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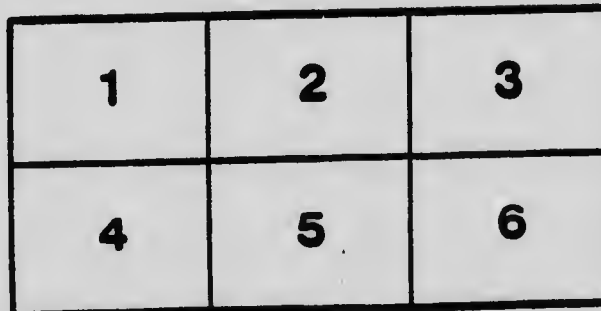
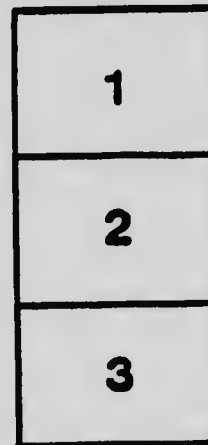
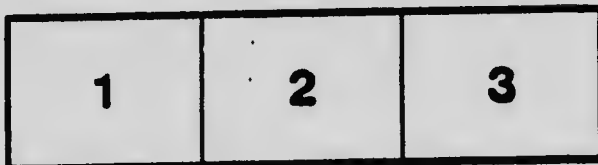
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CANADA

House of Commons Debates

OFFICIAL REPORT.

SPEECH

OF

HON. CHARLES MURPHY

MEMBER FOR RUSSELL COUNTY

ON THE

GOVERNOR GENERAL'S SPEECH,
ADDRESS IN REPLY

In the House of Commons, Ottawa, on Tuesday, March 19, 1918.

The House proceeded to the consideration of the speech of His Excellency the Governor General at the opening of the session.

Hon. CHARLES MURPHY (Russell): Mr. Speaker, in the last Parliament it was my privilege to congratulate you, Sir, when you were first chosen to fill the position of Speaker of this House. To-night it is again my privilege to offer you my felicitations on having been selected for a second time to preside over the deliberations of this assembly, and in doing so I feel that I may avail myself of the opportunity to say that you can at all times count upon the hearty co-operation of my fellow-members on both sides of this House to assist you in the discharge of the important duties attaching to you high office.

By way of expediting the business of the House, and in order to facilitate the work of the Government in pressing forward Canada's part in the war, I have a suggestion to make, which, if adopted, will, I am convinced, attain both those ends. My suggestion is that the hour for the meeting of Parliament should be changed, and that, instead of assembling at three o'clock in the afternoon, this House should meet at one

o'clock, and sit continuously until six o'clock, or later, if necessary, and that night sessions should become the exception rather than the rule.

I have given this suggestion a good deal of thought, and I have discussed it with others who have had fairly extended experience in the work of Parliament. Their belief coincides with my own, that if the suggested change were made the members of Parliament would bring to the consideration of public business a capacity, both mental and physical, for sustained work that, under our present procedure, grows increasingly less as the session advances and night sittings multiply. The public business itself would be more expeditiously and more satisfactorily disposed of, the members of the Government would have more time to devote to the work of their respective departments, and those who, either in an official capacity, or as members of the press gallery, are obliged to report the daily proceedings of Parliament and of its committees, would be afforded seasonable hours in which to perform their work.

Such a change as the one I have suggested would correspond, in a general way, with the rule that prevails in the United

States Congress. If it were adopted, the mornings from 9.30 to 12 o'clock could, when necessary, be devoted to the meetings of committees, and the members of the House, when not so engaged, would have ample time to attend to their correspondence and to perform other duties. In any event, their evenings, as a rule, would be free, and that would give them opportunity to dispose of any arrears of work. The proposed change would practically do away with night sittings, and would in the long run provide Parliament with more working hours, by reason of the increased length of the afternoon sittings, than does the present system. Speaking solely for myself, I make the suggestion now, so that, if there is an earnest desire to expedite public business this session, the necessary change can be made, and Parliament, like any other business institution, will transact its business within what are generally recognized as business hours. There is no question in my mind but that the long and unnecessary night sessions do not conduce either to proper consideration of public business or to economy in public expenditure.

At the opening of the first session of a new Parliament it is to be expected that frequent echoes would be heard of the election from which that Parliament has but recently emerged. Even in war time that is bound to be the case. Thus far in this debate we have heard several echoes of the late general election, but it is significant that, neither in the speech from the Throne nor in the speeches from the Government side of the House, has there been any echo heard of the race and religious issues that were deliberately raised by certain members of this Government and by their supporters, on the platform, in the pulpit, and in the press, for the express purpose of setting race against race and creed against creed, in order that, in the resulting turmoil and fratricidal strife, they might snatch a lease of power, and so gratify ambitions that set a higher value on attaining public office, no matter how secured, than upon the promotion of national unity in the face of a foe whom these same gentlemen pretend we are fighting in order to assert the rights of small nationalities and to enforce the principle of national self-determination. These omissions, Sir, it shall be my endeavour to supply before I resume my seat.

Last year during the debate on conscription I appealed to the right hon. gentleman who was then, as he is now, the leader of the Government, not to proceed upon the

line he then proposed following, but to adopt some one of the alternative proposals that emanated from this side of the House, in order to keep Canada united both at home and abroad. The appeal that I made was unheeded. Similar appeals from other hon. gentlemen on this side of the House met with a like reception, and while time has already vindicated those who made the appeals to which I refer, time has not, and time will not for many a day to come, eradicate the evil results of the late election. Canadian Prussianism, as practised throughout the campaign, has done quite as much harm to our national life as German Prussianism could do, if it were set up in our midst and imposed upon our people by force of arms.

For, Mr. Speaker, mark what has happened and what is in store for us. The seeds of distrust and hatred were sown wide and deep; the crop will not be of this year's harvesting nor of next; nor, in my belief, will it be gathered within the present generation; for, Sir, I venture to say that long after all those who engaged in sowing these seeds shall have passed away the fruits of their evil labours will continue to spring up to the confusion, embroilment, and division of Canadians who will have to deal with the survivors and the descendants of the three millions of people who either were disfranchised or whose religion was attacked and insulted for the miserable purpose of gaining a victory at the polls.

Some hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

Hon. Mr. MURPHY: Now, Sir, so that there may be no doubt as to my position, let me say at once that I have no quarrel with those who in the late election supported the Government in the honest belief that conscription was the only way to secure reinforcements for the troops at the front; in the honest belief that conscription would be promptly, uniformly, and honestly enforced if the Government were returned to power, and that 100,000 men to relieve the men in the trenches would be sent to the front as soon as the Government was installed in office. To induce such beliefs the most lavish promises were made on behalf of the Unionist candidates, and as I have said, with those who believed in such promises and who supported the Government on account of them, I have no quarrel. But the number of such persons is very small when compared with the total number who supported the Government for other and very different reasons.

Now, let me mention in general terms what those other reasons were. Briefly they were that Union Government would isolate Quebec and prevent the French and the Catholics from ruling Ontario and the rest of Canada; that the Pope and the Catholics generally were not in favour of the Allies in the present war; and, finally, that the issue was one between Protestantism and Catholicism, and that all who did not support the Government, as representing Protestantism, were slackers, traitors, and pro-Germans.

