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Liberal Weekly



VOL. I. No. 1.

OTTAWA, NOVEMBER 9th, 1917.

TWO CENTS

SIR WILFRID LAURIER'S DECLARATIONS.

A general well-considered reform of the Tariff to assist Canadian production and relieve the Canadian consumer.

Greater agricultural production facilitated by Government assistance and all disabilities immediately removed.

Remove the duties on Agricultural Implements and other essentials as demanded by Western Farmers and others.

Remove the 7½% war tax imposed in 1915 as regards all except enemy countries.

Remove the 5% war tax imposed in 1915 against British goods.

Reduce the High Cost of Living by bringing under Government control all Food producing factories so that Food may be had at a Government controlled price as has been done in Great Britain.

All Government shops to manufacture war material, ships, etc., etc.

Take control, if necessary, of all establishments manufacturing war material in order to immediately stop profiteering.

Organize and carry out a strong appeal for voluntary recruiting.

Conscription of wealth.

Conscription of men, only, if the people so decide.

Generous assistance on the part of the State to replace returned soldiers in comfortable positions in civil life.

More effective measures by the State for maintenance, care and comfort of the soldiers' dependents and families.

A strong and progressive Immigration policy, unhampered by any disfranchisement Act.

Canadian Northern Railway legislation to be reopened and adjudicated upon by the new Parliament.

Profiteering and partisanship in the purchase of all supplies to be stopped and a system adopted of purchases direct from the producer without the intermediary of middlemen.

If called upon to form a Government, it will be representative of the masses of the people, the common people, and to include representatives of all.

For a complete copy of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's Manifesto see page 4.

THE LIBERAL WEEKLY

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THE LIBERAL WEEKLY.

The Liberal party, facing the greatest constitutional crisis in the history of the Dominion, a time pregnant with the fate of our democracy, and confronted with the imperative duty of maintaining those constitutional rights gained by half a century of unceasing struggle and maintained by tireless vigilance, and jealous care, appeals to the thinking people of the Dominion, through the new medium of The Liberal Weekly, on the eve of the political crisis forced upon the electorate by a bureaucratic administration assisted by a servile press.

The Liberal party, standing upon the rock of constitutionalism, has refused to be swayed by appeals to prejudice and passion, by hysterical rhetoric and meaningless phrases. Behind the ostensible purpose of the formation of a union government stands revealed the handiwork of the predatory interests which have so long held power in the Dominion. To the furtherance of ends having to do with material gain and the exercise of privilege, has been prostituted the sacred cause of patriotism; under the guise of unity come dissension and race hatred and partisan greed. It is the duty of the Liberal party under the leadership of Sir Wilfrid Laurier to expose the real causes of the formation of an organized menace to our democracy and to expose this conspiracy in plain and unequivocal language. It will be the function of The Liberal Weekly to present to Canadians of all sections of political thought the views of the Liberal party on the great issues of the day, to demonstrate in dispassionate terms the underlying motives of the alleged unity of sections of the two parties now combined in the furtherance and advocacy of measures which strike at the very foundations of our constitutional privileges and rights. Within the pages of the Liberal Weekly will appear the views and opinions of the leaders of true Liberalism in the Dominion. Nothing will be set down in malice. In every instance facts and not conjectures will be presented, and, wherever possible, all information will be confirmed from original sources. The mission of the Liberal Weekly, in short, will be to tell the truth to the electors of the Dominion regarding the various measures which will come before them for definite decision on polling day. In a spirit of true Canadianism we ask for our publication support on the part of Liberals and consideration on the part of all.

MISREPRESENTING THE WEST.

Union Government Means No Tariff Reduction.

JUST how the adhesion of Western Liberals to the new government is regarded by the responsible leaders and the party press of the Tory wing is revealed by a recent comment in the *London Free Press*, one of the stalwart Conservative journals of Ontario, and one which defended the notorious Fallis horse scandals and other deals in the interests of "patriotism," presumably, and for the purpose of winning the war. Discussing the entrance of Mr. Crerar into the patchwork administration the *Free Press* gave vent to the true sentiments of the party as follows:

In having allied himself with union government, Mr. Crerar has done the nation as a whole a service. The grain growers of the west have regarded protectionist governments as the basis of their prosperity. Mr. Crerar, by alliance with a government whose chief is a protectionist, will remove some of the unreasoning prejudice of the Westerner and will open the way to a sane adjudication of the whole matter.

In other words, the Tory press and party accept the adhesion of the Western Liberals as a surrender of their former principles and as an admission that the western farmer recognizes that protection is the "basis of his prosperity" and that the former expressions in favor of the abolition of the tariff in the West were not at all representative of the true sentiment of the West. Is this what the West understands or wishes understood by the presence in the Sifton cabinet of such leaders as Messrs. Crerar and Calder?

The fact is that the adhesion to union government of representative western leaders has done an incalculable amount of harm to the aims of the West. It has convinced thousands of eastern people that the former attitude of the West as regards the tariff on foodstuffs, agricultural implements and other commodities has been pretty much of a pose and a sham. It will require drastic action on the part of true Westerners to remove this impression and to convince the East and Eastern interests that the West has been and still is in earnest in its anti-tariff attitude.

A VOTE FOR UNION GOVERNMENT WILL POSTPONE REMEDIAL TARIFF AND OTHER LEGISLATION IN THE WEST FOR TEN YEARS.

