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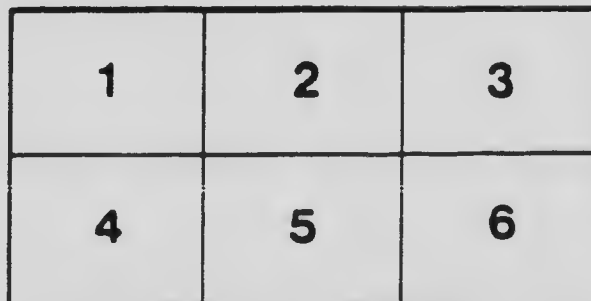
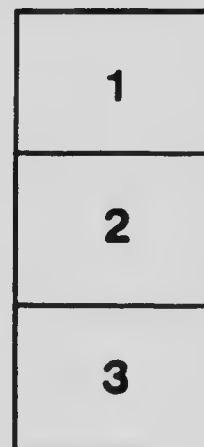
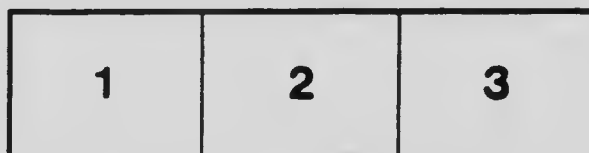
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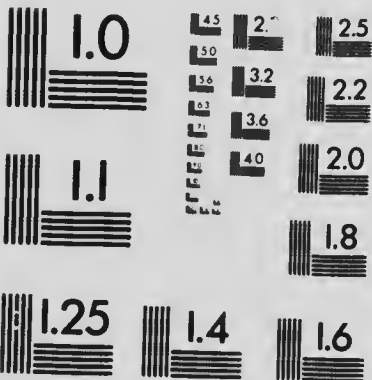
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# **Ontario Provincial Liberal Party**

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(F. 151)

*Education*

*Social and Moral Reform*

*Proportional  
Representation*

**1919**

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# NINE PROVINCES OF CANADA

## EIGHT NOW UNDER LIBERAL PREMIERS



Premier Bell, Premier Norris, Premier Martin, Premier Stewart, Premier Guoin, Premier Foster, Premier Murray, Premier Oliver, Hartley Dewart, K.C.,  
P. E. I. Manitoba. Saskatchewan. Alberta. Quebec N. B. N. S. B. C. Leader of Opposition in Ont.

### Bring Ontario in Line

## EDUCATION

"Lack of equal educational opportunities," is set out in the Majority Report of the Royal Commission on Industrial Relations as one of the ten "chief causes of unrest" enumerated.

Equality of opportunity in education, as in government, is the one thing to which Conservatives are fundamentally opposed.

To secure equality of opportunity in Education, as in political and industrial affairs, is the peculiar function of Liberalism, to which all educational advances may be traced.

High cost and a low standard of efficiency, wholly inadequate to the needs of the day, are the outstanding features of Education in Ontario, after fourteen years of Conservative administration.

So little value did the Conservatives place upon education, that for years they retained at the head of the Department of Education a Minister admittedly unfitted for a task on the success of which so largely depended the welfare of the Province and the future of the nation.

So indifferent were the Conservatives as to the place of education in the life of our Province, that they chose for this important office a Minister described by Conservative journals as "a wobbling, weak-kneed compromise", as one who "seems to lack both administrative and executive ability", and under whose administration full rein was given "to a bungling, wire-pulling, spendthrift Board of Education."

Even the Conservative press has, time after time, deplored the lack of executive and administrative capacity manifested by the Minister, as the following extracts will show:

Extract from the *Toronto Telegram* (Conservative):

"As Minister of Education, Hon. R. A. Pyne gives free rein to a bungling, wire-pulling, spendthrift Board of Education, that is no better to-day than it was in the days when Hon. R. A. Pyne was a dominating force in the management of Toronto educational affairs."

The *Kingston Standard* (Con.): "He seems to lack both administration and executive ability. This is bad enough, but that

he should lack backbone is absolutely inexcusable in a Cabinet Minister."

The *Hamilton Herald* (Independent Conservative): "It could be wished that Ontario had a Minister of Education with a backbone which does not resemble a piece of string so much as does that of Hon. Dr. Pyne's moral anatomy."

The *Toronto Telegram* (Conservative): "It is idle to expect that anything but wobbling, weak-kneed compromise will be the policy of the Department of Education, while the Hon. R. A. Pyne is at the head. The Minister is totally unable to see into the future. His gaze is apparently concentrated on the depths of the ballot boxes—and he is very myopic at that. Where the call is for a statesman who will stand up, Ontario is invited to respect a politician who seems inerubably supine."

