government had been elected for a purpose which had been accomplished, and was going to hold on regardless of the rights of the People. Mr. King said that the people had to fight in the past for political freedom. It had been won, and now we were threatened with the loss of our rights and we would lose them unless the people stood united for those rights.

"The Liberal, Farmer, and Labor," said he, "are very much the same in their aims. The three platforms all have certain things in common. All have reduction of cost of living. All ask the reduction of tariff on the necessaries of life. Al want the implements of production in the absic industries as cheap as posible, and the duties taken off. They all want economy and reduction in the burdening taxes. They are the same on the great question of Imperialism. They believe in aCnadian control of Canada and not in centralization of Government for the Empire. They believe the greatest way to keep the Empire intact and loyal is for each part to run itself. Is it not foolish to divide up these forces? With so many principles in common you divide the forces and you let the enemy in between. What is the use of advocating things if we can't get the power to carry them out? That is what we are up against in splitting the forces of progress. If Mr. Burnham is returned, where will he sit? He won't sit behind me. He won't sit behind Mr. Crerar. There is only on other place to sit, and that is behind Mr. Meighen."

The Influence Behind.

Mr. King contended that behind the formation of the Meighen Government there was some great influence. That influence was afraid to come out in the open, for it would be recognized. That influence was a section of big interests—not all of them; they wanted to have power in their own interests as against the common people.

These men were not looking out for the Farmers, Labor or Liberals. They were looking after themselves. It was the autocratic forces against the democratic. Mr. King made an appeal for the Farmers, Liberals and Labor to stand united as the forces of progress to drive out the forces of reaction. Because West Peterboro' was so large an urban riding he thought that Mr. Gordon was the man to be supported by those forces of progress. It was necessary that those forces make sure of defeating the Government. It was wise to make sure of one man, for by encouraging the split of those forces they were playing the game the Government wanted them to play.

Mr. Murphy, who spoke at Bridgenorth, was given a warm reception, and spoke at length in keen criticism of the Government. Mr. Gordon also spoke briefly. Mr. Eugene Malony was Chairman.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

15 Feb. 1921

D 4939
House of Commons

SPEECH ON THE ADDRESS

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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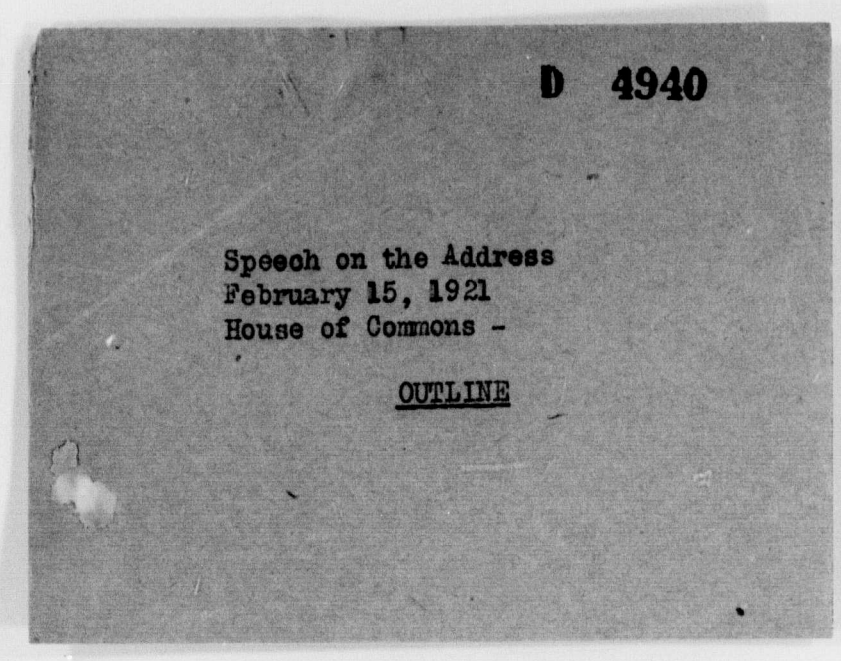
PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA


D 4940

Speech on the Address
February 15, 1921
House of Commons -

OUTLINE

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Congratulations to Mover and Seconder

Member for King's P.E.I

Field day for P. E. I.
½ representation
Credit to himself and Island

Member for Yale

Maiden speech in House of Commons
Worthy of an experienced parlimmentarian

Both speeches

King's: Too died in wool to see
anything but good.
Yale: Too new to see
in new associations.

Join in congratulating Premier:

Public and private grounds
Source of personal pride & pleasure.

Things said try virtues we possess

Parliamentary

Amenities vs. animosities

No discourtesy to Prime Minister and his colleagues, much less to His Excellency, if don't occupy time of the House in discussing the Address - little in it to comment upon. Another reason - more important question.

Quo warranto

Changes since last session of Parliament.

W.L. Mackenzie King Papers
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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Change of Government since last session

Characteristics of 1917.

Difference in character, personnel, and purpose.

The alternatives:

New Government.

Remnant of Unionism.

Consequence: Government a usurper.

Enlarge:

Resignation of entire Ministry on July 10, 1920

Character changed:

Changes of Ministry, 1891 - 1896 — Exhibit 1

Changes not parallel - Tory Govts.
Govt. of 1917 Unionist.

Absurdity of contention, present Govt. Unionist.

Personnel changed: — Exhibit 2

Character determined by personnel

Meighen Govt. not entitled to war record

" " " " " same confidence.

Govt. of 1917 a War Govt., for war purposes only:

Quotations from (1) Ex-Prime Minister — Exhibit 3

(2) Present Prime Minister — Exhibit 4

Tariff expressly excluded

(1) Crerar — Exhibit 5

(2) Calder — Exhibit 6

(3) Meighen — Exhibit 7

Accepted basis of union - expressly excluded Tariff.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

THE GOVERNMENT'S CONTENTION

Four Grounds:

Law and Constitution

(1) Time limit permitted by B.N.A.Act

(2) Right of Ministry to exist - plenary powers of Parliament

(3) Literal interpretation - no pledge given.

(4) Personal consideration.

I The Law and the Constitution

5 year limit - the legal right. B.N.A.Act Exhibit 8

Legal right - not a legal or moral obligation.

Constitutional practice against exhausting right

History of British Parliaments - Exhibit 9

Duration of Parliaments in Canada - Exhibit 10

Reflection on figures:

Present Parliament longer than 1908-1911

" " & last within 3 mos.of full limit.

" " & last within 1 yr.3 mos.of preceding 3 Parliaments

Unjust to electorate

Spirit of constitution - main issue determining factor.

II The Law and the Constitution

Supremacy of Parliament - right to legislate as it pleases.

Based on assumption of representative parliaments - based on franchise, which people control.
Franchise of 1917 - a betrayal.

Extension granted on condition people did not part with control

Existing franchise secured rights -no change contemplated Exhibit 11

War-time Elections Act) Closure used to pass.
Military Voters Act) Non-representative character in consequence
Both repealed.

New Franchise Act.

If Parlmnt. not representative, what becomes of supremacy?

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III Grounds of Literal Interpretation

No pledge given - Govt. did not commit itself.

Presupposes cunning and colossal deception.

Assumes mental reservation - despite appeals to patriotism.

The real purpose of speech.

Impression conveyed to minds of electors.

Resignations from Unionist Ministry evidence of different sense of public obligation - - Exhibit 12

Position of Minister of Immigration & Colonization Exhibit 13

IV Grounds of Personal Consideration

Leader of Opposition does not want general election.

Not wish or desire, but right and duty.

Meighen heard no demand for general election.

Perhaps seen demand in record of by-elections.

By-elections a tale of defeat

Ministerial by-elections Exhibit 14

Other by-elections

Constituencies won by Liberals, 1917 Exhibit 15

Constituencies won by Government Exhibit 16

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CANADA

People of Canada alone denied right to general election and representative Parliament

Countries of British Empire — Exhibit 17

Provincial elections in Canada

Peoples of Russia and Canada alone denied right of popular control.

Meighen and Bolshevism

Physical violence
Legislative violence.

Parliament Bldgs. and Parliamentary institutions alike destroyed

Customs and usages set aside.

What matters letter, if spirit gone.

Parliament Buildings Restored
Must restore spirit of our forefathers

Citadel of liberty.

Whited sepulchre -

house of disillusionment
broken pledges
seeds of a nation's decay.

What is it works havoc in human lives, destroys friendship, blights relations?

Loss of confidence - disillusionment.

Is there no such thing as public morality? binding in conscience and honour?

Government lost that - nothing left.

People know grounds of support, 1917 - Patriotism - sacrifice

Confidence in patriotic motive of Govt.

Patriots vs. loaves & fishes; phylacteries, etc.

Confidence not to be restored till control over Parliament gained.

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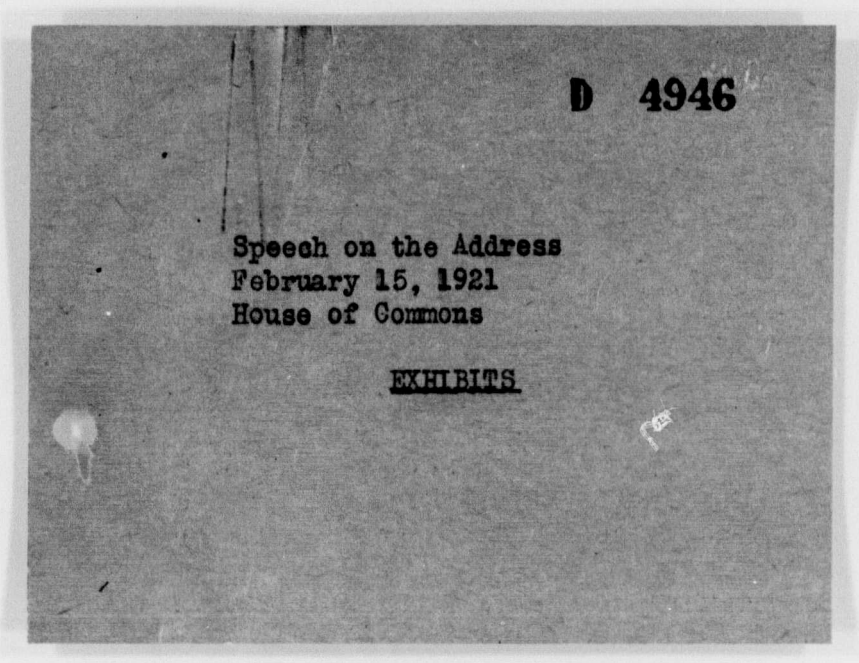
PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA


D 4946

Speech on the Address
February 15, 1921
House of Commons

EXHIBITS

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Sir John A.Macdonald succeeded by Sir John Abbott

June 1891

Sir John Abbott succeeded by Sir John Thompson

Dec. 1892

Sir John Thompson succeeded by Sir Mackenzie Bowell

Dec. 1894

Sir Mackenzie Bowell succeeded by Sir Chas. Tupper

May 1896

P.Minister	Rt. Hon. Sir R.L.Borden	(King's N.S.)	C
T.& Commerce	Rt. Hon. Sir Geo. Foster	(N.Tornto)	C
Finance	Sir Thomas White	(Leeds)	C
Justice	Hon. C.J.Doherty	(St Ann's)	C
Labour	Hon. T.W.Crothers	(W.Elgin)	C
Railways	Hon. J.D.Reid	(Grenville)	C
Overseas Militia	Hon. Sir A.E.Kemp	(E.Toronto)	C
Sec. of State	Hon. Martin Burrell	(Yale)	C
Postmaster	Hon. P.E.Blondin		C
Interior	Hon. Arthur Meighen	(P. la P.)	C
[illegible]and Revenue	Hon. Albert Sévigny	(	C
Marine, Fish. and Naval Ser.	Hon. C.C.Ballantyne	(St Lawrence)	L
Customs	Hon. A.L.Sifton	(Med. Hat)	L
Imm. & Col.	Hon. J.A.Calder	(Moose Jaw)	L
Privy Council	Hon. N.W.Rowell	(Durham)	L
Militia	Hon. C.S.Mewburn	(E.Hamilton)	L
Agriculture	Hon. T.A.Crerar	(Marquette)	L
Public Works	Hon. Frank Carvell	(Vic.Carleton)	L
Without Portfolio.	Hon. Frank Cochrane	(Temiscaming)	C
	Sir James Lougheed		C
	Hon. A.K.Maclean	(Halifax)	L
	Hon. G.D.Robertson		C
Sol. General	Hon. Hugh Guthrie	(S.Wellington	L

14 Conservaties
8 Liberals
22

Original Cabinet 1917

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Resignations and Deaths

Hon. Frank Cochrane	(Temiskaming)	C
Sir Robert Borden	(King's)	C
Sir Thomas White	(Leeds)	C
Hon. T.W.Crothers	(W.Elgin)	C
Hon. Martin Burrell	(Yale)	C
Hon. Albert Sévigny	.....	C
Hon. A.L.Sifton	(Medicine Hat)	L
Hon. T.A.Crerar	(Marquette)	L
Hon. F.B.Carvell	(Vict.-Carleton	L
Hon. S.C.Mewburn	(E.Hamilton)	L
Hon. A.K.Maclean	(Halifax)	L
Hon. N.W.Rowell	(Durham)	L

Only two of original Liberals in present administration.

p.9

Sir Robert Borden

At Toronto, Nov. 21, 1917 - Toronto 'Mail & Empire' Nov. 22, 1917

"My purpose in forming a Union Government was to bring within it such a personnel as would be thoroughly representative of all those elements of the population of Canada that were willing to stand behind the government in its effort to win this war, and to fight the battle for humanity, for civilization and the fate of the world."

At Oshawa, Nov. 26, 1917 - 'Globe' Nov. 27, 1917

"
Union Government - does any man know of any reason why there should not be union and national unity in this country when national peril confronts us ? "

"The issue is whether the war effort of Canada is to be maintained, or whether Canada is to get out of this war. That is the issue. "

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

Sir Robert Borden

At Milton, Ont. Nov. 29, 1917 - Toronto 'STAR' Nov. 30, 1917

"There is only one issue after all in this campaign" said Sir Robert, " whether we shall keep our pledge or bond given to those men at the front or whether we shall abandon them when they need our help most."

At Milton, Ont. Nov. 29, 1917 - Toronto "Mail and Empire" Nov. 30, 1917.

"There is only one issue in this campaign - only one that I can see today: whether Canada shall maintain her effort in the war and support the men who have gone forth on the pledge of her honor, or whether Canada shall relax her effort, withdraw from the war, and practically leave these men to consider themselves ababndoned and betrayed."

p. 1 2/3

From The Manitoba Free Press
October 23, 1917

Mr. Meighen:

"Our Government for which we stand tonight is founded on the rock of compulsory service, and on that rock we will still build it. . . .

"I want to make it as clear as I can that the only way Canada can give the verdict of 'Carry on' is to vote for the Union Government. We can only vote fore or against the Government. . . .

"We can only vote against a government or for a government. We can only vote for Borden and Union Administration, or vote for a man who, no matter under what flag he may be running, will be a follower of an administration headed by Sir Wilfrid Laurier. This vote for Borden or Laurier is a vote to carry on the war or to quit. . . .

"There never was a clearer issue before the people than today. It is simply an issue of Union Government and a vigorous prosecution of the War, or Sir Wilfrid Laurier and Canada's virtual withdrawal from the War."

"I appeal to the people of Manitoba, I appeal to the people here to give to this Government its mission, to the Prime Minister of this country his mission, to carry on. He is the man who will perform the task."

p. 13

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

From the Manitoba Free Press
October 23, 1917

Mr. Crerar:

"After I had taken my seat in the Cabinet, a friend of mine in Ontario, one of the most intelligent among the eastern farmers, met me in Toronto. The first thing he said to me was, 'What concessions did you get on the Tariff?' I told him that I had not got any, and that I had not asked for any. That is not to say that I did not feel strongly on the Tariff, but I feel that the present issue is not the Tariff, but the winning of the War, and to prosecute that great purpose this Government has been formed, and old political opponents like the gentlemen you see here on the platform have struck hands across the Cabinet table of the nation, and are going to guide the nation's destiny in this time of peril."

From The Manitoba Free Press
October 23, 1917

Mr. Calder:

"It is because we are in the War, and all that it means that we three men happen to stand just where we are to-day. . . .

"The one main issue is whether we shall carry on or not. . . .

"We have simply consented to union for the immediate purpose of this war, and the solution of the problems arising out of the War, and we are prepared, for the time being, to sink our differences of opinion insofar as many of the domestic and local problems ~~which~~ with which we are concerned. We must do that to get union. Just imagine what would have happened if Mr. Crerar had sat down with Sir Thomas White to try and get together on questions of Tariff.

"We would never have had union if one of the questions was that it had to be reached on the question of the Tariff. We found it absolutely necessary on both sides, on the Conservative Party's part and our own, to sink all differences of opinion in connection with these domestic problems. So far as I am concerned, on the questions of tariff, banking, agricultural credit, land settlement, and all those problems affecting our western people, I stand where I stood three weeks ago, and I am certain my friend Mr. Crerar does not stand far from that position. But for the time being, we let them go by the boards, and we go into this union with an entirely different purpose."

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

From The Manitoba Free Press
October 23, 1917

Mr. Meighen:

"In time of Peace we can afford to support a candidate with a reservation, but in time of war they are a menace to a nation. I make no imperious demands. I only ask the people of this country to see the issue as it is, and to rise to a certainty that a vote in opposition to the new administration is a vote which will imperil the conditions under which we work for the War. We ask from no man and from no woman a reversal or abnegation of his or her convictions on fiscal matters or tariff matters or any other subject. We only ask that they postpone the prosecution of those opinions and convictions, and subordinate them to the infinitely greater necessity until we get through these abnormal times. This is all the appeal we make. The accepted basis of union was the only basis on which union was possible at the present time. What Mr. Calder, Mr. Crerar, and I ask is that the people of this country unite on the same basis that the Government of the country united."

p.19

British North America Act
Section 50.

"50. Every House of Commons shall continue for Five Years from the Day of the Return of the Writs for choosing the House (subject to be sooner dissolved by the Governor General), and no longer."

p.22

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

D 4957

History of British Parliaments

Glance at the history of British Parliaments for a period corresponding to that from the days of Confederation in Canada.

"Before the Triennial Act, 1694 (6 William and Mary C.2) there was no constitutional limit to the continuance of Parliament but the will of the Crown. Under the Septennial Act, 1715 (1 Geo.1st 2 C.38) it ceased to exist after seven years from the day on which, by the Writ of Summons, it was appointed to meet, a period which was reduced to five years by the Parliament Act, 1911."