THE FATHER OF UNION GOVERNMENT.

IT cannot be otherwise than amusing to certain interests in Canada to hear the union government referred to as an accomplishment of Premier Borden. As a matter of fact the premier was very much of a secondary factor in the institution of the new administration.

Who is the real father of the so-called win-the-war cabinet? On this point we shall quote one of the leading newspapers in America—the *New York Evening Post*, which has a reputation of the very

highest sort for the accuracy of its news features and the excellence of its editorial pages. The *Post* is regarded as the sanest journal in New York city and it exercises the same care in the selection of its correspondents as it does in the choice of its editors. In addition to its domestic politics the *Post* makes a feature of Canadian political happenings and in its pages may be found many interesting interpretations of the meaning of political developments in this country. A few days ago the *Post* thus discussed the formation of the "Borden" win-the-war cabinet, in its Canadian news letter:

It may be confidently assumed, also, that here, as in all other countries, even war does not put an end altogether to the rivalries, the widely disseminated antagonisms, which express the normal relation between two great political parties. The tactics of party warfare go with the strategy required for the affirmation of fundamental principles. In this aspect of the matter the real opponent of Laurier is not Borden; rather it is Sifton, for the Borden Unionist Cabinet is essentially a Sifton creation, although he is behind the scenes, not behind the footlights. He has a strong hand, and he uses simple methods. He used to be in the Cabinet with Laurier, and had to be dropped when the Conservatives over-advertised his predatory tendencies. He has never shown much sign of penitence. On the contrary, he has regularly appeared when there was a chance to pay back a little of the score.

It was he who organized the campaign against reciprocity with the United States which overturned Laurier in 1911. It was he who, for good measure, set in motion some powerful undercurrents against Laurier as French and Catholic. And it is to him the knowing ones credit the device of splitting the Liberal party over the conscription issue, at a time when it looked as though the blunders and failures of the Borden Cabinet had made Laurier's return to power inevitable whenever an election was held. Indeed, most people pay him the compliment of believing that the amazing Win-the-Election franchise act passed by a moribund Parliament would hardly have been put through without his daring and clear-sighted insistence. For, be it remarked, that the Union Cabinet was not formed until after the franchise operation had made success in the elections at least calculably certain.

Few acquainted with the inside history of the formation of the so-called union government will doubt the accuracy of the foregoing. It is well known that the present combination was gathered together at the behest of Sir Clifford and the big interests and that the moving figure and the active protagonist of union was the titled gentleman who failed to swing the Winnipeg convention to suit the purposes of his friends and himself. When open tactics failed Sir Clifford resorted to those arts of which he is a past master, and within a few weeks the patchwork government was in being.

The people of the Dominion, particularly those of Western Canada, may well ask themselves what is behind any organization fathered by Sir Clifford Sifton. Is it instituted for unselfish patriotic motives, to win the war and to unite all sections of the Dominion in a common cause? Or is it likely to be found a true Siftonian creation for the furtherance of the Siftonian ideals and the perpetuation of the Siftonian dynasty?

**A VOTE FOR UNION GOVERNMENT IS
A VOTE FOR SIFTON AND ALL HE REPRESENTS!**

THE OPENING OF THE CAMPAIGN AT WINNIPEG.

ON Monday night, the 22nd instant, Messrs. Calder, Crerar, and Meighen, three members of the newly constructed Borden Government, addressed a meeting at Winnipeg.

From the reports of the meeting it appears that Mr. Meighen still adheres to the record of the old Government as one of which no one need be ashamed, though for the time being he is willing to allow his love for the disreputable past to sink into obscurity. His heart now turns to the new aggregation—with some considerable misgivings we think.

Mr. Calder came out strong for the abolition of patronage stating if that were not done he would leave the Administration.

About the time of the opening of the meeting in Winnipeg the Government at Ottawa were appointing two poor old live Tories to the Bench of Ontario, namely Mr. Lewis, late Tory M.P. for West Huron, who goes to the county judgeship of Huron, and Mr. E. J. Hearn our old time Tory worker as County judge of Waterloo, and at the same time appointed four good old Tories to the Senate. The new Senators announced are Mr. Schaffner of Souris, Manitoba, Mr. Taylor and Mr. Barnard of British Columbia, all of whom were faithful Tory members in the last House, and Mr. Michener of Alberta—till recently the Leader of the Tory opposition of that Province.

We trust that Hon. Mr. Calder will insist that this patronage system be abolished at once.

We are taking the liberty of reproducing herewith a letter which appeared in the *Ottawa Citizen* of October 25th, which contains information to which every Canadian should give the most careful consideration.

Editor, *Citizen*:—I am at a loss to understand why so many newspapers and Conservatives throughout Canada are looking to Sir Wilfrid Laurier for the enforcement of the Military Service Act, instead of to Sir Robert Borden.

The Military Service Act is the law of the country. A proclamation has been issued putting it into effect. Class A, or unmarried men between the ages of 20 to 34 have been ordered to report before November 10th and be ready for mobilization by December 10th next.

The government have announced that there are in Canada over four hundred and twenty-eight thousand unmarried men eligible for this class. The call is for one hundred thousand men, or less than one-quarter of the men available.

