

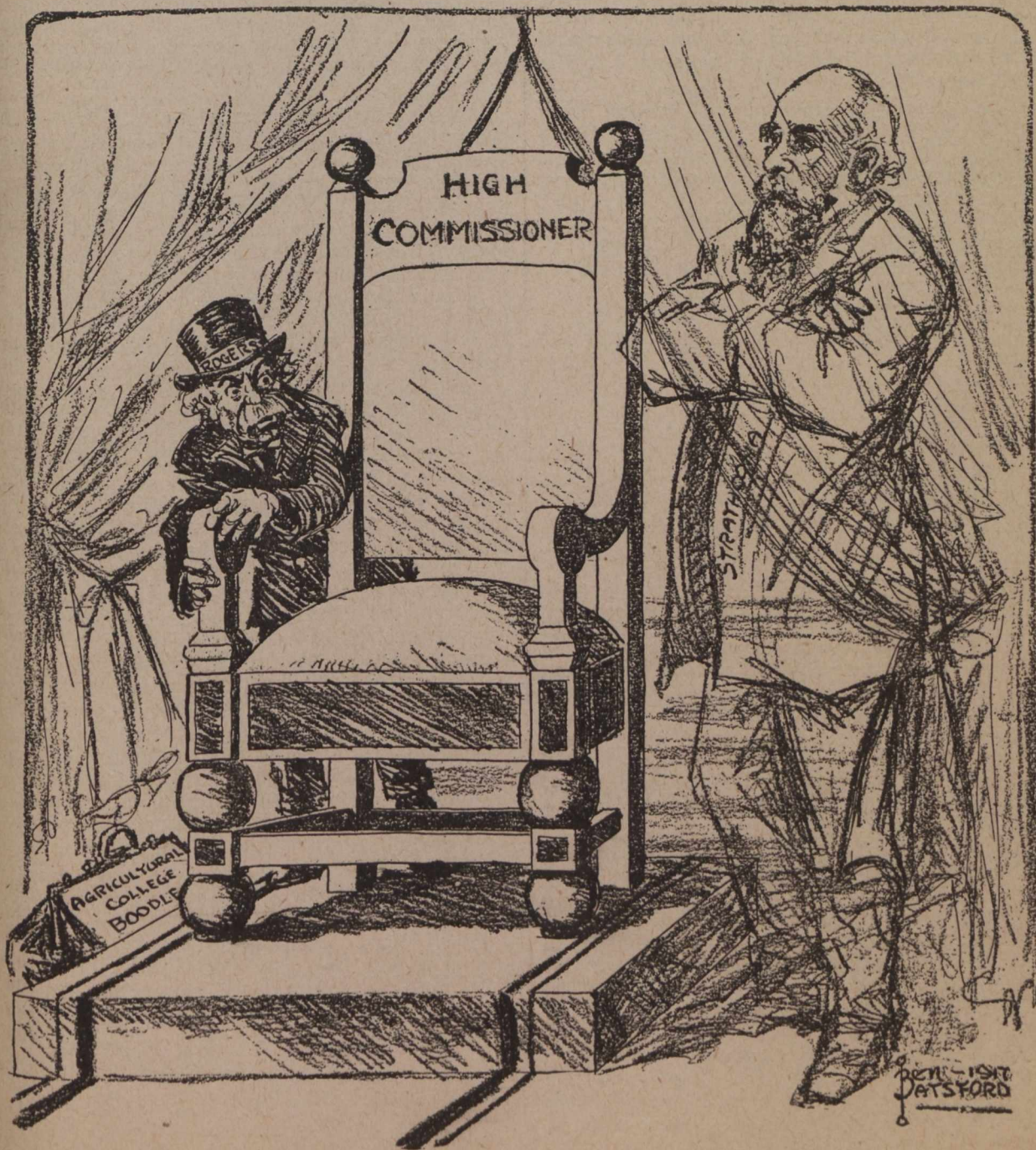
THE CANADIAN LIBERAL MONTHLY

VOL. IV. No. 8.

OTTAWA, APRIL 1917.

TWO CENTS

THE SHADOW OF A BIG MAN



THE CANADIAN LIBERAL MONTHLY

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EMIGRATION TO THE UNITED STATES.

A Correction.

In the February issue of the Canadian Liberal Monthly under the heading, "Emigration to the United States" appeared the following paragraph:

"It is now known that during the month of December 1916, an additional 27,000 of our Canadian male citizens went to the United States."

This paragraph should have read:

"It is now known that during the last four months ending, December 1916 an additional 27,000 of our Canadian male citizens went to the United States."

We give herewith the male emigration from Canada to the United States from March 1916, to February 1917, inclusive as supplied us by the Commissioner of United States Immigration Service, residing in Montreal:—

March, 1916.....	5,334
April, 1916.....	6,799
May, 1916.....	5,624
June, 1916.....	5,500
July, 1916.....	4,654
August, 1916.....	5,429
September, 1916.....	7,547
October, 1916.....	7,492
November, 1916.....	9,397
December, 1916.....	8,039
January, 1917.....	7,390
February, 1917.....	4,666

Total..... 77,871

NATIONAL VS. COALITION GOVERNMENTS.

A DISTINCTION between national and coalition administration is important at this time when Britain is being ruled in war matters by a government made up of partisans and when there is a pronounced sentiment in the Dominion in favor of a more intelligent and vigorous management of public affairs. A coalition administration is essentially partisan, but the predominant object to be attained is unity of action. This is not always possible, for local issues are almost certain to obtrude themselves in such cases. The Irish home rule question, for example, has arisen within the past few weeks to threaten to undo all the work of the present coalition ministry in Britain. This revival is undoubtedly due to the convictions and opinions of partisans included in the coalition. It has been found that a government made up of strong party men of both sides while to all appearances is working harmoniously is very apt to make most serious blunders. The traditions and prejudices of party will crop up and frequently the last condition is far worse than the situation it was designed to remedy. Already, in addition to the

home rule trouble, there are signs that the protectionist element in the British cabinet are intent upon introducing their rejected theories under cover of the national necessity. The Indian cotton duties furnish food for thought in this particular

On the other hand, national government requires first a strong and capable and experienced leader or head. This is essential if the administration is to gain and hold public confidence. The objects of the ministry should be outlined in unmistakable language. At the present time the war is, of course, the chief concern of all governments under the British flag. What to do to bring about victory, expeditiously, and with a proper regard for the resources and strength of the nation with an accurate knowledge of existing conditions and with a prophetic eye to the future should comprise the aim and purpose of a national government. Party, as such, should, for the time being, be forgotten.

The inclusion of strong men who have not allied themselves with either party in the past but whose knowledge of the labor, industrial and financial resources and capabilities of the country are acknowledged should be considered in the formation of a national government, after the all-important matter of leadership has been decided. Nevertheless constitutional procedure should not be disregarded in the premises. The people of Canada have the final and conclusive decision in such matters and any departure from this constitutional right and the forms of administration to which we have been accustomed in the past must be at the discretion of and with the consent of the people of the Dominion. The country should impress upon leaders in the various departments of the industrial life of the nation that service is expected of them in such a crisis as now confronts the empire, not only for the actual duration of the war, but during the all-important period of post bellum reconstruction. We feel sure that Canada possesses many men of this kind who would willingly devote themselves to the service of the country in a cabinet divorced from the time being from all the trying issues involved in current politics. A cabinet partly composed of politicians to which are added prominent and successful Canadians in various undertakings of national importance—big men with big ideas and with resourcefulness and courage and experience—this, we think, would constitute an ideal government for the handling of the present difficulties and for the inspiration of that confidence which will play such an important part in the settlement of our post-bellum problems.

CANADA'S PUBLIC DEBT.

Total Net Debt, September, 1911.....	\$323,938,768.74
" " " " September, 1915.....	484,841,633.74
" " " " October, 1915.....	492,528,492.00
" " " " November, 1915.....	501,668,167.74
" " " " January, 1916.....	527,488,999.94
" " " " January, 1917.....	745,938,869.74
" " " " February, 1917.....	765,061,893.60

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WOMEN AND THE NEW PROTECTIONISM.

(The following article is taken from the *Women's Liberal Federation News, London, England, of March 1st, 1917.*)

By F. J. SHAW (Secretary to the Cobden Club.)

IN writing upon the new Protectionism to a women's magazine I want at the outset to make clear that no patriotic purpose would be served by this new version of Tariff Reform. People are talking very freely just now about the failure of Free Trade, and trying to make out, or at least asserting loudly that the war has proved the Free Traders wrong and the Tariff Reformers right. Nothing could be further from the truth. It is Protection that has failed in this war, and failed very badly: Free Trade has been a triumphant success. Almost as soon as the war broke out, all the nations of Western Europe, even those that were not actually engaged in fighting, who levied Protective tariffs on food stuffs, were obliged to suspend them. This means that just when they wanted money more than ever before, they were obliged to take less. The only countries that were able to go on receiving their revenues as before were the three that have Free Trade in food—Great Britain, Denmark and Holland. The Free Trade system stood the strain of war, while Protection collapsed hopelessly under it.

And of the countries actually engaged in war, it is Great Britain, the only Free Trade one, that is able to find not only all the money needed for its own gigantic share in the struggle, but hundreds of millions besides to help Protected Allies and Dominions. It is as certain as anything can be, that if Free Trade had not put this country in a far stronger position financially than any of her allies or dependencies, Germany would have won the war before now. Our Free Trade has done a great part in saving the world from Prussian militarism.

It would, then, be deplorably bad patriotism to upset a system which is even now serving us so well. A return to Protection would do the country no good and we can afford to consider how it would affect us in our private lives. One effect Protection would have, and is perhaps meant to have, it would tend to preserve war prices in peace time. Every housewife knows too well the difficulty she has in coping with the universal rise in prices. This is an invariable effect of war. If we are to have cheap food and clothes, men must plough and sow and reap, so that there shall be large supplies of corn: ships must be numerous and employed in carrying the corn to where it is wanted; the people must be working at spinning and weaving, so that there shall be plenty of woollen and cotton goods. But in war, millions of men are doing none of these things: they are either in the trenches firing off shells, or in the munition works making them, while the ships are carrying soldiers and guns or lying torpedoes at the bottom of the sea. You cannot have peace prices in war time.

But the converse is not necessarily so true—and it is quite possible, at least to some extent, to maintain war prices in time of peace. And of course war prices often pay those men who have food and clothing to sell, however little they may suit the women who have to buy them. It is perhaps natural enough for the people who profit by war prices not to want to see them reduced when peace comes; and as the easiest way to prevent this is by Protective taxes a demand for Protection, on some excuse or other, is very sure to find support during or after a great war. Thus, a hundred years ago we had a great world war and all the necessaries of life became very dear, dearer even than now. But with the battle of Waterloo came peace with all the nations so exhausted that it was certain there could be no great war for a long time. It was clear that that would soon mean a heavy fall in the price of bread, and as at that time the working classes, who bought most of the bread, had no votes and very little power, a Parliament of landlords had no scruple about passing a law that no corn should be imported into the country, so long as the price was under 80/- a quarter. This was effective. Though we got peace in 1815, it was not till more than thirty years after that we got peace prices for bread. The poverty of the people was terrible; the poor rate rose higher and higher; there was discontent everywhere, even frequent bread riots and threats of revolution, but the rent of land was high and the rulers of the people were well content. At last, in 1846, the infamous Corn Laws were repealed and we got peace prices again.

Again, in the early sixties, there was the great civil war in America. Taxes were imposed and the cost of living rose,

Pledges were given that the import duties would be taken off after the war, but it was not until Mr. Woodrow Wilson became President that any real reduction was made, just before this war broke out, and even yet the traffics are higher than before the war.

It is no wonder, then, that we again have a movement to achieve the same purpose, only this time the men at least generally have votes. Protection cannot now be obtained by simply demanding that the price of corn should be kept up. It is necessary to appeal to patriotic motives and to make out that food taxes are wanted, not to make landlords rich, but to make the Germans poor. But it means the same thing as before. If when employment is good and wages high and regular, it is very difficult for housewives to find the money to pay war prices, what will it mean afterwards, when all the men come back to compete against one another on the labour market, when, perhaps, we have thousands of unemployed, and when wages may readily fall to the old level?

As yet, much of the talk about Protection is of a very vague character. It is proposed to have duties on imports from the Dominions, the Allies, and from neutral countries on various scales, neutral goods to be taxed higher than allied imports, and these again higher than imports from the Colonies. What is to be done with imports from enemy lands is not determined, some people wishing to prohibit them altogether, while others only propose to subject them to specially heavy taxation. In this vagueness, perhaps, lies the danger of the whole thing—if the people were asked outright to assent to laws meant to keep war prices in peace time, the answer would be clear enough. Fortunately, some Protectionists are not so guarded as others in stating frankly what they want to be at, and in this case one industry, at any rate, in which some people must have made a good deal of money—which the general public have had to pay—has been outspoken enough.