(From May's "Parliamentary Practice" 12th edition, page 53.)

p. 23

D 4958

General Elections in Great Britain

1865 - lasted 2 years and 9 months - Liberal returned

1868 - lasted 5 years and 1 month - Liberal returned

1874 - Lasted 6 years . . . . . - Conservative ret.

1880 - Lasted 5 years and 6 months - Liberal returned

1885 - lasted 5 months . . . . . - Liberal returned

1886 - lasted 5 years and 10 months- Unionist returned

1892 - lasted 2 years and 11 months- Liberal returned

1895 - lasted 5 years and 2 months - Unionist returned

1900 - lasted 5 years and 1 month - Unionist returned

1906 - lasted 3 years and 11 months- Liberal returned

1910 - lasted 9 months . . . . . - Liberal returned (Jan)

The Parliament elected in December 1910 passed the Parliament Act, 1911, which reduced the parliamentary period to five years. On account of the war this period was extended from year to year, until after the termination of the war, and in December, 1918, a general election was held.

p. 24

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

D 4959

Duration of Parliaments in Canada

1st Parliament dissolved July 8, 1872 - 4y.9m.15 d.

2nd Parliament dissolved Jan. 2, 1874 - 1y.4m. 0 d.

3rd Parliament dissolved Aug. 17, 1878 - 4y.5m.24 d.

4th Parliament dissolved May 18, 1882 - 3y.5m.27 d.

5th Parliament dissolved Jan. 15, 1887 - 4y.5m.8 d.

6th Parliament dissolved Feb. 3, 1891 - 3y.9m.28 d.

X 7th Parliament dissolved Apr. 24, 1896 - 4y.11m.30 d.

8th Parliament dissolved Oct. 9, 1900 - 4y.2m. 26 d.

9th Parliament dissolved Sept. 29, 1904- 3y.11m.20 d.

10th Parliament dissolved Sept. 17,1908 - 3y11m. 18 d.

11th Parliament dissolved July 29, 1911 - 2y.10m.20 d.

12th Parliament dissolved Oct. 6, 1917 - 6y.3m. 17 d.

13th Parliament until Feb. 14, 1921 - - 3y.3m. 27 d.

X- Within one day of time limit. There was in power at that time an administration like the present, which was doomed and the members of which knew it. I suppose my Right Honourable friend and his colleagues, being similarly situated will regard this as the precedent that should follow and will endeavour if possible to hold out, not to the last day but one, but the very last, if that is at all possible.

p. 28

D 4960

Extension of Parliament, 1916

Sir Wilfrid Laurier, Feb. 6, 1916 - Hansard p. 634

"I would observe, first of all, that it is not proposed here to alter the principle of the Constitution. It is not proposed to override the control which the people have over Parliament. It is simply proposed to suspend for the time being the operation of the Constitution. If it were proposed to make away altogether with that principle which is embodied in the Constitution, certainly I would oppose such an attempt with all my might. But no such thing is proposed. This measure simply proposes that the Constitution shall be suspended for twelve months, at the expiration of which time it will resume its full force."

p 30

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
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Resignations from Unionist Cabinet

June 4, 1919 - T.A.Crerar (Marquette) - Agriculture

Aug. 2, 1919 - F.B.Carvell (Carleton) - Public Works

Jan. 1, 1920 - S.C.Mewburn (E.Hamilton)- Militia

Feb.23, 1920 - A.K.Mackean (Halifax) - No Portfolio

July 8, 1920 - N.W.Rowell (Durham) - Privy Council

Hon. J. A. Calder:

"Let me ask hon. members of this House what would be the consequences if we all followed the course taken by the hon. member for Marquette (Mr. Crerar). Suppose the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Carvell) resigned, and the President of the Privy Council (Mr. Rowell), and the Acting Minister of Trade and Commerce (Mr. Maclean), and myself and others should resign", --

at which point there was some interruption, when my honourable friend continued:

"Do not be too sure, my friends, the task of carrying on government in this country and the responsibilities that are thrown upon public men are not so alluring as some hon. gentlemen seem to think. I say that if these resignations did take place there would immediately be a political crisis in this country, and one thing, and one thing only, could happen: either the Prime Minister would have to appeal to the country, or he would have to advise the Governor General to call upon my friend who leads the Opposition to form a new Government.

House of Commons, June 11, 1919
Hansard, page 3341.

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PUBLIC ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

D 4963

MR. CALDER, in the House of Commons on November 11, 1919, endeavouring to justify his course in remaining in the Government after Hon. Mr. Crerar had resigned:

"Let me ask hon. members of this House what would be the consequences if we all followed the course taken by the hon. member for Marquette (Mr. Crerar). Suppose the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Carvell) resigned, and the President of the Privy Council (Mr. Rowell), and the Acting Minister of Trade and Commerce (Mr. Maclean), and myself and others should resign", -

at which point there was some interruption when Mr. Calder continued:

"Do not be too sure, my friends, the task of carrying on government in this country and the responsibilities that are thrown upon public men are not so alluring as some hon. gentlemen seem to think. I say that if these resignations did take place, there would immediately be a political crisis in this country, and one thing, and one thing only, could happen: either the Prime Minister would have to appeal to the country, or he would have to advise the Governor General to call upon my friend who leads the Opposition to form a new government."

p. 3341

p. 39

D 4964

RESULTS OF BY-ELECTIONS IN CANADA
since the Armistice, November, 1918

Constituency	Date	Govt.maj. in 1917	Maj.against Govt. in By-election
Ministerial by-elections:			
Kingston	Oct.20-'19	4,412 (Nicklo)	Acclamation
Victoria,B.C.	Oct.27-'19	8,764	2,134
St.John-Albert	Sep.20-'20	7,917	4,155
Colchester	Sep.20-'20	Acclam'n.	1,444
Retained by Liberals:			
Prince, P.E.I.	Oct.20-'19	324	Acclamation
Quebec East	Oct.27-'19	6,395	8,505 x
Kamouraska	Mar.31-'20	3,262	Acclamation
St.James (Mont.)	Apr. 7-'20	Acclam'n.	5,269 x
Retained by Government:			
Yale, B.C.	Nov.22-'20	Acclam'n.	389
Lost by Government:			
Glengarry-Storm.	Oct.27-'19	Acclam'n.	2,376
Assiniboia	Oct.27-'19	4,524	5,224 x
Victoria-Carlton	Oct.27-'19	Acclam'n.	3,544
Temiskaming	Apr. 7-'20	2,150	5,316
North Ontario	Dec. 9-'19	1,555	185
Elgin East	Nov.22-'20	308	2,261
Peterborough W.	Feb. 7-'21	3,418	7,331 xx

x No Govt.candidate - combined vote.
xx Combined vote of 4 candidates against Govt.
Majority - 7,331.

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MR. CALDER, in the House of Commons on November 11, 1919, endeavouring to justify his course in remaining in the Government after Hon. Mr. Crerar had resigned:

"Let me ask hon. members of this House what would be the consequences if we all followed the course taken by the hon. member for Marquette (Mr. Crerar). Suppose the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Carvell) resigned, and the President of the Privy Council (Mr. Rowell), and the Acting Minister of Trade and Commerce (Mr. Maclean), and myself and others should resign", -

at which point there was some interruption when Mr. Calder continued:

"Do not be too sure, my friends, the task of carrying on government in this country and the responsibilities that are thrown upon public men are not so alluring as some hon. gentlemen seem to think. I say that if these resignations did take place, there would immediately be a political crisis in this country, and one thing, and one thing only, could happen: either the Prime Minister would have to appeal to the country, or he would have to advise the Governor General to call upon my friend who leads the Opposition to form a new government."

RESULTS OF BY-ELECTIONS IN CANADA
since the Armistice, November, 1918

Constituency	Date	Govt.maj. in 1917	Maj.against Govt. in By-election
Ministerial by-elections:			
Kingston	Oct.20-'19	4,412 (Nickle)	Acclamation
Victoria,B.C.	Oct.27-'19	8,764	2,134
St.John-Albert	Sep.20-'20	7,917	4,155
Colchester	Sep.20-'20	Acclam'n.	1,444
Retained by Liberals:			
Prince, P.E.I.	Oct.20-'19	324	Acclamation
Quebec East	Oct.27-'19	6,395	8,505 x
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General Elections in different Countries

Great Britain	December 1918
Australia	December 1919
New Zealand	December 1919
South Africa	(February 1920 (February 1921
Newfoundland	November 1919
France	November 1919
Italy	November 1919
Belgium	November 1919
United States	November 1920
Japan	May 1920

May, more than this, other countries of the Orient, of South America, and of Europe, even enemy countries, have given their peoples a similar right, as witness China in 1917, Argentina in 1918, Denmark in 1918 and 1920, and Greece and Germany in 1920

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Change of Government since last session:

Since we last assembled in this Chamber, changes of far-reaching import and significance have taken place. The Government which was then in power has resigned and a new Government has been formed.

Characteristics of Government of 1917

The Government which was in office when Parliament prorogued was what remained of the Unionist Administration formed by my right honourable friend the member for King's (N.S.) prior to the election of 1917. It was styled a Unionist administration. Its members, as nearly as possible, had been originally chosen from each of the historic political parties on a basis of assumed equality in numbers and talent. It was formed with relation to a particular issue arising out of the war, which was then in progress. It purported to be a war administration, concerned solely with the successful prosecution and termination of the war, and problems incidental thereto. Upon its character, its personnel, and its purpose in these particulars, it made its appeal to the electorate and won the support which returned it to power.

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Consequence: Government without authority - a usurper

Take whichever alternative you will, the consequence is one and the same. The Government is without authority from the people of this country to conduct its affairs, and stands as a usurper of their political rights even in the eyes of multitudes of those who helped to return to power the previous administration. As such, I say to my right honourable friend and his colleagues, they have forfeited all ~~right to~~ [Sans blanc ?] public confidence, and are no longer entitled to the confidence of this House, whose duty it is to represent and safeguard the public interest. According to the spirit of our free political institutions, government exists only with the consent of the governed. No such consent has been obtained by the present Government. It has never even enjoyed their confidence.

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Of these members, the following have ceased to be members of the Administration, ~~either~~ through death ~~or~~ through resignation:

~~Hon. Sir Frank Cochrane~~	~~C~~	~~(Nipissing)~~	~~(death)~~
Sir Robert Borden	C	(King's, N.S.)	
Hon. Sir Thomas White	C	(Leeds)	
Hon. T. W. Crothers	C	(West Elgin)	
Hon. Martin Burrell	C	(Yale)	
Hon. A. Sevigny	C	( )	
Hon. A. L. Sifton	L	(Medicine Hat)	(death)
5 Hon. N. W. Rowell	L	(Durham)	
3 Hon. S. C. Mewburn	L	(East Hamilton)	
1 Hon. T. A. Crerar	L	(Marquette)	
2 Hon. F. B. Carvell	L	(Victoria-Carleton)	
4 Hon. A. K. Maclean	L	(Halifax)	
18			

-- only two of original Liberals in present Administration.

Meighen Government not entitled to credit for war record of Borden Administration

My right honourable friend, in his speeches, has been setting forth the war record of the Unionist Administration, as a ground for the support of his ministry. Does he realize that the honourable members who really brought strength to the unionist administration, and who more than himself, ~~with but an exception or two~~, any of his colleagues, are responsible for such record as the Administration made, are, with but an exception or two, not members of the present Government?

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I shall not attempt to quote any of these gentlemen at length; a sentence or two will, I think, be sufficient to disclose their attitude and position. As respects the general issue, it will perhaps be sufficient to quote the right honourable the Prime Minister alone.

My right honourable friend opened his address by describing the manner in which the Unionist Government came into being. He said that it was the outcome of a movement which took its birth from the day that the need of compulsory service became manifest in Canada. He said that his purpose, and that of the colleagues appearing with him on the platform, was to present the principle and to show forth the spirit that had brought them together, and to sound the appeal of the new Government. Here are the exact words in which ~~he~~ Mr Mackenzie King sounded that appeal:

> "Our Government for which we stand tonight is founded on the rock of compulsory service, and on that rock we will still build it. . . .
>
> "I want to make it as clear as I can that the only way Canada can give the verdict of 'Carry on' is to vote for the Union Government. We can only vote for or against the Government. . . .
>
> "We can only vote against a government or for a government. We can only vote for Borden and Union Administration, or vote for a man who, no matter under what flag he may be running, will be a follower of an administration headed by Sir Wilfrid Laurier. This vote for Borden or Laurier, is a vote to carry on the war or to quit. . . .

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"There never was a clearer issue before the people than to-day. It is simply an issue of Union Government and a vigorous prosecution of the War, or Sir Wilfrid Laurier and Canada's virtual withdrawal from the War."

My right honourable friend concluded:

"I appeal to the people of Manitoba, I appeal to the people here, to give to this Government its mission, to the Prime Minister of this country, his mission, to carry on. He is the man who will perform the task."

Where, let me ask my right honourable friend, will be found, even in his own appeal to the electors of Canada, any utterance which gives to himself the right of assuming - or, should I not say, presuming - to administer the affairs of this country at the present time? It was the administration of Sir Robert Borden, not the administration of my right honourable friend, which the people of Canada returned to power in 1917. Moreover, as my right honourable friend himself has made more than plain, in the quotations which I have given, it was the issue of Conscription in connection with the prosecution of the War, and solely that issue, which was the one on which the Government was returned.

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Tariff Expressly Excluded

In the Speech from the Throne, reference is made to a revision of the Tariff at the present session of Parliament. In view of the Government's claim to have succeeded the administration of 1917, permit me to read to the House what was said by the Prime Minister and his colleagues with reference especially to the tariff, and any legislation upon it by a Unionist administration. My right honourable friend knows, or ought to know, that he himself, and others appearing with him at the time the Union Government was formed and making its appeal to the country, expressly excluded the Tariff as a question with which that Government, or any Government emanating therefrom, would be entitled to deal, without first giving to the people of Canada an opportunity of passing upon a policy which was known and which had the sanction of popular approval.

Let me quote from the speech of my right honourable friend, and from the speeches of the honourable member for Marquette, and the honourable the Minister of Immigration and Colonization, who were with him on the platform, and who spoke in his presence and in his hearing at the time. Having listened to their words, let me ask the House to decide whether the public had not a right to assume that the tariff would not

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be dealt with by the Unionist administration, and whether, as a matter of good faith with the people, whose representatives we are, it is not our duty to see that they are accorded their constitutional right to express their views at a general election before any parliament attempting to legislate on this important subject.

Hon. T. A. Crerar

Let me take, first, the honourable member for Marquette, Minister of Agriculture at the time. Here is what he said:

> "After I had taken my seat in the Cabinet, a friend of mine in Ontario, one of the most intelligent among the eastern farmers, met me in Toronto. The first thing he said to me was, 'What concessions did you get on the Tariff?' I told him that I had not got any, and that I had not asked for any. That is not to say that I did not feel strongly on the Tariff, but I feel that the present issue is not the Tariff, but the winning of the War, and to prosecute that great purpose this Government has been formed, and old political opponents like the gentlemen you see here on the platform have struck hands across the Cabinet table of the nation, and are going to guide the nation's destiny in this time of peril."

Could anything be clearer, or more specific?

"The present issue is not the tariff, but the winning of the War, and to prosecute that great purpose this Government has been formed."

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General Elections since 1865

1 The Parliament elected in 1865 lasted for 2 years and 9 months, at the end of which time a Liberal administration was returned.

2 The Parliament elected in 1868 lasted for 5 years and 1 month, at the end of which time a Liberal administration was returned.

3 The Parliament elected in 1874 lasted for 6 years, at the end of which time a Conservative administration was returned.

4 The Parliament elected in 1880 lasted for 5 years and 6 months, at the end of which time a Liberal administration was returned.

5 The Parliament elected in 1885 lasted for 5 months, at the end of which time a Liberal administration was returned.

6 The Parliament elected in 1886 lasted for 5 years and 10 months, at the end of which time a Unionist administration was returned.

7 The Parliament elected in 1892 lasted for 2 years and 11 months, at the end of which time a Liberal administration was returned.

8 The Parliament elected in 1895 lasted for 5 years and 1 month, at the end of which time a Unionist administration was returned.

9 The Parliament elected in 1900 lasted for 5 years and 1 month, at the end of which time a Unionist administration was returned.

10 The Parliament elected in 1906 lasted for 3 years and 11 months, at the end of which time a Liberal administration was returned.

11 The Parliament elected in 1910 (Jan.) lasted for 9 months, at the end of which time a Liberal administration was returned.

The Parliament elected in 1910 (Dec.) lasted 7 yrs. & 9 months, at the end of which time a Liberal administration was returned.

The Parliament elected in December, 1910 passed the Parliament Act, 1911, which reduced the parliamentary period to five years. On account of the War, this period was extended, from year to year, until after the termination of the War, and in December, 1918, a general election was held.

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Duration of Parliaments in Canada

Take, next, the history of our own Parliaments since Confederation.

4+10

In Canada, notwithstanding the 5 year limit fixed by the British North America Act, the duration of the several Parliaments since Confederation, has been as follows:

The 1st Parliament	dissolved July 8, 1872	-	4 yrs.	9 mos.	15 days
The 2nd Parliament	dissolved Jan. 2, 1874	-	1	4	0
The 3rd Parliament	dissolved Aug. 17, 1878	-	4	5	24
The 4th Parliament	dissolved May 18, 1882	-	3	5	27
The 5th Parliament	dissolved Jan. 15, 1887	-	4	5	8
The 6th Parliament	dissolved Feb. 3, 1891	-	3	9	28
The 7th Parliament	dissolved Apr. 24, 1896	-	4	11	30 x
The 8th Parliament	dissolved Oct. 9, 1900	-	4	2	26
The 9th Parliament	dissolved Sept.29, 1904	-	3	11	20
The 10th Parliament	dissolved Sept.17, 1908	-	3	11	18
The 11th Parliament	dissolved July 29, 1911	-	2	10	20
The 12th Parliament (the war first)	dissolved Oct. 6, 1917	-	6	3	17
The 13th Parliament,	until Feb. 14, 1921	-	3	3	27

x - Within one day of time limit. There was in power at that time an (sorry) administration like the present, which was doomed, and the members of which knew it. I suppose my right honourable friend and his colleagues, being similarly situated will regard this as the precedent that should follow and will endeavour if possible to hold out, not to the last day but one, but the very last, if that is at all possible.