Mr. Editor, can anyone argue that with a fair and impartial application of this Act, it will be possible to secure less than the 100,000 men required? Can the Borden Government even with its recent new additions to the cabinet, escape the most severe condemnation if they permit over 328,000 exemptions out of the 428,000 men available. If they do, it will be proof positive to all fair-minded people that they are not sincere in the application of this Act. Canada is looking to Sir Robert in regard to this matter and not to Sir Wilfrid, and if he fails his government will be held responsible.—FAIR-PLAY.

Manifesto of the Right Honourable Sir Wilfrid Laurier

(Issued Nov. 5th, 1917.)

TO THE CANADIAN PEOPLE.

The writs for a general election have been issued.

A consultation of the people at short and regular periods is the right of a free people. The constitution provides accordingly for a general election every five years. It is undeniable that there has existed a strong desire in the community to avoid an election during the war, and both parties last year agreed to the extension for one year of the Parliament elected in 1911.

An impression prevails that had I accepted the invitation of the Prime Minister to join his government, a new extension would have been possible. This impression is absolutely erroneous, the fact being that the invitation extended to me was coupled with the stipulation that the coalition government would pass a conscription measure, and then appeal to the country, thus making an election unavoidable.

The government as recently reconstructed, the Union Government so-called, is now appealing to the country for support. Six members of the Liberal party, some of them close personal friends, have consented to become members of the administration, and the programme which they intend to follow has already been placed before the public, but in this programme no trace is to be found that the Liberal members of the administration have succeeded in influencing their colleagues to the adoption of measures which they deemed essential, not only to win the war, but for the welfare of the country at all times.

The Government's Manifesto.

Most of the articles in the Government's manifesto are simply stale commonplaces extracted from the Conservative programme of 1911, forgotten after the election, resurrected for a new election. Such is the promise of economy of public expenditure, and such the promise of Civil Service Reform—two reforms which the Opposition would have been happy to support in the last Parliament, if the Government had afforded them the opportunity.

Immigration.

One particular item is deserving of attention. "A strong and progressive policy of immigration" is promised. This will be, perhaps, the most important question after the war. The burdens which are now being accumulated and which will have to be assumed and borne by the Canadian people can be faced if the enormous resources of the country are developed. But development demands a rapid increase in the population. Hence the necessity of a strong and progressive immigration policy. It is manifest that the promised strong and progressive policy has been seriously impaired by the breach of faith with naturalized Canadian citizens involved in the withdrawal of the political franchise from large numbers of these citizens. This must prove a serious blow to immigration, especially when the conduct of the Canadian government is contrasted with the attitude of the United States, where no such indignity has been placed upon naturalized citizens.

Canadian Northern Railway.

An article of the programme of the Government speaks of the development of transportation facilities, but in vague though rather ambitious terms. No mention is made of the acquisition of the Canadian Northern Railway; yet this subject was not exhausted by the legislation of last session, and it will be one of the most important duties of the next Parliament again to review it.

One feature of the act of last session is that the Government becomes the owner of the stock of the Company, of the nominal value of sixty million dollars. There never was a dollar paid in that stock. The experts employed by the Government to appraise the value of the whole enterprise, men of acknowledged ability and experience, themselves have reported that the stock of the Company has no value whatever.

Yet the Government have taken authority to appoint a board of arbitrators to give a value to that property, which their experts have declared absolutely without value.

The Opposition asked that the report of the arbitrators, whatever it might be, should be

laid before Parliament for approval. Though this motion was rejected, it is the right of the people to declare that the case should not have been finally closed by the action of a moribund Parliament, but that the whole matter should be reported to, and adjudicated upon by the new Parliament.

The Economic Situation.

It was natural to expect that the reconstructed government would give very serious attention to the economic situation of the country, which is admittedly critical. There is no allusion to it except the vague promise of "effective measure to prevent excessive profits, to prohibit hoardings and to prevent combination for the increase of prices, and thus reduce the high cost of living. The economic problems have to be grappled with at once, in no such vague general terms, but in vigorous and concrete proposals.

The prices of all commodities have been steadily rising since the beginning of the war. The daily provisioning of the family table is from day to day becoming a more and more alarming problem for all classes of wage-earners and for all people of small and of even moderate income. It is no answer to say that this is the natural consequence of the war. When it is considered that the price of bread and bacon—to speak only of these two commodities—is higher here in Canada than in the United Kingdom, this of itself is proof sufficient that the prices here are inflated by methods which are in no way connected with the war, unless the war is taken advantage of for the very purpose of inflation. Indeed, the principal causes of these ever soaring prices are none other than those described in the Government manifesto as "excessive profits", "hoardings" and "combinations for the increase of prices". Since the Government knows where the evil is, what prevents the Government from striking the evil, and striking hard? The remedies are at hand, and I at once set down the policy.

Tariff Reform.

No measure to reduce the cost of living can be effective unless and until the tariff is reformed and its pressure removed from those commodities in which there are "excessive profits", "hoardings" and "combinations for the increase of prices". Of this obvious, fundamental reform there is not a word in the Government manifesto. Indeed, members of the present Government have announced that all questions of tariff legislation must be relegated to after the war.

Believing that increased food production is one of Canada's best contributions towards winning the war, I would propose, if entrusted with the administration of the country, to immediately relieve Agriculture from its disabilities in this regard.

Since the commencement of the War, the Government placed an increase of 7½ per cent in our tariff on all commodities coming into Canada from outside Great Britain, and an increase of 5 per cent on the goods coming from Great Britain. I would immediately remove those two disabilities as respects commodities from all countries other than those with which we are at war. There is no doubt that under existing conditions, these increases in the tariff are a hindrance rather than a help to production in Canada, whilst it is certain that in the final resort the consumer has to pay these extra taxes.