Contrary to the warnings of Liberals, the Government persisted in keeping Dr. Pyne at the head of the Department for years until public opinion was thoroughly aroused by the revelations of the evils that called for reform. The retirement of Dr. Pyne and the appointment of Dr. Cody as Minister of Education confirm the justice of the stand taken by the Liberal Party regarding the urgency of educational reforms as one of the most vital questions that can concern the people in these days of reconstruction. Investigations by Liberals have brought to light the bureaucratic incompetence of the Department of Education, which has alienated both teachers and the public by its stupid and archaic methods, and by its utter failure to keep pace with the advances made in other countries by the co-ordination of primary, high school and university education, the training, supply and remuneration of teachers, the establishment of Continuation Schools, improved technical and agricultural education, and revision of the school curriculum on more practical and modern lines as set out in the policy of the Liberal Party.

### **Co-operation Demanded.**

No pretence at co-operation with the teachers or with the public is made by this omnipotent Department, nor have adequate steps been taken to secure a steady supply of teachers, properly trained and more generously remunerated, which is one of the most pressing problems of our educational system. The Liberal policy aims to improve the status and remuneration of the teacher, to co-ordinate our educational systems and to secure greater equality of educational opportunity for all classes in the community.



### The Platform.

The Liberal platform of 1911, repeated in the general election of 1914, remains as follows:

"If the youth of this Province are to receive an education to fit them for citizenship, a more progressive and adequate educational policy is urgently needed. We propose: To promote a more co-operative relation between the primary schools, the high schools and the universities; more liberal grants in aid of primary education; the promotion of industrial training and technical instruction in urban and rural communities; the restoration of model schools, with a view to increasing the supply and efficiency of teachers. **To provide through adequate training schools a sufficient supply of competent teachers, and thus ensure under proper regulations that the pupils in every school in the Province receive a thorough English education.**

### Technical Education.

In regard to Technical Education, the problem is to devise a system of technical and agricultural education that will provide both efficient and expert workmen and at the same time develop intelligent citizens. The Liberals, in 1913, introduced a resolution in which they expressed regret at the failure of the Government to recognize the importance to the workers and manufacturers of a suitable system of Technical Education. The resolution was as follows:

"1. This House regrets the failure of the Government to adopt adequate measures to improve the serious situation created by the great scarcity of properly qualified teachers for the public schools of the Province.

"2. This House is of the opinion that the overloading of the curriculum of the public and high schools of the Province and the rigidity of the present regulations and the manner in which they are administered by the Department of Education tend to prevent initiative and the development of individuality on the part of both teachers and scholars, and are inimical to the highest efficiency of the schools.

"3. **This House regrets the failure of the Government to recognize the importance to the workers and manufacturers of the Province of a suitable system of technical education, and by reason thereof Ontario is behind Great Britain, Germany, the United States and many other countries in making proper provision**

**for the technical education of the youth of the Province.**

"4. The failure of the Government to deal with these and many other educational problems of pressing importance is depriving many of the youth of the Province of educational opportunities which they are entitled to enjoy, and is handicapping the educational progress of the Province."

But the answer of the Government was the voting down of the resolution.

It will be seen that the Liberals in the House called the attention of the Government to the serious situation created by the scarcity of properly qualified teachers and the overloading of the curriculum in the public and high schools, in addition to emphasizing the importance of a suitable system of Technical Education.

In 1914 the Liberals submitted another resolution along somewhat similar lines, which met the same fate.

Notwithstanding the decline in the rural attendance at rural schools, due to the decline in rural population; notwithstanding the great difficulty of securing properly qualified teachers; notwithstanding the large number of children in the Province who are not regularly attending school at all, as the returns show, the present Government does not appear to be alive or awake to the critical situation thus created, or to the serious effect which the continuance of such conditions will have upon the future welfare of the Province.

**Citizenship.**

Liberals hold that the child should commence to receive instruction in citizenship at an early age, continuing through the public and high schools and universities; also that special courses should be provided during the summer vacation for teachers on these topics, to include the development of the franchise, the history of its extension, an explanation of federal, provincial and municipal government and general tuition in elementary constitutional history.

The points emphasized by the Liberal Convention in its resolution that simplicity and efficiency in all courses of study should be restored; that home-work should be reduced and examinations abolished; for an increase in the remuneration of teachers and the extension of the pension scale; to provide for the teaching of agriculture; and the more democratic consideration of educa-

tional problems by the Legislature instead of the Department, will meet with the approbation of all deep-thinking electors interested in the education and progress of the rising generation.

### **How Agriculture Is Neglected.**

A comparison of expenditure on technical schools with that expended on agriculture, village high schools, showing the total maximum grants which can be earned, reveals a glaring discrimination against our basic industry in the matter of educational grants:—

Technical Day Schools in village High Schools	\$14,375
For agriculture in above .....	2,760
Extra grants for night schools .....	16,875
Agriculture .....	Nil.