Reflect upon this
Present [illegible] longer than that of 1908
" + last [illegible] 1911
" " " 1917 ± 3 mos

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Present Parliament and Last within three months of full limit; and one year & 3 months of preceding three Parliaments

It will be further observed that the existing life of this Parliament, joined to that of its predecessor, already comes within less than three months of exhausting the time limit of two consecutive Parliaments enjoying the full length of term permitted by the constitution; also that, already, it is within less than a year and three months of the duration of the preceding three Parliaments of the Liberal Administration.

Unjust to Electorate

When it is recalled that since 1911 the people of this country have had no opportunity to pass upon distinctly Canadian issues, and that in the interval men who fought for their country overseas have been denied all privilege of even hearing these issues discussed at a general election, that only a fraction of the women of the country have had a voice in government though all have since been admitted to the franchise; that hundreds of thousands of citizens were disfranchised in 1917; and that practically all young men between the ages of 21 and 31 have never yet had opportunity of recording their votes with respect to matters of vital domestic concern, the injustice to the electorate, of attempting further to prolong the life of this Parliament, must be apparent to all.

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Position of Minister of
Immigration and Colonization

Of the former members of the Liberal Party who entered the Unionist Cabinet at the time of these honourable gentlemen, but one remains in the Administration of my right honourable friend - the honourable the Minister of Immigration and Colonization. Though he himself has not resigned, he has had something to say on the subject of resignation by former Liberal members.

Speaking in the House of Commons on November 11, 1919, endeavouring to justify his course in remaining in the Government after the honourable member for Marquette had resigned, my honourable friend the Minister of Immigration and Colonization said:

> "Let me ask hon. members of this House what would be the consequences if we all followed the course taken by the hon. member for Marquette (Mr. Crerar). Suppose the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Carvell) resigned, and the President of the Privy Council (Mr. Rowell), and the Acting Minister of Trade and Commerce (Mr. Maclean), and myself and others should resign", --

at which point there was some interruption, when my honourable friend continued:

> "Do not be too sure, my friends, the task of carrying on government in this country and the responsibilities that are thrown upon public men are not so alluring as some hon. gentlemen seem to think. I say that if these resignations did take place there would immediately be a political crisis in this country, and one thing, and one thing only, could happen: either the Prime Minister would have to appeal to the country, or he would have to advise the Governor General to call upon my friend who leads the Opposition to form a new government"

- Hansard, p. 3341

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Ministerial by-elections
evidence of Government's unpopularity

Since the Armistice, there have been in all sixteen by-elections. Of this number, 4 have been occasioned by the elevation of honourable members to the position of Ministers of the Crown, two in the case of the Unionist administration, and two in the administration of my right honourable friend. We all know that constituencies normally are gratified to see their membersmade Ministers of the Crown. It requires a strong wave of popular indignation to defeat a minister; usually his return is by acclamation. That was so in the case of my honourable friend the Minister of Finance. It was recognized by the country that at this, of all times, it was important the country should have a Minister of Finance, and that he should be as free from embarrassment in the discharge of his duties as possible. So my honourable friend from Kingston was permitted to take his seat unopposed. It was not the same, however, with the other honourable ministers. In the case of my honourable friend the Minister of Agriculture, his majority as a Minister was reduced, in the city of Victoria, from 8964 which he obtained when returned as a private member, to 2134 when returned with the prestige of a Minister. In the case of the present Minister of Customs and Inland Revenue, his

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majority was reduced, in the city of St. John and the counties of St. John and Albert, from 7917, when returned as a private member, to 4155, when returned as a Minister of the Crown. Then, in the case of the present Minister of Public Works, ~~his majority was reduced~~, in the county of Colchester, ~~from~~ he was elected by acclamation ~~which he obtained~~ as a private member in 1917, ~~and received a majority of only 1,444~~ when returned as a minister of the present Administration.

Let is not be forgotten that in the case of all the ministerial by-elections, the Government had the choosing of the constituencies and the opening of all of them. They were careful to select what they conceived to be their strongholds in the respective provinces. In these elections, they only retained seats previously held.

Other by-elections

Coming now to the other by-elections, what is the record? The by-elections held are divisible, broadly, into two classes: those held in constituencies won by the Liberals in 1917; and those in constituencies won by the Government in 1917. What is the showing as respects the two?

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Constituencies won by Liberals
in 1917 - not one lost

In the case of the constituencies won by the Liberals in 1917, not one was lost; all were retained, and in every case by a return which indicated the increasing unpopularity of the Government. Here is the list, taking them in the order of date:

By-election	Date	Liberal majority in 1917	Liberal majority at by-election
Prince, P.E.I.	Oct.20,1919	324	Acclamation
Quebec East	Oct.27,1919	6,385	3,939 (against Labor candidate)
Kamouraska	Mar.31,1920	3,262	Acclamation
Montreal (Saint James East)	Apr. 7,1920	Acclamation	1,557 (against Labor candidate)

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Constituencies won by Government
in 1917 - only ~~1~~ held; 7 lost

Of the constituencies won by the Government in 1917, only one has been retained, and this by ~~greatly-reduced~~ a very narrow majority in a constituency which had returned a ~~Government~~ member by acclamation ~~majorities.~~ All the others, seven in number, have been lost, in 1917.

and that by enormous majorities against the Government

By-election	Date	Government majority in 1917	Majority against Government in 1917
~~Lanark~~			
Yale	Nov.22,1920	Acclamation	389

In the case of all the other by-elections, the Government has lost seats which were carried in 1917, and lost them by majorities that leave no room for doubt as to the want of confidence of the electorate in the Government.

Glengarry-Stormont	Oct. 27,1919	Acclamation	2,376
Assiniboia	Oct. 27,1919	4,524	No Govt.candidate - combined Farmer & Liberal vote - was 10,200 against Government.
Victoria-Carleton	Oct. 27,1919	Acclamation	3,544
Temiskaming	Apr. 7,1920	2,150	5,316 against 3 candidates, Govt.one at foot of poll
North Ontario	Dec. 9,1919	1,555	185
East Elgin	Nov. 22,1920	308	2,263 against (in-
West Peterborough	Feb. 7,1921	3,418	~~7,326~~ 7,331 combined majority of 4 candidates against Govt.

Could public opinion do more to ~~[illegible]~~ justify
People of Canada above denied right to a reprieve

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Restore spirit of constitution
OR erect a whited sepulchre

We have reconstructed our parliament buildings and made of them a glorious edifice, of which as a nation we are justly proud. But unless we can restore the spirit of our forefathers, which made the constitution what it is; unless we can make of these halls of parliament a citadel of a people's liberties, we will have erected, over the sacrifices of ~~our dead~~ the war only a whited sepulchre, a thing in form and appearance, outwardly beautiful ~~to look upon from without~~, but within a ~~thing~~ shrine of disillusionment, full of intrigues and deceptions of broken pledges, of shattered ideals, of lost visions, of vanished faiths, and containing the seeds of a nation's decay.

Havoc worked through loss of confidence

What is it, Mr. Speaker, that works havoc in human lives, that destroys the noblest of friendships, that blights all that is most sacred in our human relations? It is the loss of confidence that comes through disillusionment, through the broken pledges, the shattered ideals, the lost visions, the vanished faiths. Cruel, indeed, it is when that breach in confidence comes between man and man, between friend and friend, between race and race, between nation and nation; but when it comes between a people and its Government, there is no ~~limit to the~~ injury it may ultimately work.

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Change of Government
since last session:

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Characteristics of
Government of 1917:

The Government which was in office when Parliament prorogued was what remained of the Unionist Administration formed by my right honourable friend the member for King's (N.S.) prior to the election of 1917. It was styled a Unionist administration. Its members, as nearly as possible, had been originally chosen from each of the historic political parties on a basis of assumed equality in numbers and talent. It was formed with relation to a particular issue arising out of the war, which was then in progress. It purported to be a war administration, concerned solely with the successful prosecution and termination of the war, and problems incidental thereto. Upon its character, its personnel, and its purpose in these particulars, it made its appeal to the electorate and won the support which returned it to power.

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Consequence: Government without authority - a usurper.

Take whichever alternative you will, the consequence is one and the same. The Government is without authority from the people of this country to conduct its affairs, and stands as a usurper of their political rights even in the eyes of multitudes of those who helped to return to power the previous administration. As such, I say to my right honourable friend and his colleagues, they have forfeited all semblance of public confidence, and are no longer entitled to the confidence of this House, whose duty it is to represent and safeguard the public interest. According to the spirit of our free political institutions, government exists only with the consent of the governed. No such consent has been obtained by the present Government. It has never even enjoyed their confidence.

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The late Hon.Frank Cochrane	C	(death)
Sir Robert Borden	C	(King's, N.S.)
Hon. Sir Thomas White	C	(Leeds)
Hon.T.W.Crothers	C	(West Elgin)
Hon.Martin Burrell	C	(Yale)
Hon. A. Sevigny	C	
Hon. A.L.Sifton	L	(Medicine Hat) (death)
Hon. N.W.Rowell	L	(Durham)
Hon. S.C.Newburn	L	(East Hamilton)
Hon. T.A.Crerar	L	(Marquette)
Hon. F.B.Carvell	L	(Victoria-Carleton)
Hon. A.K.Maclean	L	(Halifax)
	12	More than half the original Cabinet including Ministers without portfolio -- only two of original Liberals in present Administration.

Meighen Government not entitled to credit for war record of Borden Administration

My right honourable friend, in his speeches, has been setting forth the war record of the Unionist Administration, as a ground for the support of his ministry. Does he realize that the honourable members who really brought strength to the unionist administration, and who more than himself, any of his colleagues, are responsible for such record as the Administration made, are, with but an exception or two, not members of the present Government?

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> "Our Government for which we stand tonight is founded on the rock of compulsory service, and on that rock we will still build it . . . . . .
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> "I want to make it as clear as I can that the only way Canada can give the verdict of 'Carry on' is to vote for the Union Government. We can only vote for or against the Government . . . . . .
>
> "We can only vote against a government or for a government. We can only vote for Borden and Union Administration, or vote for a man who, no matter under what flag he may be running, will be a follower of an administration headed by Sir Wilfrid Laurier. This vote for Borden or Laurier, is a vote to carry on the war or to quit . . . . . .

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"There never was a clearer issue before the people than to-day. It is simply an issue of Union Government and a vigorous prosecution of the War, or Sir Wilfrid Laurier and Canada's virtual withdrawal from the War".

My right honourable friend concluded:-

"I appeal to the people of Manitoba, I appeal to the people here, to give to this Government its mission, to the Prime Minister of this country, his mission, to carry on. He is the man who will perform the task."
- The man not the Office. -

Where, let me ask my right honourable friend, will be found, even in his own appeal to the electors of Canada, any utterance which gives to himself the right of assuming,- or, should I not say, presuming - to administer the affairs of this country at the present time? It was the administration of Sir Robert Borden, not the administration of my right honourable friend, which the people of Canada returned to power in 1917. Moreover,- as my right honourable friend himself has made more than plain, in the quotations which I have given, it was the issue of Conscription in connection with the prosecution of the War, and solely that issue, which was the one on which the Government was returned.

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Tariff Expressly Excluded.

In the Speech from the Throne, reference is made to a revision of the Tariff, presumbly at the present session of Parliament. Inview of the Government's claim to have succeeded the administration of 1917, permit me to read to the House what was said by the Prime Minister and his colleagues with reference especially to the tariff, and any legislation upon it by a Unionist administration. My right honourable friend knows, or ought to know, that he himself, and others appearing with him at the time the Union Government was formed and making its appeal to the country, expressly excluded the Tariff as a question with which that Government, or any Government emanating therefrom, would be entitled to deal, without first giving to the people of Canada an opportunity of passing upon a policy which was known and which had the sanction of popular approval.

Let me quote from the speech of my right honourable friend, and from the speeches of the honourable member for Marquette, and the honourable the Minister of Immigration and Colonization, who were with him on the platform, and who spoke in his presence and in his hearing at the time. Having listened to their words, let me ask the House to decide whether the public had not a right to assume that the tariff would not

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be dealt with by the Unionist administration, and whether, as a matter of good faith with the people, whose representatives we are, it is not our duty to see that they are accorded their constitutional right to express their views at a general election before any Parliament attempts to legislate on this important subject.

Hon. T. A. Crerar.

Let me take, first, the honourable member for Marquette, Minister of Agriculture at the time. Here is what he said:-

> "After I had taken my seat in the Cabinet, a friend of mine in Ontario, one of the most intelligent among the eastern farmers, met me in Toronto. The first thing he said to me was, 'What concessions did you get on the Tariff?' I told him that I had not got any, and that I had not asked for any. That is not to say that I did not feel strongly on the Tariff, but I feel that the present issue is not the Tariff, but the winning of the War, and to prosecute that great purpose, this Government has been formed, and old political opponents like the gentlemen you see here on the platform have struck hands across the Cabinet table of the nation, and are going to guide the nation's destiny in this time of peril."

Could anything be clearer, or more specific?

"The present issue is not the tariff, but the winning of the War, and to prosecute that great purpose this Government has been formed.".

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General Elections since 1865.

The Parliament elected in 1865 lasted for 2 years and 9 months,
at the end of which time a Liberal administration was returned.

The Parliament elected in 1868 lasted for 5 years and 1 month.
at the end of which time the Liberal administration was returned.

The Parliament elected in 1874 lasted for 6 years,
at the end of which time aConservative administration was returned.

The Parliament elected in 1880 lasted for 5 years and 6 months.
at the end of which time a Liberal administration was returned.

The Parliament elected in 1885 lasted for 5 months,
and at the end of which time the Liberal administration was
returned.

The Parliament elected in 1886 lasted for 5 years and 10 months,
at the end of which time a Unionist administration was returned.

The Parliament elected in 1892 lasted for 2 years and 11 months.
at the end of which time a Liberal administration was returned.

The Parliament elected in 1896 lasted for 5 years and 1 month,
at the end of which time a Unionist administration was returned.

The Parliament elected in 1900 lasted for 5 years and 1 month.
at the end of which time a Unionist administration was returned.

The Parliament elected in 1906 lasted for 3 years and 11 months.
at the end of which time a Liberal administration was returned.

The Parliament elected in 1910 (Jan.) lasted for 9 months,
at the end of which time the Liberal administration was returned.

The Parliament elected in December,1910, passed the Parliament Act,1911, which reduced the parliamentary period to five years. On account of the War, this period was extended, from year to year, until after the termination of the War, and in December,1918, a general election was held.

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Duration of Parliaments in Canada.

Take, next, the history of our own Parliament since Confederation.

In Canada, notwithstanding the 5 year limit fixed by the British North America Act, the duration of the several Parliaments since Confederation, has been as follows:-

The 1st. Parliament dissolved July 8, 1872	- 4	years, 9	mos. 15	days
The 2nd. Parliament dissolved Jan. 2nd, 1874	- 1	4	0	
The 3rd. Parliament dissolved Aug. 17, 1878	- 4	5	24	
The 4th. Parliament dissolved May 18, 1882	- 3	5	27	
The 5th. Parliament dissolved Jan. 15, 1887	- 4	5	8	
The 6th. Parliament dissolved Feb. 3, 1891	- 3	9	28	
The 7th. Parliament dissolved Apr. 24. 1896	- 4	11	30	x
The 8th. Parliament dissolved Oct. 9. 1900	- 4	2	26	
The 9th. Parliament dissolved Sept. 29. 1904	- 3	11	20	
The 10th. Parliament dissolved Sept. 17. 1908	- 3	11	18	
The 11th. Parliament dissolved July 29. 1911	- 2	10	20	
The 12th. Parliament (the war belt) dissolved Oct. 6. 1917	- 6	3	17	
The 13th. Parliament, until February 14. 1921	- 3	3	27	

x - Within one day of time limit. There was in power at that time a Tory administration like the present, which was doomed, and the members of which knew it. I suppose my right honourable friend and his colleagues, being similarly situated will regard this as the precedent that should follow and will endeavour if possible to hold out, not to the last day but one, but the very last, if that is at all possible.

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Present Parliament and Last within three months of full limit; and one year and three months of preceding three Parliaments.

It will be further observed that the existing life of this Parliament, joined to that of its predecessor, already comes within less than three months of exhausting the time limit of two consecutive Parliaments enjoying the full length of term permitted by the constitution; the people were deprived of their right to govern by one year at the time of the Extension any sense of fair play and recognition of popular control would have restored them that year before the period of the present Parliament is exhausted, also that, already, it is within less than a year and three months of the duration of the preceding three Parliaments of the Liberal administration.

Unjust to Electorate.

When it is recalled that since 1911 the people of this country have had no opportunity to pass upon distinctly Canadian issues, and that in the interval men who fought for their country overseas have been denied all privilege of even hearing these issues discussed at a general election, that only a fraction of the women of the country have had a voice in government though all have since been admitted to the franchise; that hundreds of thousands of citizens were disfranchised in 1917; and that practically all young men between the ages of 21 and 31 have never yet had opportunity of recording their votes with respect to matters of vital domestic concern, the injustice of the electorate, of attempting further to prolong the life of this Parliament, must be apparent to all.

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Position of Minister of
Immigration and Colonization.

Of the former members of the Liberal Party who entered the Unionist Cabinet at the time of these honourable gentlemen, but two remain in the Administration of my right honourable friend - the honourable the Minister of Immigration and Colon i-zation and the Minister of Marine and Fisheries. Though the Minister of Immigration and Colonization has not resigned, he has had something to say on the subject of resignation by former Liberal members.

Speaking in the House of Commons on June 11th, 1919, endeavouring to justify his course in remaining in the Government after the honourable member for Marquette had resigned, my honour-able friend the Minister of Immigration and Colonization said:-

> "Let me ask hon. members of this House what would be the consequences if we all followed the course taken by the hon. member for Marquette (Mr.Crerar). Suppose the Minister of Public Works (Mr.Carvell) resigned, and the President of the Privy Council (Mr.Rowell), and the Acting Minister of Trade and Commerce (Mr.Maclean), and myself and others should resign", ---

At which point there was some interruption, when my honourable friend continued:-

> "Do not be too sure, my friends, the task of carrying on government in this country and the responsibilities that are thrown upon public men are not so alluring as some hon. gentlemen seem to think. I say that if these resignations did take place there would immediately be a political crisis in this country, and one thing, and one thing only, could happen; either the Prime Minister would have to appeal to the country, or he would have to advise the Governor Gener: to call upon my friend who leads the Opposition to form a new Government".

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Ministerial by-elections
evidence of Government's unpopularity.