The increased duty on imports from Great Britain was an unfriendly and an unnecessary action on the part of Canada towards the mother country, at a time when British trade was staggering under the disadvantages incidental to the war. It continues to bear unfairly and unduly on existing trade and should be speedily removed.

In further mitigation of disadvantages to agricultural production, I would immediately remove the duties on agricultural implements and other essentials, as demanded by the western farmers. A general well-considered reform of the Tariff for the purpose of helping Canadian production and relieving the Canadian consumer would also be an object of my administration.

Control of Food Supplies and Prices.

In connection with the high cost of living, I would take drastic steps to bring under government control all food producing factories so that food may be sold at a fixed price under the control of the government, as has been done in Great Britain. To this end, arrangements should be made with the management of the food producing factories allowing for a fair interest on investment and fair and reasonable net profits, so that food may be obtainable by the ordinary consumer at the best possible prices. Should such arrangements not be possible, I would not hesitate to commandeer all food factories.

Nor is that all. The government is invested with powers which they could and should have used to reduce the price of all commodities. These powers they have already exercised in the case of newsprint-paper.

As far back as the month of February last an Order in Council was passed by which it was enacted that "with a view to ensure to publishers of Canadian newspapers, newsprint paper at reasonable prices" the Minister of Customs was "authorized and empowered to fix the quantity

and price of newsprint in sheets and rolls to be furnished by the manufacturers to the publishers in Canada."

By virtue of this Order the Government have compelled manufacturers of print-paper, against the latter's protest, to supply publishers and newspapers at a price which they themselves fixed as reasonable. If they could thus reduce the price of paper to consumers of paper, why did they stop there? Why should the Government not also have reduced to the hundred of thousands of anxious housewives and bread-winners the prices of all those commodities which make the ever-increasing cost of living one of the most insistent and dangerous of all the problems that now confront us.

Profiteering.

One of the most important contributions towards winning the war is to put a stop to profiteering on war supplies. The Government has deliberately encouraged profiteering for the benefit of its partisan followers. A first duty of my administration would be to secure to the country which pays for war supplies, the excess of exorbitant profits being realized by profiteers. Should it be necessary, I would not hesitate, in order to immediately stop profiteering, to take control of the factories which are engaged in the supply of war materials, as has been done in Great Britain, and run them on the principle of reasonable return on investment for the owners, and a reasonable legitimate profit. I believe that one of the best methods of providing war supplies, and of saving the country from being exploited by profiteers would be to turn the government shops which are suitable for such purposes to the production of war materials, ships, etc., for the benefit of the country at cost price.

CANADA'S PARTICIPATION IN THE WAR

It cannot be said too often that this war could not have been avoided by the Allies, and that it is a contest for the very existence of civilization. Of this the entrance of the United States into the conflict is further proof, if indeed further proof were needed. The American people long hoped that they would be spared that ordeal, but the ruthless violation by Germany of the most sacred canons of International law left them no option; they had to join in the fight against a power which has become the common enemy of mankind.

At the very beginning, penetrated of the immensity of the struggle and of the necessity of bending all our efforts to the winning of the war we, of the Opposition, gave to the Government every possible assistance. We assented to all their war measures, except when convinced that their measures would be detrimental rather than helpful.

This year the Government introduced a bill to make military service compulsory. With this policy I found it impossible to agree. If it be asked how this view is consistent with my oft expressed determination to assist in winning the war, I answer without any hesitation that this sudden departure from the voluntary system was bound more to hinder than to help the war.

It should be remembered that previous to the war, in all British countries conscription was unknown. It was the pride of British people everywhere that compulsory military service, the bane of Continental Europe, had never been thought of in Great Britain, and that even the gigantic struggle against Napoleon had been fought on the purely voluntary system.

At the same time it must be pointed out that in Great Britain for some years before the war, in view of the immensity of war preparations amongst all the nations of the continent, the question of conscription was seriously and increasingly discussed in Parliament and in the press, so that at last when a measure to that effect was introduced by the government, it came as no surprise. It found the people prepared, and yet even then strong protests were heard from many classes of the community.

Very different was the introduction of Conscription in Canada. It came as a complete surprise. It never had been discussed in Parliament, and the voice of the press had been strong against it.

In the month of July 1916 such an important paper as the Toronto 'GLOBE' deprecated the very idea of Conscription. Here is what it said in a carefully reasoned editorial:

"The 'Globe' in its editorial columns has consistently pointed out that in a country such as Canada conscription is an impossibility, and that no responsible statesman of either party capable of forming or leading a Canadian War Ministry would propose compulsory service. Nor has the 'GLOBE' unduly criticised the failure of the Borden government to do more than it has done to assist voluntary recruiting. The criticism of the 'GLOBE' and of most Liberal papers have been exceedingly mild when compared with the vitriolic denunciations of the Toronto 'TELEGRAM' the Winnipeg 'TELEGRAM', the Montreal 'DAILY MAIL' and other journals that have absolutely no sympathy with the Liberal party."

Even as late as December 27th, 1916, the 'GLOBE' repeated its warnings against any effort

"to force Canadians into the ranks" and summed up public opinion thus:—

"Trades unionists are found opposing Conscription, and the leading opponents of every manifestation of democracy are favouring the system"

No less emphatic had been the language of the government.