The campaign leading up to the open attack on Quebec and the French, as well as upon the Pope and the Catholics, with all of whom Sir Wilfrid Laurier and the Liberal party were constantly bracketed, was widespread, thoroughly organized and lavishly financed. Within the compass of a speech, it is not possible to deal with all the ramifications of the conspiracy, and I must therefore confine myself to a few only of its many outcroppings.

Those who were members of the last Parliament know to what an extent the ranks of the Liberal party were honeycombed by race and religious appeals and I need not dwell on that aspect of the conspiracy against the Liberal party and its leader. While that conspiracy was in progress within this House, there appeared in the Parliamentary press gallery a new correspondent, evidently a stranger. In reply to inquiries I was informed that the stranger was the representative of the Christian Science Monitor of Boston. Upon expressing

surprise that a religious paper like the Christian Science Monitor would go to the expense of sending a representative

to Ottawa to report parliamentary proceedings I was further informed that attention was to launch an anti-Catholic campaign that would fit in with the Government's preparation for the approaching general election. Of the correctness of that statement, proof was soon furnished by the appearance in the Christian Science Monitor of anti-Catholic, anti-French, and anti-Laurier articles, which later were reproduced by the Ottawa Citizen, the Toronto dailies, and other newspapers that were all smitten about the same time with a severe attack of a disease which, for lack of a generic term, and with apologies to medical nomenclature, I may describe as "Papaiphobia." Following this outbreak, certain gentlemen closely identified with the Christian Science Monitor visited Ottawa and after a council of war with their Ottawa friends, were introduced, I am in-

formed, to the right hon. the Prime Minister. What took place at that interview is immaterial, but what followed the interview is of very decided public importance. Early in October, 1917, a written memorandum issued from the office of the Prime Minister to the other members of the Cabinet, urging them to subscribe for the Christian Science Monitor for their respective departments. The reason given for exercising this particular kind of war economy—

Some hon. MEMBERS: Oh, oh.

Hon. Mr. MURPHY: —was that "the Christian Science Monitor frequently has very useful and interesting articles respecting Canadian affairs," and that it was "being subscribed for in the Privy Council office." The only articles on Canada that the Monitor was publishing at the time were anti-Catholic tirades, and these the Prime Minister, in the words of his office memorandum, found "very useful and interesting." There is, therefore, no room for doubt as to where the Prime Minister stood in the matter.

Now, Sir, I have heard of people being bribed with their own money, but this is the first and only time I have heard of people furnishing money to finance attacks upon themselves, as the Catholics of Canada undoubtedly did when the Prime Minister had the Christian Science Monitor placed on the subscription list of the several departments to be paid for out of public funds—funds contributed by Catholics equally with members of all other denominations.

But it must not for a moment be thought that the Christian Science Monitor enjoyed any monopoly in its chosen field. Quite the contrary. The English press of Canada, with a few honourable exceptions, joined in the hue and cry, and the Pope, Quebec, the Catholics and Laurier were the texts of their daily assaults. Nor was the campaign confined to the Tory press; it extended also to their Unionist confrères. The Toronto Globe was as mendacious as the Toronto Mail and Empire. The Toronto Star was quite as shameless as the Toronto News. And while the madness was at its height I am told that casual visitors to the Globe office, who were regarded as receptive to the new propaganda, were taken into the business manager's room, and there with doors closed and a nervous watch on the windows, and in bated breath, Mr. J. F. Mackay would expatiate on the machinations of the Pope and the necessity of defeating them by defeating Laurier. If

the visitor did not appear to be sufficiently impressed, he was passed on to Mr. J. E. Atkinson of the Star, who would then exercise his slimy arts to complete what the less adroit Mr. Mackay had begun. And so the game was played throughout the land.

All this, Sir, was bad enough, but the turning of the churches into political cockpits was the crowning infamy of the whole campaign. Their pulpits were thrown open to laymen as well to clergymen; and in some cases were occupied by individuals more competent to expound the doctrines of the Sodomites than to preach the gospel of the Prince of Peace. And why was all this done? Merely to arouse the rest of the country against Quebec and the Catholics for the sake of winning the election. Mr. Speaker, was there ever such a defilement of the House of God in any other land under the sun? I know of none, and for the sake of Christianity itself I hope there has been none.

Lest the women voters were not as highly inflamed as their male relatives, special appeals to their fears and passions and prejudices were made on the eve of the election. Perhaps the most inflammatory of these appeals, as it certainly was the most grotesquely false, was published by the Canadian Home Journal in its December issue. After moralising on the tragic importance of the issue to be decided on December 17, it proceeded thus:

Germany's reptile diplomacy uses many agencies in many lands, and the most important agency that it is to-day using on Canadian soil is the Roman Catholic Church.

No proof of this outrageous statement is offered, or attempted to be offered, but it is followed by these equally brilliant gems:

Lamentable as the fact is it is nevertheless a fact to be faced. As a consequence we find Roman Catholic Churches in Canada head centres of activity to place in power those whose policies aim at the withdrawal of Canada from the war, the desertion of our soldiers at the front and the betrayal of Great Britain.

And listen to this Mr. Speaker:

By what promises and devices the Kaiser's Government has secured the support of the Roman Catholic Church is not wholly clear.

Not then and not now.

He has promised to restore the Temporal home of the Pope in Europe and if victorious to extend his influence to South America.

It is altogether probable that he has promised his aid in extending the powers the Church now enjoys in the province of Quebec to all Canada.

The women of Canada are religious by nature. They are the backbone of our Churches. Let them remember what is at stake.

Mr. Wilfrid Laurier and his candidates exalt the traitor and contemn the soldier. It is for the womenfolk of the soldier to give them their answer at the polls.

Canada is menaced by open foes in Europe and insidious foes at home. To vote for Union Government is the woman's paramount duty--the duty of the hour.

Mr. Speaker, could anything be more dastardly or criminal than the article from which I have just quoted?

Some hon. MEMBERS: Hear, hear.

Mr. MURPHY: And yet the writer of that article not only goes unpunished but I have no doubt he enjoys many a chuckle over his contribution to the devil's brew with which the Union Government filled, and maddened and misled a too-credulous public.

So that no doubt may remain in the mind of any honest man or woman as to the issue upon which the Union Government sought and obtained office, let me quote from a full front page article which appeared in the Orange Sentinel of December 20th, 1917, under the caption, "Sound the Loud Timbrel":

A crushing defeat for the Roman Catholic Hierarchy of Quebec and their allies in the other provinces is the result of the polling on Monday.

The whole election campaign was fought upon the lines of the programme of the Orange Association. For the first time in the life of the dominion a union Protestantism followed the lead of the Orangemen of Canada to a magnificent victory over reactionary forces whose triumph would have disgraced the country. The great Order which the Sentinel represents has reason for gratification in having at last won that recognition from the Loyalists of the country which it has long deserved.

There you have a declaration after the event, written by a gentleman who was endorsed by the Prime Minister as his candidate in West Toronto, and who now represents that constituency in this House. The Prime Minister has not in any way challenged or repudiated that declaration. As he endorsed the candidature of the man who wrote it, he will be held to have endorsed the declaration as well, and the public will judge him accordingly.