Since the Armistice, there have been in all sixteen by-elections. Of this number, 4 have been occasioned by the elevation of honourable members to the position of Ministers of the Crown, two in the case of the unionist administration, and two in the administration of my right honourable friend. We all know that constituencies normally are gratified to see their members made Ministers of the Crown. It requires a strong wave of popular indignation to defeat a minister; usually his return is by acclamation. That was so in the case of my honourable friend the Minister of Finance. It was recognized by the country that at this, of all times, it was important the country should have a Minister of Finance, and that he should be as free from embarrassment in the discharge of his duties as possible. So my honourable friend from Kingston was permitted to take his seat unopposed. It was not the same, however, with the other honourable ministers. In the case of my honourable friend the Minister of Agriculture, his majority as a Minister was reduced, in the city of Victoria, from 8764 which he obtained when returned as a private member, to 2134 when returned with the prestige of a Minister. In the case of the present Minister of Customs and Inland Revenue, his

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majority was reduced, i n the city of St.John and the counties of St.John and Albert, from 7917, when returned as a private member, to 4155, when returned as a Minister of the Crown. Then, in the case of the present Minister of Public Works, in the county of Colchester, he was elected by acclamation as a private member in 1917, and this time he was opposed when returned as a minister of the present Administration.

Let it not be forgotten that in the case of all the ministerial by-elections, the Government had the choosing of the constituencies and the opening of all of them. They were careful to select what they conceived to be their strongholds in the respective provinces. In these elections, they only retained seats previously held.

Other by-elections.

Coming now to the other by-elections, what is the record? The by-elections held are divisible, broadly, into two classes: those held in constituencies won by the Liberals in 1917; and those in constituencies won by the Government in 1917. What is the showing as respects the two?

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Constituencies won by Liberals
in 1917 - not one lost.

In the case of the constituencies won by the Liberals in 1917, not one was lost; all were retained, and in every case by a return which indicated the increasing unpopularity of the Government. Either there was acclamation, or no Government Candidate.

By-election	Date	Liberal majority at by-election.
Prince, P.E.I.	Oct.20.1919	Acclamation
Quebec East.	Oct.27.1919	3.939 (against Labor candidate) No government candidate.
Kamouraska	Mar.31.1920	Acclamation
Montreal (Saint James East)	Apr. 7,1920	1,557 (against Labor candidate) No government candidate.

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Constituencies won by Government
in 1917 - only 1 held; 7 lost.

Of the constituencies won by the Government in 1917, only one has been retained, and this by a very narrow majority in a constituency which had returned a Minister of the Crown by acclamation and that by enormous majorities against the Government.

By-election	Date	Government majority in 1917	Majority against Gover ment in 1917.
Yale	Nov.22,1920	Acclamation	389

In the case of all the other by-elections, the Government has lost seats which were carried in 1917, and lost them by majorities that leave no room for doubt as to the want of confidence of the electorate in the Government.

Glengarry-Stormont,	Oct.27,1919	Acclamation	2,375
Assiniboia	Oct.27,1919	4,524	No Govt.candidate-combined Farmer & Liberal vote ½ was 10,200 against Government.
Victoria-Carleton	Oct.27,1919	Acclamation	3,544
Temiskaming	Apr. 7,1920	2,150	5,316 -against Government 3 candidates, Govt.one at foot of poll
North Ontario	Dec. 9,1919	1,555	185
East Elgin,	Nov.22,1920	308	2,263 against Government
West Peterborough	Feb.7,1921	3,418	7,331 combined majority of 4 candidates against Government.

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Restore spirit of constitution
or erect a whited sepulchre.

We have reconstructed our parliament buildings and made of them a glorious edifice, of which as a nation we are justly proud. But unless we can restore the spirit of our forefathers, which made the constitution what it is; unless we can make of these halls of parliament a citadel of a people's liberties, we will have erected, over the sacrifices of the war only a whited sepulchre, a thing in form and appearance, outwardly beautiful, but within a charnel house of disillusionment, intrigues and deceptions, full of broken pledges, of shattered ideals, of lost visions, of vanished faiths, and containing the seeds of a nation's decay.

Havoc worked through loss of confidence.

What is it, Mr. Speaker, that works havoc in human lives, that destroys the noblest of friendships, that blights all that is most sacred in our human relations? It is the loss of confidence that comes through disillusionment, through the broken pledges, the shattered ideals, the lost visions, the vanished faiths. Cruel, indeed, it is when that breach in confidence comes between man and man, between friend and friend, between race and race, between nation and nation; but when it comes between a people and its Government, there is no saying what injury it may ultimately work.

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Difference in Character, Personnel, and Purpose of new Government

The Government which meets Parliament to-day is an entirely new and different Government. It differs in character, in personnel, and in purpose, from the Government formed in 1917. It has neither sought not received the approval of the electorate, as respects either its character, its personnel, or its aims. At the same time, it has taken unto itself a new name, and has framed and published broadcast a new platform of principles, and has been carrying on under a new and untried Prime Minister.

The Alternatives: an entirely new government or the remnant of unionism

One or other of the alternatives alone is possible. Either it is, as it purports to be, an entirely new government, with a new name, a new Prime Minister, a new set of principles and policies, and the support of a new party, the existence of which remains as yet to be discovered; or it is the soiled remnant and ragged edges of the old Unionist administration, which it itself disowns, travelling under counterfeits and aliases, and purporting in all things to be what in reality it is not.

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Consequence: Government without authority - a usurper

Take whichever alternative you will, the consequence is one and the same. The Government is without authority from the people of this country to conduct its affairs, and stands as a usurper of their political rights even in the eyes of multitudes of those who helped to return to power the previous administration. As such, I say to my right honourable friend and his colleagues, they have forfeited all right to public confidence, and are no longer entitled to the confidence of this House, whose duty it is to represent and safeguard the public interest. According to the spirit of our free political institutions, government exists only with the consent of the governed. No such consent has been obtained by the present government. It has never even enjoyed their confidence.

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Enlarge

Permit me to enlarge a little. I said that the Government which meets Parliament to-day is an entirely new and different Government from that formed in 1917.

R
Resignation of entire ministry on July 10, 1920

In order that the public may clearly understand what is not generally recognized outside of this House, may I point out that when my right honourable friend the ex-Prime Minister tendered his resignation to His Excellency, he tendered at the same time the resignation of all his ministers. Between the time at which the ex-Prime Minister resigned and my right honourable friend was called upon by His Excellency to form a new Government, there was a period, not very long, to be sure, but nevertheless sufficiently long to create a real hiatus, during which interval there was no ministry at the head of affairs. One minister was sworn in on the same day as my right honourable friend assumed the Premiership; most of the other ministers some three days later, and others later still. The Government which my right honourable friend formed was an entirely new government.

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Changes of Ministries
1891 to 1896

My right honourable friend will probably contend that the situation thus created was not dissimilar from situations which arose after the death of the Right Hon. Sir John A. Macdonald, when Sir John was succeeded, in June, 1891, by Sir John Abbott; when Sir John Thompson succeeded Sir John Abbott, in December 1892; when Sir Mackenzie Bowell succeeded Sir John Thompson, in December 1894; and, lastly, when Sir Charles Tupper succeeded Sir Mackenzie Bowell, in May 1896.

Cases not Parallel

These precedents might be expected to carry weight were the cases parallel. As a matter of fact, there is no parallel. Nor could there be one, owing to the exceptional conditions surrounding the formation of the Government of 1917.

Governments, 1891-1896.
Tory Governments

The Governments of Sir John A. Macdonald, Sir John Abbott, Sir John Thompson, Sir Mackenzie Bowell, and Sir Charles Tupper, were all Tory Governments, holding office in virtue of a policy upon which the electors had passed in March, 1891, in normal times, and under normal conditions.

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Government of 1917 - Unionist
Government of 1921 - Tory

The Government formed in 1917 was a coalition; it was a unionist administration, formed in abnormal times, and under abnormal conditions. It was returned to power as such, and with reference to a policy which ceased to be of moment, once the war was over. The present administration has lost even the semblance of a coalition. It is a reactionary Tory administration. It cannot pretend to relate its activities to those of the war, which happily now has been terminated for over two years.

There is one exception which in some particulars might be cited as a parallel to the change which has taken place in the instance of the present ministry and its predecessor. It is that between the ministry of my rt. hon. friend the ex-Prime Minister, formed October 10, 1911, which lasted till October 12, 1917, and which, according to the Parliamentary Guide, was a Conservative administration; and the ministry formed by him on October 12, 1917, which, according to the same authority, was a Unionist administration. Throughout the campaign, members of the new Government were careful to point out that it was an entirely new administration and had nothing to do with its predecessor. The former had been Conservative; it was Unionist. Well, the only difference now is that the change has been the other way around: there has been a reversion to type. What was left of a Unionist administration has given place to a reactionary Tory Government.

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Absurdity of contention that present Government Unionist

My right honourable friend will hardly contend that his Government is a Unionist Government, relying for its support upon the two old historic parties. He himself and his colleagues, for reasons that were obvious enough, put an end to the word "Unionist", and have busied themselves ever since in telling the public that the old historic parties have outlived their usefulness. Surely he does not believe that anyone is deceived as to the character of the administration through the use of the name "National Liberal and Conservative", which, despite his abuse of the historic parties, he has chosen as that of his administration. Was there ever such a jumble of inconsistencies and insincerities!

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Meighen Government not entitled to same confidence

Will my right honourable friend contend that the confidence extended by the public to a coalition which comprised such distinguished names as those of Hon. F. B. Carvell, Hon. T. A. Crerar, Hon. S. C. Mewburn, Hon. N. W. Rowell, Hon. A. K. Maclean, Sir Thomas White, and Sir Robert Borden, is being extended in equal measure to himself and the colleagues with whom he is surrounded to-day? Why have they left him? Either they do not enjoy his confidence, or he does not enjoy theirs.

Will he presume to say that <u>if he himself</u>, instead of his distinguished predecessor, <u>had attempted to form a Unionist administration,</u> the task could ever have been accomplished? Or that <u>if the Unionist Administration had come to the country with himself at its head</u>, and without the members who have since resigned and are not to-day a part of his cabinet, it would have won the support of the electors? If not, how does he claim the right to carry on the Government of the country at the present time?

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The Government of 1917 a War Government,
for war purposes only

The really important consideration, however, and the one which admits of no parallel in our history, is the circumstance that the Government formed in 1917 a war government, framed for war purposes, and for war purposes only. The present Government cannot pretend to being anything of the kind, or to derive any rights from its predecessor on this account.

Not only was the Government of 1917 represented to the public by its members as being for war purposes only; it was frankly stated that, had it been for any other purpose, it could never have been formed. More than that, important matters of domestic vital concern, other than those immediately connected with the War, were expressly excluded from the consideration of any Parliament that might be returned. The public was told that the prosecution of the war was the sole issue. Members of all political parties were asked, for the time being, to sink their party differences, their differences on fiscal and other matters; the tariff was expressly mentioned as one subject with which the Parliament elected on the war issue would not attempt to deal.

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Quotations from leading members
of Union Government,
Winnipeg, Oct. 23, 1917

One might quote at great length from the speeches of the then Prime Minister, of the present Prime Minister, and of their respective colleagues, of hon. members opposite, and from the resolutions of meetings throughout the whole of the campaign of 1917, to prove that the war was put forward as the sole issue. I shall content myself with but a reference or two, first from the declaration of my right honourable friend, the ex-Prime Minister, and then to my right honourable friend the present Prime Minister and one or two of his colleagues.

Utterances of Sir Robert Borden

I shall confine myself to one or two very brief quotations from the right hon. the ex-Prime Minister. They will be sufficient, however, to show the purpose of his administration.

At Toronto, November 21, 1917, quoted from the "Mail and Empire" of the following day:

> "My purpose in forming a Union Government was to bring within it such a personnel as would be thoroughly representative of all those elements of the population of Canada that were willing to stand behind the Government in its effort to win this war, and to fight the battle for humanity, for civilization and the fate of the world."

At Oshawa, November 26, 1917, quoted from the Toronto "Globe" of the following day:

> "Union Government - does any man know of any reason why there should not be union and national unity in this country when national peril confronts us?"

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"The issue is whether the war effort of Canada is to be maintained, or whether Canada is to get out of this war. That is the issue."

At Milton, Ont., November 29, 1917, quoted from the Toronto "Star" of November 30;

"There is only one issue after all in this campaign", said Sir Robert, "whether we shall keep our pledge or bond given to those men at the front or whether we shall abandon them when they need our help most."

And again at Milton, on November 29, 1917, quoted from the Toronto "Mail and Empire" of the following day:

"There is only one issue in this campaign - only one that I can see to-day: whether Canada shall maintain her effort in the war and support the men who have gone forth on the pledge of her honor, or whether Canada shall relax her effort, withdraw from the war, and practically leave these men to consider themselves abandoned and betrayed."

Utterances of Hon. Arthur Meighen on the general issue

I might quote at great length also from the utterances of my right hon. friend the present Prime Minister on the general issue. I shall content myself with a reference to a single occasion, and that the one that first sounded the appeal which was to govern throughout the campaign.

In the Manitoba FRee Press of October 23, 1917, will be found a three-page account of a meeting held at Winnipeg on the previous night which was addressed by the right hon. the Prime Minister in company with the hon. member for Marquette and the hon. the Minister of Immigration and Colonization. It is just, I think, to assume that what was said by these honourable members of the Unionist Government on that occasion states in a fairly accurate manner what the Canadian people had a right to assume was the significance of that particular contest; and what the extent of the rights and powers which the Government, in making its appeal to the people for their support, was asking to have conferred.

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I shall not attempt to quote any of these gentlemen at length; a sentence or two will, I think, be sufficient to disclose their attitude and position. As respects the general issue, it will perhaps be sufficient to quote the right honourable the Prime Minister alone.

My right honourable friend opened his address by describing the manner in which the Unionist Government came into being. He said that it was the outcome of a movement which took its birth from the day that the need of compulsory service became manifest in Canada. He said that his purpose, and that of the colleagues appearing with him on the platform, was to present the principle and to show forth the spirit that had brought them together, and to sound the appeal of the new Government. Here are the exact words in which he sounded that appeal:

> "Our Government for which we stand tonight is founded on the rock of compulsory service, and on that rock we will still build it. . . .
>
> "I want to make it as clear as I can that the only way Canada can give the verdict of 'Carry on' is to vote for the Union Government. We can only vote for or against the Government. . . .
>
> "We can only vote against a government or for a government. We can only vote for Borden and Union Administration, or vote for a man who, no matter under what flag he may be running, will be a follower of an administration headed by Sir Wilfrid Laurier. This vote for Borden or Laurier, is a vote to carry on the war or to quit. . . .

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"There never was a clearer issue before the people than to-day. It is simply an issue of Union Government and a vigorous prosecution of the War, or Sir Wilfrid Laurier and Canada's virtual withdrawal from the War!"

My right honourable friend concluded:

"I appeal to the people of Manitoba, I appeal to the people here, to give to this Government its mission, to the Prime Minister of this country, his mission, to carry on. He is the man who will perform the task."

Where, let me ask my right honourable friend, will be found, even in his own appeal to the electors of Canada, any utterance which gives to himself the right of assuming - or, should I not say, presuming - to administer the affairs of this country at the present time? It was the administration of Sir Robert Borden, not the administration of my right honourable friend, which the people of Canada returned to power in 1917. Moreover, as my right honourable friend himself has made more than plain, in the quotations which I have given, it was the issue of Conscription in connection with the prosecution of the War, and solely that issue, which was the one on which the Government was returned.

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Tariff Expressly Excluded

In the Speech from the Throne, reference is made to a revision of the Tariff ~~immediately~~ at the present session of Parliament. In view of the Government's claim to have succeeded the administration of 1917, permit me to read to the House what was said by the Prime Minister and his colleagues with reference especially to the tariff, and any legislation upon it by a Unionist administration. My right honourable friend knows, or ought to know, that he himself, and others appearing with him at the time the Union Government was formed and making its appeal to the country, expressly excluded the Tariff as a question with which that Government, or any Government emanating therefrom, would be entitled to deal, without first giving to the people of Canada an opportunity of passing upon a policy which was known and which had the sanction of popular approval.

Let me quote from the speech of my right honourable friend, and from the speeches of the honourable member for Marquette, and the honourable the Minister of Immigration and Colonization, who were with him on the platform, and who spoke in his presence and in his hearing at the time. Having listened to their words, let me ask the House to decide whether the public had not a right to assume that the tariff would not

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be dealt with by the Unionist administration, and whether, as a matter of good faith with the people, whose representatives we are, it is not our duty to see that they are accorded their constitutional right to express their views at a general election before an Parliament attempting to legislate on this important subject.

Hon. T. A. Crerar

Let me take, first, the honourable member for Marquette, Minister of Agriculture at the time. Here is what he said:

> "After I had taken my seat in the Cabinet, a friend of mine in Ontario, one of the most intelligent among the eastern farmers, met me in Toronto. The first thing he said to me was, 'What concessions did you get on the Tariff?' I told him that I had not got any, and that I had not asked for any. That is not to say that I did not feel strongly on the Tariff, but I feel that the present issue is not the Tariff, but the winning of the War, and to prosecute that great purpose this Government has been formed, and old political opponents like the gentlemen you see here on the platform have struck hands across the Cabinet table of the nation, and are going to guide the nation's destiny in this time of peril."

Could anything be clearer, or more specific?

"The present issue is not the tariff, but the winning of the War, and to prosecute that great purpose this Government has been formed."

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Having, by his presence on the platform, vouched for such a declaration as this, how dare my right honourable friend presume to say that his Government is justified in dealing with this all-important question, without first giving to the people of Canada an opportunity to return to Parliament a House of Commons that will give a proper expression to their views?

Hon. J. A. Calder

But let me quote from one who is a member of the present administration, the honourable the Minister of Immigration and Colonization. I might quote him at great length but one or two significant passages will be sufficient. Here are his words:

> "It is because we are in the War, and all that it means that we three men happen to stand just where we are to-day. . . .
>
> "The one main issue is whether we shall carry on or not. . . .
>
> "We have simply consented to union for the immediate purpose of this war, and the solution of the problems arising out of the War, and we are prepared, for the time being, to sink our differences of opinion insofar as many of the domestic and local problems which we have are concerned. We must do that to get union. Just imagine what would have happened if Mr. Crerar had sat down with Sir Thomas White to try and get together on questions of Tariff.

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1. The Law and the Constitution
The 5 year limit - the legal right

1. That the duration of Parliament as fixed by the Constitution is 5 years.

In support of this contention, my right honourable friend and those around him will doubtless cite Section 50 of the British North America Act, which is as follows:

> "50. Every House of Commons shall continue for Five Years from the Day of the Return of the Writs for choosing the House (subject to be sooner dissolved by the Governor General), and no longer."