' Capital expenditure allowed on total cost of school and cost of equipment:—

Technical Schools .....	50 per cent.
Agricultural buildings .....	Nil.

Teachers' salaries:

Technical education: 5-6ths to a maximum of	\$1,300
Agricultural: 1-2 to a maximum of .....	750

### **Two Months In Arrears In Salaries.**

High School teachers who were Departmental Examiners during the past Summer have not yet been paid. In many cases money had to be borrowed for railway fares and board. On the other hand the Government promptly collected pupils' fees. The Government is two months in arrears with salaries.

### **Text-Books Scandal.**

The Department of Education, under Hon. Dr. Cody, has again allowed schools to open without authorized text-books—no algebra, geography, or High School Readers, and but few High School histories. The readers are not yet available.

### **Monopoly for Toronto Publishers.**

A monopoly in blank books has been given to a Toronto firm. The Government has authorized but one note-book for High Schools. It is of inferior binding, of little use for notes, and not suitable for loose-leaf style.

### **Eleventh-Hour Tory Promises.**

With an eye to votes at the coming elections the Department of Education is making a show of adopting some of the Liberal proposals for the improvement of our educational system, but no reliance can be placed in a Government which in the past has proved so indifferent to the educational needs of the Province. There is one way only to give effect to the educational reforms so urgently required, and that is by the return to power of the Liberal Party, which for years has been pressing these reforms on the attention of the sleepers at Queen's Park. Every great advance in education comes from the Liberal side. There can be no equality of opportunity under our present system of education.

Education is recognized by the Liberal Party as of first importance in the period of reconstruction through which we are now passing, and the following resolution passed at the Provincial Liberal Convention sets forth the views of the Liberal Party as to the best means of securing a successful administration of our educational system:

#### **Education.**

Moved by Thomas Marshall, M.P.P., seconded by William McDonald, M.P.P.—

“Whereas, in the opinion of this convention, a new era has commenced with the close of the great war, and education should rank first in the materials for reconstruction;

And whereas a more progressive and adequate educational policy is urgently needed;

Be it resolved that the Liberal Party in the Province of Ontario, in convention assembled, commits itself to a vigorous and progressive policy to meet modern conditions.

1. That the time has come for a radical change in our whole school system.
2. That simplicity and efficiency in all our courses of studies, which has long disappeared from our school curriculum, should now be restored by the abolition of all non-essentials to a practical education.
3. The greatest possible reduction in the burden in homework and the abolition of public written examinations should be undertaken at the earliest practicable period.

4. A much larger proportion of teachers' salaries be paid directly by the Province, and a more adequate pension allotment be provided for.

5. That full provision should be made for the adequate teaching of agriculture at convenient local centres.

6. That the power of issuing commands dealing with the school curriculum and our educational system generally, and of arbitrarily changing the same to suit the passing whim of some government official be taken from the Department of Education. All power to alter in any way the practice or the theory of educational work in this Province be placed where it belongs—in the hands of the Provincial Legislature."

As in the case of other departments, the laxity of the Hearst Government in administering the law is the chief obstacle to the progress of education in this Province.

### **No Hope from Tories.**

The defects in our Ontario system of education are directly traceable to the fundamental defect of Conservatism which, in the words of Gladstone, is "Mistrust of the people qualified by fear." Educational reforms will not come from a Government which represents privileged interests. The democratization of Government by the election of the Liberals to office is the first step towards the democratization of education.

## **SOCIAL AND MORAL REFORM**

The betterment of the social and industrial condition of the masses of the people has ever been the supreme concern of the Liberal Party. All the reforms in this direction that have been added to the statute book owe their origin to aggressive Liberal demands.

In 1911 and 1914, and again at the Liberal Convention, the declared policy of the Party left no room for doubt as to where Liberals stood in the important matter of social and moral reform.

### **Policy in 1911.**

In 1911 the policy of the Liberal Party was declared in the following definite terms:—

"The betterment of the social and industrial condition of the masses of the people shall be one of our supreme concerns.

"The evils of intemperance constitute a grave social peril. During the ensuing parliamentary term we will consider the best form of legislation to deal effectively with these evils, and the electors will have an opportunity of passing upon our proposals at the following general election.

"We will immediately abolish the three-fifths vote in local option contests, and substitute a simple majority.

"During the continuance of the license system we will secure the removal of its administration from political influence.

"We promise the passage of a measure to provide for compensation of workmen injured in our industries, and to their dependents where such injuries result in death, modelled after the recent legislation in Great Britain, and to ensure in all cases the payment of such compensation.

"Special investigation and supervision by the Province of matters affecting the health and well-being of industrial workers and communities; encouragement of town planning and the prevention of the growth of congested areas; the suppression of tuberculosis and the avoidance of occupational diseases."