At the beginning of the session of 1916, in answer to my enquiry whether the promise recently made by the Prime Minister of enlisting 500,000 men meant Conscription, he answered in these words:—

"My Right Honourable friend has alluded to Conscription—to the idea in this country or elsewhere that there may be Conscription in Canada. In speaking in the first two or three months of this war, I made it clear to the people of Canada that we did not propose Conscription. I repeat that announcement today with emphasis."

Equally emphatic and unqualified were my own declarations on the subject.

Throughout the whole campaign of 1910 and 1911, I may recall that the Nationalists-Conservative alliance which opposed the naval policy of the Liberal government of that time asserted that such a policy meant conscription. Meeting these assertions I gave the public frequent assurance that under no circumstances would conscription follow the adoption of our policy. Again and again after the outbreak of the present war I insisted that conscription should not be introduced in Canada. Such was my position when the government reversed its attitude and, without warning, introduced the Military Service Act.

To force such a drastic measure upon a people thus unprepared and against repeated assurances to the contrary, was neither wise nor prudent, nor effective. It may bring men to the ranks but it will not infuse into the whole body of the nation that spirit of enthusiasm and determination which is more than half the battle. It will create and intensify division where unity of purpose is essential.

I am only too well aware that the views which I here present have not met with universal acceptance, even in the party to which I belong, but even yet I hold that to coerce when persuasion has not been attempted, is not sound policy, and in this I appeal to the impartial judgment of all Canadians.

In combatting the policy of conscription, all that I asked was that a measure of such moment should not be enforced by Parliament without an appeal to the people. I supported a referendum for the reason that the referendum is the most advanced and the most modern method of consultation of the people, without the complications inseparable from a general election. A referendum had also been asked on this very question by organized labour. My request was denied.

I appeal with great confidence to the fair judgment of the country that the introduction of conscription at this juncture and in the manner above described was a grave error, if it is remembered that the supreme object should have been and still should be to bring all classes of the community to hearty co-operation in the task which we assumed.

A fundamental objection to the Government's policy of Conscription is that it conscripts human life only, and that it does not attempt to conscript wealth, resources, or the services of any persons other than those who come within the age limit prescribed by the Military Service Act. This is manifestly unjust. The man who is prepared to volunteer his services and to risk his life in his country's defence is entitled to first consideration. Those dependent upon him, and who spare him from their midst are the next most deserving of the State's solicitude and care. A policy which will accord first place to the soldier and the sailor in the concern of the State will, I believe, bring forth all the men necessary to fight its battles, without the need of recourse to conscription. If returned to power, I should adopt such a policy. My first duty will be to seek out the ablest men of the country, men of organizing capacity as well as men representative of all classes in the community, and invite them, irrespective of what it may involve in the way of sacrifice of their personal interests, to join with me in the formation of a cabinet whose first object will be to find the men, money and resources necessary to ensure the fullest measure of support to our heroic soldiers at the front, and to enable Canada to continue to do her splendid part to win the war.

As to the present Military Service Act my policy will be not to proceed further under its provisions until the people have an opportunity to pronounce upon it by way of a referendum. I pledge myself to forthwith submit the Act to the people and with my followers to carry out the wishes of the majority of the nation as thus expressed.

I would at the same time organize and carry out a strong appeal for voluntary recruiting. It is a fact that cannot be denied that the voluntary system, especially in Quebec, did not get a fair trial, and a fair trial would receive from a generous people a ready response which would bring men to the ranks, with good will and enthusiasm, and which would eliminate from our political life one of its most harrowing problems, as no loyal Canadian can view without the gravest apprehension a disunited Canada at this critical hour of our history.

To these views it is no answer to say as is now often said, that we must have conscription or 'quit.' This statement is falsified by a recent and conclusive example. Australia rejected

conscription and Australia did not 'quit.' Australia is still in the fight under the voluntary system. Each year has rendered increasingly apparent the necessity of organising the nation, in order that, so far as may be possible, the resources and population of Canada in its entirety may be made of service in the successful prosecution of the war. To-day, under the exhaustion the war has caused in the old world, Great Britain and her Allies are appealing as never before for more food, more ships, and more coal. No country has vaster resources than Canada, to supply these imperative requirements. What is needed is vigorous efforts to further an unlimited production. To meet this existing need, I am prepared in addition to the measures already outlined to take what further steps may be necessary to increase, double and quadruple the output of all that may be necessary for marching and fighting armies.

Quebec's Part in the War.

Mr. Crothers, Minister of Labour, speaking recently at St. Thomas, declared that if "Quebec had done her duty, as the other provinces we should never have required the Military Service Act."

If enlisting in Quebec was not on a par with enlisting in the other provinces, on whom does the responsibility rest? On whom but the Borden government, whose Quebec members openly, strenuously and persistently preached the Nationalist doctrine of "no participation by Canada, in Imperial wars, outside her own territory."

That doctrine first put forth in the riding of Drummond-Arthabaska in the autumn of 1910 by the whole Nationalist body, including two of the present Quebec ministers, won the election for them. In the general elections of 1911, Reciprocity in Quebec was not the main issue; the main issue was the naval policy of the late administration, which was bitterly assailed by the same men, on the same doctrine of "no participation by Canada in Imperial wars outside her territory." And such doctrine taught on the hustings, circulated by the Nationalist press at the expense of the Conservative organization, had a powerful influence in educating the public against the participation by Canada in Imperial wars outside her territory. The first result was at the polls when the Liberals won 38 seats and the Conservatives-Nationalist alliance won 27, the popular vote being even more evenly divided, the Liberals polling 164,281 votes and the Conservative-Nationalists alliance 159,299. The second result was when the war broke out and a call made by the government for volunteers. They reaped what they had sowed. There was one half of the province which they had educated to reject such an appeal.