Legal right not a
legal or moral obligation

No one will dispute that this section gives to a duly constituted Parliament the legal right to exist for a period of five years; but no one will venture to assert that it imposed upon any ministry a legal or moral obligation to continue the term of Parliament for that length of time. Indeed, the only construction which can be placed upon it at all, in consonance with the practice of ministries under constitutions fashioned after the British model, is that it is in the nature of a time limit, beyond which, except through an amendment to the constitution itself, Parliament under no consideration shall be permitted to run.

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It is one of the means which the constitution provides to conserve to the people their control over Parliament. But for such a provision, a ministry such as the one we see opposite might be expected to perpetuate itself in office forever, regardless altogether of the rights or wishes of the electorate.

Constitutional Practice against exhausting right

British constitutional practice has been very decidedly against taking advantage of the limit of time permitted by the constitution to exhaust that limit. Elections in the United Kingdom, and everywhere throughout the British Empire, have been held periodically at shorter intervals than those which the limit afforded by the consitution permitted.

History of British Parliaments

Glance at the history of British Parliaments for a period corresponding to that from the days of Confederationin Canada.

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Closure used to pass
War-time Elections Act

Need I recall that it was only with the instrument of the closure, utilized to silence the voice of the people's representatives in Parliament, that the Government of the day was able to place upon the statutes that iniquitous law known as the War-time Elections Act, and which, save as a war measure alleged to have been necessitated by the exigencies of war, was without a defender even in the administration. Through this betrayal of the rights of the people, the present Parliament was doomed from the very outset to fall short of being truly representative in its character.

Military Voters Act also responsible
for non-representative character of Parliament

But it was not alone the War-time Elections Act, and the manner in which it was administered, that served to destroy the representative character of the present Parliament. The Military Voters Act was another war measure arising out of the exigencies of war, and applicable only to war conditions. It was passed by Parliament in perfect good faith that its provisions would be made to serve, not to defeat, the ends of popular control. It too is responsible, in equal, measure with the War-time Elections Act, for the non-representative character of the present Parliament.

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is evidence that they belong to an order of things that has passed away and do not constitute a proper basis for determining representation in this House.

The presence on the statutes of the Dominion Elections Act, passed at the last session of Parliament, is evidence that in the mind of Parliament there exists in the country at the present time an electorate which is entitled to representation and whose rights in considerable part have thus far been withheld or ignored.

If Parliament not representative, what becomes of supremacy of Parliament

How, in the face of all these facts, can it be contended that the present Parliament is to any appreciable degree representative of the people? If it is not representative, what becomes, then, of any argument based upon the supremacy of Parliament? When it becomes manifest that Parliament ceases to represent the people, who are the source of its being, Parliament itself should cease to exist, if we are to be true to the spirit of British parliamentary institutions, as it has been developed through centuries of struggle in the interests of civil right and civil liberty. Any other theory of government would lead in a directly opposite direction. It would lead, in matters of government, away from representative institutions to Bolshevism.

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Characteristics of
Government of 1917

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The Government which was in office when Parliament prorogued was what remained of the Unionist Administration formed by my right honourable friend the member for King's (N.S.) prior to the election of 1917. It was styled a Unionist administration. Its members, as nearly as possible, had been originally chosen from each of the historic political parties on a basis of assumed equality in numbers and talent. It was formed with relation to a particular issue arising out of the war, which was then in progress. It purported to be a war administration, concerned solely with the successful prosecution and termination of the war, and problems incidental thereto. Upon its character, its personnel, and its purpose in these particulars, it made its appeal to the electorate and won the support which returned it to power.

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The impression conveyed
to minds of the electorate

Is the impression conveyed not the only consideration, in deciding the basis upon which the Union Government obtained support at the hands of the Canadian people? It is not a question of what was or was not in the minds of the small handful of men who were seeking power in a great crisis; it was what was in the minds of the electorate concerning the measure of power they were conceding. From the latter point of view, is there any honourable member in this House who will say that in the elections of 1917 the winning of the war was not the issue, and that it was not with respect solely to this issue that the Unionist Government was returned?

In the face of all this, how does my right honourable friend presume to carry on the Government of this country? By what warrant, by what right, I ask him, does he pretend to exercise the power he does?

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Resignations from Unionist Ministry
evidence different sense of public obligation

Happily, we do not have to go outside of the Ministry as originally formed to find at least a few honourable gentlemen with a sense of public honour sufficiently delicate to cause them to view their obligation to the public very differently from my right honourable friend and the members of the Administration who now surround him. The resignations of the following members of the Unionist administration speak for themselves:

The resignation, on June 4, 1919, of the honourable member for Marquette (Hon. T. A. Crerar), at the time Minister of Agriculture.

The resignation, on August 2, 1919, of the honourable member for Victoria-Carleton (Hon. F.B.Carvell), at the time Minister of Public Works.

The resignation, on January 1, 1920, of the honourable member for Hamilton East (Hon.S.C.Mewburn), at the time Minister of Militia & Defence.

The resignation, on February 23, 1920, of the honourable member for Halifax (Hon. A. K. Maclean), at the time Minister without portfolio, but Chairman of the Sub-committee of the Privy Council on Reconstruction and Development, and several times Acting Minister of different Departments.

The resignation, on July 8, 1920, of the honourable member for Durham (Hon. N. W. Rowell), at the time President of the Privy Council.

The reasons assigned by each of these honourable members for his resignation is proof sufficient that in their minds at the time of entering the ministry, there was no mental reservation as to an indefinite continuance in office; but that each believed that the Government of which he was a member was for war purposes only, and that with the purpose of the Government in this connection completed, its mandate expired.

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Constituencies won by Liberals
in 1917 - not one lost

In the case of the constituencies won by the Liberals in 1917, not one was lost; all were retained, and in every case by a return which indicated the increasing unpopularity of the Government. ~~Here is the list, taking them in the order of date:~~ There was either an acclamation, or no Government candidate.

By-election	Date	Liberal majority in 1917	Liberal majority at by-election
Prince, P.E.I.	Oct.20,1919	334	Acclamation
Quebec East	Oct.27,1919	5,395	3,939 (against Lib. candidate)
Kamouraska	Mar.31,1920	3,[illegible]	Acclamation no Govt. candidate
Montreal (Saint James East)	Apr. 7.1920	Acclamation	1,557 (against Lib. candidate) no Govt. candidate

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Constituencies won by Government
in 1917 - only 1 held; 7 lost

Of the constituencies won by the Government in 1917, only ~~one~~ has been retained, and this ~~by greatly reduced majorities~~ by a very narrow majority in a constituency which had returned a Minister by acclamation in 1917. All the others, seven in number, have been lost, and that by enormous majorities against the Government

By-election	Date	Government majority in 1917	Majority against Government in by-election
~~Lennox~~	~~May 3, 1916~~	~~3,207~~	~~Acclamation~~
Yale	Nov. 22, 1920	Acclamation	389

In the case of all the other by-elections, the Government has lost seats which were carried in 1917, and lost them by majorities that leave no room for doubt as to the want of confidence of the electorate in the Government.

Glengarry-Stormont	Oct. 27, 1919	Acclamation	2,376
Assiniboia	Oct. 27, 1919	4,524	No Govt. candidate - combined Farmer & Liberal vote - was 10,200 against Government.
Victoria-Carleton	Oct. 27, 1919	Acclamation	3,544
Temiskaming	Dec. 7, 1920	2,150	5,346 3 candidates, Govt. one at foot of poll
North Ontario	Dec. 9, 1919	1,555	185
East Elgin	Nov. 22, 1920	308	2,263
West Peterborough	Feb. 7, 1921	3,418	~~7,326~~ (combined maj. against Govt.)

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Could public opinion do more in the way of expressing itself? Could figures be more eloquent of the growing indignation of a people through the usurpation by a ministry of the powers of popular control?

Little wonder that the Government's own political organs are beginning to beseech it anow to read the handwriting upon the wall, and to bring on a general election before it is defeated in Parliament by votes of its erstwhile followers.

People of Canada alone denied right to a general election of representative parliament

The Government's refusal to grant a general election, in the face of such a convincing expression of public opinion is the more amazing when it is known that of all the self-governing parts of the British Empire, and of all the countries belonging to the Allied and Associated Powers, the people of Canada alone, of the number, have been denied ~~the right of a general election~~ since the signing of the Armistice, the right of a general election and a representative Parliament to deal with post-war conditions.

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Of the countries composing the British Empire, there was a general election in the United Kingdom in December, 1918; in Australia, the general elections were held in December, 1919; in New Zealand, the general elections were held in December, 1919; in South Africa, there have been two general elections, one in February, 1920, the other just concluded; in Newfoundland, the general elections were held in November, 1919 France had a general election in November, 1919; Italy had a general election in November, 1919; Belgium had a general election in November, 1919; The United States had a general election in November, 1920; Japan had a general election in May, 1920.

May, more than this, other countries, of the Orient, of South America, and of Europe, even enemy countries, have given their peoples a similar right, as witness China in 1917, Argentina in 1918, Denmark in 1918 and 1920, and Greece and Germany in 1920

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Provincial Elections
in Canada since War

In our own Dominion, there is not a single province which has not had a provincial election since the termination of the War, with the exception of the Provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan, which had their elections in the months of June and July, respectively, of the year 1917.

Why, it may be asked, should the Government of Canada seek further to withhold from the people of this country as a whole a right conceded to them with good effect in every province of the Dominion, and a right which has been conceded by their governments to the peoples of every other portion of the self-governing parts of the British Empire, and by their governments to the peoples of the Allied and Associated Powers, of Oriental and South American and even of enemy countries?

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House of Commons Debates

OFFICIAL REPORT

SPEECH

OF

HON. W. L. MACKENZIE KING

MEMBER FOR PRINCE, P.E.I.

ON

ADDRESS IN REPLY TO GOVERNOR GENERAL'S SPEECH

In the House of Commons, Ottawa, on Tuesday, February 15, 1921.

Hon. W. L. MACKENZIE KING (Leader of the Opposition): Mr. Speaker, may I be permitted to extend my congratulations to the hon. members who have just moved and seconded the Address in reply to the Speech from the Throne. I am sure that my hon. friend the member for King's, P.E.I. (Mr. McIsaac) will look upon this as a sort of field day for Prince Edward Island, inasmuch as he and I, comprising half the representation of that province, have been privileged to be the first speakers in this important debate. That his speech was very creditable to himself and to the Island, is, I think, the highest compliment that could be paid him. I hope he will not feel that I speak at all ironically when I say that, having listened to his poetical quotations and classical allusions, I believe he might have applied to his own speech the words which he quoted from Byron's Childe Harold in reference to the ocean—that there was considerable music in its roar.

I must also congratulate the hon. member for Yale (Mr. MacKelvie) on the speech which he made in seconding the Address. As all hon. members know, this is his maiden speech, and usually the making of one's first speech in Parliament is not an easy matter. All who have had the privilege of listening to his address will, I am sure, feel that in the member for Yale the House has found an acquisition to its debating ability.

With many of the sentiments that have been expressed by both the mover and the seconder of the Address, we on this side of the House are in most hearty accord. There have been on the other hand references to some of the matters spoken of in the Speech from the Throne, there have been references to the present administration, with which I would take issue and which I would discuss at some length if this were the appropriate time and occasion. However, during the course of the debate there will be opportunity to take up matters of the kind.

In one respect, in particular, I find myself in hearty accord with the mover and the seconder of the Address in reply to the Speech from the Throne—I join with them in extending congratulations to my Right Honourable friend (Mr. Meighen) upon his attainment of the high and responsible position of Prime Minister.

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Perhaps he will permit me to say in public what I have already said to him privately, that on personal grounds it was to me a source both of pride and of pleasure to learn that His Excellency had chosen as his first adviser one who in university days was a fellow undergraduate, and whose friendship, through a quarter of a century, had survived the vicissitudes of time, not excepting the differences of party warfare and acrimonies of political debate.

I realize, in the discharge of our public duties in the opposing positions in which we now stand in virtue of our respective political faiths, there is much that needs to be said that may bring a challenge to all the virtues we possess. I can promise him, however, that in seeking to fulfill the demands of public obligation, I shall strive with him to preserve the highest traditions of our public life, and to be governed in all things by its amenities, and never by its animosities.

Mr. Speaker, if I do not undertake to refer at any length to the Address which His Excellency has presented to the House, I hope it will not be thought of as being in any way discourteous to His Excellency. There is one matter which transcends all others in importance, and that is the present position of the Government and of this Parliament with respect to the will of the people. By what right by what authority, do my right honourable friend and the members of his ministry presume to carry on the Government of this country? That is the question which the Administration must answer to the satisfaction of Parliament and of the country, before consideration can be given to any of the lesser matters mentioned in the Speech from the Throne. Can the will of the people be further ignored, and their rights in matters pertaining to legislation and administration be further usurped?

In the olden days of British history there was a time when the Crown, in order to find out under what authority certain gentlemen throughout the Kingdom exercised the rights and privileges of positions and offices they held, issued to such persons, a writ known as quo warranto, to discover by what right, by what warrant, they held the positions which they occupied. King Edward I served the barons of his day with this writ of quo warranto to discover by what warrant, by what right, they were enjoying certain privileges. Later the Crown made use of the same writ as a means of discovering by what warrant and by what right certain of the chartered cities of England exercised coveted privileges. It was used, I think, by other sovereigns in order to find out by what warrant and by what right certain sheriffs carried on the duties of their office. In the name of the people of this country I should like to ask my right hon. friend, by what warrant, by what right, he attempts to carry on the government of Canada at the present time?

Since we last assembled in this Chamber, changes of far-reaching import and significance have taken place. The Government which was then in power has resigned and a new Government has been formed. In order that the situation may be fairly understood outside this House, may I direct attention to certain facts and circumstances. Since Parliament last assembled every member of the old administration has resigned his position; for the Prime Minister, in tendering his resignation, tendered also the resignation of every member of his Cabinet. Indeed, there was a time subsequent to the prorogation of Parliament last year—a brief moment it was, of course—when there was no ministry carrying on the government of this country. My right hon. friend selected one colleague on the day that he was sworn in; others he selected some three days later, and others later still.

The ministry which we met when Parliament was last assembled was a Unionist administration. It was a Government that had been formed from each of the historic political parties on a basis of assumed equality in numbers and talent. It was formed with relation to a particular issue arising out of the war which was then in progress. It purported to be a war administration, concerned solely with the successful prosecution and termination of the war and problems incidental thereto. Upon its character, its personnel, and its purpose in these particulars, it made its appeal to the electorate and won the support which returned it to power.

The Government which meets Parliament to-day is an entirely new and different Government. Will my right hon. friend contend that in character his is a Union Government? Will he contend that it is a coalition composed of members of both the old political parties, chosen because they are supposed to be of equality in talent as well as in numbers? Will he contend for a moment that it is a war Government with a mandate from the people of this country to carry on their business? Those are questions which I want my right

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hon. friend to answer when he rises to address the House. The ministry has, as I have said, changed in character, in personnel, and in purpose from the Government formed in 1917.

Permit me to enlarge for a minute on these several points. As I have already said, the ministry which meets Parliament to-day has an entirely different character from the ministry which we met when Parliament was last assembled. That ministry was a Unionist ministry. My right hon. friend will hardly contend that his ministry is a Unionist ministry. He was the first to destroy the word "Unionist"; he absolutely cut it out of the vocabulary of his Government. He will hardly say that his ministry is composed of the members of the old historic parties. He, almost more than anyone else in this country, has been doing all he can to destroy the reputations of the old political parties and to say that they have outlived their usefulness. Surely he does not believe that any one is deceived as to the character of the present administration through the use of the name "National Liberal and Conservative" which, despite his abuse of the historic parties, he has chosen as that of his administration. Was there ever such a jumble of inconsistencies and insincerities!

My right hon. friend will probably contend that the situation thus created was not dissimilar to situations which arose after the death of Sir John A. Macdonald, when Sir John was succeeded in June, 1891, by Sir John Abbott; when Sir John Thompson succeeded Sir John Abbott in December, 1892; when Sir Mackenzie Bowell succeeded Sir John Thompson in December, 1894; and lastly when Sir Charles Tupper succeeded Sir Mackenzie Bowell in May, 1896. In other words, he will probably contend that in the course of one Parliament one ministry has a right to succeed another as in that period between 1891 and 1896. I presume my right hon. friend will attempt to have the House believe that the succession in office of his ministry to the previous ministry is a case parallel to the cases which I have just mentioned. As a matter of fact, there is no parallel.

The governments of which I have just spoken between 1891 and 1896 were all Tory Governments, holding office by virtue of a policy upon which the electors had passed in March, 1891, in normal times and under normal conditions. They were one in character, in purpose and in aim. The Government which my right hon. friend has formed cannot lay claim to any succession of that kind. The Government which he succeeded was a Unionist Government; the Government that he has formed to-day is a reactionary Tory administration; it is a reversion back to a type of Toryism such as this country has not known for a great many years. Mr. Speaker, my right hon. friend will hardly contend that there is anything of a coalitionist character in his administration. The former Government was a coalition Government, or so-called at all events; it pretended to be such; but the Government of my right hon. friend is wholly different in that respect.

One of two alternatives alone is possible. Either the Government of my right hon. friend is, as it purports to be, an entirely new Government, with a new name, a new Prime Minister, a new set of principles and policies, and the support of a new party, the existence of which remains as yet to be discovered; or it is the soiled remnant and ragged edges of the old Unionist administration which it itself disowns, travelling under counterfeits and aliases, and purporting in all things to be what in reality it is not.

Take whichever alternative you will, the consequence is one and the same. The Government is without authority from the people of this country to conduct its affairs, and stands as a usurper of their political rights even in the eyes of multitudes of those who helped to return to power the previous administration.

But, Sir, lest there should be any doubt as regards the character of the present administration, may I refer to the personnel of the two administrations? It is necessary to do this in order to bring out one of the points which I think it is of importance to bring out, namely, the difference between the basis on which the Government of my right hon. friend was formed and that on which the previous administration was formed. Aliases, disguises and counterfeits aside, the character of the two administrations is to be determined by the respective personnels. Here is a list of the names of those who composed the ministry of the ex-Prime Minister (Sir Robert Borden) at the time that it made its appeal to the people. I think I am in order in quoting the names at this moment:

The Prime Minister, Rt. Hon. Sir Robert Borden.
Minister of Trade and Commerce, Rt. Hon. Sir Geo. E. Foster.
Minister of Finance, Hon. Sir Thomas White.
Minister of Justice, Hon. Chas. J. Doherty.