In view of the facts that I have presented, what becomes of the hollow pretence that the Government's election appeal was solely for the purpose of obtaining re-inforcements for the boys at the front, and to maintain Canada's part in the war? The article in the Orange Sentinel, with the Prime Minister's endorsement, supplies the answer to that question.

I have illustrated the attitude of the Unionist party towards the Catholics of Canada for daring to oppose them. Let me now show you that a Catholic who supported them met with no better or different treatment. Reading again from the article in the Orange Sentinel of December 20th, 1917. I quote the following:

It is unfortunate that throughout the English-speaking province, the one element which stood solidly behind the Laurier party consisted of men who belong to the Roman Catholic Church. That was the backbone of the Laurier organization in Ontario. Apart from Bishop Fallon none of the higher Clergy of this province gave any indication of friendship for the Unionist Government.

There is every reason to believe, however, that his motive in supporting Union Government was largely a desire to punish those who have pursued him for twenty-five years.

Therefore his action cannot be taken as an indication of the sentiment either of his brother Bishops or of the faithful among their flock.

It would be a thousand pities, Mr. Speaker, to spoil by any superfluous comment such warm-hearted appreciation by a leader of Unionism of the help proffered by His Lordship of London to the Unionist party. I will therefore merely repeat my previous observation that the article was written by the Prime Minister's personally endorsed candidate, and the Prime Minister's approving silence for three months shows that he also endorses the article itself.

As it is my desire to place on record for the information not only of Canadians of to-day, but of Canadians of the future as well, all the data requisite for an understanding of the Union Government and the character of its election campaign, I realize that my task will be only half done, so far as Ontario was concerned, if I did not give the hon. member for Durham (Mr. Rowell) full credit for his share in the attacks made on the leader of the Liberal party and on the Catholics of this country. To fully appreciate that hon. gentleman's contribution it will be necessary to go back a few years to get the proper setting for a correct view of his more recent performances.

Let me premise, Sir, by saying that there was a time when, through lack of information, I regarded the hon. member for Durham as an unselfish servant of the public. To-day, in the light of information supplied from a hundred sources, I desire to make reparation to those whom I laboured to convert to my mistaken opinion by proposing, as briefly as possible, the facts relating to the hon. gentleman's public career as I now know them. Desiring at the same time to be fair to the hon. gentleman, I propose to take as the standard of judgment that

ought to be applied in his case a standard that has been supplied by himself. Let me explain where that standard is to be found.

Speaking at North Bay on the 6th December last, the hon. gentleman arraigned the leader of the Liberal party and the people of Quebec for their alleged attitude towards the war, and for the moment I do not intend to make any further use of his speech than to cite the basis on which he laid his charge. I will return to the speech later on. The basis of his charge on the occasion to which I refer was the lack of sacrifice on the part of the people of Quebec. A man who will make such a charge as that should stand on very firm ground with regard to his own record in the matter of sacrifice, and if he does not so stand then it were better for him to have remained silent. Now let us see what the hon. gentleman's record is with regard to sacrifice.

Briefly stated, Sir, it is this: that while he preaches the gospel of sacrifice for others, he has consistently garnered and pocketed the fruits of selfishness for himself. As you are doubtless aware, Sir, the cult of commercialized Christianity, in Ontario at least, has been placed on the basis of an exact science. The three great exponents of that cult are John Wesley Allison, Joseph Wesley Flavelle and Newton Wesley Rowell. Ego is their god, autos their creed and moi-même their practice. In point of fact, Sir, they are the three great Canadian Sinn Feiners. In our political annals an infamous immortality was conferred on John Wesley Allison by my friend the present Minister of Public Works (Mr. Carvell) in connection with fuses and shells. A like service was performed for Joseph Wesley Flavelle by Food Commissioner O'Connor and Mr. George W. Kyte, late member for Richmond, N.S., in connection with bacon and eggs. And, Sir, it is my purpose to convince you and the country that Newton Wesley Rowell is well worthy of the place the public has assigned him as the third member of that delectable trinity.

Not to go further back than the days of the Ross Government in Ontario, it may be recalled that the hon. gentleman was very active in his support of that administration, but his support entailed no sacrifice; quite the reverse. Through it he managed to secure an appointment as solicitor for the Government at the time that the loan of \$2,000,000 was made to the re-organized industries that Mr. F. H. Clergue had established at Sault Ste. Marie; and by reason of representing the Government he

secured another solicitorship with one of the companies concerned in the reorganization, and he held the two positions at the same time. When obliged to give up one of these positions, he was replaced by his partner, Mr. Thomas Gibbon. My information is that as the result of his supporting the Ontario Government of the day and of his securing the positions mentioned, the hon. member for Durham increased his savings by an amount in excess of \$100,000 within a period of four or five years. But the exact date is immaterial; so also is the length of time during which it was accumulated. The material thing is that it cannot be pretended that the hon. gentleman's active support of the Ross Government entailed any sacrifice on his part.

Now, Sir, what happened when the hon. gentleman entered the provincial field of politics? With his usual presence of mind he arranged with his friends to form a committee for the purpose of raising a fund to guarantee him against any loss while engaged in his work as provincial leader. Mr. A. E. Ames, of Toronto, was chairman of the committee, and in addition to Sir Joseph Flavelle, the contributors included several other Toronto gentlemen. The fund itself was called the "Secretarial Fund" and I am informed that it varied in amount from \$9,000 to \$11,000 a year. Again, the exact amount raised in any one year is immaterial; the point it establishes is that as provincial leader the hon. member for Durham was protected against any sacrifice whilst he retained that position. In other words, the hon. gentleman had placed his political services on precisely the same basis as that on which Sir Joseph Flavelle while Chairman of the Imperial Munitions Board, sold bacon for the soldiers to the British Government, namely, that the bacon would be supplied only after he had secured an undertaking to indemnify his company against all loss. Truly, Sir, it is perfectly wonderful how commercialized Christianity sharpens a man's sense of business.

A little over a year ago the hon. member for Durham and his press agent paid a visit to the battlefield. The trip was well advertised, as my hon. friend the Minister of Customs (Mr. Sifton) will recall. The member for Durham got many cable mentions out of it, but did he pay the expenses of the trip? Not he. The expenses were paid by the hon. gentleman's Toronto friends, who contributed, I am told, a sum in the neighbourhood of \$3,750

for the purpose. Once again there was no sacrifice on the part of the hon. member for Durham.

Without multiplying illustrations, it may be said that the contributions of Sir Joseph Flavelle and others to the hon. gentleman's several funds were made for the purpose of advertising, financing and placing the hon. gentleman on the political market in precisely the same way as Sir Joseph Flavelle advertises, finances and places his bacon and eggs on the commercial market. There was no sacrifice of any kind involved; it was simply a matter of business—of cool, calculating business, at that. Therefore I submit that it scarcely lies in the mouth of the member for Durham to attack the people of a whole province for their lack, or alleged lack, of sacrifice.