I think I may fairly assume that many of my readers have experienced some difficulty lately in getting as much sugar as they want. If so, the reason is very simple. In the year before the war we imported from Germany and Austria 26 million cwts. of sugar and from all the rest of the world together only 13 million cwts. You see, we got two pounds of sugar from the enemy countries for every pound that came from other places. Well, the war, of course, prevented us from buying any more sugar from Germany and Austria, and that is exactly what is the matter with the sugar supply. Other minor causes may have had something to do with it, and the Government's action in regulating the distribution of sugar may have made matters less bad than they otherwise would have been, but this is by far the most important cause of the trouble. When our most important source of supply is cut off, we must inevitably run short. The stoppage of our imports of Austrian and German sugar is the reason why you have to pay such a high price for it, and why even when you are willing to do this you have to coax the grocer for every pound, and buy tea and all sorts of things, perhaps long before you are ready to use them, with every little lot of sugar you get. Across the sea, on the other hand, if reports be true, the Germans had such quantities of sugar which could not be sold that they were obliged to feed cattle with it. This they did, for want of other fodder, till now they are as badly off for sugar as we are.

But of course, the present price of sugar suits some people and the British Empire's Producers' Organisation mostly I believe in the sugar trade, have made it quite clear what they would like. Among a series of ten provisions—all of which would tend to prevent Free Trade in sugar—they include the following demand:

"That the import of sugar, directly or indirectly from enemy countries be totally prohibited for a period of five years after the war, and that thereafter it shall pay the general tariff in force plus 50 per cent. surtax; such surtax at no time to be less than one halfpenny per pound for sugar exceeding 98 degrees polarisation graduated according to the existing British tariff."

THE HIGH COST OF LIVING.

A Contrast in Methods and Results.

IN May, 1914, under strong pressure of public opinion the government appointed a commission to inquire into the question of the High Cost of Living, and to report upon it.

In June of 1915 the commission produced two bulky volumes of evidence. The commissioners declared that "the order in council appointing the board does not call for suggestions as to remedies," but ventured the opinion that "the remedial lines which this inquiry indicates are the encouragement of food production, and the removal of every possible economic weight in the distribution of the process."

No action whatever was taken by the government on this report, and the cost of living continued to mount.

When war broke out the government took to itself, through the War Measures Act, power to prevent "any undue increase in the cost of necessities." The words "undue increase" apparently are as difficult of interpretation to the mind of the government, as are the words "Economy".

Absolutely no advantage has been taken by the government here of the power conferred upon it in this respect through the War Measures Act. So far as it is concerned there has been no "undue increase" in the price of necessities, though the cost of living since the war commenced has risen by leaps and bounds.

The New Regulations.

In November of 1916 pressure of public opinion again forced the government to make some pretext at dealing with the High Cost of Living, which by that time had attained to startling stature and corpulence. On the tenth of that month an order-in-council was drafted, and passed, embodying a series of intricate regulations. A commissioner was appointed at a high salary, and a staff employed to assist him in his labors.

During the four months which have intervened since the passing of the order High Cost of Living has attained further abnormal proportions, and is now stalking through the country with its head held higher than ever. No single concrete result can be attributed to the new regulations, or the efforts of the commissioner and his staff.

If proof were required of the utter futility, and the complete insincerity of the government pretence at dealing with this urgent problem the householder can find it in the following figures taken from the Labor Gazette the official publication of the government:

Cost Increased Since Regulation Made.

In July of 1914 just before war broke out the index figure of the department showing wholesale prices stood at 134.6. In November of 1916, when the government passed its new

"control" regulations it stood at 198.4. In February of 1917, when the regulations had been in force four months it stood at 217.3—and was still going up!

In July of 1914 the estimated cost of a weekly budget of food for an average Canadian family was \$7.42. In November, 1916, when the new regulations went into force it was \$9.81. In February of 1917 after four months operation of the regulations it had risen to \$10.46—and was still going up!

In July of 1914 the weekly cost of living for an average Canadian family, including coal, fuel, rent etc., was \$14.16. In November, 1916, when the government framed its new regulations, it was \$16.30. In February, 1917, after four months of their operation, it had increased to \$16.78—and was still going up!

Condemn the Government.

The above figures, which are official, bear upon the face of them the most striking condemnation of the government in its utter failure to do anything at all toward the controlling of the cost of the necessities of life.

Profiteering a Sacred Privilege.

As a matter of fact, while every other belligerent nation, and many neutral nations, have taken drastic action to prevent the undue enhancement of the cost of living, the Canadian government has adopted, and maintained the attitude throughout the war that profiteering is the sacred right of its friends, and that the middleman must not be interfered with.

The government's regulations provide for an intricate series of enquiries in which the jurisdiction of the municipalities, the provincial attorney general, and the federal authorities are hopelessly confused. Penalties are provided where undue enhancement by means of combines, price fixing by wholesalers, hoarding of supplies, or any other method of artificially enhancing prices, is proved. But the method of proving these things is so cumbersome and clumsy that proof is difficult, if not impossible to obtain. In the last analysis responsibility for instituting prosecution rests with the government. When, even in the event of proof being established, it is considered politically inexpedient to prosecute, the government has it in its power to hide the proof, and dispense with the prosecution.

The Cannery Combine Directors.

For instance the Minister of Labor has announced that canning companies have been investigated. In that connection the annual statement of the Dominion Cannery Ltd. (known familiarly as the Cannery Combine) made at Hamilton on March 7th, 1917 is interesting. The statement shows profits for 1916 of \$668,077, as compared with a deficit in 1915 of \$294,439, or a favorable

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reversal of \$962,446. It would, for instance be interesting to know how the prices charged for the goods in 1916, together with the prices given the farmers for the raw product compared with those of 1915. But when it is stated that on the directorate of the company appear the names of F. R. Lalor, M.P., D. Marshall, M.P., and S. Nesbitt, M.P.P. (all of whom are Conservative members) can there be any hope of drastic action resulting from the enquiry into the canners?

Kemp and the Tin Trust.

Again, the statement has been made openly in the press and never contradicted that the Enamel and Tin Trust provides a fine of \$300 and boycott for any retailer found selling a teapot five cents below the fixed price. If that is true it is an offence under the regulations. But when it is stated that Sir Edward Kemp, Minister of Militia, is head of one of the firms which form the trust can the public have any hope that the offence will be brought home, and the penalty imposed?

What hope again would there be of action in the controlling of the price of boots and shoes with Sir Herbert Ames, Conservative member for the St. Antoine Division of Montreal, at the head of one of the biggest boot firms in the Dominion? What hope of any serious investigation into woollens with John Stanfield, Chief Whip of the Conservative party as owner of one of the largest wollen plants in Canada?

In fact what hope can there be of control of prices, and regulation of profits from a government of millionaires?

British and Australian Contrast.

In marked contrast with the passive inertia of the Canadian administration in the matter of commodity prices, and middlemen's profits is the drastic action of the Imperial authorities in that regard. In England excess profits are taken for the treasury, and the prices at which the necessities of life must be sold are fixed on a basis of reasonable profit to the producer, and retailer. Those who profit by the war are forced to pay toward the prosecution of the war.

Direct Methods and Concrete Results.

In marked contrast also to the attitude of the Canadian government, are the concrete results obtained by the authorities of the sister Commonwealth, Australia. That country has a simpler and more direct method of dealing with the situation than that embodied in the Canadian order-in-council. In the first place there is no shelving the responsibility for investigation. Under the War Prosecution Prices Regulations passed in July of 1916 a commissioner is appointed for each state of the Commonwealth, and a federal commissioner

coordinates the work. It is provided that the commissioner in any state may recommend that a certain article of food or any other commodity may be declared a necessary commodity under the regulations. Evidence is then taken under oath as to the cost of the raw material, the average cost of distribution, existing wage awards, freight charges and all the factors which govern the actual cost of production, and distribution. On this evidence the commissioner then recommends a price, wholesale and retail, at which the commodity is to be sold, this price varying in metropolitan areas according to transportation etc. With regard to goods imported the importer is required to produce the original invoices.

Prices Fixed on Many Commodities.

By New Year last the Commonwealth had already succeeded in fixing the price of a large range of commodities, "without subjecting the trading community to any material hardship." Flour sells in Queensland at \$3.45 a bag, and in South Australia at \$2.96 a bag. Butter all over the Commonwealth sells at 36 cents a pound. Other items on which prices have been fixed include arrowroot, bran, bread, bacon, biscuits, cheese, cocoa, flour, groats, hams, infants foods, jam, milk, meats, oatmeal, flaked oats, rolled oats, quaker oats, pollard, rice, tinplates, and soups, while the number is being added to every week. Investigation is being made into boots and shoes.

It will be noted that in the above the price of the producer of the raw material which as a rule is fixed by the law of supply and demand, and in some cases by world prices, is not materially interfered with, care being taken particularly to eliminate undue spread between the producer and the consumer.

Have Encouraged Profits.

The Canadian government's action throughout has been on lines exactly the opposite of those adopted in Great Britain, Australia and other countries.

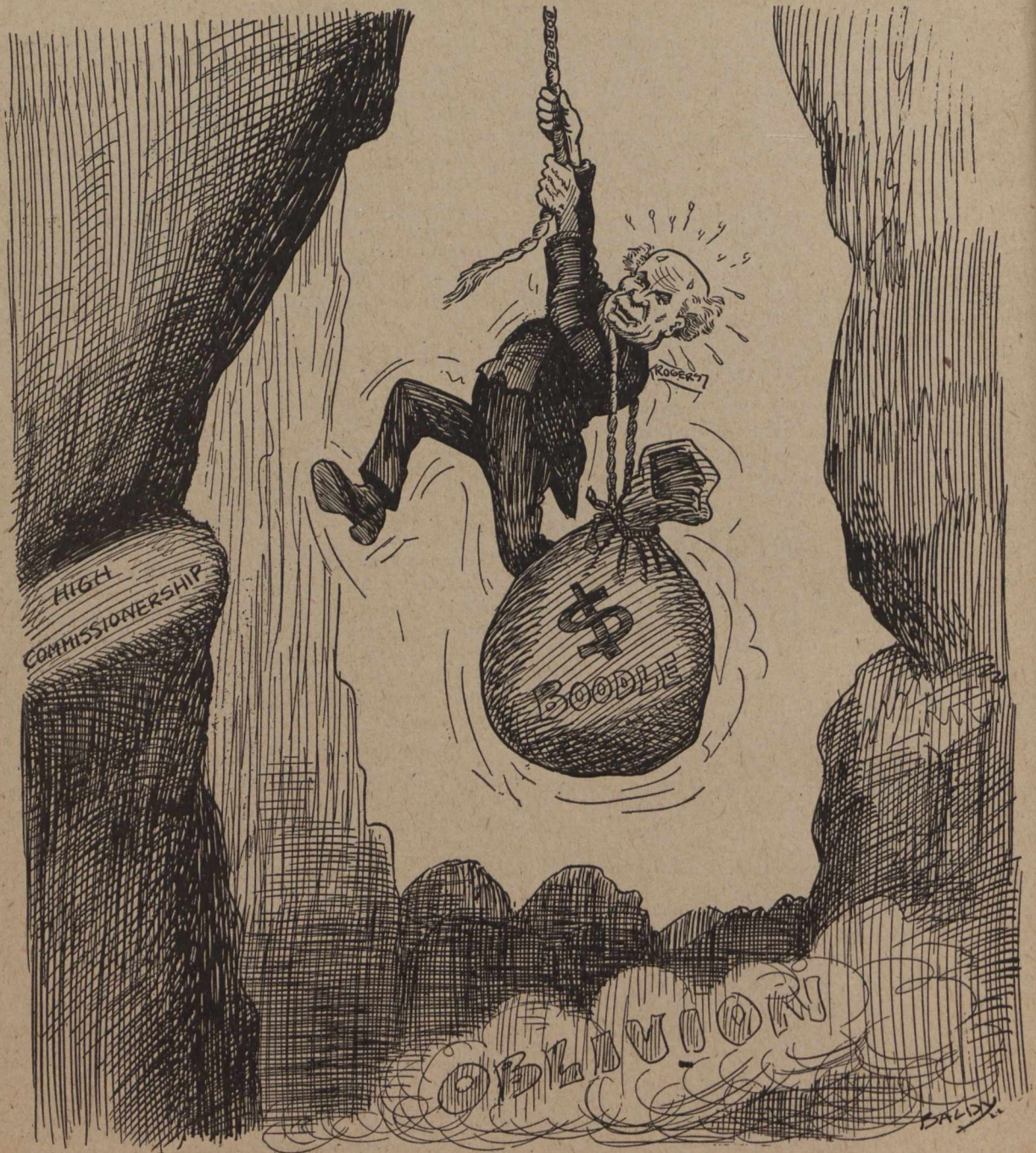
First.—They have encountered from the outset the amassing of profits ranging as high as 800 percent in some cases, even permitting such profits as these to be made from war orders placed by the United Kingdom.

Second.—They have discouraged the producer by forcing him to pay toll on everything he uses, to the heavily protected interests.

Thirdly.—They have enabled these interests through the very fact of this protection to charge what prices they please through the killing of competition.

The consumer has little to hope, and the middleman, and profiteer little to fear from the government's elaborate bluff at dealing with the High Cost of Living.

At the End of His Rope



WHAT WOULD YOU SUGGEST?

When the Minister of Agriculture for Canada made investigations which showed that we had a surplus of two million bushels (of Potatoes) in Canada, a newspaper friendly to the Government said that the high prices were due to "apathy at Ottawa." What would this newspaper critic have the Government do? He does not suggest any action. He merely complains, and places the blame upon apathy at Ottawa.—From the Conservative Headquarters Press Service, March 14th, 1917.