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Minister of Labour, Hon. T. W. Crothers.
Minister of Railways and Canals, Hon. J. D. Reid.
Minister of Overseas Military Forces, Hon. Sir A. E. Kemp.
Secretary of State, Hon. Martin Burrell.
Postmaster General, Hon. P. E. Blondin.
Minister of Interior, Hon. Arthur Meighen.
Minister of Inland Revenue, Hon. A. Sevigny.
Minister of Marine and Fisheries, and Naval Service, Hon. C. C. Ballantyne.
Minister of Customs, Hon. A. L. Sifton.
Minister of Immigration and Colonisation, Hon. J. A. Calder.
President of Privy Council, Hon. N. W. Rowell.
Minister of Militia, Hon. S. C. Mewburn.
Minister of Agriculture, Hon. T. A. Crerar.
Minister of Public Works, Hon. F. B. Carvell.
Ministers without Portfolio: Hon, Frank Cochrane, Hon. Sir Jas. A. Lougheed, Hon. A. K. Maclean, Hon. G. D. Robertson.
Solicitor General, Hon. Hugh Guthrie.

In looking over that list one is struck first of all by its coalitionist complexion as it was held out in evidence before the people at the time. There were four ministers without portfolio, the Solicitor General adding one more to the ministry. There were eighteen other ministers, seven of whom were chosen from the ranks of the Liberal party. If we add the name of one of the ministers without portfolio, that would mean eight of one complexion politically, and ten of the other, so as to make what the people were led to believe at that time was a sort of fifty-fifty administration. Of those members, the following have ceased to be members of the administration, either through death or resignation:

The late Hon. Frank Cochrane.
Sir Robert Borden.
Hon. Sir Thomas White.
Hon. T. W. Crothers.
Hon. Martin Burrell.
Hon. A. Sevigny.
Hon. T. A. Crerar.
Hon. F. B. Carvell.
Hon. S. C. Mewburn.
Hon. A. K. Maclean.
Hon. N. W. Rowell.
The late Hon. A. L. Sifton.

In other words, twelve of the members of the Administration which went before the country in 1917 have ceased to be members of the present Administration. I am prepared to admit that the personnel might to a limited extent be expected to change with time; but there is this significant point to be noted in connection with the changes that have taken place in the Administration, that for the most part the resignations have been of those hon members who entered the ministry at the time they did because they believed it to be a ministry formed for war purposes, and who joined the ministry to give that Liberal complexion which a real coalition was expected to have. With these hon. gentlemen having resigned from the Government in the numbers they have, I ask my right hon. friend how does he presume to regard his ministry as in any sense a legitimate successor to the one which preceded it?

My right hon. friend in his speeches throughout the country has had a good deal to say about the war record of the late Administration. He has urged that record as a ground why his Administration should have the confidence of the people of this country. I would ask him, has he observed that the Mipisters, who, for the most part—there are one or two exceptions, I admit—were responsible for such record as the Government made during the war are the ones who have since left, and are not members of his Administration? Either he has no confidence in them, or they have no confidence in him. Will my right hon. friend presume to say that none of the credit of the late Administration in the carrying on of the war was due to the hon. gentlemen who are not members of his Administration at the present time? Let us take one or two names. We were told that the Hon. F. B. Carvell was a strength to the whole Government because of his personality. Will my right hon. friend say that his ministry has not been weakened through the loss of a member like the Hon. Mr. Carvell? Take the case of the present member for East Hamilton (Mr. Mewburn). Is he not entitled to any credit in the late Administration for the winning of the war, as my right hon. friend likes to put it? Surely my right hon. friend has no right to seek credit for his Administration on account of the services of the hon. member for East Hamilton, who is not in the ministry at the present time. Take, similarly, the case of the hon. member for Marquette (Mr. Crerar). There was a gentleman representing the agricultural interests of this country, as well as one who was a strong liberal at the time he was taken into the Administration. His name was given out to the public as that of one who lent strength to the Administration because of those circumstances. He is not in my right hon. friend's Administration at the present time. He is directly opposed to him. How can my right hon. friend lay claim to any public confidence in his Administration on account of what the hon. member for Marquette did in helping forward the work of the Government during the period of the war? Then there is the

hon. member for Halifax (Mr. A. K. Maclean). Though he was a Minister without portfolio, he was Chairman of several important committees, and rendered valuable service. He is not in my right hon. friend's ministry, but is sitting opposite to him at the present time. How can my right hon. friend possibly claim that his ministry is entitled to carry on by virtue of the services which the hon. member for Halifax rendered during the period of the war? Then there is the Hon. N. W. Rowell, the former President of the Privy Council.

Mr. SPEAKER: The hon. member, I think, was quite in order in referring to the personnel of the ministry to give their names, but in referring to hon. gentlemen individually who are at the moment members of the House, it would be better, and most certainly the correct practice, if he would refer to them by the names of their constituencies.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I am very pleased to defer to your ruling, Mr. Speaker, which I recognize to be quite proper. The point I wish to make plain is that as respects the Unionist Administration the personality of the gentlemen composing it was an all important consideration. The name of the hon. member for Durham (Mr. Rowell), the former President of the Privy Council, was put forward all over this country as that of one who led the Liberal party in the province of Ontario, and it was put forward particularly to support the claims of the Government on Liberals in Ontario. How can my right hon. friend claim for himself any expression of confidence on the part of the people in virtue of the presence in the former Administration of the hon. member for Durahm? He is no longer a member of the ministry.

Then I would ask my right hon. friend, what about the former Minister of Finance, the hon. member for Leeds (Sir Thomas White). His name and his reputation stood high in this country at that time. Surely he is entitled to some of the credit of the late ministry in the matter of the winning of the war. Can my right hon. friend lay claim to any of that credit for his ministry? The hon. gentleman whom I have just mentioned is not today a member of the ministry. My right hon. friend has been unable to induce him to come into his Government.

Lastly, I ask my right hon. friend, is no credit due to the former Prime Minister Sir Robert Borden? He had long and distinguished service in the position of Prime Minister, and his name and the circumstance of his experience was a factor in helping to win the confidence of the people for his Administration. How can my right hon. friend claim any credit for what was accomplished through the ex-Prime Minister's efforts in the winning of the war as a ground on which this ministry should have the confidence of the people at the present time, seeing that the ex-Prime Minister has resigned and is unwilling to come into my right hon. friend's ministry?

So I say, if we go over the personnel of the Cabinet as it existed at the time it made its appeal to the people of Canada as a Unionist Administration and compare it with the present Government, we find the two so different in character and in personnel that it is presumption, to say the least, for my right hon. friend to assume that he is entitled to any credit for work which the previous Government carried on, or to any continuance of confidence from the people of Canada as a result.

May I ask my right hon. friend this question, and I hope he will answer it—Does he believe that if he himself had been called upon to form a Unionist Administration in 1917, he would have been able to do it? Does he mean to say that if he instead of the ex-Prime Minister had gone before the country as Prime Minister seeking support for a ministry at that time that the people would have given to him the confidence which was given to the late Prime Minister and the colleagues he had about him? Unless he is prepared to stand up and say that he was just as capable of forming a ministry as the ex-Prime Minister and that the people have just as much confidence in him and his present colleagues as in the ex-Prime Minister and the group that surrounded him, by what authority does he presume to carry on government, as one holding the confidence of the people of this country?

But, Sir, not only is the character and the personnel of the ministry changed, as I have described, but what is most important of all, the aims and purposes of the two ministries are entirely different. The Unionist Administration went before the people of this country as a war Administration, for the purpose of carrying on the war and dealing with the problems of the war. Will my right hon. friend say that this is a war Administration? Unless he is prepared to say that he is entitled to

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the confidence of the people of this country at the present time as the leader of a war Administration, by what authority does he presume to carry on the Government of this country?

I might quote at considerable length from the statements which were given to the people of this country at the time as to the purposes of the late ministry. I shall not take up the time of the House in quoting at any great length from the different statements made; two or three will I think, be pertinent enough. As to the purpose of the previous Unionist Administration, I shall quote only from the ex-Prime Minister (Sir Robert Borden), who formed that Government, and from my right hon. friend who is leading the Government at the present time, and I will ask my hon. friend after he has listened to these statements, to be good enough to say whether he is prepared to stand up in this Parliament and affirm that the ministry which he is leading today is the same in aim and purpose as the ministry which was formed in 1917.

Here are one or two statements made by the ex-Prime Minister at the time the Unionist Administration was formed. Speaking at Toronto on November 21st, 1917—the quotation will be found in the Mail and Empire of the following day—the then Prime Minister, the present member for Kings, said:

My purpose in forming a Union Government was to bring within it such a personnel as would be thoroughly representative of all those elements of the population of Canada that were willing to stand behind the Government in its efforts to win this war, and to fight the battle for humanity, for civilization and the fate of the world.

Speaking at Oshawa on Nov. 26, 1917, as quoted from the Toronto Globe of the following date, the ex-Prime Minister (Sir Robert Borden) said:

Union Government—does any man know of any reason why there should not be union and national unity in this country when national peril confronts us? The issue is whether the war effort of Canada is to be maintained, or whether Canada is to get out of this war. That is the issue.

That was what the right hon. the then Prime Minister of this country told the people at the time of the last election. He distinctly stated that the issue was whether the war effort of Canada was to be maintained or whether Canada was to get out of the war. Can my right hon. friend who is now leading the Government (Rt. Hon. Arthur Meighen) describe the issue before the country at the present time in those terms? Can he find anything which will justify him in maintaining an administration on the basis on which the Unionist Government was returned at the last election?

Speaking at Milton on November 29, 1917, as will be seen from the Toronto Star of November 30, my right hon. friend the member for Kings, the then Prime Minister, made a statement which is to be found quoted in several papers. I shall quote from two because they are significant:

"There is only one issue after all in this campaign," said Sir Robert, "whether we shall keep our pledge or bond given to those men at the front, or whether we shall abandon them when they need our help most".

I will ask my right hon. friend to pay particular attention to these words, which are taken from the Toronto Star:

"There is only one issue in this campaign, whether we shall keep our pledge, etc."

The Mail and Empire, referring to the same speech, quotes the right hon. gentleman in these terms:

There is only one issue in this campaign—only one that I can see to-day—

Observe, Mr. Speaker, my right hon. friend repeated the statement—only one.

—whether Canada shall maintain her effort in the war and support the men who have gone forth on the pledge of her honor, or whether Canada shall relax her effort, withdraw from the war, and practically leave these men to consider themselves abandoned and betrayed.

I submit that when the people of this country were told by the then Prime Minister that there was only one issue—only one—in such plain terms that every man, woman and child in this country could understand the nature and meaning of it, the services of the administration elected on that issue were at an end when the issue ceased to exist; and when a Government comes along two years after the war is over and attemps to carry on the affairs of this country without appealing to the electorate for any vindication of its position, it is usurping the authority of the people. I ask my right hon. friend what becomes of the theory that government is carried on in virtue of the consent of the governed? The governed gave their consent on one issue, an issue which has long since passed. Yet the hon. gentleman presumes to carry on to-day without even consulting the electorate. He ignores them in the most flagrant manner.

The Prime Minister of that day, however, was not the only one who described

to the people of this country what the issue was. My right hon. friend himself made a good many speeches during that campaign. He and two of his colleagues at the time were, I think, the first to address a large public meeting in Canada, the one that was supposed, to use his own words, "to sound the appeal of the new government." That meeting, as he may recall, was held in the City of Winnipeg. It was largely attended, and an account of it is given in the Manitoba Free Press of October 23rd, 1917. A three-page report appears in that issue of the Manitoba Free Press, and it was quoted all over this country. The hon. member for Marquette (Hon. Mr. Crerar) was one of those who spoke along with my right hon. friend, and the Hon. Minister of Immigration and Colonization, who is also President of the Privy Council at the present time (Hon. J. A. Calder). They were all present, and these are the words of my right hon. friend. He said that his purpose, and that of the colleagues appearing with him on the platform was to present the principle and to show forth the spirit that had brought them together, and "to sound the appeal of the new government." He was dealing both with the principle and with the spirit of the new Government. As he listens to his own words, I want to ask him whether he thinks that principle and that spirit apply to his administration at the present time. I will not quote the whole of his speech; I shall merely give extracts:

"Our Government, for which we stand to-night, is founded on the rock of compulsory service, and on that rock we will still build it.

Will he stand up in this Parliament and say at the present time that his Government is founded on the rock of compulsory service? and that on that rock he is still building?

Mr. BUREAU: It is merely an aggregation.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: To continue:

I want to make it as clear as I can that the only way Canada can give the verdict of "carry on" is to vote for the Union Government. We can only vote for or against the Government.

In other words, he describes the issue as being that of "carrying on". I admit that the phrase to carry on might be used as a cry for his present administration, but I think he had a different purpose in mind at that time. I do not think my right hon. friend intended to have that cry serve a double purpose. Then he said further.

We can only vote for Borden and Union administration, or vote for a man who, no matter under what flag he may be running will be a follower of an administration headed by Sir Wilfrid Laurier. This vote for Borden or Laurier is a vote to carry on the war or to quit.

Now, may I ask my right hon. friend, when he tells the country that the whole question at that time was between Borden and Laurier, whether that is the question before the country at the present time? Between Borden and Laurier? Where, may I ask my right hon. friend, does he come in? My right hon. friend was modest at that time. He was careful to exclude himself. He did not presume to stand alongside of those distinguished gentlemen as being equal to them in political stature. But he has changed his attitude since. Here is another sentence from the speech he delivered then, and I would call his attention particularly to it. He said:

There never was a clearer issue before the people than today. It is simply an issue of Union Government and a vigourous prosecution of the war, or Sir Wilfrid Laurier and Canada's virtual withdrawal from the war.

I think my hon. friend knew better than to say what he did say in reference to Sir Wilfrid Laurier at that time, but apart from that portion of the quotation, let me repeat what he said as to the issue itself:

It is simply an issue of Union Government and a vigorous prosecution of the war.

Is that the issue at the present time? I am sure my right hon. friend cannot lay claim to office in virtue of those terms. My right hon. friend concluded his speech with this reference which is interesting:

I appeal to the people of Manitoba, I appeal to the people here, to give to this Government its mission, to the Prime Minister of this country his mission, to carry on. He is the man who will perform the task.

Now what was my right hon. friend aiming at in that remark, when he said that day, speaking about the Prime Minister, "He is the man?" He did not then say "I am the man"; but that is what he is saying to-day. He is telling the people of Canada to-day that the verdict which was given in 1917 was a mandate to him to carry on the Government of this country. Now I say that unless he is prepared to stand up and make that statement here, in the presence of his colleagues and the members of the House generally, neither he nor his Government has any authority to carry out what they propose to do and they are acting in direct violation of

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the spirit of the constitution of the country.

Mr. Speaker, there is a matter to which I wish particularly to refer in this connection. I notice that in the Speech of His Excellency to Parliament reference is made to the Customs Tariff. That reference begins:

> My advisors are convinced of the necessity for the revision of the Customs Tariff.

Well, they have got along thus far but it has taken them a long time. We told them year after year there was need for that revision. It is interesting to notice that my right hon. friend now admits that there is need for revision; but I want to ask him by what right he and his ministry are presuming to undertake the revision of the tariff? That is the question that should be answered I think before we discuse the tariff one way or another in this House. My right hon. friend knows, or ought to know that when an appeal was made to the people of Canada in 1917 there were certain questions, certain subjects, which were expressly excluded from consideration by the electorate and by the Parliament that was to be returned that year. It was recognized it would not only be difficult but that it would be impossible to form a Government if certain questions were to be considered by the parliament then to be elected. The tariff was one of those questions and I now say to my right hon. friend that when the Government of 1917 was formed it was with the distinct understanding that the tariff would not be brought up in parliament under that administration. Therefore he has no right and no authority to introduce that subject for discussion at the present time; it should remain for the consideration of a parliament that is truly representative of the people of Canada.

Let me make perfectly clear to the House just how far my right hon. friend and the colleagues who were associated with him at that time went in expressly excluding the tariff from any consideration by this parliament. I shall take first the speech that was delivered by the hon. member for Marquette (Mr. Crerar). Here is the statement of that hon. gentleman made at the meeting at which my right hon. friend was one of the speakers:

> After I had taken my seat in the Cabinet, a friend of mine in Ontario, one of the most intelligent among the eastern farmers, met me in Toronto. The first thing he said to me was, "What concessions did you get on the tariff?" I told him that I had not got any, and that I had not asked any. That is not to say that I did not feel strongly on the tariff, but I feel that the present issue is not the tariff, but the winning of the War, and to prosecute that great purpose this Government has been formed, and old political opponents like the gentlemen you see here on the platform have struck hands across the Cabinet table of the nation and are going to guide the nation's destiny in this time of peril.

I ask my right hon. friend if he hears those words? Let me repeat them again:

> That is not to say that I do not feel strongly on the tariff, but I feel the present issue is not the tariff but the winning of the war.

Could there be a clearer statement than that made by a member of the Government at the time? The hon. member for Marquette was speaking as a member of the Government. He was speaking as a member of the Government of which my right hon. friend was at the time a member, and he said at that time that the tariff would not be considered. On the basis of that assurance he made his appeal to the electors of western Canada, and of other parts of the Dominion as well. In the face of that I ask my right hon. friend how can he presume to deny to the people of Canada the right to return a representative parliament to deal with that issue when the time comes for it to be taken up.

The hon. member for Marquette was not the only minister who spoke in that way at that time. A member of the present administration—the Minister of Immigration and Colonization —(Mr. Calder)—also gave his word to the electors of Canada as to what would be done by the administration. I now ask my hon. friend (Mr. Calder) how he reconciles his remaining as a member of the Government which contemplates a revision of the tariff with the statements which I am about to read to him—statements made at a time when the Minister of Immigration and Colonization gave his word of honour as a public man to the people of Canada as to the grounds on which the administration should be returned in 1917. The Minister of Immigration and Colonization said:

> It is because we are in the war, and all that it means, that we three men happen to sit just where we are to-day. The one main issue is whether we are to carry on or not. We have simply consented to union for the immediate purpose of this war and the solution of the problems arising out of the war and we are prepared—

Some hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

Mr. KING: I hear hon. gentlemen opposite applauding the statement as to dealing

with the issues that grew out of the war. Do hon. gentlemen opposite mean to say that the tariff is an issue that grew out of the war? If so they can place any issue under heaven in a similar category. If my hon. friend (Mr. Calder) now holds such a view, he surely entertains an entirely different mental attitude from what he did at the time to which I refer, when he declared that the tariff was to be excluded from consideration by the Government. In 1917 my hon. friend was very careful to say that the tariff would not be a matter to be considered.