In the two elections of 1911 and 1914 the Liberal Party stood for:

**The encouragement of Town Planning.**

**The prevention of the growth of congested areas.  
Better Housing conditions.**

**The suppression of feeble-mindedness and Social Diseases.**

**Abolishing unsatisfactory conditions of employment for females.**

**Consideration of the hours of Labour and Scale of wages.**

**Sickness, Unemployment and Old Age Insurance.**

**The fixing of a minimum Wage.**

The Liberal Party believes that the welfare of the child is of paramount importance, and measures relating to the health and progress socially and morally of the rising generation are foremost in their platform. The Liberals have been pledged by their Leader to **wipe out the distinction which exists in favour of the father and against the mother in the matter of the legal guardianship of the children.**

### Women and Social Reform.

The extension of the franchise to women—a privilege which they owe to the undeviating course pursued by the Liberal Party in the advocacy of their just rights as citizens—brings to the support of the Liberal policy of social betterment a greatly augmented electorate. That the women realize the necessity of concerted effort was evidenced by the resolution passed at the Convention, on the motion of Mrs. Taylor McVeity, Ottawa, seconded by Mrs. H. M. King, Niagara Falls. The resolution is as follows:—

“Whereas it is in the interest of the State that, upon the death of a male parent, every surviving child shall receive the care of its mother (if living) until the child reaches at least adolescence;

And whereas it is impossible for a widowed mother to earn sustenance for herself and children and at the same time discharge her duties as parent;

And whereas, in certain cases, women are left destitute with dependent children, but with like obligations;

And whereas, in other cases, the wives of incarcerated persons are left with dependent children without means of support;

Therefore be it resolved that the Liberal party of the Province of Ontario, in convention assembled, adopts the following policy:

“1. The granting by the Government of Ontario to a widow with dependent children, ordinarily resident in Ontario, of a pension from the public funds, sufficient to ensure that such widow will not be compelled to neglect her children and leave the home in order to gain a livelihood;

2. That unfortunate and destitute women with dependent children be similarly assisted under Government supervision;

3. That where a man is sent to prison it is the duty of the State to allow him a certain wage for his work, and that such wage be paid over by the State to the wife of such incarcerated person for her maintenance and that of any dependent children.

4. That steps should be taken of an effective nature to prevent the mortality which exists amongst infants and that more care and attention should be given to the feeble-minded.

5. The law amended so as to prevent men and women afflicted with hereditary diseases from marrying and propagating children."

In another resolution, the Convention advocated "medical attendance and necessaries . . . for the proper birth and upbringing of children."

### Workmen's Compensation Act.

The Government claims credit for the passing of the Workmen's Compensation Act. What is the actual history of this act which has proved such a boon to the workers of our Province? In 1910 the **Liberal Opposition** introduced a bill based on the principle of the British Act, and during the campaign of 1911 they promised the people in their manifesto that they would pass it into legislation. The Government refused to accept the proposal, presumably because it emanated from the Opposition. Instead they promised an investigation. They had an investigation by their Investigator-in-Chief, Sir William Meredith. In the session of that year the Liberals urged the passage of a measure along the lines of their former bill, but the Government allowed the matter to drift. When the campaign came on the Liberals pointed to the short-sighted lethargy of the Government in failing to give the workers in industry and their families the protection they were entitled to.

The session of 1912 came round, and the Liberals pressed the matter to the forefront by way of a resolution which read as follows:—

"That this House is of the opinion that the Government, having failed to carry into effect its pledge given upon the second reading of Bill No. 220 in the session of 1910, to introduce a bill with respect to the compensation of workmen for injuries incurred in the course of their occupation, and having sought to escape the carrying into effect of the said pledge by the appointment of a Commission, and having failed to see that the said Commission acted in time to have such a bill enacted in the session of 1912, the Government has failed to do justice to the workmen of the Province."

The Government voted this down and ignored it.

Towards the end of that session an interim report of the Commission was laid before the House.

"Sufficient progress," it said, "has, however, been made to warrant the statement that the law of Ontario is entirely



inadequate to meet the conditions under which industries are now carried on or to provide just compensation for those employed in them who meet with injuries or suffer from occupational diseases contracted in the course of their employment."

### **First Advocated by Late Allan Studholme.**

The Liberals pointed out that as far back as 1907 the reform was first advocated by the member for East Hamilton (the late Allan Studholme), and that from 1907 down to 1912 was a long time for the workmen of the Province and their widows and orphans to wait for a just recognition of their claims, but it was not until the year 1914 that the reactionary Tory Government found itself compelled by the force of public opinion to finally pass the Act. A provision which was subsequently made by way of an amendment to the Act granting the right to the workmen of medical and hospital attendance was only secured by the insistent and unceasing efforts of the Liberal Opposition in the House.