If this is the official view, what becomes of the work of the High Cost of Living Commission who asserts that he is getting results, although the truth compels the statement that these results are not visible to the householder? "What would you suggest?" seems to be about the only answer the government can make to appeals to do something to keep prices reasonable. The people suggest leadership, but evidently the administration has none of that commodity in stock.

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THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF SIR ROBERT BORDEN.

FROM the educational headquarters of the Federal Conservative Party, 47 Slater Street, Ottawa, are sent each week to Tory newspaper editors throughout Canada, prepared articles and editorials for use by these various editors in their respective papers. These editorials and articles inspired as they are by the leaders of the Conservative Party in Ottawa and prepared by writers in the control and employ of the Cabinet Ministers, can rightly be classed as "Official Statements from the Government" and are doubtless sent as such to the editors of these Conservative newspapers.

Quite recently one of these editorials, so prepared and sent out, was entitled "What Sir Robert Borden has Done," and quoted twenty achievements of the Borden Government. Apologies are expressed in the editorial for discussing "Such a Stupid un-Canadian Question," namely "What has Sir Robert Borden Done," and then it proceeds to enumerate the achievements so-called.

We do not criticize the advocates of the Borden Government for putting forward their claims on its behalf but we do criticize any attempt to mislead the Canadian people. In order to be absolutely fair we quote hereunder in parallel columns these so-called achievements and also give what we believe to be the correct view on the various questions referred to.

What the Conservatives claim have been achieved under Sir Robert Borden.

1. Raised, trained, equipped and contributed to the Allied Cause 435,000 men.

What the records show to be the facts of the case.

1. The Government take full credit to themselves for the patriotism and voluntary effort of the thousands of loyal Canadians who constitute the Canadian Overseas Forces. According to Sir Robert Borden's statement in the House of Commons, to make up 435,000 men there are included the French Russian and Italian reservists who have left Canada to take up arms in their respective countries for which the government cannot honestly take any credit. Instead of boasting the government should apologize to the thousands of Canadian soldiers (Sir Herbert Ames stated there were about 50,000 of them) who have enlisted in good faith only to be humiliated on reaching England by being rejected as medically unfit and not permitted to proceed to France.

2. Voted \$900,000,000 for War purposes.

2. If the \$900,000,000 voted had actually been expended for the prosecution of the War this achievement could have passed uncriticized. The

War appropriation vote however covers various payments, such as improvements and additions to drill halls, extra public buildings, camp grounds, extra equipment, extra employees in all Departments of the Service (approximately 2,000) who are paid big salaries and under ordinary conditions could not have joined the Government Service without complying with the Civil Service Act. Traveling expenses and scores of other expenditures in various departments are all charged to the War Vote.

3. Established a munitions industry that employs 350,000 persons, engaged 650 factories, has sent \$500,000,000 worth of munitions overseas and has contracted for \$700,000,000 more.

3. Failed to utilize large Government owned shops and plants for the manufacture of munitions and handed over large contracts at enormous gains to private profiteers, most of whom were not engaged in manufacturing and had not a vestige of a plant. Liberal members in the House of Commons are refused these statistical details but evidently they are available for the Conservative Educational writers.

4. Loaned the British Government \$250,000,000 to finance munition purchases.

4. The total amount actually advanced to the British Government by the Dominion Government for aiding in the manufacture of munitions is approximately \$65,000,000 and not \$250,000,000. The chartered banks of Canada have loaned to the Imperial Government \$100,000,000, against deposit of Imperial Treasury Bills in London which stand to the credit of the Canadian Minister of Finance, who in turn gives the banks certificates of the Treasury bills so deposited. The interest and all other charges for these loans are paid by the Imperial Government. In addition to this \$100,000,000 a further advance of \$100,000,000 was secured from the chartered banks for the Imperial Government. Thus we find that the total advance was \$265,000,000 of which the Imperial Government themselves actually provided \$100,000,000.

5. Supplied Australia, New Zealand and Allied Governments with War orders totalling more than \$150,000,000.

5. This item will require some explanation as no information can be secured as to orders being sent from Canada to sister colonies or the Allied countries.

6. Supplied Great Britain's army with \$60,000,000 worth of hay, oats and flour.

7. Successfully raised three loans and is preparing to raise a fourth in Canada thus relieving the financial strain upon the Motherland and in addition, placing \$75,000,000 of the money so obtained at Britain's disposal.

8. Transformed herself from a country that was borrowing abroad before the war at the rate of \$1,000,000 a day to a country that is financing her own war expenditure to the extent of \$1,000,000 a day, and extending enormous credits to Britain besides.

6. Out of the abundant crops of the farmers of Canada large quantities of agricultural products were exported to Great Britain but where these were handled by the Dominion Government reached the British Army only after enormous profits of middlemen and others were extorted from the British Treasury. The money for these purchases, the total amount of which has been refused Liberal members in the House of Commons, is all supplied by the Imperial Government. The Canadian Government acting only as agents or trustees.

7. The Canadian people were quite willing that a fair proportion of the financial burdens of the war would be borne by Canada and cheerfully subscribed to the Canadian Loans, for the successful carrying on of the war, and will continue to do so as long as the war lasts. Any person who has money to loan considers 5% to 5½% good interest, especially when it is backed by Government security.

8. One would be led to believe from this statement emanating from Conservative headquarters that Canada had financed herself from the beginning of the war. The facts are that the Canadian Government has borrowed from the Imperial Treasury.....\$192,000,000
From New York.. 95,000,000
From the Canadian chartered banks.....100,000,000
War saving certificates and debenture stock 18,000,000
1st and 2nd Canadian war loan..200,000,000
3rd Canadian war loan (now on).....150,000,000

Total.....\$750,000,000
It will be seen that this large total is very much in excess of the war expenditures and shows that a lot of the large borrowings are being eaten up by ordinary and capital expenditure.

9. Increased her annual trade of \$1,000,000,000 in 1914 to a total trade of \$2,000,000,000 in 1917.

9. Canada's trade increased by her sharing in the manufacture of munitions and equipment under immense orders from the Allied nations hard pressed for the necessary war material.

10. Changed a balance of trade against us in 1914 of \$140,000,000 to a balance in our favor in 1917 of nearly \$400,000,000.

11. Adopted war taxation measures which in addition to defraying the running expenses of the country contributes a considerable sum toward the expenditures on war.

12. Created a war purchasing commission which has taken the purchase of all army supplies out of politics, and has bought by tender supplies to the value of \$100,000,000.

13. Created an independent national Pensions Commission, and adopted a scale of pensions more generous than that fixed by any of the other belligerent countries.

14. Created a Military Hospitals Commission which is doing splendid work looking after returned convalescent soldiers, and which is now being copied by Australia.

15. Created a Scientific and Research Council, composed of the Country's leading scientists and engineers, to study new processes for developing Canadian resources and industry.

16. Took effective steps to prevent Canadian nickel reaching the enemy, at the same time seeing that a plentiful supply reached Great Britain and her Allies. Meanwhile, has begun the erection of a refining plant that will refine Canadian ores on Canadian soil.

17. Secured adequate transportation for Can-

10. From an abundant harvest and untold orders for war equipment our export trade has reached a high mark accompanied by very high prices.

11. Imposed a flat increase of 7½% on goods coming into Canada and placed an additional duty of 5% upon goods of Great Britain whose people are wading through blood and tears to save their country from destruction.

12. Attempted to purchase war supplies through the direct instrumentality of the Militia Department and after the lamentable failure therein endeavored to furnish a remedy by appointing a sub-committee of council for purchasing purposes. And thus failing in a deplorable manner handed over the work to the present Purchasing Commission composed of three Tories one of whom is a minister of the crown; the system of tenders in vogue is a delusion.

13, 14, 15. These commissions are still in existence and their work unfinished. The result of their labor can only be fairly dealt with at a future date. If the personnel and staff and equipment and the corresponding expenditure today are any indication of what it will be when these commissions get in full swing the people of Canada will have cause to view with alarm the unwarranted lavish expenditures connected with the administration and equipment of these three commissions.

16. Allowed all nickel matte from our nickel mines near Sudbury, Ontario, to be shipped to the International Nickel Company of New Jersey, and did not prevent hundreds of tons of this nickel refined in the United States from reaching the Germans by the Deutschland, and other means. The refining plant to be erected in Canada is the result of the outburst of Canadian public opinion against the negligence and inactivity of the Canadian Government.

17. Any Government who can take the slightest credit

Canadian exports at a time when marine tonnage was at a premium.

for the present condition of ocean tonnage must be blind to the true condition of affairs. There never was a time when there was greater necessity for ocean tonnage than at the present and this Government have refused absolutely to deal with the matter in an efficient and business-like manner. So much so that the British Government have taken up the matter of ship building in Canada through the Imperial Munitions Board here.

18. Obtained a preference for Canada in the matter of British and Allied purchases.

18. Failed to recognize Canadian manufacturers in furnishing war supplies and handed over fat contracts to American firms out of one of which J. Wesley Allison, Benjamin Franklin

Yoakum, and their confederates gobbled up a commission of \$1,000,000.

19. Rendered effective aid to Western farmers at a critical period, thus ensuring an expansion of production at a time when increased production was an essential in the conduct of the war.

19. Simply followed the precedent set by former Canadian Governments in assisting Western farmers with seed grain, etc., to enable them to pursue their farming operations. These Western farmers were however refused free agricultural implements and an open market in the United States which if given them would doubtless have increased greatly the production of Western Canada.

20. Is entering upon a most generous scheme of land settlement and vocational training for returned soldiers at the conclusion of the war.

20. This is purely problematical the scheme has not yet been submitted.

THE DISTRIBUTIVE FALLACY.

IT IS frequently, if not generally, overlooked that protection is based largely on a psychological appeal. A manufacturer or producer is encouraged by the sophists of the theory to emphasize the productive side at the expense of the consuming side, upon which the cooperative nature and commercial value of trade are based.

A producer exchanges his surplus with a large number of other producers, that is, in return for his surplus he receives a portion of the individual surplus of others. Constant attention to his own production and the expenditure on this work of the greater part of his conscious organized energy impresses him with an exaggerated idea of its pre-eminence. He is inclined to look more closely at what he receives in return for his particular surplus than to closely study the prices of the goods upon which he expends the money received for his own goods. It is this fact that gives the protectionist his opportunity of impressing upon the producer the false idea that money received is of more value than what the recipient can buy with it.

Protection appeals to the individual producers of a nation to regard gain as the sole test of sound economy. By taking each particular trade the protectionist is in a position to illustrate the alleged advantages of his theory in the light of larger gains to the capitalist or the worker. It is an appeal hard to resist. Would not a high tariff on the importation of agricultural machinery, for example, benefit the capitalist and raise wages by creating a monopoly of the home market? is asked. Would not the surplus be available for export? asks the protectionist of the makers of agricultural machinery. It would, certainly, if prohibition of import existed for the makers of one particular line of goods alone. But protection is not individual, except in its clever appeal. All the producers of a country under protection are likewise protected; the agricultural machinery makers, for example, are not the only ones thus shielded by a tariff. Obviously, therefore, the raw materials required in the business of making machinery of this character must also bear a high duty, while articles of food, clothing and the everyday necessities of the workers bear a duty likewise, which

eats up the supposedly higher wage, and more besides. The result is that both capitalists and workers are worse off in the end. Of course, the ideal selfish condition for any one line of manufacturing or production would be protection for itself alone while all other productive enterprises were unprotected. Protection, hence, is an individual theory with an individual appeal. It is based on the false postulate that what is true of one must be true of all—the "distributive fallacy" of the economists.

It would be an error to assume that this fallacy is not recognized by the more highly concentrated and more powerful interests. In a matter of "dog eat dog" the big dogs are aware of the value of sharp and strong teeth and heavier jaws. These interests are ever alert to exercise political pressure on governments to enhance their particular advantages over the rest of the producers of the same country. We see, therefore, varying duties, bonuses, bounties and diplomatic devices for securing foreign trade bestowed upon "organized" industries. These latter are organized for the purpose of taking advantage of political emergencies, as we in Canada, with the experience of 1911 still in mind, are fully aware. Wars and their consequences are favorable opportunities for the organized interests, as all economic history shows. The American civil war was the legitimate father of the high tariff in the United States; the Franco-Prussian war gave birth to high protection in France in 1875; Bismarck played upon the patriotism of Germany in 1879, while Chamberlain saw his supposed opportunity in the few years following the Boer war. Today the protectionists of Britain are taking advantage of the emotional condition of the nation to fasten a tariff upon the motherland as a patriotic reprisal against Germany. They have learned a lesson from Chamberlain's failure and that is that if the people are not stampeded while under the hypnotism of misdirected patriotism they cannot be stamped while cool and collected and when the passion—the justifiable passion aroused by the brutalities of the enemy—has passed and when the era of rational economic thought again asserts itself.

AN ANALYSIS OF THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN VIEW OF THE REQUEST FOR EXTENSION OF PARLIAMENT.

WITHOUT making any prediction as to whether or not the further extension of Parliament asked for by the Government will be approved by the Opposition, the moment would appear to be opportune to analyse the political situation.

Two prime questions are, whether in view of the war, it would be justifiable to override the constitution without appealing to the people, and whether the record of the Government entitle them to a continuance in office.