My hon. friend (Mr. Calder) went on to say:

> We were prepared for the time being to sink our differences of opinion in so far as many of the domestic and local problems which we have are concerned. We must do that to get union. Just imagine what would have happened if Mr. Crerar had sat down with Sir Thomas White to try and get together on questions of tariff.

Let me repeat: the hon. minister said:

> Just imagine what would happen if Mr. Crerar had sat down with Sir Thomas White and tried to get together on the question of the tariff.

I ask my hon. friends opposite who applauded the idea of the tariff being an issue growing out of the war whether they will applaud that remark? Unless hon. gentlemen opposite are prepared to do so they have no right to presume that the tariff is a question with which they can deal to the exclusion of a parliament so empowered by the people. My hon. friend went on to say:

> We would never have had Union if one of the requirements was that it had to be reached on the question of the tariff.

I ask my hon. friend, as a member of the present Government and as a member of the Government speaking at that time, whether he meant what he said on that occasion.

An hon. MEMBER: He was only joking.

Mr. KING: Was my hon. friend telling the people the truth at that time or had he something else in his mind? Was he quite sincere in what he said then? I find difficulty in reconciling his utterances with his remaining at the present time in a ministry which is attempting to deal with the tariff. Let me read the sentence again:

> We would never have had Union if one of the requirements was that it had to be reached on the question of the tariff.

Mr. LEMIEUX: Who said that?

Mr. KING: The Minister of Immigration and Colonization, the present President of the Privy Council. He went on to say:

> We found it absolutely necessary on both sides, on the Conservative Party's part and our own, to sink all differences of opinion in connection with these domestic problems. So far as I am concerned, on the questions of tariff, banking, agricultural credit, land settlement, and all those problems affecting our western people, I stand where I stood three weeks ago, and I am certain my friend (Mr. Crerar) does not stand far from that position. But for the time being, we let them go by the board, and we go into this union with an entirely different purpose.

Again, may I ask, in the face of such an appeal to the electorate, the bonafides of which were vouched for by his presence on the platform, and with the Minister of Immigration and Colonization still one of the ministers in his own administration, how dare my right hon. friend presume to say that his Government is justified in dealing with this all-important question, without first giving to the people of Canada an opportunity to return to Parliament a House of Commons that will give a proper expression to their views?

At that time the hon. member for Marquette (Mr. Crerar) and my right hon. friend were standing side by side; to-day they are standing directly opposite to each other, taking directly opposite positions. And why did my hon. friend for Marquette leave the ministry of which he was a member? He left it because he felt it was formed for a particular purpose, and when that purpose was fulfilled, that was as far as it had any right or authority to go. He took exactly the same position that my hon. friend has taken here, that the tariff was not an issue with which this Parliament could deal one way or the other. Under these circumstances I ask my right hon. friend, when he retains in his cabinet a colleague who has given a pledge of that kind to the people, how does he presume to suggest to His Excellency that the tariff is a question for discussion at this particular session of Parliament?

But the honourable member for Marquette and the honourable the Minister of Immigration and Colonization were not the only speakers who expressly excluded legislation with respect to the tariff from the jurisdiction of the Unionist Government, or who gave assurances, which the Canadian public were justified in taking as final and authoritative, that the tariff would not be dealt with until some subsequent appeal were made to the electorate with specific reference to domestic issues. The

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right hon. the Prime Minister himself also spoke with special reference to the tariff. I have already quoted the nature of his appeal on the general issue. Here is what he had to say more particularly with reference to the tariff:

> In time of peace we can afford to support a candidate with a reservation, but in time of war they are a menace to a nation. I make no imperious demands. I only ask the people of this country to see the issue as it is, and to rise to a certainty that a vote in opposition to the new administration is a vote which will imperil the conditions under which we work for the war. We ask from no man and from no woman a reversal or abrogation of his or her convictions on fiscal matters or tariff matters or any other subject.

Mr. MEIGHEN: Hear, hear.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: My right hon. friend says "hear, hear." I would ask him: Will he presume to say that his ministry in attempting to legislate on the tariff in the present session is not obliging the men and women of this country to forego an expression of their views on the tariff question? If my right hon. friend will say that he intends to appeal to the people, then I am quite prepared to admit that he may not be denying them that right which he then said he would not take from them. But if he presumes in this session to attempt to deal with the tariff, the people will hold him guilty of as great a breach of faith as it is possible for a public man to commit.

> We only ask that they postpone the prosecution of those opinions and convictions, and subordinate them to the infinitely greater necessity until we get through these abnormal times. This is all the appeal we make. The accepted basis of union was the only basis on which union was possible at the present time. What Mr. Calder, Mr. Crerar and I ask is that the people of this country unite on the same basis that the Government of the country united.

In the quotations I have cited, you have heard from the lips of the then Minister of Agriculture and the present Minister of Immigration and Colonization what the accepted basis of union was. They have both said that it expressly excluded any dealings with the tariff. My right hon. friend joins with them in an appeal on that ground. Again, I ask, how dare my right honourable friend presume to say that his Government is justified in dealing with this all-important question, without first giving to the people of Canada an opportunity to return to Parliament a House of Commons that will give a proper expression to their views?

Well, Mr. Speaker, one is almost at a loss to imagine what my right hon. friend can say in reply in view of the statements which I have just quoted.

Mr. EDWARDS: Do not worry; you will know soon enough.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: I think I know already what he will say. He and his colleagues in different parts of the country have apparently found it necessary to work out a defence for their position, they realize they are on the defensive in this matter, and when addressing different meetings they have attempted to make an explanation to the public, which they hope will be accepted. As far as I have been able to follow the remarks of my right hon. friend and his colleagues, there are broadly four grounds upon which an attempt will be made to justify the continuance of this Government. First of all he will seek refuge in the law and the constitution, in the limit of time permitted a Parliament by the British North America Act; in the right of a ministry to exist so long as it has a following in the House of Commons, or, in other words, the plenary powers of Parliament to legislate as it pleases. Next, he will seek to defend his position on grounds of literal interpretation. He will contend that no pledge was given by the Government of my right honourable friend, the ex-Prime Minister, that it would hold office only for war purposes, or, to use his own words, that the Government "did not commit itself"; and, finally, he may make mention of personal considerations, and repeat what he has also said elsewhere, namely, that the Leader of the Opposition does not want a general election.

Let me briefly examine each of these several contentions. First, my right hon. friend will argue that his right is based on the law and the constitution. He will no doubt quote to this House section 50 of the British North America Act, which is as follows:

> Every House of Commons shall continue for five years from the day of the return of the writs for choosing the House (subject to be sooner dissolved by the Governor General), and no longer.

He will tell the people that inasmuch as Parliament has the right by the constitution to sit for five years, therefore it is entitled to sit for that length of period. Let me say to my right hon. friend, what I am sure he knows quite well, that a legal right does not constitute a legal or moral obligation to continue the term of Parliament for five years under the limit of time fixed by

the constitution. More than that, as my right hon. friend knows, the main purpose of the constitution in limiting the time is to place a limit on ministries such as his, which would continue in office forever in the absence of any time limit.

If my right hon. friend will look to British parliamentary procedure, as well as to the procedure of our own Parliament in the past, he will find that the constitutional practice all along has been not to exhaust the full limit of time, but rather to have regard to the issues which come before the people, and to dissolve Parliament when the old issues have been settled and new issues arise. Let me cite to my right hon. friend by way of exact reference the British Parliamentary practice under a rule which is similar to ours.

There was a period when the time of the British Parliament was not limited; it could sit indefinitely. Then it became necessary to limit the parliamentary period, and it was first fixed for seven and afterwards for five years, similar to the limit which is to be found in our own constitution. The position in the case of the British Parliament under that legislation was exactly the same as the position of this Parliament under the British North America Act.

> Before the Triennial Act, 1694 (6 Will and Mary C. 2) there was no constitutional limit to the continuance of Parliament but the will of the Crown. Under the Septennial Act, 1715 (1 Geo. 1st 2C. 38) it ceased to exist after seven years from the day on which, by the Writ of Summons, it was appointed to meet, a period which was reduced to five years by the Parliament Act, 1911—May's "Parliamentary Practice," 12th Ed., p. 53).

Now, let us examine for a moment the duration of the various British Parliaments from 1865 up to 1911, during which period the limit fixed by the constitution was seven years.

The Parliament elected in Great Britain in 1865 lasted for 2 years and 9 months.

The Parliament elected in 1868 lasted for 5 years and 1 month.

The Parliament elected in 1874 lasted for 6 years.

The Parliament elected in 1880 lasted for 5 years and 6 months.

The Parliament elected in 1885 lasted for 5 months.

The Parliament elected in 1886 lasted for 5 years and 10 months.

The Parliament elected in 1892 lasted for 2 years and 11 months.

The Parliament elected in 1895 lasted for 5 years and 1 month.

The Parliament elected in 1900 lasted for 5 years and 1 month.

The Parliament elected in 1906 lasted for 3 years and 11 months.

The Parliament elected in 1910 (Jan.) lasted for 9 months.

The Parliament elected in December, 1910, passed the Parliament Act, 1911, which reduced the parliamentary period to five years. On account of the War, this period was extended from year to year, until after the termination of the War, and in December, 1918, a general election was held.

This record shows us that with one single exception no British Parliament from 1865 down to the present time has run within a year of the full period of the term allowed by the constitution. It shows, too, that about one half of all the parliaments that met in Great Britain subsequent to 1865 used only one half of the period of time provided by the time limit of the constitution. Why has that been the case? The answer is simply this: The spirit of the constitution is much more important than the letter of it. The letter of the constitution provides a limit beyond which the term of Parliament may not run, but having regard to the rights of the people the parliaments of Great Britain have for the most part found it desirable and necessary to exhaust only about one-half, some of them two-thirds, of the full period which the constitution allows.

Take, next, the history of our own Parliament since Confederation. In Canada, notwithstanding the 5 year limit fixed by the British North America Act, the duration of the several Parliaments since Confederation, has been as follows:

The 1st Parliament dissolved July 8, 1872, 4 years, 9 months, 15 days.

The 2nd Parliament dissolved January 2, 1874, 1 year, 4 months.

The 3rd Parliament dissolved August 17, 1878, 4 years, 5 months, 24 days.

The 4th Parliament dissolved May 18, 1882, 3 years, 5 months, 27 days.

The 5th Parliament dissolved January 15, 1887, 4 years, 5 months, 8 days.

The 6th Parliament dissolved February 3, 1891, 3 years, 9 months, 28 days.

The 7th Parliament dissolved April 24, 1896, 4 years, 11 months, 30 days.

The 8th Parliament dissolved October 9, 1900, 4 years, 2 months, 26 days.

The 9th Parliament dissolved September 29, 1904, 3 years, 11 months, 20 days.

The 10th Parliament dissolved September 17, 1908, 3 years, 11 months, 18 days.

The 11th Parliament dissolved July 29, 1911, 2 years, 10 months, 20 days.

The 12th Parliament (the War Parliament) dissolved October 6, 1917, 6 years, 3 months, 17 days.

The 13th Parliament, until February 14, 1921, 3 years, 3 months, 27 days.

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The seventh Parliament ran to within one day of the time limit. There was in power at that time a Tory administration like the present, which was doomed, and the members of which knew it. I suppose my right hon. friend and his colleagues, being similarly situated will regard this as the precedent they should follow and will endeavour if possible to hold out, not to the last day but one, but the very last, if that is at all possible. The Thirteenth Parliament, this present Parliament, has lasted for three years and three months; it has already lasted longer than some of the other Parliaments which have assembled in Canada. The Parliament that was dissolved in 1908 lasted for three years and eleven months; the Parliament that was dissolved in 1911 had lasted for only two years and ten months.

These figures afford ground for some interesting reflections. In the first place, it will be observed that this very Parliament has already had a longer existence than the Parliament which was dissolved on July 29, 1911. The late Right Hon. Sir Wilfrid Laurier had the same legal rights under the constitution as my Right Hon. friend. He had a much more powerful following in Parliament. His appreciation of the spirit of the British constitution and his sense of public duty and obligation to the electorate were, however, a little higher and keener than those of my right hon. friend. He recognized the rights of the people as superior to those afforded his Government under the constitution. He believed that Government should be carried on only with the consent of the governed. He dissolved Parliament to afford to the people their constitutional right of passing upon a great issue which was an issue other than that of the elections of 1908.

It will be further observed that the existing life of this Parliament, joined to that of its predecessor, already comes within less than three months of exhausting the time limit of two consecutive Parliaments enjoying the full length of term permitted by the constitution: also that, already, it is within less than a year and three months of the duration of the preceding three Parliaments of the Liberal Administration.

When it is recalled that since 1911 the people of this country have had no opportunity to pass upon distinctly Canadian issues, and that in the interval men who fought for their country overseas have been denied all privilege of even hearing these issues discussed at a general election, that only a fraction of the women of the country have had a voice in government though all have since been admitted to the franchise; that hundreds of thousands of citizens were disfranchised in 1917; and that practically all young men between the ages of 21 and 31 have never yet had opportunity of recording their votes with respect to matters of vital domestic concern, the injustice to the electorate, of attempting further to prolong the life of this Parliament, must be apparent to all.

If we are to have regard for the spirit of the constitution, rather than the letter, it is perfectly clear that it is the rights of the people, with respect to important national issues, which is the determining factor in deciding the length of time for which a Parliament should sit—issues upon which a ministry has been returned to power, and new issues upon which the people have a right to be consulted, and to make their will known. Clearly, the spirit of the constitution demands at the present time, both as respects the issue upon which the Government of 1917 was returned to power, and which has ceased to be an issue, and the domestic problems which have arisen in this post-war period, and which present new and far-reaching considerations requiring immediate solution, that the present Parliament should not exhaust the period of time which the legal limit permits, but that the people should be entitled without further delay to an expression of their will at the polls.

The next contention of my right honourable friend will be that Parliament is supreme; that so long as the Government is in a position to command a majority in the House of Commons, it is all-powerful, and that its rights and powers to legislate cannot be curtailed in any particular.

Here, again, may I say that no one will question the supremacy of Parliament where Parliament is duly constituted. But once more, it is to the spirit of the constitution, not to the letter of the law, that, in existing circumstances, we must look for a fair and just interpretation of the rights and duties of Parliament.

The theory of the supremacy of Parliament, as it is understood in our day, is based upon the assumption that Parliament represents the will of the people as expressed through representation effected under a franchise which preserves the people in their full right of control over Parliament. Will my right hon. friend maintain that such can be said of the existing representation in this House of Commons?

No one knows quite so well as my right hon. friend that the franchise under which the representation of the present Parliament was effected was anything but of that nature; that, as a matter of fact, it was a franchise so framed and brought into being and administered as to constitute the worst betrayal of the rights of the people which this country has ever known. Except that the nation was at war at the time, it would not have been tolerated even by those who were ready to profit by its unjust provisions, and their still more unjust manipulation at home and across the seas.

What was the ground upon which the late Sir Wilfrid, then leader of the Opposition, and the Liberals in Parliament consented to an extension of the term of Parliament for one year in 1916? It was that the rights of the people in the matter of their control over Parliament were in no particular being abridged. Sir Wilfrid made it very clear and distinct that he would not consent to an extension—and the Prime Minister had already said that he would not attempt to get an extension unless Sir Wilfrid Laurier agreed to it—if the people were being robbed of their control over Parliament one way or the other.

Here are the late Sir Wilfrid's words as expressed at that time:

> I would observe, first of all, that it is not proposed here to alter the principle of the constitution. It is not proposed to override the control which the people have over Parliament. It is simply proposed to suspend for the time being the operation of the constitution. If it were proposed to make away altogether with that principle which is embodied in the constitution, certainly I would oppose such an attempt with all my might. But no such thing is proposed. This measure simply proposes that the constitution shall be suspended for twelve months, at the expiration of which time it will resume its full force.

Well, how were the rights of the people in the matter of their control over Parliament secured at that time? One instrument was the then existing franchise, embodied in the Dominion Elections Act, 1898, under which the Government of the day, as well as its predecessors of an opposite political faith, had been returned to power. Is it conceivable that Sir Wilfrid Laurier and those who surrounded him at the time, would have agreed to the extension had they believed that during the period of that extension the people would have been robbed in so large measure of the provisions of a law specially framed to preserve them in their right of control over Parliament; that in its stead an Act would be placed on our statutes which would take away from thousands of electors whose approval of the extension was taken for granted on grounds of patriotism at the time it was made, the political rights of citizens which they then enjoyed; and give to other thousands of women, specially favoured, political rights not previously enjoyed and withheld from all other loyal and devoted women in the country.

When the Franchise Act as it existed at the time the extension of Parliament took place, was changed, the representative character of Parliament was doomed from the very outset, and the Parliament which was returned under the different election Acts, Acts framed for war purposes, cannot be said to represent the will of the people at the present time. I think my right hon. friend must admit that the franchise under which this Parliament was returned was a franchise framed only for war purposes. The two Acts under which this particular Parliament has come into being are the War-time Elections Act and the Military Voters' Act. Under the War-time Elections Act, rights were, as I have said, taken away from large numbers of people of this country; they were disfranchised; they lost their control of Parliament. Since that time they have been taxed without any representation in Parliament one way or the other, so that there has been a direct violation of the spirit of the constitution in that regard. I will not enlarge upon the different iniquities of that measure, but amongst the Government's own supporters of the day it would never have passed except for the fact that we were in the midst of a war at that time and the War-time Elections Act was excused as a war measure for war purposes only. How can my right hon. friend contend that a Parliament returned under a measure such as that can be of a representative character at the present time?

The Military Voters' Act was a measure passed by this Parliament for the purpose, not of defeating the will of the electorate, but of giving expression to it. My right hon. friend knows, perhaps more than anyone else in this House, that that Act was used to effect the representation in this particular Parliament. I shall spare the House a recital of that disgraceful chapter in our national history, whereby advantage was taken of the Military Voters' Act to coerce, in the matter of their political rights, thousands of the young men of this country who were serving their country and the cause of freedom overseas, and

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whereby their votes, together with the votes of hundreds of men and women who had never seen in Canada, were poured by emissaries of the Government into specially selected constituencies, with no object other than that of ensuring the defeat of candidates opposed to the Administration, a course of action which, by the way, has been openly defended and commended by my right hon. friend on the very floor of Parliament. My right hon. friend knows quite well that there are sitting in this House of Commons to-day many members who would not be sitting here at the present time if the election had taken place under the old Dominion Franchise Act instead of under those particular Acts.