Let me now return to the hon. gentleman's speech at North Bay on the 6th of December last. In part, that speech was a suppression of the truth; in part, it was a statement of shabby falsehoods; in its entirety it was precisely the kind of speech the hon. member for Durham would make on an occasion when he was true to himself. For instance, the hon. gentleman pretended that he had been faithful as a follower of Sir Wilfrid Laurier until the Liberal leader declined to support conscription. Nothing could be further from the truth. The hon. gentleman engaged for several years in a conspiracy to supplant Sir Wilfrid Laurier as leader of the Liberal party. In this conspiracy he was aided by Mr. J. F. Mackay of the Toronto Globe, Mr. J. E. Atkinson of the Toronto Star, Mr. W. E. Bunde of the National Trust Company, Mr. J. H. Gundy, of Wood and Gundy, brokers, Colonel F. H. Deacon, of F. H. Deacon and Co., brokers, Mr. G. Frank Beer, and others, whose names it is not at the moment necessary to mention, but which I have in my possession.

The procedure was something like this: the provincial Liberal party was to exist only in name, while the active body would be a Rowell party, financed from the "Secretarial Fund" and having its organizers and field workers with their press agency and such social and moral reform agencies as might be gathered in through the activities of those who were working in co-operation with the member for Durham to oust Sir Wilfrid Laurier from the leadership of the Liberal party.

Then, there were lunches and dinners at Toronto, to which decent Liberals were sometimes invited, and at which the plot would be more or less openly referred to in proportion as it was deemed safe by the

plotters to show their hostility to Sir Wilfrid Laurier.

Following one of these Imperial gatherings a demand was made that Sir Wilfrid Laurier be asked to name Mr. Rowell as his successor in the leadership of the Liberal party, but the gentlemen who were thus approached laughed the silly proposal to scorn. At another stage of the conspiracy, it was planned to bring about a change in the directorship of the Toronto Globe, so as to hurry on the replacing of Sir Wilfrid by Mr. Rowell at Ottawa and the installation of Mr. Atkinson as Mr. Rowell's successor at Toronto. But that too miscarried, and for several days afterwards the telephone line leading from Mr. Mackay's office to Mr. Atkinson's office sagged heavy with moist regrets. But when conscription appeared on the scene and Union Government loomed up—ah, there was the chance so long denied. And, having failed to dislodge Sir Wilfrid, the hon. member for Durham (Mr. Rowell) and his entourage of pork packers, trust magnates, brokers and disappointed journalists transferred their attentions to Sir Robert Borden and Union Government, both of whom they are following closely and unselfishly as numerous appointments to influential commissions, fat advertising contracts and handsome brokerage on Victory war loans all amply demonstrate.

In view of these doings, Sir, you are not surprised that I should stamp as false and hypocritical the pretense of the hon. gentleman at North Bay that he had been a follower of Sir Wilfrid Laurier until conscription became an issue. The very reverse was the fact, and the proofs were known to hundreds of people throughout the Dominion.

Another characteristic distortion of the truth on the part of the hon. gentleman was his statement at North Bay regarding the alliance between the Nationalists and the Conservatives in 1911. Here are his exact words as reported in the Toronto Globe of December 7, 1917:

As Liberals we have claimed that the surrender in the year 1911, of the Conservative party in the province of Quebec to the Nationalist-clerical influence was a grave national blunder, from which we have suffered through the whole period of the war.

You will observe, Sir, that the hon. gentleman would have his audience and the public believe that the alliance with the Nationalists was made only by the Quebec wing of the Conservative party. The hon. gentleman, when he made that speech, was speaking in the district of Nipissing, and how his audience must have smiled as they

listened to him and recalled the reception extended by his cabinet colleague, Hon. Frank Cochrane, by Senator Gordon and other Ontario conservatives, to Mr. Henri Bourassa, the Nationalist leader, when that gentleman, on Mr. Cochrane's invitation, went to Nipissing to assist the Conservatives in 1911, and when, to use Senator Gordon's own words, they "presented him with the keys of Northern Ontario."

But this Ontario-Conservative alliance with the Nationalists was not the only embarrassing thing that the hon. gentleman's statement was intended to conceal. It was primarily intended to conceal the fact that Sir Robert Borden, the gentleman, whom the hon. member for Durham now acknowledges as his leader, was in active personal alliance with the Nationalists in 1911. The hon. gentleman must know, if he knows anything about our recent political history, that in the campaign of 1911, his present leader went to the province of Quebec and in the counties of Shefford and Missisquoi appealed for support for candidates who were pledged to the Nationalist programme, a surrender, according to the hon. gentleman "from which we have suffered through the whole period of the war." Why then is he not honest, and why does he not place responsibility upon his present leader and not upon the Conservative party of Quebec? The reason is quite obvious; to be honest and place responsibility where it belongs would mean the destruction of the reasons the hon. gentleman has given for entering the Union Government, and that it goes without saying, cannot afford to do. He, however, is on record at another time and place in such condemnation of his present leader and some of his Union Cabinet associates with reference to this very Nationalist alliance that I propose to place that record on record.

When reference to the published proceedings of the annual meeting of the Ontario Reform Association held at Toronto on November 24, 1916, I find that the hon. member for Durham was present and that he spoke at that meeting. My information also is that he revised, if he did not actually draft, a resolution condemnatory of the alliance of his present leader with the Nationalists, and that resolution was unanimously adopted in these terms:

Whereas, the Conservative party under Sir Robert Borden deliberately allied itself with the Nationalist party in Quebec under Henri Bourassa upon their avowed policy of non-participation in the wars of the Empire to endeavour to procure the defeat of the Liberal administration of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, and

Whereas, following the success of this unholy alliance Sir Robert Borden publicly recognized and included in his Cabinet men selected by Henri Bourassa, Armand Lavergne, and their associates, and,

Whereas, this alliance helps to explain the weak and vacillating policy of the Government in connection with the war, and

Whereas, Sir Robert Borden still retains in his Cabinet two intense Nationalists, Blondin, the most rabid of them all, and Patenaude, a former Nationalist organizer,

Be it therefore resolved, that we, the Liberals of Ontario, in our annual meeting assembled, desire most emphatically to condemn the continuance in this trying time of war, of this unholy Conservative-Nationalist alliance, as unfair to Canada and inimical to the best interests of the Empire.

Thus spoke the hon. member for Durham in November, 1916. Less than a year later he had become a follower of the Sir Robert Borden whom he had so vehemently condemned, and a Cabinet colleague of the Mr. Blondin whom he had so roundly denounced. And following all this he had the impudent hardihood to pretend in his North Bay speech that it was only the Conservatives of Quebec who were in alliance with the Nationalists. That statement, viewed in the light of the facts which preceded it, furnishes another illuminating example of the hon. gentleman's standard of political morality.

Having gone into the realm of fiction for his facts, it is not surprising that in the further course of his North Bay speech, the hon. member for Durham made some extraordinary statements about patronage. In effect, the hon. gentleman said that patronage had been abolished, and just about the time that he made that statement he had sent as his agent to the city of London, Col. F. H. Deacon, who, as the representative of the minister, offered to a prominent Liberal of that city, as a bribe to induce him to desert the Liberal candidate, the chairmanship of the War Purchasing Commission, formerly held by Sir Edward Kemp. In view of the urgency of the matter Col. Deacon reported the result of his interview at London by telegraph to the minister. That telegram was written by Deacon in the presence of three leading citizens of London, and I am informed that telegram is still preserved. Deacon's offer was rejected, but Deacon's agency was established by written proof furnished by Deacon himself.