The law is clear that the life of Parliament is five years. The constitutional term of the present Parliament expired in October 1916, and since then the government of the country, has not been by the people. It is an arbitrary Government and Parliament kept in existence by extraordinary legislation, respecting which the people have not been consulted. In a democratic country the people's rights in regard to their government can not be too strongly or zealously safe guarded, and there is always grave danger in establishing precedents which tend to minimize or prejudice these rights. Governments and Parliaments are the mouthpieces and representatives of the people; they acquire all their powers from the people, and have in fact no status or authority except from and through the people. The extension of Parliament agreed upon between the two political Parties last year was undoubtedly a subversion of the rights of the public. The justification for it were the unprecedented and perilous circumstances arising from the war and the fact that public opinion seemed to be in favour of it. But the question that now arises is, how far and how long is it safe and wise to go in that direction? What right would the Members of Parliament have to assume that in voting for a further extension of Parliament they would be voting as the people would wish them to do. Neither the press nor the flotsam and jetsam of public conversation, which usually sway the average Member of Parliament, is at all equivalent to the polled vote of the people. Experienced politicians know that a preponderating majority of the electorate are of the silent type, who record their views only through the medium of the ballot box. It would seem to be idle, therefore, to argue that a further extension of Parliament would be in harmony with the maintenance of the true principles of a free democracy.

Government Not a Model One.

If the Government were a model one with a record for solid achievement towards the public welfare, there would be less cause for alarm, but standing out clear and bold are the facts that the Government never have captured the imagination of the people and never have had the full confidence even of their own political friends. Wherever one may go in this big country to-day he will find a strong undercurrent of intense feeling against the administration. Judged by any fair and reasonable standard or test that may be applied, the Government are found sadly wanting. Their record

is one of shuffling, trifling, muddling and boodling. One looks in vain through the pages of their history for any act tending to ameliorate the conditions or promote the welfare of the masses; on the contrary there is a plentitude of evidence that they are a class and interest loving Government and Party.

The Nationalist Blunder.

At the very outset a grave and serious mistake was made by Sir Robert Borden in forming a Cabinet composed of two groups of men diametrically opposed to one another, on one of the most important of all questions, loyalty and fealty to the British Crown. "Not a dollar, not a man to help the Empire" was the battle cry of the Nationalist wing of the Cabinet while the slogan of the Tory wing was "Imperialism to the hilt." This ill assorted combination came as a shock to the Country, and it has been fraught with the gravest consequence. If any discontent exists to-day between the two races in Canada it is largely traceable to that act of the Conservative Premier. The inclusion of the Nationalists in his Cabinet was a direct encouragement to them to pursue their vicious propoganda which meant sowing the seeds of discord. The purpose underlying this political move of the Premier is obvious. It was to strike a blow at Sir Wilfrid Laurier's prestige in his native Province by disturbing the minds of the people and creating new political alignments. The wisest part of statesmanship is to reconcile and harmonize conflicting interests especially those affecting race and religion, but Conservative statesmanship evidently is the very reverse.

A Weak Cabinet.

But apart from the hybrid character of the Cabinet its personell was and is distinctly weak. There is not a man of great outstanding ability in the list, and some of them have records which do not give assurance of honest and efficient administration. One of them is today permitted to remain in office notwithstanding a judgment of the Justice of the High Court of Manitoba, condemning him for serious maladministration and misappropriation of public funds. The public men who administered the affairs of this Country in the older days were giants compared with the men who are in office to-day.

Extravagance.

In the realm of finance the career of the Government has been one of extraordinary extravagance. Notwithstanding that Sir Robert Borden when in opposition declared that the Liberal Government's ordinary expenditures of \$79,000,000 per annum were abnormal and prima facie evidence of corruption, his Government in the three years (of normal peace times) from 1911 to 1914, increased the Country's ordinary expenditures from \$87,000,000 to \$135,000,000. The country practically stood still

during these three years or at all events made little progress, while the public expenditures increased, as shown, enormously.

Generosity to McKenzie & Mann.

It was and is a matter of general knowledge that the famous Railway Contractors and Promoters McKenzie & Mann materially assisted the Government to get into office. We might go further and state that they were the initiators of the campaign against Reciprocity which was carried on with so much expensive publicity and flagrant corruption. It is not surprising therefore to find that these promoters have been well treated by the Government. "Well treated" does not suitably express the kindness of the Government towards them. The records shows that the Government completely surrendered, held the Treasury doors wide open, and invited the magnates to fill their capacious satchels. Just look at this list of Tory gifts to these two men and then ask yourself whether the Government is worthy of further trust.

(a) A cash subsidy of \$6,000,000 in connection with the construction of the Manitoba section of the Canadian Northern Railway.—Also guarantee of principal and interest of bonds to the amount of \$4,500,000.

A straight cash subsidy of \$15,640,000.

A guarantee of principal and interest of Canadian Northern bonds to the amount of \$45,000,000.

The Tory Government also advanced \$10,000,000 in cash on the security of \$12,500,000 of these bonds.

A straight loan of \$15,000,000 in the Spring of 1916.

Quebec-Saguenay Steal.

We doubt whether in the annals of any civilized country there is a more nefarious transaction than the Quebec and Saguenay Railway deal. At a time when the Country was at war and there was necessity for conserving every dollar of cash, the Borden Government, coolly and with bold effrontery, paid some of its political debts by taking over and paying for certain railways in Quebec for which they had as much use as a cart has for three wheels. The bold truth is that the owners of these railways found them to be white elephants, and they unloaded them on a too willing Government. This steal (it cannot otherwise be fairly described) cost the Country directly over four million dollars, and in-as-much as large expenditures are necessary to complete one of the Railways, the ultimate cash outlay is likely to be in the neighborhood of ten million dollars. No more monstrous job was ever perpetrated in the Parliament of Canada.

Criticism of the Finance Minister.

The Finance Minister, Sir Thomas White, has been greatly lauded in the Tory Press for his success in raising loans from the people. We have no desire to detract from his glory, but it is really not a great effort to get money from a willing and

patriotic people, especially when they are attracted by a very generous rate of interest. The raising of money for the needs of a Country with as good credit as Canada has, is perhaps the least difficult of the duties of the Finance Minister, and it is by no means the standard by which his administration should be judged. The true tests to apply to him and his Government are, how has the money been used and has the taxation of the people been equitable and along sound lines? Applying these tests we find that prior to the war every change made in the Customs Tariff—the principal source of revenue—was in the direction of higher duties which imposed greater burdens on the people for the benefit of the favoured classes. Sir Thomas White cannot point to a single instance where he bona fide decreased taxation or made the burdens of the poor easier to bear. Knowing comparatively nothing about the Tariff when he took office, he has been guided and directed entirely by the high protectionist school. Some of his taxation measures are quite indefensible and some reprehensible. For instance his action in increasing the protection to the Canadian sugar refiners from 42c to 59c per 100 lbs. shortly after the war broke out. There can be no reasonable justification for that step, which means in reality a gift of over one million and a quarter dollars a year to the sugar refiners. The protection of 42c per 100 lbs. was more than sufficient. The theory of protection is to compensate the Canadian manufacturer for the low cost of production in other countries, and if Sir Thomas White will take the trouble to investigate he will find that the total labor cost in refining sugar is not more than 15c per 100 lbs. Apart from the merits of the matter, the Finance Minister's action was especially reprehensible because he concealed the increased protection under the cloak of revising duties for revenue purposes, and did not explain it to Parliament or to the Country.

Then too there is the war tax import duty of 7½% which was superimposed on a tariff already quite sufficient for the needs of manufacturers. There is no gainsaying the fact that that means additional and unnecessary protection. In regard to foodstuffs the tax is not only absurd but almost criminal. It means in effect that the meat packers and canners of fruit, fish and vegetables are enabled to charge 7½% more for their goods without benefiting the Dominion Treasury. To call it a war tax as applied to foodstuffs is a ridiculous distortion of the truth. If Sir Thomas White really intended this war tax on imported foodstuffs to be additional protection to the Canadian Manufacturer it was an almost criminal act in times of war; if he did not so intend it, it can only be characterized as stupid, because it is not a revenue producer except to the manufacturer.

Sir Thos. has shown no originality or ingenuity whatever in his war taxes. His various stamp taxes have been in operation in other countries, and the Business Profits War Tax had been introduced in England, with this difference, however, that there it is a real and substantial tax, whereas in Canada, it is a trifling one. This brings us to one of the most important of our criticisms of the Finance Minister and his Government, which is,

that they have been grossly negligent of the interests of the people in allowing war material contractors to reap abnormal profits out of the agony of the people, without check or hindrance from them, but on the contrary with their apparent connivance and approval. Tom Brown, John Jones and Bill Smith of the common people give up their prospects in life, leave their homes and their loved ones, to fight the battles of the Empire, and, it may be, pay the toll of the supreme sacrifice, while at home a class and interest-loving Government permits war contractors to reap outrageous profits, without taxing them as they ought to be taxed, to the hilt. It is unnecessary to cite evidence of this. It is to be found on every hand—in the reports of public companies showing fabulous profits, in the boastings of the favoured contractors, and in their display of wealth. This is the great crime of the War committed in Canada, and it will forever stand to the discredit of the Conservative Government and Party.

Cost of Living Soars.

In other respects the Finance Minister in particular and the Government in general, have been unfaithful to their trust. They have done practically nothing to check the rise in prices of commodities which prices have soared to unbelievable heights, without just reason. Since the war began they have supinely looked on while daily it was costing the people more and more to live. There can be little doubt that these increases were in part due to pure greed on the part of manufacturers and producers. Yet instead of action by the Government we have had to suffer the incessant chattering of the Minister directly charged with such matters. There is one exception to this, however,—paper—and it is the exception that proves the rule of Governmental inactivity. Threatened with the wholesale condemnation of the Press of Canada, the Government succumbed and passed an order compelling paper manufacturers to sell newspaper print to the newspaper publishers at prices substantially lower than the prevailing market value. There could be no stronger evidence than this of the cowardice of the Government. They could, with much stronger reason, have taken the same action in respect to many essentials of life, but failed to do so. The newspaper publishers bludgeoned them into action, but the Government stopped there, well realizing that the people are muzzled so long as they are denied their parliamentary rights.

Sir Thomas White Permitted Extravagance.

We make the further criticism against Sir Thomas White that he has been a merely mechanical Finance Minister, concerning himself only with raising money and paying fiddle, if any, attention to the far more important branch of his work, that is supervising the expenditures. If we except his technical criticism of Sir Sam Hughes' methods, he has done nothing to check the extravagance of his colleagues. He has been a tool in Mr. Rogers' hands and has allowed that extravagant Minister to run riot. In the three years from 1913 to 1915 inclusive, Mr. Rogers' expenditures on public works amounted to the enormous sum of \$76,000,000,

which is double the Liberal expenditures for the previous three years.

Then look at the numerous scandals which have tainted the Government and shamed the Country to wit: The Levis land deal; the Dorval land scandal; shield shovels; mail-bag locks; motor trucks; bicycles; binoculars; bandages; drugs; horses; oats; rotten boots for the soldiers; the Morine affair; J. Wesley Allison and his works, including the mysterious gift of \$105,000 out of a war contract to his lady Secretary.

It may sound like partisanship yet it is absolutely true that corruption always rears its head high under Conservative rule. By way of illustration look at the recent revelations in Manitoba, New Brunswick and British Columbia.

Government Shelved Responsibility.

The Borden Government are more notable for the shelving of responsibility than for the acceptance of it. On the slightest pretense they have appointed Royal Commissions to do work, which capable and active Ministers would do themselves. This practice, has been developed to such an extent to be almost farcical, and to give the people the strong impression that the Government are incapable of solving the problems that arise from time to time. The worst of it is that they usually pigeonhole the reports of these Commissions, instead of acting on them. A really valuable contribution to the economic literature of our day was made by the Commission on the cost of living, yet the Government practically consigned it to oblivion. Sir Geo. Murray a prominent official in the British Civil Service made an exhaustive report recommending substantial reforms in the Civil Service of Canada, but again the Government took no action. There is no greater want in Canada to-day than that of technical education. A splendid report was made on this subject to the present Government by a Royal Commission appointed by the Liberal Government, but apparently it only serves to adorn the shelves of the Archives.