Unless we have a representative Parliament, what becomes of any theory of the supremacy of Parliament? The supremacy of Parliament is based in every particular upon the circumstance that Parliament is supposed to be truly representative of the will of the people. I have not, however, mentioned these two particular measures for the purpose of enlarging upon the iniquities which helped to disgrace the record of our Canadian history at the time; my purpose is to draw the attention of Parliament to the circumstance that both those Acts have been repealed, and that we have at the present time upon the Statutes a new Franchise Act which was passed by this Parliament at the last session. The meaning of that is simply this, that this Parliament recognized that the franchise under which the members of the present Parliament had been returned was not a franchise which adequately represented the views of the people of this country at the present time. They recognized that that was a franchise permissible only for war purposes and that its ends were served when the war was over. When we have a new Franchise Act passed by this Parliament which gives the right of the ballot to thousands of citizens who had not that right previously, for the Government to continue to carry on in view of the support that it is getting from representation effected under those old methods, constitutes, I maintain, a direct usurpation of popular government in this country.

That brings me to the third point on which I think my right hon. friend has already attempted to justify his carrying on of the Government of the country. He has attempted to justify it on a literal interpretation of what was said in the campaign of 1917. He has said that the then Prime Minister gave no pledge at that time; that the Government of that day did not commit itself. That line of defence implies such colossal deception that I do not think any ministry could feel itself so unworthy as to come before the people on such a ground.

Does my right hon. friend wish it to be assumed that when he and his distinguished predecessor in the high office of Prime Minister of Canada were appealing in the name of patriotism to men and women of all classes to forget party and party considerations, when they were appealing to mothers for their support that an end might the more speedily be made to the sacrifice of their sons, and the slaughter of human lives, that all the time they were cherishing a mental reservation which looked beyond the winning of the war to personal aggrandizement and the maintenance of political power when the war was won, regardless altogether of the nature of their appeal. The thought is too abhorrent even to entertain. I refuse to believe any thing so unworthy of my fellow countrymen, and least of all of those who have come to occupy a distinguished position in our public life.

I do not wish to take up too much time in discussing this matter further. I might, however, direct the attention of my right hon. friend to a very important circumstance, namely, that fortunately some of his former colleagues in the late ministry view their obligations to the people in a different way from that in which he is prepared to view his obligations at present. We have had five resignations by Liberal members of the previous ministry, and I think all of them have been on the ground that the hon. members who resigned felt that when they entered the Unionist administration the public believed they were entering a war administration and that when that administration had served its purpose, their right to continue longer in office was at an end. On June 4, 1919, the hon. member for Marquette (Mr. Crerar) resigned; on August 2, 1919, the hon. member for Victoria-Carleton (Mr. Carvell) resigned; on January 1, 1920, the hon. member for Hamilton East (Mr. Mewburn), then Minister of Militia and Defence, resigned; on February 23, 1920, the hon. member for Halifax (Mr. Maclean) resigned, and on July 8, 1920 the then President of the Privy Council, the hon. member for Durham (Mr. Rowell) resigned. All of these gentlemen have read their obligations to the people in terms wholly different from those in which my right hon. friend is reading his obligations at the present time. They, at least, did not have

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any mental reservations one way or the other in what they were leading the people to believe at the time they entered the Unionist administration and appealed to the country.

I have mentioned certain members of the late Government who have read their obligation in a different way. There is one other member of the Government that I should like to quote in the matter of obligation, because he happens to be a member of my right hon. friend's administration. I think there are only two of the original so-called Liberal members of the day who went into the Union Administration who are now in my right hon. friend's ministry. I have here a quotation from a speech made by my hon. friend the Minister of Immigration and Colonization (Mr. Calder) in this Parliament at the time the hon. member for Marquette resigned from the Government, and perhaps it will be worth while to give it just to show how my hon. friend viewed the matter of resignations at that time. Here is what he said (Hansard, p. 3341):

> Let me ask hon. members of this House what would be the consequences if we all followed the course taken by the hon. member for Marquette (Mr. Crerar). Suppose the Minister of Public Works (Mr. Carvell) resigned, and the President of the Privy Council (Mr. Rowell), and the Acting Minister of Trade and Commerce (Mr. Maclean), and myself and others should resign—

at which point there was some interruption, when my hon. friend continued:

> Do not be too sure, my friends, the task of carrying on government in this country and the responsibilities that are thrown upon public men are not so alluring as some hon. gentlemen seem to think. I say that if those resignations did take place there would immediately be a political crisis in this country, and one thing, and one thing only, could happen: either the Prime Minister would have to appeal to the country, or he would have to advise the Governor General to call upon my friend who leads the Opposition to form a new Government.—(Hansard, p. 3341).

Well, all these resignations, and others, save alone that of my hon. friend, have taken place. Are we to assume, then, that he is the slender thread on which the fate of the ministry hangs; that it is to his presence in the ministry we owe the aversion of a political crisis, and the one thing and one thing only that could happen? If that be so, let me assure my hon. friend that the greatest service he can render the country is to drop out of the ministry just as speedily as possible.

I come now to the last mentioned of the arguments enunciated, namely, that the leader of the Opposition himself does not desire an election. I would hesitate to make mention of this contention, since it is so puerile, were it not that my right hon. friend himself has put it forward on different occasions, and one or two of his colleagues have busied themselves whispering it about.

What, may I ask, have my wishes or desires to do with this matter, or, for that matter, the wishes or desires of my right hon. friend, or any other member of this House on either side of you, Mr. Speaker?

It is not a matter of wish or desire; it is a matter of right and duty: the right of the people to self-government, and the duty of their representatives in Parliament to be scrupulous in the defence of that right whenever it appears to be infringed. It is the basis of all our liberty, and our one sure defence against arbitrary behaviour and revolutionary tendencies in matters of government.

My right honourable friend says he has been all over Canada and has heard no demand for a general election. That only proves that his hearing is not as good as my own. I may tell him that I also have crossed the Dominion from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and everywhere I have gone, it is the one demand I have heard.

But if he has not heard it, perhaps he has seen it in the record of the by-elections which have been held since the termination of the War. They reveal an overwhelming public opinion against the Government.

Whilst a general election has been refused the by-elections show an overwhelming public opinion against the Government. The Government's record in the by-elections is a tale of defeat, a story, for the most part, of enormous majorities wiped out, and enormous majorities recorded against them. Since the armistice was signed there have been in all sixteen by-elections. These are divisible into three groups: by-elections of hon. members opposite who are in the ministry; by-elections held in constituencies that were won by the Liberals in 1917; and by-elections in constituencies that were won by the Unionist Administration in 1917.

Take the case first of by-elections of Ministers. We all know that constituencies normally are gratified to see their members made Ministers of the Crown. It requires a strong wave of popular indignation to defeat a minister; usually his return is by acclamation. That was so in the case of my honourable friend the Minister of Finance (Sir Henry Drayton). It was recognized by the country that at this, of all times, it was important the coun-

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try should have a Minister of Finance, and that he should be as free from embarrassment in the discharge of his duties as possible. So my honourable friend from Kingston was permitted to take his seat unopposed. It was not the same, however, with the other honourable ministers. In the case of my honourable friend the Minister of Agriculture, (Mr. Tolmie) his majority as a Minister was reduced, in the city of Victoria, from 8,764 which he obtained when returned as a private member, to 2,134 when returned with the prestige of a Minister. In the case of the present Minister of Customs and Inland Revenue (Mr. Wigmore) as my hon. friends know, he was only opposed at the last moment and a good deal was said and promised by my hon. friend and others to encourage the electors of that constituency during the campaign. His majority was reduced, in the city of St. John and the counties of St. John and Albert, from 7,917 when returned as a private member, to 4,155 when returned as a Minister of the Crown. Then, in the case of the present Minister of Public Works, (Mr. McCurdy) in the county of Colchester he was elected by acclamation as a private member in 1917; but in the by-election, running as a member of the present Administration, he was strongly opposed.

Let it not be forgotten that in the case of all the ministerial by-elections, the Government had the choosing of the constituencies and the opening of all of them. They were careful to select what they conceived to be their strongholds in the respective provinces. In all these elections, they only retained seats previously held.

Coming now to by-elections of the second group, what does the record show? In the case of constituencies won by the Liberals in 1917, not one has been lost.

There was the constituency of Prince, P.E.I., which was contested in the general elections. The by-election there was won by acclamation. In Quebec East an election was fought in 1917, but the Government did not dare to put up a candidate against my hon. friend (Mr. Lapointe) in the by-election. In Kamouraska, where there had been an election in 1917, my hon. friend (Mr. Stein) was returned by acclamation in the by-election. In St. James, Montreal, in that great metropolis and industrial centre, my hon. friend (Mr. Rinfret) was elected without opposition from a Government candidate.

That is the record in regard to the voice of the people in the case of hon. members who were returned for constituencies held by the Liberals in 1917. Contrast that with the constituencies won by the Government in 1917 and see what the voice of the people is when it gets the only expression possible. We have been denied general elections but the by-elections serve to give some indication of the will and wishes of the people.

There have been eight by-elections held in constituencies that were won by the Government in 1917.

Of the eight they have retained one, and lost seven. The one retained was Yale. In the by-election which was held in that constituency this year the Government received only 389 of a majority, whereas their candidate, a minister, in the general election in 1917, had been returned by acclamation. That is all they received. Now what about the other constituencies? Here are the results so far as the Government is concerned. In Glengarry and Stormont an election was held on the 27th of October, 1919. In the general elections of 1917 the Government's candidate was returned by acclamation: in the by-election there was a majority vote of 2,376 against the Government. In Assiniboia the Government's candidate received, in the election of 1917, a majority of 4,524. In the by-election there was no Government candidate. In Victoria-Carleton where in the general election of 1917 a Minister was returned by acclamation, there was a majority against the Government in the by-election on October 27th, 1919, of 3,544. In Timiskaming, in the elections of 1917, the Government candidate was returned by a majority of 2,150. In the by-election on April 7th, 1920, there were three candidates running ; the Government candidate came in at the foot of the poll, a total vote of 5,316 having been registered against him. In North Ontario, in the general elections, the Government candidate received a majority of 1,555 while in the election on December 9, 1919, the Government lost the constituency which was carried by an Opposition candidate by a majority of 185.

Now we come to the period since the assumption of office by my right hon. friend. Two by-elections have been held since he has become Prime Minister in each of which he has made a special appeal to the people for support and confidence in his government. In 1917 the Government candidate in the constituency of East Elgin received a majority of 308. In the by-election, as my hon. friend will remember, there were three candidates running, and the total majority against the Government was 2,263. Then there is West Peterborough, in which there were five

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candidates. In that riding the Government candidate, in the election of 1917, had a majority of 3,418. In the election just concluded, as my right hon. friend knows, the combined majority of the four candidates against the Government was 7,331. I ask my right hon. friend to say whether it is possible to have a plainer expression of public opinion than that evidenced in these several by-elections?

May I point out, Mr. Speaker, that since the armistice Canada is the only country among the nations of the British Empire and among the countries that form the associated and allied powers wherein the Government has denied to its people the right of a general election in order that they might return a representative parliament? I think my right hon. friend, if he has not given attention to that aspect of the question, will find it perhaps the most serious of all. Of all the self-governing countries that compose the British Empire, including the United Kingdom, the governments have permitted their people, since the armistice, to return representative parliaments. The people of Canada alone have been denied that right by their government. Of all the countries of the allied and associated powers, that took part in the war, this is the only one in which the people have not been accorded the right of returning a representative Parliament. Not only that, Sir; even countries in the Orient and in South America, even enemy countries, have given to their peoples the right to choose representative parliaments since the signing of the armistice.

Let me give my right honourable friend the record in this respect. In the United Kingdom a general election was held in 1918. Is the example of the British Parliament not one worthy of being emulated here? The people in the Old Country were not more interested in after war conditions than we are. The Government that had been formed and carried on in England during the war was a Unionist Administration, but the Prime Minister of England had a very different sense of obligation to the people from that which my right honourable friend has shown, because he did not lose any time before he gave the people a right to return a new parliament to deal with post-war questions. In Australia a general election was held in December, 1919. Are the people of Canada so inferior to those of Australia that they cannot be given the same right to return a representative parliament? Are they not to be trusted as much as the Australians to choose representatives who will do their duty by the public? Come to New Zealand. General elections were held there in December, 1919. Again, I ask, are the people of this Dominion not to be given the same right as the people of New Zealand in this respect? What about South Africa, the latest country to come within the Empire? South Africa has had not one but two elections since the signing of the armistice. The first election was held in February, 1920, and the other has been concluded within the past week. Are our people so inferior in calibre and in appreciation of the rights and duties of citizenship, so incapable of administering their own affairs, that they are not to be trusted in the same way as the citizens of South Africa? Take the island of Newfoundland. It had its general elections in November, 1919. Why should our people be denied that right?

Now, let us go outside of the British Empire and look at the nations that compose the allied and associated powers. France suffered in the war, and she has her post-war problems to deal with. She had a general election in November, 1919. Italy had a general election in November, 1919; Belgium had a general election in November, 1919; The United States had a general election in November, 1920. Japan had a general election in November, 1920. Every one of the countries that comprise the allied and associated powers has given to its people rights which have been denied the people of this country by the present administration.

Mr. LEMIEUX: Even Mexico has given the people that right.

Mr. MACKENZIE KING: Even Mexico, as my honourable friend states. But we may go further and say even China. China in 1917 had a general election; Argentina in 1918; Denmark in 1918 and 1920; and Greece and Germany in 1920. Yet my right hon. friend denies the citizens of this country rights which even enemy countries have granted their peoples.

In addition to that, there is not a single province in this Dominion—with the exception of Alberta and Saskatchewan which provinces had their elections a little prior to the signing of the Armistice—that has not had an election since the signing of the Armistice. The electors throughout the country are the same people, for Federal purposes, and if the Provincial Governments have found it possible to appeal to the people, on what ground does

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my right hon. friend presume to say that the electorate of Canada, taken collectively, are not to be accorded the same right.

Mr. MEIGHEN: Will the hon. gentleman be good enough to tell me when the elections took place in Saskatchewan and Alberta?

Mr. KING: I stated, but the Prime Minister apparently did not hear me, that all the provinces had held their elections shortly after the Armistice, with the exception of Alberta and Saskatchewan.

Mr. MEIGHEN: I did not hear the hon. gentleman state the exception.

Mr. KING: The elections in Alberta and Saskatchewan, I believe, were held in July 1917.

Mr. MEIGHEN: This House was elected in December, 1917.

Mr. KING: Yes, but I am speaking now of the period subsequent to the signing of the Armistice. It was a short time before the signing of the Armistice when these particular provinces had their elections. Does my right hon friend think that the people of the different provinces are so inferior that they are not to be entitled to a general election? The Government of which he is the head is denying to the people of Canada rights which every Government that has a real appreciation of its duty to the people, has long since conceded. May I say to my right hon. friend that I think he will find that the only Governments which have not allowed their people a general election are those of Canada and Russia.

My right hon. friend, in his public addresses, has had a good deal to say about Bolshevism. He seems to regard all those who are not of his way of thinking as Bolshevist. Let me ask him what is Bolshevism other than the usurpation of government by a group, through some act of violence which defies the laws, usages, and customs which constitutional procedure has devised to preserve representative institutions. So long as the consequences, in robbing the people of their rights, are the same, it matters but little what the method employed may be. The only fundamental difference between the usurpation of the powers of popular government in Russia and its usurpation by the present administration in Canada, is that in Russia physical violence has been the instrument used by the usurpers to effect their purpose, while in Canada it has been legislative violence.

When a comparison of this kind is even remotely possible, it is evidence, Mr. Speaker, of the lengths we have drifted away from the spirit of our constitution, from the responsible self-government which is the very foundation of our political freedom.

It was not alone our Parliament buildings which suffered partial destruction during the period of the war; our parliamentary institutions suffered destruction in large measure along with the rest. Customs usages and practices, intended to preserve the free, representative, self-governing character of our Parliament and the responsible character of its ministry, were one by one temporarily set aside, one by one ignored, until to-day we are witnessing open defiance of the most fundamental of all principles of free government, namely: the right of the people to control their own Parliament.

What matters it if we preserve the form and letter of the law and of the constitution if the spirit is lacking? "for the letter killeth but the Spirit giveth life".

We have reconstructed our Parliament Buildings and made of them a glorious edifice, of which as a nation we are justly proud. But unless we can restore the spirit of our forefathers, which made the constitution what it is; unless we can make of these halls of parliament a citadel of a people's liberties, we will have erected over the sacrifices of the war only a whited sepulchre, a thing in form and appearance outwardly beautiful, but within a charnel house of disillusionment full of intrigues and deceptions, full of broken pledges, of shattered ideals, of lost visions, of vanished faiths, and containing the seeds of a nation's decay.

What is it, Mr. Speaker, that works havoc in human lives, that destroys the noblest of friendships, that blights all that is most sacred in our human relations? It is the loss of confidence that comes through disillusionment, through the broken pledges, the shattered ideals, the lost visions, the vanished faiths. Cruel, indeed, it is when that breach in confidence comes between man and man, between friend and friend, between race and race, between nation and nation; but when it comes between a people and its Government, there is no saying what injury it may ultimately work.

What we need to-day is to seek to restore to the people faith in our parliamentary institutions, through conceding their right of control over the Parliament of the country. We know that there are rights under the law; that there are powers under

the constitution; these we are prepared to concede to the limit. But is there no such thing in our national economy as public morality? Is there nothing binding in conscience and in honour between those who rule a people and those who have permitted them to rule?

The people know, they do not have to be informed upon the grounds of the support given by them to Union Government in 1917. It was demanded of them in words of patriotism; it was engraven upon their hearts in terms of human sacrifice. Confidence in the patriotic motives of the members of the Government was the essence of their support. That confidence has gone. The people thought they were returning patriots to power. They find in office to-day only office seekers, and office holders, those who love the loaves and the fishes, who make broad their phylacteries, who enlarge the border of their garments, who love the uppermost rooms at feasts, and the chief seats in the synagogues, and greetings in the markets, who make clean the outside of the cup and of the platter, but within are full of extortion and excess.

Confidence in government, Mr. Speaker, will never be restored till the people regain the control over Parliament and the executive which they have lost. For that reason, Mr. Speaker, I beg to move, seconded by my hon. friend the member for Shelburne and Queens (Mr. Fielding) that the following be added to the Address:

We respectfully submit to Your Excellency that Your Excellency's present advisers do not possess the confidence of this House or of the country, and that their retention of office constitutes a usurpation of the powers of popular government.

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