The mention of the mere outlines of this one transaction discloses the peculiar view the hon. member for Durham entertains of patronage. But, brief as has been the hon. gentleman's career in Dominion politics, this incident does not by any means stand

alone. Hard on its heels, the hon. member for Durham deputed Mr. G. G. S. Lindsey of Toronto to interview sundry Liberals and ascertain if they thought the public would stand the appointment of one of the members of the present Government to a place on the Ontario Supreme Court bench. Possibly the hon. gentleman may not regard that as an exercise of patronage. If he does not, then he will certainly not regard the sending of Mr. J. F. Mackay to eastern Ontario to urge Liberal candidates to desert their leader by pointing out the advantages by which their treachery would be rewarded, as an exercise of patronage.

But, whatever his view may be of the authority that he deputed in the two latter cases, there can be no doubt about the exercise of patronage in the case of Mr. Robert A. Mulholland, who was bribed to make way for the hon. gentleman as a candidate in the county of Durham, by the promise of a seat in the Senate. That bribe has been paid within the last week by Mr. Mulholland's appointment to the Senate. Realizing that the appointment would shatter the last remaining pretense that patronage had been abolished, the Government adopted the unusual course of handing out an official statement of the reasons for Mr. Mulholland's appointment. The official reasons were an official lie, which stirred the honest indignation of The Toronto Telegram, and that paper, in its issue of March 14, thus deals with the incident:

Partyism a better Pay Boss than patriotism.

A patriot gives up the best years of his life to secure liberty for the world. A partisan gives up a parliamentary nomination in Durham county to secure a seat in the House of Commons for Hon. Wesley Rowell.

The patriot's reward is the probability of death or wounds and the certainty of sacrifice, all for \$1.10 per day.

The partisan's reward is a seat in the Senate of Canada with a capitalized value of \$50,000, and an earning power of \$2,500 per annum.

In the same issue, The Toronto Telegram, after detailing the case of a Canadian Pacific Railway engineer who was earning a good salary, and who enlisted and went to the front, was wounded and had both his legs amputated, thus proceeds:

Brave names fill the muster roll of Canada's soldiers. The C.P.R. engine driver is not singled out as an unusual example of sacrifice. The maimed figure of that C.P.R. engine driver, with his ringing laughter, his bright smile and unconquered spirit, represents one form of patriotic service.

The candidate who removed his ambition from the path of Hon. Wesley Rowell's progress to an Ontario seat in Parliament represents another form of patriotic service, or patriotic endeavour, to quote the now immortal words of Sir Robert Borden.

The soldier who gives up both legs and an earning power of \$200 or \$250 per month for his country's sake will be required with a pension of \$600 or \$700 per annum.

The candidate who gives up a parliamentary nomination for Hon. Wesley Rowell's sake is requited with a life interest in a seat in the Senate. That life interest has a capital value of \$50,000. An official statement carries the authority of Sir Robert Borden into a declaration that a senatorship worth \$2,500 per annum is the modest reward of Hon. R. A. Mulholland's patriotic endeavours.

If every Canadian who can equal or surpass Mr. Mulholland's creditable record of "patriotic endeavour" is to go to the Senate, the home of that august assembly will soon be overcrowded worse than a Toronto street car around 6 p.m. If a \$50,000 senatorship illustrates Sir Robert Borden's idea of a scant reward for Hon. R. A. Mulholland's "patriotic endeavours," the "patriotic endeavours" of the C.P.R. engineer and hundreds and thousands of other Canadian soldiers is the marble of trus and noble sacrifice. That marble is spoiled with the mud of Sir Robert Borden's words of excuse for the traffic in senatorships that is still being carried on at Ottawa.

As you will observe, Sir, the Toronto Telegram takes no stock in the Pharisaic pretense of the hon. member for Durham that patronage has been abolished. Neither do I; neither does any sane man who has any knowledge of the crimes for which patronage is responsible in connection with the office of the Director of Public Information; with the office of the Food Board, and its staff of nearly one hundred highly-paid employees; and with the office of the Central Appeal Judge, under the Military Service Act, and its staff of nearly seventy highly-paid employees. Later on, there will be occasion to ventilate these crimes, and I will not dwell on them now.

But reprehensible as were the statements with which I have already dealt in the hon. gentleman's North Bay speech, they were mild and inoffensive, indeed, when compared with his slanderous and unjustifiable attack on the members of the religious orders who came from France to Canada and who were here at the outbreak of the war. Let me devote a few minutes to an analysis of the statements made by him in that same speech in regard to these men. After he had denounced the attitude of the Quebec Nationalists towards the war, the hon. member for Durham said:

In this attitude they were undoubtedly encouraged and abetted by the members of the religious orders from France who found an asylum in Canada, and used that asylum to undermine Canada's strength in the struggle.

This atrocious statement was made without a syllable of truth to support it. When challenged for proof, the hon. gentleman, after the manner of the tribe of Ananias,

remained silent. On December 15, 1917, The Catholic Record of London publicly challenged the hon. member for Durham to bring forward a shadow of proof for his assertion; the hon. gentleman did not respond. At a later date this challenge was repeated by The Catholic Register of Toronto; but again the hon. gentleman remained silent. The fact that his statement in its foulness and falsehood was adopted and repeated by Mr. Stewart Lyon, of The Toronto Globe, does not in any degree mitigate the offence of the hon. gentleman for having gratuitously slandered both the living and the dead. Neither the hon. member for Durham nor Mr. Lyon could produce any proof, because proof there was none.

Not satisfied with one slander, the hon. gentleman uttered another when he thus further referred to the French religious in Canada:

It is a misfortune that they did not follow the example of the priests of the Catholic church in France, who threw themselves into the struggle of their people to preserve their national existence.

In these words the hon. member for Durham pictured the French members of the religious orders as remaining in Canada and shirking their duty to France. That statement, Sir, is even more wickedly untrue than the former one. The facts were available to the hon. gentleman as they were to any other person who would seek them; but the facts would not suit the hon. gentleman's purpose, and so he coolly ignored them. Now it is my intention to give the facts to the House and to the country, so that the truth may be known about a body of men whose courage, devotion to duty and self-sacrifice in the present war stamp them as worthy to follow in the footsteps of that noble band of French missionaries who first made this land known to Europe and blazed the way for its colonization and development.

As a result of inquiries instituted both in Canada and overseas, I have been favoured with authentic statements giving in detail full particulars about the French religious orders who were wantonly slandered by the hon. member for Durham. It would unduly burden the record, and take up too much time if I were to place all the details on Hansard, and for these

9 p.m. reasons I shall summarize my information, and mention only a few names of the hundreds that have been sent to me. But the records themselves I will preserve so that they may be available for future historical reference. It is to be kept in

mind that the figures which I am about to submit relate only to French subjects who were members of religious orders in Canada. I will begin with the Franciscans. At the outbreak of war practically the entire body of French Franciscans left Canada and returned to France to do their duty. In the whole Dominion of Canada, I am informed, there now remain but six French Franciscan priests, and that these six are exempt from military service on the ground of age or physical unfitness. Those who returned to France were assigned to various war duties, and 32 of them went into the trenches. Of these three have been mentioned in the Orders of the Day, two have been decorated with the Military Medal, one has received the Cross of the Legion of Honour, one has been wounded and discharged, and one was killed on the field of battle, after he had been twice mentioned in the Orders of the Day, and had received the military medal.