### **Feeble-mindedness.**

During the session of 1917 the Liberals appealed to the Government to formulate a policy to deal with the serious situation which had arisen in the Province in regard to feeble-mindedness.

Mr. Carter (Liberal Member for Guelph) moved a resolution calling for Government action to make provision for the care and protection of the feeble-minded in the Province. The resolution, which is as follows, was voted down by the Government majority:

"That adequate provision for the care and protection of the feeble-minded of this Province is urgently needed; and this House is of the opinion that it is the duty of the Government to lead in taking such action as may be necessary to meet the present situation."

Mr. Carter called the attention of the Government to the conditions in the Province in respect to the feeble-minded, which he stated were worse than the most pessimistic citizen could conceive. There were about 7,000 feeble-minded persons in Ontario.

The Liberals quoted the Government's own inspector, to the effect that the Government's policy was inadequate. The words of the inspector were that there were "**Families in Ontario degraded beyond description**" and the "**plans of the past have proved ill-judged and inadequate.**"

The Government attempted to avoid responsibility by placing the onus upon the municipalities, which they said were responsible in cases up to 21 years of age.

The Liberals, in urging the Government to give the question direct, careful and earnest consideration, said it was out of the question for the municipalities to deal with the matter, as few of the municipalities were in a position to establish an institution. It might be that the whole charge should not be on the provincial treasury. Perhaps the municipalities should bear their share of the cost, but the whole question should be treated by the Government as one question affecting the welfare of the people of the whole Province, and the Government should map out a policy adequate to the whole situation. Some of the worst cases were in municipalities which were the least capable of dealing with them. In view of the great wastage of valuable lives in the war, conservation of the country's young manhood was especially important.

#### LABOR MEMBER SUPPORTS THE LIBERALS.

Mr. Allan Studholme (late Labor Member for East Hamilton) voted with the Liberals upon the resolution. In speaking to the motion he said: "It makes your blood boil when you see how this problem is allowed to drift by the Government. Something bigger, better and broader will have to be done by the Province if we are to cope with the situation, and I am hoping that the new Provincial Secretary (McPherson) will be big enough and constructive enough to introduce a scheme that will be adequate."

The Government amended the Liberal resolution, "viewing with satisfaction" the good work done by the Government in the care of the feeble-minded. They were satisfied with the work described by their own inspector as "ill-judged and inadequate."

#### The Liberal Policy.

The specific proposals contained in the Convention resolution of the Liberal Party for the granting of a pension to widows with dependent children, in order to prevent the neglect of the children and the breaking up of the home; provision for similar assistance under Government supervision to unfortunate and destitute women with children depending on them; the belief that the wife and children of a man sent to prison should be provided for out of the product of his labour; the prevention so far as possible of infant mortality; and increased attention to the problem of dealing with the feeble-minded; together with the adoption of legis-

lation to prevent the marriage of those suffering from disease; will commend themselves to both male and female electors who have the best interests of the Province at heart.

#### URBAN PROBLEMS DUE TO CONGESTION.

It is important to remember that while our rural population has been steadily declining in the older counties of the Province, our urban population has been continuously and rapidly increasing, and we are now compelled to face industrial problems and social questions of the greatest magnitude. The conservation of human resources is even more important than that of natural resources, and the Liberal Party has pledged itself to concentrate its energies on the improvement of social and industrial conditions and the eradication of the evils which have a tendency to arise with the congestion of population in urban centres. The slums of the cities of the United Kingdom and the crowded tenements of American cities are doing more to weaken the moral and physical fibre of the people and to spread disease than hundreds of social reformers and physicians will be able to remedy for generations to come.

From the standpoint of the Liberal Party the industrious worker—both male and female—striving to make a living by honest toil, is entitled to every assistance from the Government that will afford him or her a little leisure, a little pleasure and a little treasure, instead of a continuous struggle to make ends meet, with no opportunity for self-culture or to make provision for old age.

#### Hearst Lifts Liberal Policy.

Under this heading the Toronto *Globe's* editorial of Sept. 25th, 1919, exposed the pretensions of the Hearst Government to any credit for initiating legislation for the benefit of the people of the Province. It pointed out how the present Government had "lifted" the planks of Woman Suffrage, Temperance, Workmen's Compensation, a Labour Department, and others from the Liberal platform.

The actual facts in relation to the passing of the Workmen's Compensation Act have been already commented on, and Labour and Temperance have been dealt with separately. It is interesting to follow the history of Woman Suffrage in Ontario from 1912 to 1917, as set forth in the official pamphlet of the Ontario Women's Liberal Association, printed in 1917.