Pre-Election Promises Forgotten

During their three years of office prior to the war no constructive legislation of any consequence was passed, and no attempt was made to implement the Premier's pre-election promises. Sir Robert promised to reform the Civil Service, and he did it to the tune of doubling expenditures and adding 12,000 more to the staff, in Peace times when the country was making little progress. He promised also to grant the Prairie provinces their lands and natural resources, but has taken no step in that direction. He favored the nationalization of telegraphs and telephones, but they still remain under private ownership. He said he intended to enlarge the powers of the Railway Commission by giving it authority over public utilities, and here again nothing has been done. Good roads was another definite promise, but the idea was dropped because the Government could not get their own way to spend the money as they proposed unconstitutionally. A tariff commission was to be appointed, but the Government rather than admit the principle that manufacturers claiming protection must open their

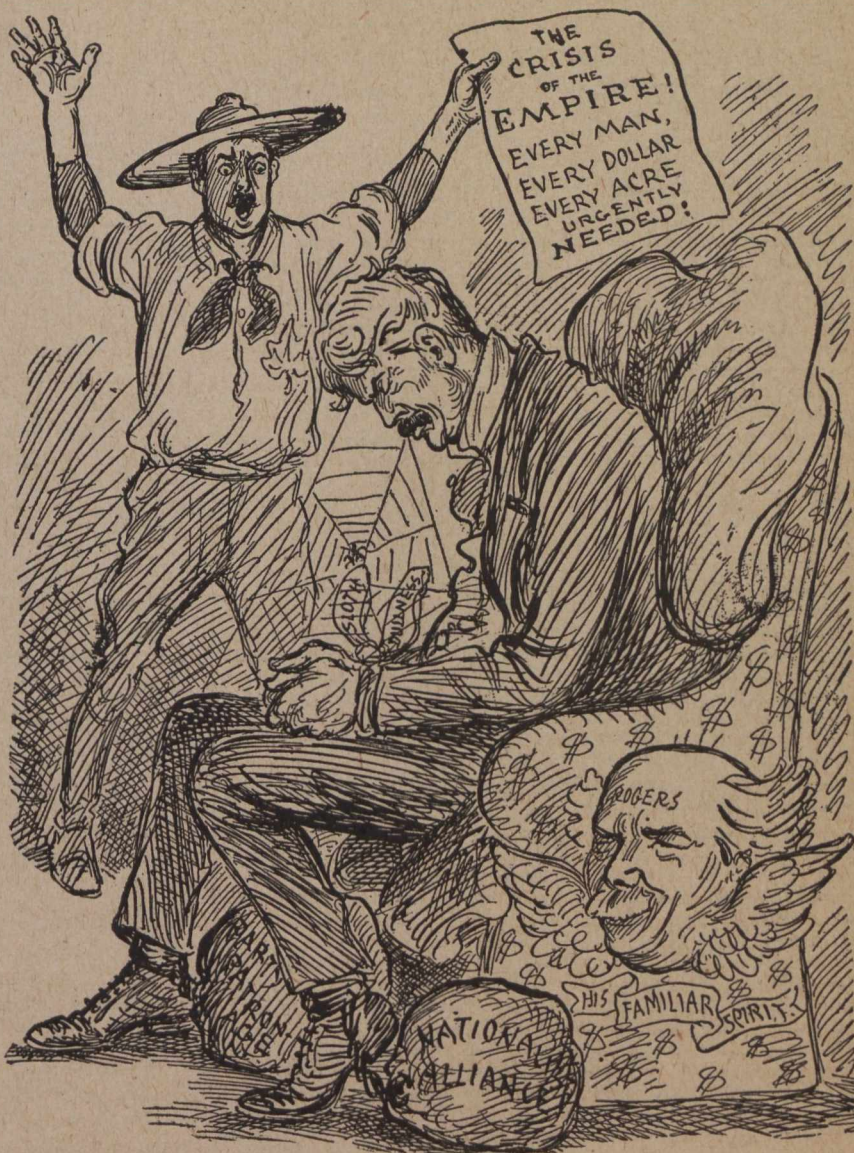
books and business for thorough investigation, withdrew a measure introduced towards this end.

The Borden-Hughes Correspondence Horrible.

The record of the Government in respect of the management of the war is by no means an enviable one. It has been a case of muddling through. Owing to weak leadership, the Country was afflicted for over two years with the harlequin performances of an eccentric Minister, whose administration was wild and extravagant. In this connection the Borden-Hughes correspondence is illuminative in the sense that it shows on the one part the deplorable weakness of the Prime Minister, and on the other the astounding eccentricities of a swash-buckling Minister. We need only allude to the Ross Rifle bungle, the rotten boots provided for the soldiers; the medical service scandal; the bungling in regard to recruiting; the honorary Colonel farce, and the waste through supplying unsuitable equipment, to show the inefficient character of the war administration.

To conclude, there has been no leadership in this Country from or through the Government, since 1911. Continually the cry has been, Why doesn't the Government do this or that, why do they delay and temporarize? and echo has answered, Why?

THE CRISIS



GOVERNMENT FINANCE

REVENUE AND EXPENDITURE ON ACCOUNT OF CONSOLIDATED FUND.	Month of Feb., 1916.	Total to 28th Feb., 1916.	Month of Feb., 1917.	Total to 28th Feb., 1917.
REVENUE:	\$ cts.	\$ cts.	\$ cts.	\$ cts.
Customs.....	8,979,079 62	87,975,980 93	10,088,380 36	118,956,682 81
Excise.....	1,905,478 18	20,109,148 44	1,810,948 39	22,372,658 35
Post Office.....	1,500,000 00	15,671,339 91	1,600,000 00	17,481,627 71
Public Works, including Railway and Canals.....	614,214 83	20,013,312 65	1,979,194 38	23,680,925 24
Miscellaneous.....	1,800,123 56	10,579,027 54	2,034,950 07	22,925,144 96
Total.....	14,798,896 19	154,348,809 47	17,513,473 20	205,417,039 07
EXPENDITURE.....	8,588,237 63	93,807,910 52	12,581,954 60	113,161,357 69
EXPENDITURE ON CAPITAL ACCOUNT, ETC.				
War.....	12,631,656 84	110,618,343 50	23,285,988 31	217,590,670 11
Public Works, including Railway and Canals.....	3,179,028 04	31,313,978 63	609,878 22	21,251,957 38
Railway Subsidies.....	182,260 71	1,400,171 42	179,227 61	754,381 04
Total.....	15,992,945 59	143,332,493 55	24,075,094 14	239,597,008 53

THE MISTAKES OF THE BORDEN GOVERNMENT.

THE West Elgin Conservative meeting held at Dutton on March 16th, 1917, was attended and addressed by Hon. T. W. Crothers, Minister of Labor in the Borden Government. From the Mail and Empire of March 17th, 1917, we quote the following portion of Mr. Crothers remarks:

"There has been some adverse criticism respecting details of the manner in which our part in the great struggle has thus far been performed, and it may be at once admitted that some mistakes have been made. Who makes no mistakes in his own private affairs? A man who makes no mistakes makes nothing. With limited powers, unable to see the end from the beginning, man can but exercise his best judgment in virtuous intent and style to do his best in the light given him at the time. And the larger and newer and more complex the problems to be solved the more mistakes the outcome is likely to reveal. When the great conflict suddenly arose we had little or no experience of actual war. Our enemy, while professing friendship and peaceful intent, for many years was skillfully inventing and perfecting the most horrible instruments of death and destruction with which to subjugate Europe and dominate the world. Our pressing thought was to get as many men to the front as possible, with the least possible delay, and our First Contingent of 33,000 men was enlisted, trained and forwarded within a few weeks after the outbreak of the war. Each man had to be provided with more than sixty articles of equipment, 2,000,000 in all. Need anyone be surprised that there were some mistakes, irregularities and frauds?

"When it was shown that two of his supporters in the House of Commons had been guilty of graft in connection with the purchase of supplies, Sir Robert Borden forced them to resign and to quit public life. Further, when statements were made in the House, reflecting upon the integrity of the Minister of Militia and Defence, the Prime Minister summoned him to return from England, whence he had gone on an important public errand, and the Government appointed a commission. Further, the Government appointed Sir Charles Davidson, a retired Chief Justice, to investigate certain specific charges, and all others, in connection with the purchase of supplies. And a general invitation was issued to all persons thinking they had material evidence of wrong-doing, to notify the commissioner. No wrong-doing has thus far been disclosed. What further could have been reasonably done to expose anything and everything in the nature of fraud or graft in connection with our army contracts, so often charged with being fraught therewith?

"In the conduct of our share in the prosecution of the war, Sir Robert Borden has had to face problems and bear responsibilities of the largest and gravest import, such as have never before fallen to the lot of any Prime Minister of Canada. He has faced them and solved them and borne them with marvellous energy, quiet courage and unlimited patience, confident that in so doing he obeys the simple call of duty, and preferring quiet self-approval to ostentatious public demonstrations.

"We hope that the scourge of this war may soon pass away and that we may have strength and wisdom to embrace its lessons and to establish a lasting peace."

The apologetic tone of the Minister indicates that he at least is going to throw himself on the mercy of his constituents in the hope that they will overlook the shortcomings of the Borden Cabinet and give it another chance. Well, if such be the case the people will require full explanation of a very large number of so called mistakes that were not mentioned by Mr. Crothers at that particular meeting.

Let us submit a few queries in this connection:

Was it a mistake when in the formation of his Cabinet Mr. Borden called to the Council three pronounced Nationalists—Bourassa's ardent followers—Messrs. Monk, Pelletier and Nantel, and in the various Cabinet changes that have taken place in the Quebec representation has adhered with a fidelity that savours of brotherly love, to the Nationalists, as witness the latest additions to the ministry, Messrs. Blondin, Patenaude and Sevigny?

Was it a mistake when after supporting the unanimous resolution of Parliament that Canada should undertake the protection of her own shores by the construction of Canadian battle ships—a complete turn about was made and a cash contribution advocated in place of the home building of a Canadian fleet.

Was it a mistake that after the Conservative Opposition had fulminated against the Laurier Government for alleged extravagant annual expenditure—the Borden Government should increase that expenditure—outside of the costs of the war—from \$98,000,000 to \$135,000,000.

Was it a mistake that after the advocacy of Civil Service Reform and the abolition of patronage in appointments, a net increase of over 12,000 Civil Servants constitutes the record of the Borden Government for the first three years of its term of office and this also before war broke out or was thought of.

Was it a mistake that in order to acquire the power to stifle full discussion the Closure was forced through the House of Commons and free speech banished whenever a brute majority so desired?

Was it a mistake for Sir Robert Borden after strenuously opposing the Reciprocity agreement of 1911, to go to New York and on the evening of Sunday November 2nd, 1913 state publicly at a dinner given to the English actor, Mr. Cyril Maude, that "Canada had no objections to the Reciprocity agreement and he felt Canada had done her fair share towards bringing it about," and adding, "He regretted that it had not come to pass."?

Was it a mistake when Colonel Sir Sam Hughes on May 23rd, 1912, recommended the passing of an order-in-council authorizing the Government to pay \$180,000, for a military camp site near Montreal, and to allow the said amount, namely \$180,000 to be paid on June 17th, or less than one month afterwards, to Major Rodden of Montreal, for the very property which the Major had purchased on June 8th, 1912, for \$84,996 and from which he made out of the Government a clear profit of \$95,004?

Was it a mistake when the Minister of Agriculture, the Hon. Mr. Burrill, delayed one year and a half in purchasing a site at Levis, Que., for a quarantine station during which time the land which was eventually purchased was bought for

\$5,500, and after passing through three middlemen was sold to the Government for \$32,750?

Was it a mistake for the Borden Government to grant to Mr. Donaldson a prominent Conservative worker in Saskatchewan and son of the Conservative M.L.A., a block of land in the town of Prince Albert, worth \$379,000 on payment of the ordinary homestead fee of \$10,00 after it had been withdrawn from homesteading by the Laurier Government?

Was it a mistake to allow the Attorney General of the Conservative Government of British Columbia, Mr. Bowser to enter upon an Indian Reserve at Vancouver and, contrary to the provisions of the Indian Act and against the interests of the Indians themselves whose trustee the Dominion Government is, make a bargain with the Indians for a paltry consideration of about \$230,000 and take possession of a Reserve well known to be worth millions, especially after the Government's attention had been called to this flagrant act?

Was it a mistake that when war purchases were made shoddy boots, faulty binoculars, aged, ringboned and spavined horses, all at excessive prices were furnished to the Canadian soldiers who, with a patriotism worthy of better treatment—came forth to do their share against the common foe?

Was it a mistake to pay a Seattle combination \$1,150,000 for two submarines rejected by the Chilean Government as being no good, and worth no more than \$818,000, and was it not a further mistake to allow the purchase money to be divided so that two cheques were payable in New York, and one of about \$250,000 payable in Seattle not far from the city of Victoria the scene of the negotiations for the acquisition of these ships?

Was it a mistake that for months after its imperfections were known the Ross Rifle was forced upon our soldiers—unable by reason of well-known defects to destroy the enemy or save themselves, and further after lauding the Ross Rifle to the skies, cancel the contract on the ground of slowness of delivery—thus throwing out of employment 2,000 men and rendering it impossible to manufacture rifles in Canada for probably a year?

Was it a mistake that Canadian manufacturers were ignored and fuse contracts given to American firms enabling John Wesley Allison and Benjamin Franklin Yoakum and others of that ilk to lay their hands upon a million dollar commission?

Was it a mistake when the Minister of Customs, Dr. Reid, stated before the Public Accounts Committee on March 6th, 1916, that the customs port at Morrisburg was opened for the Sifton Machine Gun Battery, when afterwards it was proven under oath before the Public Accounts Committee that this Battery came into Canada at Cornwall, Ont.?

Was it a mistake to reduce the Transcontinental Railway from its high character as one of the first railways on the continent, by the alteration of grades and curves in order to fabricate a case against the Laurier Government whose record

in the construction of that road stands unimpeached and then subsequently to appoint a most expensive and extravagant commission whose only practical result is found in the appointment of one of the Commissioners to a seat in the Dominion Senate and the engagement of the other at the fat salary of \$20,000 a year?

Was it a mistake to so conduct operations at Port Nelson the ocean terminus of the Hudson Bay Railway so that one year's work went to waste and Hudson Bay almost filled with the floating wreckage of the results of misspent time and money?

Was it a mistake that according to Sam Hughes the Cabinet dilly-dallied for over four months on the question of handling contracts through the middlemen, instead of dealing direct with the principals, and thus kept the 2nd contingent all that time from going overseas, at a time when every man was needed?