From "L'Institut des Frères de l'Instruction Chrétienne" twenty-five members returned to France and entered the French army. Of those, four have been decorated and mentioned in the Orders of the Day, four have been wounded, one was taken prisoner, one who was twice wounded, has been missing for three years, and is assumed to have died of his wounds; and two were killed on the field of battle.

In addition to the Canadian members of the Jesuit order who are chaplains in France, five French Jesuits went back from Canada to join the French army. Of these two were killed in action.

All the members of the Congregation of the Holy Cross who were French subjects answered the call to the colours. One was wounded twice, and returned again to the front. One has been reported "missing" for over a year, and is assumed to be dead or a prisoner, and three others are still fighting in the trenches.

The Fathers of the Congregation of the Holy Ghost sent three of their members to the French Army, and a fourth is on his way to France. One of those who returned to France was killed at the front, and another who is now seriously wounded has been decorated with the Military Cross, and was twice mentioned in the Orders of the Day.

The Trappists had only two French members of military age and both returned to France in 1914. One of them, Father Thomas, received two decorations, the Military Cross and the Military Medal,

was twice mentioned in the Orders of the Day, and later, in rescuing a companion, suffered the loss of both eyes. To-day he is a teacher of the blind in France. The other Trappist who returned to his native country, was Father Hypolite, who is now fighting with seven of his brothers in the French army.

Of the 900 members of the Marist Order who have fought in the trenches, 14 French subjects went from Canada to France. Two of those were killed on the battlefield, six were wounded, one received the Military Medal, and all were mentioned in the Orders of the Day.

Les Peres de Montfort sent 15 of their French members back to France. Three of these brave men were stationed in the county which I have the honour to represent in Parliament. Of the 15 who returned to France, five won the Military Cross, five were mentioned in the Orders of the Day, one of them on three consecutive occasions; and one was killed on the field of battle.

From the Eudist Congregation, 17 of its members went back from Canada to France. Of these, three were wounded, two were mentioned in the Orders of the Day, two were decorated with the Military Cross, and four were honourably discharged from service.

The Brothers of St. Gabriel sent eight of their French members who were of military age, to serve in the French ranks. Four of them were wounded, four were decorated with the Military Medal, four were mentioned in the Orders of the Day, and one of them, Bro. Garrigues-Antonin, is the inventor of a wonderful field gun which has done great execution against the enemy.

The twelve French subjects who were members of the Sulpician Order went to France when war broke out, and immediately reported for duty. Seven went to France and later on served in the Lorraine, Verdun, Champagne and Saloniki campaigns. One of them was decorated with the Military Cross at Verdun.

With the Dominicans at Ste. Hyacinthe there were only two French members of military age when war was declared. These two went to France.

The Order of St. Sacrament sent to France the only one of its members who was not exempt on account of age or ill-health, and he is still serving as a chaplain at the front.

Four French members of the Order of the Holy Cross in Canada reported for duty at the beginning of the war, and one of them

was wounded while fighting with the French army.

The Brothers of St. Vincent de Paul had only one French member eligible for military service. He joined the French army in 1914, and has been twice mentioned for bravery in the Orders of the Day.

The Missionaries of the Sacred Heart have been represented at the front by four French subjects who returned from Canada to serve in the trenches. One of them, Father Cadoux, was mentioned in the Orders of the Day for special bravery in rescuing the wounded under fire.

From the Capuchin Order, ten French subjects went back to France and joined the colours. Three of those men were killed on the battlefield, Father Albert, Father Edward and Father Justinian, all of whom at one time were stationed in Ottawa, and with two of whom I was well acquainted.

The Christian Brothers, at Montreal, are represented at the front by two of their French members, one of whom has been severely wounded.

From the Oblate Order in Canada, twenty-four French members returned to France, and they have served in the ranks with great distinction. One was killed on the battlefield, two died of wounds, four were decorated with the Military Cross, and several of the others were mentioned for bravery in the Orders of the Day.

Mr. Speaker, the figures which I have just placed before you constitute a part only of what stands to the credit of the French Religious who went back from Canada to France to help their Motherland in this war. But, Sir, I submit that these figures are more than sufficient to refute the baseless statements made by the hon. gentleman from Durham at North Bay.

If the hon. gentleman's statements were not made for a wicked and malicious purpose, then by every standard of public and private honour he is required to retract what he has said, to offer an apology to the living and to make reparation to the memory of the dead. Should he hesitate or decline to do this, then he will stand self-condemned before his fellowmen, stripped of the last vestige of any claim to public respect or public confidence.

You will recall, Sir, that earlier in my remarks I referred to the part the Christian Science Monitor had played in the Canadian campaign against the Pope and the Catholics. If you are a reader of the New York press, you will be familiar with another phase of the same campaign which was carried on in the neighbouring

republic. Among other things, the Christian Science Monitor and its imitators in the United States, as well as in Canada, alleged that the Pope was responsible not only for the disaster that befel the Italian army, but also for the disruptive propaganda that brought that disaster about. This amazing fiction was repeated apparently in good faith by F. C. Walcott, Assistant Food Controller of the United States. When convinced of his error, Mr. Walcott had the manliness to sign and authorize the publication of the following retraction:

UNITED STATES FOOD ADMINISTRATION
WASHINGTON, D. C.

New York, January 29, 1918.

Dear Mr. Iselin:

I desire to confirm what I at once wrote to Monsignor Lavallo on the 16th instant, namely, that I much regret a statement I recently made in this city at a conference to consider Food Conservation. My statement attributed to the Pope a measure of responsibility for the Italian disaster and for the disruptive propaganda which had brought it about. I repeated thoughtlessly and without previous reflection a rumor I had heard which I had not verified and which I am now convinced and believe was untrue. I have since read the categorical denial of Cardinal Gasparri, the Pope's Minister of Foreign Affairs, and the denial of Cardinal Bourne in London, and I have also read the statement recently made by Signor Orlando, the Prime Minister of Italy, in the Italian Chamber of Deputies, as follows:

"I deplore the accusations of a general character made by the Hon. Signor Pirroini against high ecclesiastical personages—accusations that tend to hurt the supreme spiritual authority—against priests and against the Catholic party. Such accusations are unjust and offensive, because as the public are aware, the Italian clergy, both high and low, have given noble and beautiful proofs of Italian sentiments, and the great mass of the Catholics have known how to reconcile the dictates of faith with their duties towards their country."

I therefore feel that it is my duty to retract the statement I made in regard to the Pope, which I do without reserve, and I would like to correct the unfortunate and erroneous impression my remarks tended to create.

You may give this letter such publicity as your committee deems advisable to counteract the effect of my statement and its repetition by those who heard my remarks.

May I take this opportunity to express the appreciation of my colleagues and myself of the uniform and effective co-operation which the National Food Administration has received from our Catholic fellow-citizens and the Catholic clergy?

I am

Very sincerely yours,

F. C. WALCOTT.

ADRIAN ISELIN, ESQ.

Chairman Catholic Laymen's Committee,
36 Wall Street, New York.

And, Mr. Speaker, if I have any further suggestion to make to the hon. member for

Durham it is that he should now be man enough to follow Mr. Walcott's example.