### Woman Suffrage

History in Ontario from 1912 to 1917

- 1912—Alan Studholme, Labor member for East Hamilton, introduced a bill to grant franchise to women. **Wm. McDonald, Liberal member for North Bruce**, introduced a bill to give the **legislative franchise to women having the municipal franchise**. Government opposed.
- 1913—Studholme re-introduced his bill. McDonald re-introduced his. **J. C. Elliot, Liberal member for West Middlesex**, introduced a bill to grant **municipal franchise to married women**. Government opposed. Resolution moved by **Thos. Marshall, Liberal member for Monk**, and C. M. Bowman, Liberal Whip, to grant **municipal votes for married women**. Government opposed.
- 1914—**Elliott** re-introduced his bill. Government opposed.
- 1915—**Elliott** re-introduced his bill. **McDonald** introduced a bill to grant the **legislative franchise to women qualified to vote at municipal elections**. Government opposed.
- 1916—**Elliott** re-introduced his bill. **McDonald** introduced a bill to give the **general franchise to women**. Government opposed.
- From 1912 to 1916 not only did the government reject all these motions, but they also shelved the bills of one of their own private members, J. W. Johnson of West Hastings, advocating similar reform.
- 1917—**McDonald** and Johnson introduced bills to grant **full Woman Suffrage**. The House unanimously adopted the principle of these bills which were merged in the new Franchise Act. **Elliott** and Johnson also introduced bills to give the **municipal franchise to married women**, which was adopted also unanimously.

In 1917 and 1918 the Liberal Opposition in the Legislature endeavoured to get the Government to grant to women the further right to sit in the Legislature, but their bills were voted down. In 1919, however, the Government felt it expedient in view of the force of public opinion to accede to the Liberal demands, and women are now on an absolute equality with men so far as the provincial franchise and the right to become candidates for the Legislature are concerned.

## PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

That our defective electoral system is one of the main causes of industrial unrest, is the matured conclusion arrived at in the report of the Royal Commission on Industrial Relations, and in the report of the National Industrial Conference.

In their tour of investigation the majority of the Royal Commission on Industrial Relations found at "several places" a "lack of confidence in constituted government." Those of us who have gone farther afield have found this lack of confidence to be very widespread. The Minority Commissioners report that "many witnesses representing labour advance the idea that our present system of constitutional government is unfair and unpopular. They claimed there should be proportional representation."

At the National Industrial Conference the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

"Believing that there are defects in the system of Electoral Representation in Canada, which defects are stated by the Royal Commission on Industrial Relations to be a contributory cause of social and political unrest, this Conference welcomes the declaration of the Prime Minister on behalf of the Government, that a Speaker's Conference will be called to investigate the merits of the Proportional System, and urges that such action be taken without delay."

Who is chiefly responsible for the defects in our Provincial Electoral System in Ontario? It has been the persistent policy of the Conservatives in both Federal and Provincial domains to destroy the representative character of our institutions by electoral laws designed for the purpose of manipulating the vote in the interests of the Conservative Party.

The system of enumeration at present in operation in Ontario is a high-handed attempt to disfranchise thousands of electors whose only crime is that they are known to be opposed to the Hearst Government. Much of the industrial unrest that exists in this Province may be directly traced to the autocratic methods of the Hearst Government, by which thousands of the electors have been left off the enumerators' lists and the right to vote made difficult instead of easy.

The consent of the governed is the fundamental basis of good government. Ontario, under the Hearst regime, is still in the Prussian stage of class government, as the electoral laws at present in vogue amply demonstrate. In this matter of electoral laws we discover the inherent taint of Conservatism which has consistently opposed every advance towards the democratization of our political institutions. The trend of large bodies of the workers towards Direct Action is the natural and inevitable outcome of the rigid application of the Conservative theory of government, which is alien to the modern conception of a world made safe for Democracy. Indifference to politics and hostility to the party system of government, so prevalent among unthinking people, are the direct result of Conservative rule. This rule is based upon a lack of confidence in the people, as reflected in our iniquitous electoral system.

To avert Direct Action and possible revolution it is now universally acknowledged (*vide* Reports of Royal Commission and Industrial Conference) that the masses of the electors are justified in regarding our present system of government, established by Conservative laws, as "unfair and unpopular". For the unrest which Conservative manipulation of the franchise has caused, the Hearst Government must shoulder the blame and responsibility in this Province.

The constitutional safety valve of public discontent is Parliament. In destroying the representative character of our legislature by electoral laws that are virtually disfranchisement acts and Prussian in spirit, the Hearst Government has forced legitimate discontent into unconstitutional and dangerous channels, and provoked dark passions of revolutionary thought which menace the peace, security and progress of the whole community.

Proportional representation in itself is no safeguard against autocratic government, nor will it achieve the end sought, (the overthrow of class government) so long as our electoral laws remain in their present disgraceful form. To make proportional representation really effective we must first reform and simplify our whole electoral machinery so that the registration and the recording of the vote may be made as easy as possible for every qualified citizen. Given proper electoral laws that aim at enfranchisement and not at disfranchisement, there still remains the question of how to secure the fullest measure of representation for all sections of the community. The present

system of restricted electoral areas and narrow choice of candidates is not calculated to give expression to the real mind of the electors, and to this may be attributed in large measure the alarming indifference to politics and public affairs which is so apparent to-day.