The Returned Soldiers.

The greatest service that can be rendered the brave men who have first claim upon our gratitude and sympathy is to replace them in civil life. How to do that in the way best calculated to enable each man to become, if possible, self-sustaining is a task that will call for the display of all that is noblest and best in the Canadian people. In a vast number of cases re-education and technical training will be necessary. In these cases patience and generosity on the part of the State, combined with sympathetic understanding, practical experience, and scientific knowledge on the part of those whom the State will call in to aid its efforts will go a long way towards helping the returned soldier to overcome the handicaps of war. If we but set ourselves resolutely to this task, its accomplishment will be hastened by the hearty co-operation of every man who has been on service overseas.

But there is another duty devolving upon us, the discharge of which should precede that above mentioned. The measures now in force for the maintenance, care and comfort of the soldiers' dependents and families are not adequate or equitable. In an effort to rectify this state of affairs and to emphasize its policy that the nation's obligations to the soldiers and their dependents must be discharged by the nation, and not through the medium of public benevolence or charity, Mr. Copp, member for Westmoreland, at the last session of Parliament, during the consideration of the Military Service Bill, moved this thoughtful resolution:—

"That the further consideration of this bill be deferred until such adequate provision has been made for the dependents of soldiers enlisted for overseas as will remove the necessity for raising money by public subscription for their support."

The resolution was opposed by the government and the motion for its adoption was defeated. But the necessity for action still exists, and prompt action must be taken to put the soldiers and their dependents beyond any possibility of want after public subscriptions have ceased and the glamour and excitement of the war have worn away.

The War Times Election Act.

In order to be effective, to satisfy the public conscience and to secure that acquiescence in a verdict which should be the last word on all questions submitted to the people, a general election should be an appeal to the electorate such as it exists under the law.

The government have discarded that fundamental principle of the institutions of a free people. They have designedly altered the sanctity of the franchise, by choking discussion, by ruthlessly using the closure, they have deliberately manufactured a franchise with which they

hope to win a victory at the polls—a passing victory for themselves, a permanent injury to the country.

This act known as the War Times Election Act, is a blot upon every instinct of justice, honesty and fair play.

It takes away the franchise from certain denominations whose members from ancient times in English history have been exempt from military service, and who in great Britain never were, and are not now, denied their rights of citizenship.

It takes away the franchise from men whom we invited to this country, to whom we promised all the rights and privileges of our citizenship, who trusted in our promises and who became under our laws British subjects and Canadian citizens. They are thus humiliated and treated with contempt under the pretence that being born in enemy countries, in Germany and Austria, they might be biassed in favour of their native country and against their adopted country. The assumption is false in theory and might easily be so demonstrated. It is sufficient to observe that it is also false in fact. There has not been any current of emigration from Germany to Canada during the last twenty years, and as to Austria, almost the total number, perhaps nine-tenths of the emigrants from that country, were not from Austria proper, but from those Slav provinces held by force by Austria, and whose sympathies are strong and deep against her, and for the Allies.

It gives the franchise to some women and denies it to others. All those whose privilege it is to have near relatives amongst the soldiers will be voters. The right will be refused to all those not so privileged, though their hearts are just as strong in the cause, and though they have worked incessantly for it. Moreover in five provinces of the Dominion, namely, Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta and British Columbia, women have been admitted to the franchise. According to the terms of the Dominion law, which no sophistry can blur, being electors in the province, women are electors in the Dominion. The Act of last session snatches away that right from them.

The Act is vicious in principle, and is equally vicious in its enacting dispositions. We have in most of the provinces of the Dominion, a regular system of preparing the voters' lists, and against that system no complaint has been heard during the last twenty years. That system is also cast aside, and lists are to be prepared by an army of so-called enumerators, whose work must be done in haste, whose powers are arbitrary, with no useful checks to be exercised in due time, and with all doors wide open for errors, confusion and frauds.

The Liberal members of the reconstructed government have put the mantle of their respectability upon this nefarious Act, as well as upon the Canadian Northern Railway Act, and upon many others against which they strongly protested and from which their presence in the government cannot remove the dangerous and indefensible character.

Such legislation is repugnant to every sense of justice and right. It has for its object and for its effect to discourage and to stifle the free expression of the will of the people, and to make parliamentary government a mere name without the reality.

A bold attempt is being made to silence the voice of the people by a systematic elimination of liberal candidates from the field.

It is my duty to appeal to all the friends of political freedom in every constituency to organize at once in order to defeat such a conspiracy. Let the masses unite and select their own standard bearers.

Labour

Should I be called upon to form a Government I would hope to include in it representatives of business, of labour and of agriculture, of the men whose sole object in dealing with the affairs of the country will be to devote the whole resources, wealth and energy of the country to the winning of the war. It can only be done by honest agreement amongst all the different elements and interests of the country. I would hope to have a Government representative of the masses of the people, the common people whose guiding principle should be to defend them against organized privilege which has heretofore had far too much control over the Government of the country. In this election it is my desire that the common people should have opportunity of expressing themselves in a free and untrammelled manner at the polls so that their views may obtain in the new Parliament and I trust that in every constituency candidates, representative of this policy may be nominated so that the people can vote for them.