Before dismissing this part of my subject let me pay a tribute to a class of citizens whom we of the minority are anxious should not be confounded with those who have been false to the Liberal party and the Liberal leader. By contrast with these promoters of sectarian bigotry and national hate, there stand out in noble relief the Protestant Liberals who withstood the gales of passion and prejudice, who turned a deaf ear to the taunts of friends, to the sneers of neighbours, to the insults of opponents, and amid it all remained true to their political principles and their party leader.

These are the men, who within my lifetime, have been unshaken and unchanged, while there raged about them the storms of a dual language agitation, of a Jesuits Estates Act agitation, of an Equal Rights agitation, of a No Tamere decree agitation, and, most recently, of an anti-French and anti-Catholic agitation. They are not only the pride of the minorities whose rights they have steadfastly espoused and defended, but they are the truest exemplars of Canadian citizenship and the only hope of the future—if hope there can be in the future of a country so race and creed-cursed as Canada is. If I have fault to find with others, I have only praise, and admiration and affection for them, and I deem this the time and the place to make such a declaration in their regard.

Now, Sir, let me turn to another subject. While the War-times Election Act was under discussion in this House last session, many predictions were made as to the irregularities and the crimes that would be sure to attend its operation. No matter how extravagant the prophecies may have seemed at the time, they fell far short of describing what actually took place in the election itself. With the exception of certain constituencies in the province of Quebec, there was no riding in Canada in which a contest took place that did not supply proof to justify all that was said about the War-times Elections Act by its critics in this House. In point of fact, irregularities and crimes were committed which it was impossible to forecast, and the record of these will in due time be presented to Parliament. Meanwhile, let me cite the views expressed by Premier Martin of Saskatchewan, prior to the date of the election, with regard to this notorious piece of war-time legislation. In a statement published on December 8th, 1917, Premier Martin expressed himself as follows:

In regard to the War Times Election Act, I have already expressed my opinion with respect

to the disfranchisement of certain classes of our people. I regard this feature of the act as un-British and un-democratic, calculated to create distrust and suspicion and to delay the Canadianizing of many of these people for a generation.

Moreover, apart from the disfranchisement provisions of the election act, machinery is created which is in the hands of unscrupulous men and may be used in such a way as to win any constituency. This portion of the act renders possible the disfranchisement of any citizen living in western Canada. The Union Government should see to it that the election machinery provided is fairly used, they should see that every person entitled to vote is given an opportunity so to do. If they do not act honestly and fairly in the administration of their election machinery, my confidence in them will be shaken. They should also repeal the act at the first session of Parliament after the election.

As the greatest care was taken to exclude that part of Premier Martin's manifesto from the Government-controlled press in eastern Ontario, I will ask the privilege, Sir, of reading that last sentence again, in case my friends from the Prairie Provinces may not have heard me when I read it first.

They should also repeal the Act at the first Session of Parliament after the election.

While the views thus stated by Premier Martin were primarily intended for the benefit of his western friends, they attracted general attention on account of the fact that Mr. Martin had for several years been an honoured member of this House, and that many of his Liberal associates, particularly those who were intimate with him in this Chamber, regard him as a man destined to play a larger part in the affairs of the Dominion. That Premier Martin's fears as to the way the election machinery would be operated were well-founded will require only a few examples to prove. Let me take the first of these from a newspaper supporting the Government. The Evening Telegram of Toronto, in its issue of Monday, December 17th, 1917, thus referred to the way in which the Act had been applied in Toronto:

Toronto's loyalty to the cause of Union Government was traded on by ward politicians. Patriots had temporarily overlooked the blunders or crimes perpetrated in the non-enrollment of so many disfranchised women. Laurier would have been aided by the public mention of these crimes.

Mr. Speaker, that sentence is so delicious, as exemplifying the peculiar type of mentality that exists only in Toronto, that I will read it again:

Laurier would have been aided by the public mention of these crimes.

The article proceeds:

Laurier cannot now be aided by the fullest proclamation of the truth that the whole system

of preparing a war-time voters' list in Toronto worked out as a disgrace to Union Government. The Union Government abolished patronage. That same Government was represented in Toronto by a small, incompetent organization. That organization left the Trail of the Serpent of Patronage over every move in the miserable game of playing with the manufacture of a war-time voters' list.

The appointment of the returning officers was Patronage.

The appointment of the enumerators was Patronage.

Toronto is disgraced by the Tragedy of the War-Time Voters' List. The joint authors of that Tragedy are the red-tape officials in Ottawa and the Patronage peddlers who pose as Conservative leaders in Toronto.

The language of the Toronto Telegram that the whole system of preparing the War-time Voters' List worked out as a disgrace to the Union Government exactly fits the case in scores of other constituencies as well, and yet this afternoon the Right Hon. The Prime Minister in his speech said that "there never was an election in Canada conducted more decently and fairly."

Now let us turn to the West and see what happened there. The most illuminating exposure of election misdeeds that has come under my notice was that contained in the speech delivered by the Hon. A. G. MacKay, of Edmonton, who spoke in that city in January last. That speech was published in full in the Edmonton Weekly Topics of January 11th, 1918, and it should be read by every person who is under obligation to familiarize himself with the possibilities of election crookedness under the War-time Election Act. It was followed by an article in the Edmonton Bulletin summarizing many of the details given by Mr. MacKay, and it will afford an idea of what went on generally among the election officials if I read a few paragraphs at the beginning of that summary, which were as follows:

The result of the pelling in the electoral district of West Edmonton gives a substantial majority to the Hon. Frank Oliver as far as the home vote is concerned. This majority is entirely remarkable in view of the evident determination to disfranchise as many of the electors as would be necessary to win the election for the Government candidate. If he did not win it is only because the election officials fell down on their job. They could just as well have put enough on or left enough off to do the trick. Their only failure was they did not think they needed as many as they did. There are various ways of disfranchisement. One is by statute direct. That was done. Another is by empowering the enumerator to enfranchise and disfranchise. That was done. Still another is to so place the polls that they are out of reach of the voters. That was done. Still another is not to provide enough ballots at polls known to be favourable to the opposition. That was done. To deal only with the two last mentioned cases:

Grouard Poll No. 210.

There were 183 votes polled at Grouard poll No. 210, 163 for Oliver, 20 for Griesbach, 2 ballots were spoiled. The polling division extended for ten townships from south to north, and eight from east to west, that is, it was sixty miles by fifty, not including a vast northern and largely uninhabited area. The settlements within the area mentioned had been given seven polls at the provincial election last spring, and four in the elections of 1911. There were some 400 names on the voters' list. Whitefish Lake settlement, fifty miles by trail from Grouard, had been given a poll in the provincial elections, but no poll was given it in the recent election. Two voters traveled from Whitefish Lake to Grouard and arrived in time to poll their votes, but five others who were on the way did not arrive until after the close of the poll owing to the day being very cold and stormy and the travel being consequently slow. The whole settlement, comprising about fifty voters, excepting the two mentioned, was effectually disfranchised by the refusal of a poll. From Indiana siding on the Dunvegan railway, where a number of fishermen were at work, the distance to the Grouard poll was over twenty miles.

The conditions at McLennan were almost exactly duplicated at Grouard. First, the people were disfranchised by the refusal of polls, and in case that would not be sufficient they were not given enough ballots. Only 150 ballots had been supplied at Grouard, although there were upwards of 400 names on the lists. The 150 ballots were exhausted about 2.30 p.m. After some delay the deputy returning officer permitted the use of substitute ballots by duly qualified voters. Thirty-three such ballots were used before the poll closed, and were counted by the deputy returning officer.