Proportional Representation provides a system whereby minorities may be more adequately represented and a richer and broader stream of thought allowed to filter through the body politic. Over a century ago Burke recognized "the virtue, the spirit, the essence of the House of Commons, consists in its being the express image of the nation." To this end all Liberal legislation in the past has been directed. To maintain Parliament as the preserve of privileged interests is, to-day as in the past, the inspiring motive of all Conservative electoral laws. New movements and new groups are emerging which rightly demand representation. As Mr. Asquith declared at St. Andrews, on 19th February, 1906:

"It was infinitely to the advantage of the House of Commons, if it was to be a real reflection and mirror of the national mind, that there should be no strain of opinion honestly entertained by any substantial body of the King's subjects which should not find there representation and speech. No student of political development could have supposed that we should always go along in the same old groove, one party on one side and another party on the other side, without the intermediate ground being occupied, as it was in every other civilized country, by groups and factions having special ideas and interests of their own. If real and genuine and intelligent opinion was more split up than it used to be, and if we could not now classify everybody by the same simple process, we must accept the new conditions and adapt our machinery to them, our party organization, our representative system, and the whole scheme and form of our government."

The present system does not operate with justice when applied to the two-party system, and is bound, therefore, to work unjustly under a group system such as is emerging in British countries. Under our existing system it is possible for a minority to be returned to power. At the General Election in the United Kingdom in 1900, the returns illustrate the inherent defects of the present electoral system which Canada has inherited from the Mother Country:

## GENERAL ELECTION, 1900.

Parties	Votes Obtained	Seats Obtained	Seats in proportion to votes
Unionists	2,548,736	402	343
Home Rulers	2,391,319	268	327
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
Majorities	157,417	134	16

Other examples of a similar kind might be given from election returns in the British Isles.

**How It Works Out in Ontario.**

But coming nearer home we publish the following tables showing the results in two general elections:

## ONTARIO PROVINCIAL GENERAL ELECTION, 1911.

Parties	No. of Votes	Seats Obtained	Seats in proportion to votes.
Conservatives	201,135	82	59
Liberals	141,140	22	44
Independents	19,691	2	3
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	361,966	106	106

## ONTARIO PROVINCIAL GENERAL ELECTION, 1914.

Parties	No. of Votes	Seats Obtained	Seats in proportion to votes.
Conservatives	269,918	85	60
Liberals	203,279	25	46
Independents	23,007	1	5
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	496,204	111	111

To adjust these grave inequalities, to give each vote its proper value and to secure minorities in their citizen rights Proportional Representative is imperative. The influence of electoral boundaries in determining the results of an election has been proved to be harmful by the introduction of gerrymander, from which Ontario is not free.

**The Conservative Gerrymander.**

In 1908 Bruce sent two Conservative members and one Liberal to the Legislature. Subsequent to that election and prior to 1914



Bruce sent three Liberals to the Legislature and therefore the Government almost legislated two of these out of the House. Mr. McDonald being returned in the 1914 general election by the narrow majority of seven. The Government also gerrymandered the County of Essex but this did not result in its favor. The Greys were also distributed in order to strengthen the Conservative vote. In the Niagara District there were formerly two Liberal majorities, Monek and Haldimand, and two Conservative majorities, Welland and Lincoln. Under the gerrymander two Liberal seats remained, namely Lincoln and Haldimand, but the Conservatives effected three seats for themselves, namely Niagara Falls, St. Catharines and Welland.

In the city of Toronto, under the double-member constituencies with A. and B. seats a serious handicap is imposed upon the minority. In the the 1914 general election, taking the 8 "A" and "B" seats instead of the Conservatives winning all eight as it turned out by means of these small con-stituencies, under a proportional system according to the number of votes cast, namely 45,044 Conservative and 24,066 Liberal, the distribution would have been, roughly, as 5 is to 3.

### Single Member System.

The defects of the single member system may be classified under three heads: "(1) **often a gross exaggeration of the strength of the victorious party;** (2) **sometimes a complete disfranchisement of the minority;** and (3) **at other times a failure of a majority of citizens to obtain their due share of representation.** In addition, running through all the results there is an element of instability due to the fact that a slight change in public opinion may produce an altogether disproportionate effect, the violence of the swing of the pendulum arising more from the electoral method than from the fickleness of the electorate."

Before the annual meeting of the Proportional Representation Society in England on the 9th of May, 1906, Sir Fred Pollock declared that our defective electoral system may "Yield a House of Commons so unrepresentative in character as to cease to command the respect and obedience of citizens."