Was it a mistake that owing to the interference of the Cabinet Sir Thomas Tait was practically compelled to resign the chairmanship of the National Service Board and that this important office was handed over to R. B. Bennett, Conservative M.P., whose chief asset is flamboyant lung power and whose chief deficiency is extreme partisanship, and lack of judgment and common sense?

Was it a mistake that the Government workshops were left idle and immense war contracts were given to private contractors to squeeze enormous profits out of the long suffering British and Canadian public?

Was it a mistake that in the selection of commanding officers for service in the war, Conservatives were at a premium and others who did not support the Government were refused consideration?

Was it a mistake that the Government sat with folded arms, heedless of the protests against the high cost of living and regardless of the facts that in the circumstances the producer and the consumer were sacrificed to the middlemen?

Was it a mistake to raise the freight rates on the Intercolonial at the very time the people of Western Canada were applying to railway commissions for a decrease of railway rates?

Was it a mistake when the Minister of Customs the Hon. J. D. Reid sold his starch factory at Prescott to the Government for Marine Works?

Was it a mistake for the Government to open wide the Customs port of entry at Morrisburg, Ont., to permit J. Wesley Allison to bring in immense quantities of his nefarious truck?

Was it a mistake when the Government engineers at Victoria, B.C. permitted dredging material which could be bored at the rate of 59, 72, 74 and 96 feet per hour to be classified and paid for as Rock when the officials of the Department swore before the Public Accounts Committee in March 1916, that real rock such as was to be found in this harbour could not be drilled faster than 7 or 8 feet per hour, but for this exposure, by the Liberal members, the country would have lost

\$190,000, some of which may be lost as it is.?

Was it a mistake for the Government to purchase lumber in the city of Ottawa, (the home of wholesale dealers) through a middleman and not from the wholesale dealer direct?

Was it a mistake that the Borden Government did not take control of Canadian nickel and thus prevent this product of Canadian mines from being converted into instruments of death by the Germans and used against our Canadian volunteers?

Was it a mistake when Sir Robert Borden introduced a bill to compensate the Farmers Bank Depositors and then have his own appointees in the Senate kill the Bill?

Was it a mistake when the Government paid a Tory heeler \$16,500 for a post office site at Fort Francis, Ont., a property which this Tory heeler had purchased only a short time previous for \$9,500, (a middleman's profit of \$7,000)?

Was it a mistake when the Hon. Sir Robert Borden accepted as his Federal Candidate in Carlton, N.B., the Hon. J. K. Fleming, Ex-Conservative Premier of the Province of New Brunswick, who was found guilty by a Royal Commission of extorting through the agency of Mr. W. H. Berry, monies from timber limit holders, to the extent of \$75,000, and also finding that this same Hon. gentleman, was guilty of extorting money from contractors engaged in the construction of the Valley Railway?

Was it a mistake for the Government to pay a double Railway subsidy to the Southampton (N.B.) Railway Company, (largely owned by a Conservative M.P.P.) on a road that the construction of which cost only \$15,950 a mile?

Was it a mistake when the Borden Government refused to accept a free site for a public building at Canning, N.S. and then paid a defeated Tory candidate \$2,000 for a site worth not more than \$300 or \$400?

Was it a mistake when in October 1914, Mr. T. A. Brownlee, druggist of Ottawa charged the Government \$1.00 a piece for thermometers and when a Liberal member put a question on the order paper in February 10th, 1915, asking for information regarding the price, the answer is given that Mr. Brownlee on February 11th, 1915, (one day after the question was asked) had discovered an overcharge and had refunded to the Government 50% of the price he had originally charged?

Was it a mistake in 1911 when the Conservative Party adopted as their slogan "**No Truck or Trade with the United States,**" when we now find that under the Conservative Government imports from the United States have **increased from \$400,000,000 to over \$800,000,000** and that the Hon. Sir Thomas White has been compelled to swallow the bitter pill of going to the United States on two occasions to borrow large sums of money?

Was it a mistake to pass the Soldier's Voting Bill and prepare the ballots and papers and forward same to England if as the Conservative's contend,

they do not want an election during the war.

Was it a mistake when the Government permitted John Wesley Allison to accept a commission on the purchase of revolvers and pistols?

Was it a mistake when the Borden Government paid \$4,000,000 for the Quebec Saguenay Railway, a railway which is not worth \$4,000 and which when completed will cost Canada \$10,000,000?

Was it a mistake when the Government refused the Western farmers free access for their wheat to the United States market?

Was it a mistake when the Government refused the Farmers of Canada free Agricultural Implements?

Was it a mistake when the Borden Government shelves the report on technical education thereby practically refusing to aid in any way this important matter?

Was it a mistake when the Minister of Public Works the Hon. Robert Rogers permitted the Architects to tear down the old walls of the Parliament buildings when there was an absolute understanding by the members of the House of Commons that the walls were to be repaired?

Was it a mistake for the Government to purchase and equip Camp Borden at a cost of several million dollars when they already had scattered through the Dominion, 378,000 acres of camp ground or practically one acre for each man enlisted?

Was it a mistake when Sir Robert Borden appointed the National Service Board to name 10 Conservatives and one Liberal for the Board, all, except the two Conservative members of Parliament, receiving \$250 a month, plus travelling and living expenses?

Was it a mistake when the Government side tracked Major General Lessard and permitted this great soldier to take only a small part in the work of the Canadian Expeditionary Forces?

Was it a mistake when the Dr. Bruce report on Medical Hospitals in England was presented for the Government to appoint another Board for the purpose of neutralizing Dr. Bruce's report instead of setting about to remedy the intolerable condition of affairs outlined by Dr. Bruce?

Was it a mistake to allow the Commission on greater Agricultural production which was appointed for the purpose of investigating the question of Increased Agricultural Production, Agricultural Education, Transportation, Farm credits, etc., and etc., to practically disband after a few meetings had been held?

Was it a mistake when the Government have allowed during the last six months (Sept. 1916 to February 1917, inclusive) 44,531 Canadian males to leave Canada and go to the United States?

Was it a mistake to permit the purchase of thousands of horses in the United States for the Canadian and British soldiers with no apparent effort on the part of the Government to induce

the purchasers to take Canadian horses?

Was it a mistake when thousands and thousands of partisan pamphlets and leaflets were prepared and distributed by the Conservatives during the first three months of the war, and after it was clearly understood that party conflict would cease?

Was it a mistake when a returned soldier goes to apply for a Government position to be told that it is necessary for him to join a Conservative Association before he can be appointed? This happened in Toronto.

Was it a mistake for the Minister of Public Works, the Hon. Robert Rogers to offer the owners of the Carslake Hotel Property in Montreal \$325,532 for a property which was afterwards found by the Exchequer Court of Canada to be worth only \$288,750?

Was it a mistake when the Department of Public Works purchased coal in Victoria, B.C., from a Tory coal merchant at \$7.00 a ton, in spite of the fact that they had an accepted tender at \$5.25 a ton and when this was investigated it was proven that the Secretary of the Conservative Association at Victoria, Mr. W. H. Price by name, had been paid 50c a ton by the Tory coal merchant for securing the order?

Was it a mistake when a Conservative member of Parliament for Kings County, N.S., was allowed to spend \$72,000 of Government money purchasing horses, and to this day no statement of the expenditure of this big sum of money has been presented to the Government? This transaction caused the investigating Commissioner Sir Charles Davidson to remark "the prices paid for the horses do not equal the amounts placed in their (Mr. Foster and his friends) hands."

Was it a mistake when the Government appointed Veterinaries at Winnipeg and Vancouver to inspect horses being purchased for the army and when finding that these Veterinaries were accepting bribes for passing the horses, not to punish them?

Was it a mistake to allow Regina politicians to secure pay for 23 carloads of "Feed for horses" and not insist upon the delivery of this feed?

Was it a mistake when Mr. R. J. Fallis, ex. M.P.P. for Peel County, Ont., was allowed to act as middleman in the purchase of war horses, which caused Sir Charles Davidson to remark "So the farmer got less and the Government paid more for horses as a result of your (Mr. Fallis) intervention"?

Was it a mistake when purchasing horses for the first contingent to allow a gang of thieves and robbers to act for the Government that 651 horses costing the Government an average price of \$162.50 were discarded as unfit for service before the soldiers left Valcartier.

Was it a mistake when purchasing binoculars to permit six middlemen to share a rake off and the Government paying from \$45 to \$58 for binoculars that originally cost from \$8 to \$30.00?

Was it a mistake when the Government per-

mitted a lady stenographer to Sir Sam Hughes to exploit the finances of Canada to the extent of \$33,750, for a shield shovel which did not render one cent's worth of service to Canada?

Was it a mistake to spend hundreds of thousands of dollars on the equipment of the soldiers, known as the "Oliver Equipment" when they knew it was not of serviceable pattern and that the British Government would not allow the Canadian soldier to wear it into the trenches?

Was it a mistake that after the gruesome revelations of the Galt Commission concerning the raising of the contract price in Manitoba by Hon. Robert Rogers for the erection of a public building, and after the Commissioner was unable to accept Mr. Rogers' statement made under oath in at least eight instances—Sir Robert Borden never raised his voice against such flagrant conduct of one of his colleagues, nor so far as we know even asked him for an explanation, but on the contrary took him to England to discuss and settle with Imperial statesmen the all important problems of the Empire?

If these are mistakes, the average citizen would like to know what more a Government should do before its actions are considered worthy of registration in the calendar of political crimes?

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A TOOL



THE ONTARIO LEGISLATURE.

Nickel Taxation.

Newton Rowell's virtual leadership in the Ontario Legislature and the ascendancy of Liberal policies in that assembly, although the Party is in Opposition, have not only given the province such reforms as Prohibition and Woman Suffrage, but they are now also increasing the public revenue. After persistent agitation by the Liberals since 1915 the Ontario Government is revising its system of taxation of mining companies. The chief effect will be on the International Nickel Company. It is roughly estimated that if the final form of the Government's Act follows the basis of the Government Commission's Report recently issued, the new system of taxation will levy on the International Nickel Company, this year, a tax of nearly a million dollars instead of the paltry \$40,000 a year which they were paying under an illegal agreement made by the government and which the government was allowing them to pay until the Opposition forced the issue.

In the sessions of 1915 and 1916 Mr. Rowell, Mr. Carter and other Liberal members urged the need of greater taxation from the International Nickel Company, pointing out the unfair basis of the arrangement then in force and the discrimination in favor of the nickel company. When Mr. Dewar was elected in the summer of 1916 he became another powerful addition to the Liberal campaign. Ridicule has been heaped upon the contentions of the Opposition, but since they knew they were right they kept right on, and now the province has them to thank for an increase in revenue which makes taxation fairer and which if the government is careful should help to relieve, even a little, the burden of other charges.

The new government bill affects not only nickel mines but all mining concerns whose annual profits exceed \$10,000. The tax is raised from 3 to 5% with a sliding scale of 1% additional for every five million dollars extra annual profits.

Ottawa Schools.

Another bill, authorizing the appointment of a Commission to take over control of the Ottawa Separate Schools in certain circumstances, which in its general aspect resembles the one passed in 1915 and which was declared unconstitutional by the Privy Council, has been introduced by the government into the legislature. The government says they have been advised by counsel that this bill is constitutional.

In the division, all the English Liberal members, including Mr. Rowell, voted with the government in favor of the measure, which provides for a commission to take the place of the Ottawa Separate School Board if the latter neglects or refuses to obey the school laws. Five French members were the only ones to vote against the bill.

Mr. Rowell said that the Privy Council had rendered its decisions on the Ottawa School cases, one of them declaring Regulation 17 to be valid and the other declaring the former Act whereby the control of the Ottawa Separate Schools was transferred to a Government Commission, to be invalid. The Privy Council's decision, should be accepted by all concerned. He hoped that the Ottawa School Board would obey the law and he thought it was their duty to do so. Although Mr. Rowell did not think that the government proposed's method of dealing with the matter now was the safest or surest way of securing the enforcement of the law, yet since they had taken the responsibility of introducing it, he would not put anything in the way of the government giving full effect to its policy, as he fully agreed that the law should be obeyed.

Both Mr. Rowell and the Prime Minister hoped that harmony would be maintained between the races in Ontario. "We are placed here by Providence, side by side," said Mr. Rowell. "We can live together in peace and harmony or in discord and strife. It should be the object of all patriotic and public-spirited citizens to establish relations of mutual confidence and respect, and I believe one of the best ways to establish them is for all parties concerned entirely to desist from saying

or doing things which tend to irritate or disturb our relations as fellow citizens, particularly at this time when we need our undivided energies for the successful prosecution of the war. and for all parties concerned to obey the law as it has been declared by the Privy Council. If I can be of any assistance in endeavoring to bring about a better understanding, I should be glad to cooperate with the Prime Minister in securing this result."

Race Track Gambling.

Race track gambling figures as one of the leading issues of the session and once again it is the Liberal Party that is on a crusade for reform. Lambert Wigle Liberal member for South Essex, introduced the question into the House. He dealt particularly with the increase of race tracks in the county of Essex from one to three since the beginning of the war. He said that all the professional gamblers and crooks from the States came to the city with the meets and that the very best elements in that part of the country were opposed to the race tracks. "At this time, particularly," said Mr. Wigle, "we need every bit of our energy and strength for the successful prosecution of the war."