It may be mentioned that the Grouard settlement sent a very large proportion of men to the war.

Fahler Settlement, Polls 208 and 226.

The Fahler case has been stated in full already, but a resumé may be given. Fahler settlement occupies the greater part of the townships 77 and 78, ranges 21 and 22, west of the fifth meridian. Upwards of 400 homesteads are taken and a large proportion of the settlers are in occupation. The Dunvegan railway traverses the settlement from east to west. There were five polls in the settlement in the provincial election of last spring. No poll was given in the settlement at the recent election. The part of the settlement in range 21 was included in McLennan poll distant from six to eighteen miles. Range 22 was included in the Smoky River poll, distant twelve to thirty miles. An old trail through the woods had to be reopened to allow the voters to reach the poll at the Smoky. There was no population at the Smoky except two men at the railway pump house. A party of thirty-one voters of Fahler left home on Saturday, cut their way through the woods, reached the poll at noon on Monday, and voted. Twelve others who left on Sunday failed to reach the poll on Monday. All these voters had to camp outside for four nights in bitterly cold weather.

And in the face of that the Prime Minister this afternoon said: "Never was there an election in Canada conducted more decently and fairly." The article proceeds:

The vote was 21 Oliver, 5 Griesbach. The Griesbach voters were the railway pump men and the officers of the poll. The Falher settlers tried to secure railway accommodation but were refused it.

The settlers in range 21 started for McLennan on Sunday morning and most of them arrived on Sunday night. There were only 100 ballot papers in the box. When these were all used, substitute ballots to the number of 21 were issued by the deputy returning officer. These were used by only qualified voters in the regular way, but on the authority of what he gave as a wire from the returning officer the deputy refused to count these ballots, and they have not been counted, although they are in the box. The 100 regular ballots were counted, 94 Oliver, 4 Griesbach, 2 spoiled. After all the hardships they had endured nearly as many voters were disfranchised by shortage of ballots at the McLennan poll as were allowed to vote.

Such are a few of the examples of what happened in Alberta. The happenings in Saskatchewan were evidently similar in character, as may be judged by a paragraph from the Regina Leader. The Minister of Immigration and Colonization (Hon. J. A. Calder) will be able to tell the House a little later in the debate whether the Regina Leader is able to speak for what happened in Saskatchewan. The article reads:

Now that the elections are over, and the results of the polling are fairly complete, one thing stands out with startling clearness, and that is, that not only was the War-Time Elections Act a huge mistake but it was absolutely unnecessary even as a political weapon.

Perhaps no one Province in Canada was harder hit by that un-British and utterly disgraceful piece of legislation than was the Province of Saskatchewan. Nothing in the past political history of this country so aroused and antagonized our people, British-born and foreign-born, Liberal and Conservative, Protestant and Roman Catholic, as that "scrap of paper" enactment. Feeling over the defeat of Reciprocity by the eastern Tories was as nothing compared to the feeling existing in this western country against the War-Time Elections Act.

And later in the same article the Regina Leader proceeds:

We repeat, the War-Time Elections Act was a mistake no matter from what standpoint it is viewed. It created hard feelings and division where there was no necessity of doing so and when no good object could be served thereby. It has given a serious, even dangerous, setback to the Canadianizing of our non-English-speaking citizens. It has shattered the confidence of these people in what was one of this country's greatest assets in securing immigration—belief in British justice and fair play and in the pledged word of all Governments under the British flag.

Now that the elections are over and Union Government sustained, one of its first acts should be to wipe this stain off our country's honour. The people of western Canada expect this; they have a right to demand it. They do demand it.

In view of the widespread condemnation of the War-time Elections Act and of the clear call for its repeal issued by Premier Martin and by other supporters of Union Government, I shall suspend further observations on the subject until the Government shall have declared what it intends to do in the matter.

Mr. Speaker, if I have devoted considerable time to a review of some of the men and the methods employed to bring about Union Government, it is not because I think they are the chief concern of the moment. They are not. The chief concern of the moment is that Union Government has been accomplished at the expense of the loss of the good-will and confidence of three millions of Canadians. Smarting under a sense of wrongs inflicted either through disfranchisement or through wanton attacks upon their religion, three millions of Canadians are to-day sullen and distrustful, and they are not to be reinstated in their former respect for constitutional Government by the bucketering that is going on in farm tractors, postmasterships, senatorships and customs collectorships. That sort of thing may be smart trading, designed to placate certain classes and individuals, but it is not constructive statesmanship such as Canada needs at the present moment.

While such is the need of the moment, the newspapers announce that the member for Durham (Mr. Rowell) and some other ministers are chafing to get away to a conference in London. Mr. Speaker, if these ministers are well advised they will pay attention to what needs very careful attention in Canada and they will let British statesmen look after Imperial affairs in London. It is idle to pretend that several Ministers have to run off to England to the neglect of pressing Canadian matters. The unity of this Dominion is of vastly more importance to us than the discussion as to where new boundary lines for some European country are to be laid down—a discussion at which Canadian ministers would, in any event, be mere onlookers. At present Canada is governed partly from London, but mostly from Washington. Only a few days ago we were called upon to acclaim the opening of a direct wire from Ottawa to Washington. Let none of my friends on the opposite side of the House grow nervous; for the sake of cabinet harmony I will not make any allusions to the no-truck-or-trade-with-the-Yankee-campaign of 1911. What I desire to point out is that the people of this country elect their

parliamentary representatives on the understanding that they will be governed from Ottawa; that Canadian public business will be transacted by Canadians in Canada. Hence, the duty of ministers, particularly at this critical period, lies in Ottawa and not in London; and if there be any business in London that cannot be transacted by letter or cable surely the High Commissioner can attend to it.

Mr. Speaker, it was an appreciation of conditions as they exist to-day that led Premier Martin to declare in his manifesto that

There is a situation developing in this country which, if continued, will disrupt Canada.

And it was his keen realization of the need of national unity that caused him to add this:

While there are men in the Government who were parties to the measures and the conduct which have thrown Canada into disorder to-day, still I have sufficient confidence in my friends who have entered that Government to believe . . . that they will put forth every effort to see that Canada is properly governed during the period of the war.

Before the present session shall have advanced very far it will be demonstrated whether or not the friends in whom Premier

Martin expressed confidence will justify that confidence. If they do so by repealing the War-Time Elections Act, for which Premier Martin has specifically asked, and by adopting policies designed to bring people together rather than to keep them apart, they will have done much to repair the injuries from which the country is now suffering, and the continuance of which is alike inimical to national progress and to the part we all desire that Canada should play in this war.

Not only to Premier Martin's friends in the cabinet, but to all the members of the Government, to all the members of Parliament—aye, to all the people of Canada—there may be offered at this moment as an inspiration to that form of public service which alone can unify the discordant elements in our population, the example of the venerable leader of the Opposition, who takes up his new burdens in the spirit that breathed through the words of Gladstone's last Midlothian address: "While Nature cries aloud for rest, I am buckling on the armour."

Motion of Mr. Herbert M. Mowat (Parkdale), for an address to His Excellency the Governor General, agreed to.