These considerations I now place before my fellow countrymen of all creeds and of all origins for their appreciation and judgment. I have deemed it my duty more than ever perhaps in the course of my long public life to speak frankly and unequivocally upon the problems that now confront us. The obtaining on the retention of office is at all times, only a secondary consideration. In this election the supreme end is to assist in the tremendous struggle in which we are engaged, to maintain the unity of the nation, to avoid the divisions and discords which for many years kept in check, are now unfortunately again looming up dangerous and threatening, to resolutely face the economic situation with the view of avoiding and lessening privations and sufferings, which should not exist in a country so richly endowed by nature as our country. Whatever may be the verdict at the polls, I will accept it, neither elated by victory, nor downhearted by defeat.

WHAT THE PRESS IS SAYING.

THROUGHOUT Canada there seems to be a desire on the part of the Conservative Press to publish statements with regard to the selection of Union candidates and sayings of Liberals which are not warranted by the facts. An evidence of this was the circulation throughout Canada in glaring headlines of a statement that Hon. Charles Murphy and Hon. Rodolphe Lemieux at the Liberal Convention held at Russell, on October 29th had stated: "That if Sir Wilfrid was returned to power he would repeal the Conscription Bill." Nothing of the kind was stated by these gentlemen or by any other speaker at this meeting and both Mr. Murphy and Mr. Lemieux have demanded that the papers publish a correction.

A report appeared in the papers that the Liberals and Conservatives of South Waterloo had met in Convention and selected a Union candidate. The facts are exactly the opposite. It was a straight Conservative Convention called under the auspices of the South Waterloo Liberal Conservative Association. There was no consultation with the Liberal Executive and no official Liberal representative present.

A News item appeared that the East Elgin Conservatives had held a joint Convention. The facts are that it was not a joint Convention but a straight Conservative Convention which was held on October 9th. After the Convention had convened and every member present was Conservative the Chairman practically intimated that he would be glad to accept nominations from either Liberals or Conservatives, but of course only Mr. David Marshall, the Conservative M.P., was proposed. We ask in all sincerity how could a Liberal be nominated if there were no Liberals there to nominate him?

Another announcement appeared that the Hon. Thos. Crothers, Unionist Minister of Labour, had been selected as Union candidate. A straight Conservative Convention was held for West Elgin on October 29th which had nothing to do with any Liberal.

Dr. Shurtliff of Stanstead County, Quebec, was supposed to have been nominated by the Liberals and Conservatives. Exactly the opposite happened. It was not a joint meeting. It was a straight Tory Convention and no authorized Liberal delegates were present.

In North York, Ontario, with a straight Tory Convention the ex-conservative member was on October 29th nominated as Win-the War candidate.

Col. James Arthurs, ex-Conservative member for Parry Sound, Ont., has been nominated Union candidate, not by the Liberals and Conservatives but by a straight party Conservative Association without any consultation with the Liberals.

In Brant, the Liberal candidate resigned and the Liberal Executive called for a joint meeting of Liberals and Conservatives and wrote an official letter to the Conservative Association. The Conservative Association paid no attention to this note, held a Convention and nominated a prominent Conservative as Union Government candidate.

At Lethbridge, Alberta, the Conservative party



Alex. E. May

Liberal Candidate

Federal Riding of
East Edmonton

Honesty
Economy
Efficiency

did not even call a Convention. They called together their Executive and announced that Mr. W. S. Ball who had been nominated some three years ago as a Conservative candidate was endorsed as Union win-the-war candidate.

In glaring headlines the papers announced that Mr. W. F. Nickle ex-Conservative member for Kingston, had been nominated as Union candidate. There was no Convention. A few citizens, waited upon Mr. Nickle, a large majority of these citizens were Conservatives and the few Liberals who attended were not in any way representing the Liberal party of Kingston. They met and decided to call into consultation others. A petition was circulated and presented to Mr. Nickle with the result that he announced himself as an Independent Union candidate.

In Ottawa, two Union win-the-war candidates have been nominated by a straight Conservative Convention. When the meeting had convened a motion was put asking for an adjournment for the purpose of consulting with the Liberals. The President almost refused to put the motion to the meeting. When he did it was voted down overwhelmingly. Yet the two candidates were selected.

If the selection of Union candidates in the way above outlined by straight Conservative organizations is the method by which this new Borden Government hope to have their supporters nominated the sooner the people know the true facts the better. The labelling of candidates as Union Government supporters by Conservative Association should be stopped and we are not surprised that the Premier has been compelled to already issue a second statement in regard to this.

That Western Canada is not solidly behind the Hon. Mr. Crerar, the new Minister of Agriculture, was proven at a Convention held on Tuesday, October 23rd, when after a nine and a half hour's Session, 168 delegates failed to select a candidate.

The two names before the convention were Sir Augustus Nanton and the Hon. T. A. Crerar as Union Candidate. To secure the unanimous choice of the Convention one candidate had to receive seventy-five per cent of the vote. It is stated that Sir Augustus Nanton received more votes than did Mr. Crerar.

SIR SAM HUGHES AND UNION GOVERNMENT.