Sam Carter emphasized the unfairness of legalizing the taking of profits in gambling by race track companies, and of throwing private citizens into gaol for the same offence. He would wipe out the whole business.

Hon. T. W. McGarry said that the provincial government could not keep out the race tracks since it was a matter of federal jurisdiction and claimed that all the Ontario government had done was to impose a license on the racing companies for revenue purposes. Sam Carter, however, suggested that the license could be raised to such a point as to make it prohibitive. Mr. McGarry was afraid that such action would be declared illegal by the courts, but Mr. Carter was still skeptical. At the time of writing, an investigation into correspondence between J. T. White, Solicitor of the Treasury and Dr. Rheaume, is pending and promises to be interesting.

The press of Ontario is taking the keenest interest in this race track question. The Windsor Record has called on Mr. McGarry to resign and the Globe has had a number of very strong editorials against the evils of race track gambling and against the Ontario government for permitting it, especially during the war.

Women as Members.

Doubts have arisen as to the sincerity of the Ontario government in granting votes to women under pressure from the Liberals, when upon the very first occasion that a bill affecting the interests of women came before the legislature, not only did the government vote it down, but they showed themselves rather half-hearted on the whole question of Woman Suffrage. The bill was Mr. Rowell's proposal to allow women to sit in the legislature and the government rejected the bill without any real argument. Sir William in a speech which even his friends would admit to be weak, said that Mr. Rowell was trying to curry favor with the women by proposing this bill and in the same breath he said that the bill was unpopular and that there was no demand for it from the women of the province—arguments which as Mr. Jack Elliott pointed out flatly contradicted each other.

Some of the comments by women on the rejection of the Rowell bill were as follows:—"The Premier thinks we are all know-nothings." "He's so illogical." "He likes to keep us busy." "He'll find us busy enough when it comes to election time." "I think he's foolish, you know." "He'll lose votes." "Of course he will."

Mr. Rowell showed that in Australia and in all the western provinces of Canada, the granting of the vote to women was accompanied at the same time by the right to sit in the legislature, and that his bill was not a radical constitutional departure, but only mere justice to the women of Ontario. Whether or not they would take advantage of the right was a different matter.

One of the features of the debates was the speech

of Sam Carter, M.P.P., for South Wellington, whose prestige as a vigorous and compelling speaker is growing constantly. Mr. Carter has been one of the leading supporters of Woman Suffrage and during the past month has addressed a number of women's meetings in different parts of the province. In this debate Carter blazed out against the government in a series of some of his famous "Cartergrams."

"I don't mind your sudden conversions on woman suffrage and prohibition," said Carter, "but I hate your conceit about it. After what you have done to block these reforms, when finally you did come around, why didn't you have the decency to be humble about it? Instead of that, you go about blowing. The conceit of you!"

"It was great to see you running for cover when the Committee of One Hundred got its club out!"

"And in women suffrage, too, when you saw the stick coming, down you ducked again!"

"I don't like people who sit on the fence. I like men of courage!"

"Why shouldn't you let the women into the legislature? It's women who understand such things as the factory Acts and the care of children. Women are going to be voters the same as the men. Why don't you give these voters the rights that belong to them?"

War Time Extravagance.

Extravagance in the furnishing of Government House at the people's expense, during the war, when the government itself is urging thrift and economy, continues to grow in importance as one of the real issues in Ontario politics.

Mr. Dewart and Mr. Bowman have been bringing out a number of new facts before the Public Accounts Committee, revealing a state of affairs which is obviously resented throughout the province.

Some additional individual items which have proved most unpopular are:—

Donegal rug, dining room.....	\$1,380.00
One commode.....	700.00
60 dining room chairs, each.....	24.00
Curtains for ballroom archway.....	445.00
8 pairs rose silk curtains for dining room.....	800.00
Brass poles.....	1,294.00

Instead of following Canadian democratic standards in building Government House, investigation in the committee showed that the Government had taken their lead from the luxury of American plutocracy and the extravagant decadence of Europe.

Government Architect Heakes admitted before the committee that he had visited the residences of some of the great New York millionaires to get ideas for the furnishings and that among the residences visited by him was that of Chas. M. Schwab,—The Steel King.

The Government also paid \$1,000 for Dr. Reaume while Minister of Public Works, to visit European castles and chateaux for suggestions for our Government House.

What in an ordinary citizen's house is known as the "Front Hall" costing perhaps, \$100, appears in the Government House as an "atrium" with marble pilasters, balustrades and porticos. The Provincial Architect was not able to give an estimate of the cost of the "atrium" but it will probably cost as high as \$25,000 or \$30,000. There was some dispute between Provincial Architect Heakes and V. Sinclair, Conservative member for South Oxford. The former thought the word "atrium" was purely Greek in its origin. Sinclair, however, with deeper erudition, thought it belonged to the Ionic division of the Greek language. Whether simple Greek or Ionic, the people have to pay for it at any rate.

New Registration Scheme.

A complete change in the method of getting voters on the lists for provincial elections is embodied in the government's bill to include women voters and soldiers who are away from their homes. In the counties of

the province a board, consisting of two judges, a sheriff, a clerk of the County Court and the Crown Attorney, will be responsible for the appointment of enumerators for each township to put on the names of all voters. Every woman of legal age, who is a British subject or who becomes such, will be entitled to vote.

Notes from the House.

Several amendments to the Temperance Act designed to strengthen the law are being worked out between the Government and the Opposition.

The government rejected the resolution of J. C. Elliott, M.P.P. for West Middlesex, calling for the prosecution of combines, particularly since they increased the cost of living.

Upon the resolution of H. H. Dewart, seconded by George H. Gooderham and supported by Sir William Hearst and Newton Rowell, the legislature passed a resolution congratulating the Duma upon the establishment of free institutions and responsible government in Russia.

Sir Adam Beck is having wordy encounters with Sir William McKenzie and R. J. Fleming.

The House upon motion of Thos. Marshall, Liberal member for Lincoln and Samuel Carter, Liberal member for South Wellington, with a formal clause added by the Hon. I. B. Lucas, decided to send a protest to the Dominion government reaffirming its objections to the granting or renewal of charters by the Parliament of Canada to local electric railways within the province and to the removal of all such railways from the jurisdiction of the legislature by declaring them to be for the general advantage of Canada. The resolution formally protested against the plans of the Canadian Northern Ontario Railway for a line between Toronto and Niagara Falls via Hamilton, on the ground that this route had already been surveyed by the Hydro Electric engineers and that with the exception of Hamilton all the municipalities along the route had given large majorities in favor of an electric line to be constructed by the Hydro Electric Commission.

Liberal criticism of the Department of Education has been re-enforced by Conservative disapproval also. "It is no secret" says the Toronto World (Conservative) "that a reactionary element exists in the Board of Education and also in the provincial Department of Education and the Minister himself has exhibited in connection with the public school system no special desire for progressive measures. What has done for fifty years may very well do for a hundred, appears to be the idea behind most of the policy." Toronto Telegram (Conservative) under the heading, "Time to Protest" says, "Patience with Hon. R. A. Pyne has ceased to be a virtue."

Sam Carter's resolution calling for adequate provision for the care and protection of the feeble-minded of the province was defeated by the government. Mr. Allan Studholme, Labor member for East Hamilton, said "It makes your blood boil to see how this problem is being allowed to drift by the government."

Women and Protectionism.—continued from page 131.

In other words for five years after the war has finished the same condition of things which has brought about the present scarcity shall continue! This is the principle of the old Corn Law applied to sugar. And the other Protectionist proposals, though more cautiously announced, mean exactly the same thing—the continuation of WAR PRICES IN PEACE TIMES.

If women, especially working men's wives, had votes, I am sure the proposal would stand no chance of being carried. As it is, I hope our men will keep the Tariff Reformers' fingers off our children's food. Anyhow, the duty of English women is plain. Taxation of food means taxation of the wives and mothers of this country, taxation not only of their money, but of their health and strength. It means for them endless worry and anxiety, and a continual struggle to make both ends meet. No Tariff Bill should be passed without their consent above all people, and even now when they have no votes, one won't be passed if they make it clear enough they will not tolerate it.

THE ABANDONMENT IN ENGLAND OF CANADIAN EQUIPMENT SUPPLIED TO THE CANADIAN EXPEDITIONARY FORCES.

FOR considerable time past statements have been made that much of the equipment being supplied our Canadian Expeditionary Forces was being discarded in England and other supplies of standard make were given to the Canadian soldiers just before leaving for France.

Speaking in the House of Commons on January 22nd, 1917, Sir Robert Borden stated:—

"It is important for an army at the front to have a uniform standard of equipment, transport, and everything else. . . . I believe that some equipment supplied was left when the First Canadian Contingent departed for France. . . . I discussed the matter with General Carson when I was in England last year. He told me that the equipment was left because it was not of the same type as the British equipment and they did not desire to have two types. . . . It is most desirable, if the troops from Canada and from the rest of the Empire are to fight side by side, that all equipment and transport should be standardized, for it is obvious that otherwise operations cannot be carried on so effectively.

On January 30th, 1917, Sir Sam Hughes speaking on the destruction of Canadian equipment in England, stated:—

"Without actually quoting the right hon. gentleman (Sir Robert Borden), he said that wherever a committee of the British service examined goods and threw them out he was ready to abide by the decision of that committee.

"I am not finding the slightest fault with his taking that ground, but it is not the ground I take.

"My stand is that Canada should decide as to what she herself shall use.

Mr. Pugsley:—Before my hon. friend leaves that matter, could he say what was the value of the equipment which was thrown away?

Sir Sam Hughes:—I forget; it was millions. We did not look at the value; we were so busy swearing we had no time to figure up the value."

If as Sir Sam states, millions of dollars worth of Canadian equipment has been discarded by the British authorities in England, there can be but one conclusion, namely, that the continued purchase of this unsuitable material was due to the foolishness and extravagance of some person or persons. Perhaps a little less Hughesism, Allisonism, graftism and patronageism would have saved the country the millions which Sir Sam says has been thrown away. The fact is notorious that great quantities of Canadian supplies, Ross rifles, Oliver equipment, McAdam spades and motor trucks, etc., etc., were abandoned in England and replaced by Imperial equipment all of which will subsequently have to be paid for by the Canadian people.

The Ross Rifle.

Volumes could be written in regard to this weapon, but it is now discarded much to the satisfaction of any soldier who was compelled to use it. The second battle of Ypres proved conclusively that it was an unserviceable arm.

Oliver Equipment.

This equipment consists of a leather belt, with a series of straps, buckles, hooks and knapsack

designed to carry the soldier's outfit. Its defects are universally recognized. It is much heavier than the Imperial "Webb" equipment, which is the standard equipment of the British army. The cartridge pouches of the Oliver "Canadian" equipment are bulky and badly placed and interfere with the comfort of the soldier when he lies down. It is poorly balanced and the shoulder pack pulls up the straps in front so that they press on the abdomen and interfere with the soldier's breathing.

From the best authority it is stated that three commissions were appointed to examine and report on the relative merits of the "Oliver" and "Webb" equipment and that all three reported strongly in favor of the "Webb" equipment.

It is a notorious fact that the Oliver equipment which until late in the fall of 1916 was supplied to our Canadian soldiers costing thousands and thousands of dollars is absolutely unsuitable and it is doubted if a set has ever gone to France. On leaving English camps for the front the units or drafts are supplied with the "Webb" equipment the Oliver being turned into Ordnance Depots. The result has been that vast quantities have accumulated in England.

In one tent at Ashford can be found between 17,000 and 18,000 and others were being added. At Liphook can be found another 8,000, and at several other camps surplus stores of Oliver equipment are to be found.

About the 1st of December, 1916, 40,000 were returned to Canada. At the present moment it is believed that the supplying of the Oliver equipment has been discontinued, but Sir Sam Hughes' obstinacy in continuing to purchase the "Oliver" equipment long after its unsuitability was recognized and admitted, is without excuse and committed his department to still further extravagance and waste.

Motor Transports and Armoured Cars.

At Burford there are to-day stored armoured cars and motor transports abandoned two years ago at Salisbury Plains. When the First Battalion was sent to England the Government's ambition to have it fully equipped in every detail cost the country some \$500,000 for motor transports and armoured cars. On arrival in England they were found unsuitable for active service and when the Division went to France the British War Office supplied new motor transports.

The McAdam Spade.

Much has been stated about this shovel, patented by Sir Sam's private Secretary. Over \$33,000 spent, every dollar of which was absolutely wasted.

And that is not all. It is abundantly clear that great quantities of Canadian supplies have been discarded and the Government has continued to purchase and forward to England with the Overseas Forces articles after it was well-known that they were unsuitable. Why this was done yet remains to be seen.

RECRUITING.

SPEAKING in the House of Commons, Friday, January 26th, Mr. J. G. Turriff stated as follows:

"I say that for no other purpose, the Prime Minister has kept in his Government these three Nationalists-disloyal Canadians, disloyal Britishers—simply and solely and purposely to hinder recruiting in the Province of Quebec."

Speaking of the falling off of recruiting throughout Canada, Mr. Turiff added:

"We have not heard about the intimation given by the Prime Minister last spring to the representatives of the Ontario Recruiting Committee in Toronto that if he had his way there would be no more recruiting in Canada, and that the attention of the Canadian people should be turned to the development of their industries. That was followed by a direct falling off in recruiting from one end of Canada to the other."