The fruits of that rough and ready system of Parliamentary elections with which hitherto we have been content, are false impressions of public opinion, unstable legislation, the weakening of the legislature, both in authority and in personnel, the degradation of party warfare, the undue exaltation of party machinery, and the heightening of racial differences and of sectional interests.

### The Progress of Proportional Representation.

During the war the following countries have adopted the principle of Proportional Representation in whole or in part:

Denmark and Holland have adopted new constitutions; both contain provisions for proportional representation. The German Reichstag and the Prussian Diet have adopted P.R. for the large towns. Switzerland, by referendum, has by a large majority adopted P. R. for the election of its national parliament. The following list gives the principal countries where P. R. is now in force:

Belgium—Parliamentary and municipal elections.

Switzerland—Parliamentary and municipal elections in 12 cantons, and now also for the national parliament.

Holland—Elections to commons house of parliament.

Denmark—Elections to both houses of parliament.

Sweden—Elections to both houses of parliament and municipal and county council elections.

Tasmania—Parliamentary elections.

New Zealand—Municipal elections, optional.

South Africa—Elections of senate and (in the Transvaal) municipal elections.

United States—Municipal elections in three cities.

Canada—Municipal elections in British Columbia and Alberta.

Germany—By recent laws, the Reichstag adopted P.R. for large towns.

Proportional Representation has been well described as “**an integral part of the movement for making Democracy triumphant in the whole world.**” It is evident that the chief defect of the present system lies in the obstacles it places in the way of the realization of this great hope, which is the fruitage of a century of agitation. There can be no society apart from the individual, and there can be no true Democracy apart from an organization designed to serve impartially the interests of all who participate in it.

### The Liberal Policy.

At the Provincial Liberal Convention in June, 1919, the following resolution was passed:—

Moved by William Proudfoot, M.P.P., seconded by A. D. Bruce, Unionville—

That in the opinion of this convention, the present system of election of representatives to our elective bodies is unrepresentative and undemocratic;

Its defects are three-fold:—(1) often a gross exaggeration of the strength of the victorious parties; (2) sometimes a complete disfranchisement of the minority; (3) at other times a failure of a majority of citizens to obtain their due share of representation;

Therefore, be it resolved that the Liberal Party in the Province of Ontario, in convention assembled, favors the placing of a law upon the Statute books providing that the election of members to the Legislature and municipal councils shall be by a form of Preferential Voting, which will result in proportional representation.

#### How the System Operates.

In its operation the method of Proportional Representation makes for simplicity and assures every elector representation in the various legislative bodies to which the system is applied. Instead of being totally unrepresented if the person for whom an elector votes under the present system is defeated, the elector under Proportional Representation has the right to vote for more than one candidate in the order in which he or she gives them preference. The area of the constituency under Proportional Representation is enlarged, and instead of the seat being represented by one member, several seats are allocated to the constituency as enlarged. The names of all the candidates are placed upon the ballot paper, and all the elector has to do is to place a number against the names of the candidates in the order of his or her choice.

For instance, if Adams, Brown, Jones and Robinson are candidates, an elector may vote as follows:—

Adams	.....	3
Brown	.....	2
Jones	.....	1
Robinson	.....	4

Another voter may vote as follows:—

Adams	.....	1
Brown	.....	2
Jones	.....	3
Robinson	.....	4

or in any other manner according to preference. That is all the voter has to do. In this way fair representation is secured to all parties—majorities and minorities—representation in strict proportion to their voting strength.

Much confusion has been caused in the minds of the electorate by adherents of this democratic method of election, through no adequate explanation being offered of the simplicity of the working of the system.

There is absolutely no complexity about the matter so far as the voter is concerned. Perhaps a little more work devolves upon the officials who count the ballot papers to ascertain the result of the poll. From the standpoint of the elector it is needless to go into this part of the system in detail. Sufficient will be said when it is explained that under the "Hare" system of Proportional Representation the votes are **transferable**.

The proportion of votes sufficient to render certain the election of a candidate is called the "Quota". This is arrived at by dividing the total votes by **one more** than the **number of seats** to be filled and **adding one** to the result.

The Returning Officer ascertains the results of the election as follows:

1. He counts each ballot paper as one vote to the candidate marked **one** thereon. He ascertains the number of votes obtained by each candidate and the total number of votes.
2. He ascertains the "quota".
3. He declares elected the candidate who has secured the "quota".
4. He transfers in strict proportion the surplus votes of those candidates who have received more than the "quota" and credits them to the unelected candidates indicated as the next preference of the electors, whose votes are transferred. This operation renders all votes effective.

**The Liberal Party stands for Proportional Representation as the only sure method whereby the will of the people may be ascertained and equality of opportunity for all made possible.**