WE reproduce herewith extracts from an interview given by Sir Sam Hughes which appeared in the Daily Warrier of Lindsay, Ont., on October 16th, 1917. Sir Sam was asked:

"What do you think of the new Union Government?"
"It is a splendid triumph for the plans long ago laid by Sir Joseph Flavelle and Sir Thomas White," replied Sir Sam.

"How does that appear?"

"It is now more than a year since the movement to form a National or a "National Trust" Government as it was sometimes termed, was proposed by Sir Joseph and his friends. It is understood that the undertaking involved at that time a replacement of Sir Robert Borden by Sir Thomas White."

How will coalition affect you personally?

"Every candidate and Member of Parliament owes allegiance to his constituents and to them only. The people are masters; the members are their servants; and in turn the Cabinet are the servants of the members. At least that is what should prevail under responsible government, and just as Governments depart from these principles do they become Kaiser-like; the machine prevails and liberty is endangered."

"You seem to think there was no pressing need for Coalition?"

"None whatever. That is, had the Government done its full duty during the last year."

"But Laurier held up proceedings for the successful carrying on of the war?"

"Nonsense! Laurier had nothing to do with it. It was Sir Thomas White, Sir Joseph Flavelle, Sir Geo. Perley, Baron Shaughnessy, and possibly dread of the Nationalist party in Quebec under Bourassa."

"But did not Laurier force this war-time election?"

"I do not see how. On three different occasions the Government itself planned elections in war time. Once immediately after the session of 1914, again about the time of the sinking of the Lusitania; third, when Mr. Rogers made his famous and inspired Montreal address. It is understood there was still another occasion."

"When war was declared and before any session of Parliament I favored an election early in Aug., 1914, No one else did. Again, after the session, when it was planned to swing an election I objected because of Borden pledges to Laurier during the session, when the Liberals behaved so well. In this I stood alone once more, and was severely condemned by the 'wire-pullers' of the party."

"Will there be much loss of time before these men become accustomed to their new offices?"

"It could not be worse than it has been in the last two years with Perley holding up everything in England and White lining up everything here for the benefit of the institutions with which he and Flavelle are allied. One would almost be led to believe that the desire was to prolong the war for the benefit of certain people and institutions in Canada."

192 COMMISSIONS APPOINTED BY THE GOVERNMENT.

A return brought down by the Government and laid on the Table of the Senate, on May 21st, 1917, shows that from the time the Borden Government took office up to that date, May 21st, 1917, over 175 commissions have been appointed. The return gives the names of the Commissioners, the object of the Commission and the cost. Any person

QUEEN'S COUNTY, P. E. ISLAND

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desiring the information which is contained in this report may secure same by applying to the Central Liberal Information Office, Ottawa.

The re-organized Borden Government may be stronger than the old Borden Government, but it also costs more. Retrenchment appears to be the last consideration in the making of new governments.

Before reorganization fifteen Ministers represented the Borden Administration. The New administration has twenty-two Ministers. Of the twenty-two Ministers, fourteen are Conservatives and eight are Liberals. This seems to be Sir Robert Borden's idea of a Government formed on a fifty-fifty basis.

WHAT THE PEOPLE ARE SAYING.

From Toronto:

"Please do not make any mistake about it; notwithstanding what all the bankers and lawyers; the merchants and manufacturers; the clubmen and those that we older men meet, say, the vast majority of the voters who go to the polls will want to know who is against Conscription—they know now who is in favor of it—and they will not vote for that man.

"Take my word for it, Sir Wilfrid will be returned with the largest majority that any government ever had in Canada. The war will be carried on more energetically; more earnestly; and we will be able to make Canada's share much more important to the Allies even than it has been hitherto."

From Nova Scotia:

"I am safe in writing you that down this way it will be a clean sweep for our grand old Liberal Chief, Sir Wilfrid Laurier and a straight party vote. The Tory Government cannot on its past five years record expect anything else than a sore defeat."

From Central Ontario:

This 50-50 Union dope works out 100-0, when it comes to making appointments. The Militia Department has a representative to attend at each Tribunal under the Military Service Act, and so far as I can ascertain everyone appointed for this locality are hide bound conservative partizans. Several of them are guys who assisted to recruit two or three battalions but when it came to going over, were too good to revert to the ranks when their services were needed. I have heard these same fellows use some strong and offensive language towards those

Soldiers of Leeds and Brockville
Vote for Arthur C. Hardy

Avondale Farm

Opposed to the Borden
Government

Vote for a RESIDENT of your
OWN RIDING

Not for a Toronto intruder representing
The Big Interests and Pork Barons

who were not enlisting, but if there are any real slackers, they are to be found among the class of officials referred to. If the Hon. Mr. Rowell is going to abolish Patronage he had better see that the appointments are cancelled at once, and do something that may inspire the people with some confidence in the loud professions made on behalf of the Real Union 50-50, Win-the-War (win-the-election) Government.

From the West:

"Everywhere you go you find supporters of Sir Wilfrid Laurier. If straight Liberal candidates are placed in nomination nothing can stop Laurier from securing a practically solid West."

"Some call this a fusion government, it should be 'Confusion.'"

A Fight for Democracy and Free Government

The People or the Big Interests Who Shall Rule?

EVERYBODY IS OUT TO "WIN-THE-WAR"

The Allies cannot win by adopting Prussian Methods
Canada cannot win by adopting Autocratic Rule

The people; the common people, the masses, the tax payer, MUST
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