These two statements by a responsible member of the House of Commons were serious. It is true that on Monday January 29th, the Prime Minister denied the accusation in the following terms:

During my absence on Friday the hon. member for Assiniboia (Mr. J. G. Turriff) made a statement in the House with regard to myself to which my attention has been directed. I need not read all of his speech, but the statement to which I refer was in effect: that I did last spring intimate to the representatives of the Ontario Recruiting Committee that if I had my way there would be no more recruiting in Canada and that the attention of the Canadian people should be turned to the development of their industries. That statement is on its face so transparently absurd that I must apologize to the House for making allusion to it. However, my silence might be misunderstood, and therefore I desire to assure the House and the country that neither to the Ontario Recruiting Committee on the occasion mentioned, nor to any other organization or individual on any other occasion, did I ever convey any such intimation as that suggested, or anything that could be tortured into such an intimation.

It will be noted from the Prime Minister's statement that no reference whatever was made to the three Nationalist Ministers in his Cabinet.

While we accept unreservedly the statement of the Prime Minister we cannot permit this matter to be closed without referring to one or two other statements which have been made in regard to this matter.

Sir Sam Hughes Says that Officers of this Department made Certain Statements that they had been Directed to go Slow in Recruiting.

Speaking in the House of Commons on January 30th, Sir Sam Hughes ex-Minister of Militia and Defence stated:

An Order in Council was passed forbidding the Department of Militia from authorizing a battalion here, there or elsewhere, and it is said that the reason was that too many battalions were being raised in Toronto, Winnipeg, Montreal and other large cities.

MR. MACDONALD: When was that Order in Council passed?

SIR SAM HUGHES: I am not sure. It was passed in my absence anyway, you may be sure of that; I have never read it yet. The point is that they said: Here you must not have so many regiments recruiting in Toronto or so many recruiting in Montreal.

MR. MACDONALD: What was the result of that Order in Council? What effect did it have on recruiting?

SIR SAM HUGHES: I do not know. Recruiting has not gone on, I know that. The Minister of Public Works wanted three battalions in Winnipeg—he was not afraid of it, and I passed the Order. That was when I happened to learn that this Order in Council to which I have referred had been passed. I went to England and when I got back he had not yet started raising the battalion; authority had not been given; it was held up in the Treasury Board or some place and nothing had yet been done. Had I been running the show in the old way we would have had them raised in six weeks. . . . In other words, three months was lost, not in organizing the battalions, but in getting the power to organize them. . . . There was a drop in recruiting at all events. I have heard all sorts of stories, but I have never asked my officers. When I came back my officers made certain statements; they had been directed to go slow in recruiting, but I never asked; I do not know whether it is true or not."

There we have a direct statement from the ex-Minister of Militia that instructions had been given to his officers to stop recruiting in Canada.

Speaking in the House of Commons on February 1st, 1917 Sir Robert Borden stated:

"The only charge that was made was this: instead of these battalions being authorized merely by a direction issued in the Department of Militia and Defence, the amending Order in Council provided that thereafter they must be authorized by Governor in Council.

MR. MURPHY: That is with reference to the battalions. What about the other statement, about the officers having been told to go slow in recruiting?

SIR ROBERT BORDEN: I am not aware of what the officers said or who the officers referred to may be. All I have to say is that there were no direction to go slow in recruiting, so far as I am aware, except by reason of what I have just detailed; that is, instead of a free hand being given to authorize battalions without any reference to the Governor in Council, the control was reserved to the Governor General in Council in order that an excessive expenditure of public money in the way indicated might not be incurred.

SIR SAM HUGHES: The basis of the whole thing was this agitation to pander to the cry of labour; the cry went up for men for munitions. That is what started the agitation and stopped the recruiting.

MR. PUGSLEY: Will the ex-Minister of Militia allow me a question? I understand that what the ex-Minister complains of is that the matter of recruiting was practically taken out of his hands.

SIR SAM HUGHES: I have never complained of it.

MR. PUGSLEY: No, that is the fault of my hon. friend, and still less does he complain of it latterly.

SIR SAM HUGHES: The recruiting vanished, that is all.

SIR SAM HUGHES: I made recommendations for three battalions in Winnipeg, and it took three or four months to get even authority to start them. In Toronto, fortunately, I had got them organized before the brakes were put on, and before the mental epilepsy got hold of people I had got things going before that time.

Women's Liberal Club.

A Women's Liberal Club has been formed at Cumberland, B.C. Hon. Presidents: Mrs. J. de B. Farris and Mrs. Ralp Smith, President, Mrs. MacFarlane; and Hon. Secretary, C. E. Florence Loaring.

In view of the franchise being extended to the Women in the Province of British Columbia we are glad to note that the ladies are organizing clubs throughout this Province. These organizations are worthy of encouragement in every Province in the Dominion.

INTERFERENCE IN THE OLD DAYS.

THE Conservative party broadsheet, issued from headquarters of the Conservative publication department is not concerned with consistency in respect to its own record or to the position assumed in inter imperial questions in the past. An illustration of this is furnished in the following excerpt from the issue of March 14, under the heading "Hands Off Ireland";

Friends of Ireland in Canada, and their number is legion, will view with apprehension attempts that are being made in certain quarters to interject the Home Rule controversy into Dominion politics. Resolutions calling upon Sir Robert Borden to champion the cause of a section of the Irish people can hardly have the effect of doing good. We can conceive, on the other hand, how they might be productive of great harm. First of all Canadians, whatever their views in respect to Home Rule, should remember that the question is one which, under the construction of the Empire, can be finally dealt with exclusively by the British Parliament. Interference by Canadian statesmen would in itself be a denial of the primary principles of self-government with which the Irish controversy is concerned; it would be resented by a portion of Irish public opinion; it would set a precedent in Imperial relations which might not be a good thing; and, in the end, because of the very nature of the Home Rule problem, could only result in harmful futility.

How would Sir John Macdonald, and other leaders of the Conservative party in the past relish that stricture on their conduct if they were alive today?

ONE OUT OF MANY.

"The Borden Government is the tool of the trusts," shriek the Liberal press from day to day. Yet the Borden Government has just had occasion to compel the Paper Trust to reduce its price of newsprint to two and a half cents to these very newspapers. Of all the manufactured nonsense that has been recklessly used by the Liberal party to discredit the Borden Government during the past five years, this cry that it was the uppet of the trusts was the most nonsensical of all.—From the Conservative Headquarters Press Service.

Let us grant for a moment that the government has done this, under the pressure of the press association representing both parties in Canada. But if the paper trust can be thus easily curbed by the Rogers-Borden government why does it stop there? Is the paper trust the only one in Canada? Surely if the government can curb one trust it can do likewise with all. Or does one swallow still make a glad summer for the administration?

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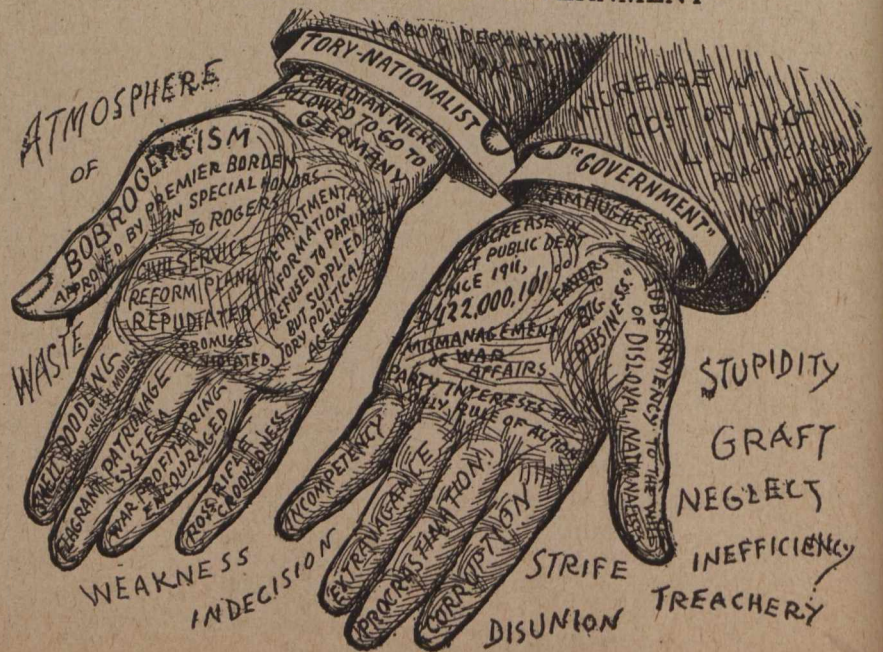
PATHOS SAM-HUGHESIFIED

One of the pathetic incidents of Parliamentary life—and these occur so seldom—arose in the course of Sir Sam Hughes' recent speech in the House of Commons on the 30th of January last, and is found recorded with a few illustrative additions on page 270 second column. "I am strongly urged by some to stand true to my friends. Why the reproach to me by many is that I never desert a friend." "I may be deserted" (*Tremulous*) "but to break" (*sob*) "with the dear good fellows" (*sob and handkerchief*) "of the Great Liberal Conservative party would wrench me," (*violent shaking*) "almost as much as losing the war." (*Excessive heaving and two blubs*).

(The following is taken from Montreal Gazette, March 16, 1117)

Mr. H. C. Hocken, Orange Grand Master, has been telling the people of Ontario that the people of Quebec to-day hate the British, and that their hatred of Great Britain can be understood only upon the ground that that is "the greatest Protestant nation in the world." One thing in the way of the acceptance of such an argument is that the nations at war are certainly not divided on religious lines. Germany, for instance, is a great Protestant nation, while Austria-Hungary is surely Roman Catholic. Italy is Roman Catholic and so is France. And the two latter are pretty good allies of "Protestant Britain." It is quite possible also that the people of Quebec have no such hatred for England as Mr. Hockey alleges. He exaggerates for a purpose."

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AFTER WAR TRADE POLICY.

We reproduce hereunder an article which appeared in "The Nation" of Feby. 17th, 1917.

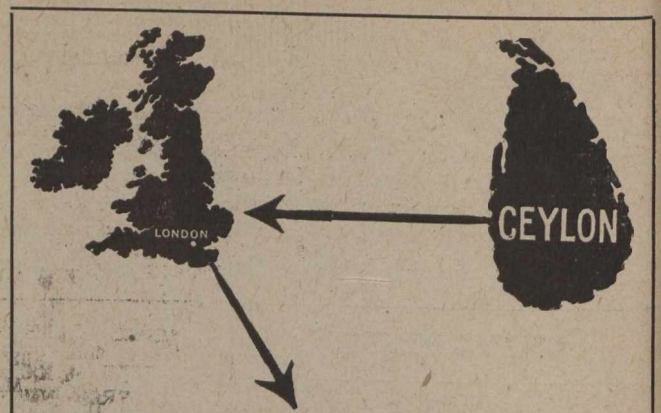
PREPARATORY, no doubt, to the coming Imperial Conference, an interim report of Lord Balfour's committee on After War Trade Policy, appointed last summer to consider the conclusions of the Paris Economic Conference, has been submitted to the Government. The "Times" says that the Committee recommends "the adoption of Imperial preference as the foundation on which should be reared our world economic policy of the future." Since the Committee contains several members reputed to be staunch Free Traders, it can hardly have reached so momentous a decision with unanimity. It is, however, credibly reported that the Government has already under favorable consideration a proposal in the same direction, designed for submission to the Imperial Conference. Our new Protectionists, Tory and ex-Liberal, are no doubt well advised, as a mere matter of tactics, in making their first movement towards a tariff along lines of an appeal to imperial unity in economic defence. Mr. George, as the "Morning Post" reminds its readers, betrayed even in the Imperial Conference of 1907, a strong leaning towards this policy. It will appeal to ex-Liberals as a "Conservation of the resources of the Empire." How does it appeal to France and our Allies? And what right has the Government thus to reverse, without the pretence of a mandate, the policy overwhelmingly endorsed in 1906?

THE RACE AND CREED QUESTION.

"Loyalty" is the one word in the English language which the Conservative Party hold dear. It has done yeomanry service for them in the past and at the present moment this word is being groomed and polished and made ready for another campaign. As a matter of fact the word loyalty to the Conservative Party carries two meanings. "Loyalty" as applied to them, "disloyal" when applied to Liberals.

The following quotations are taken from some bulletins issued on March 26th, 1916, from the Conservative headquarters in Ottawa.

"The agitation against conscription comes from the Province that has sent the



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is protected in sealed containers from the gardens to your table, so that you may enjoy the full fragrance of the fresh mountain-grown leaves. Every cup is alike—delicious!

fewest men to the war."

"A vote for Laurier at the next election will be a vote for the foreigners of the West and the shirkers in the Province of Quebec."

"The Liberal party, if elected to office to-morrow, would be dependent for its life upon the support of Austrians and Germans in the West, shirkers who want to avoid conscription in the rest of Canada, and Nationalists in the Province of Quebec; and its war policy would necessarily be influenced accordingly. To such a danger, this country must be aroused."

It will be noted from the above that the Conservatives are including in the disloyal party, not only the Liberals but a class of people they term "foreigners." Who these people are we are at a loss to know, but the fact remains that there is an effort being made to-day, on the part of the Conservative Party to stir up strife throughout the Dominion in regard to the race and creed question.

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